



REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST YOUTH

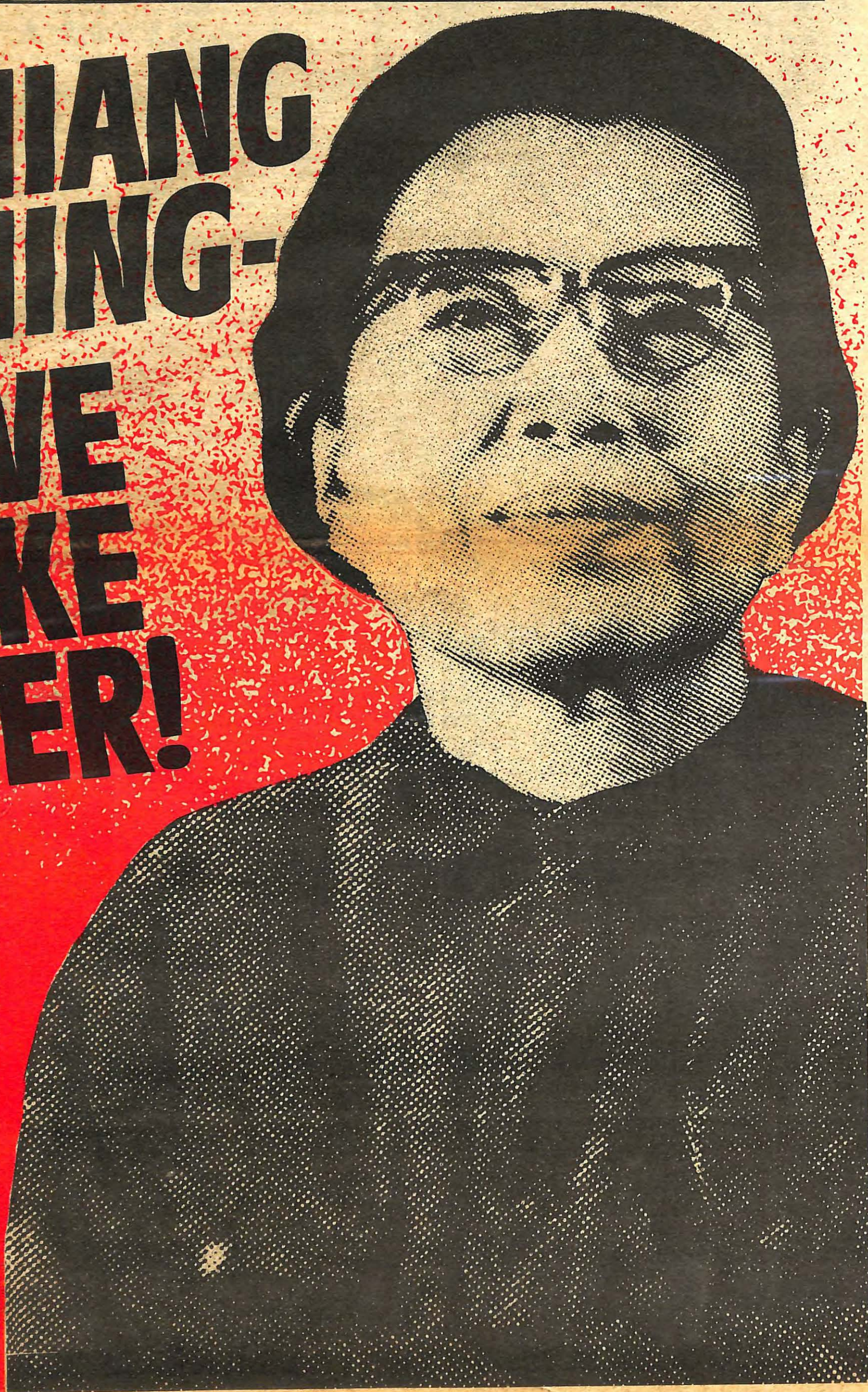
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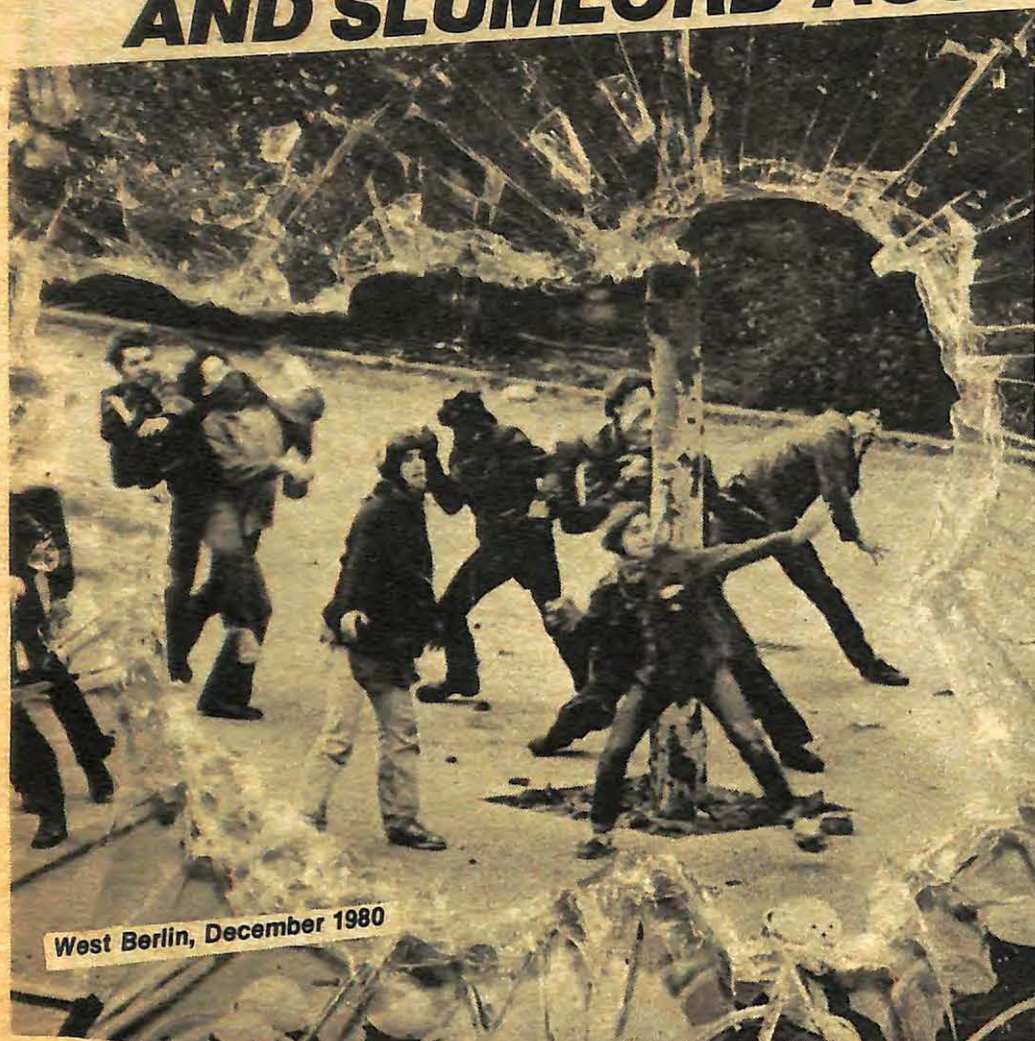
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NATIONAL NEWSPAPER OF THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST YOUTH BRIGADE

**CHIANG
CHING-
LIVE
LIKE
HER!**



GERMAN YOUTH KICK HIGH CLASS BRASS AND SLUMLORD ASS



West Berlin, December 1980

West Germany—supposedly the most stable member of the U.S. bloc, referred to by its rulers as "Modell Deutschland"—has been rocked by outbursts of rage and rebellion in the last few months. One set of these incidents has grown out of the efforts of the West German bourgeoisie to use mass military induction ceremonies to glorify their stepped-up war moves. A separate series of confrontations in West Berlin stemmed from the authorities' attempt to crush a growing squatters' movement and developed rapidly into a week-long pitched battle. Together these events are heralds of powerful forces seething just below the surface of Modell Deutschland's cracking calm.

The incidents in West Berlin touched a particularly vulnerable spot for the West German bourgeoisie. Located in the middle of East Germany, it has long been a valuable propaganda piece for the entire U.S. imperialist bloc, touted as "an oasis of the Western free enterprise system," a "symbol of freedom" right in the heart of their "poverty-ridden totalitarian" rivals. Because of this, the battles which rocked the city streets for three nights running were particularly ominous for the German authorities.

The incident touching off the events was a police arrest on Friday, December 12, of a group of 10 squatters in the Kreuzberg district of West Berlin. For weeks things had been coming to a head as people driven by the desperate shortage of housing in the city had been setting up their own homes in apartments abandoned by slumlord speculators and the like.

The housing situation in West Berlin is so bad that there are 54,000 people on the official waiting list for low rent hous-

ing, while at the same time 40,000 units are ripped down each year and thousands of others left to rot because their maintenance is no longer profitable for their slumlords. All this is overseen by a housing minister who distinguished himself in service to his class 6 years ago in a scandal in which 130,000,000 German marks (nearly \$50 million) were loaned to a near bankrupt construction company—whose owners promptly disappeared without a trace. This is the situation that has driven those who can't afford luxury housing (including the 100s of thousands of foreign workers living in West Berlin) into old, run-down rat-infested ghettos like Kreuzberg where the majority of apartments don't even have any sanitary accommodations.

In these conditions, harassment by the city authorities and the cops had only strengthened support for the squatters from sympathetic "legal" residents of the neighborhood. Now, as the movement threatens to spill over from the small area in Kreuzberg to other districts the spectre of the widespread squatters' movement that has rocked Amsterdam frightened the West Berlin rulers into taking what they thought was the step to nip this stuff in the bud.

What they got was a riot. The pigs had been smilingly smug as they led the 10 arrested squatters away. Despite some jeering by a growing number of people that had gathered outside the building, the arrests had gone peacefully. Now, as they made their way to the station with their catch, it seemed like they soon would be able to hang up their guns and make their way home after a job well done. Suddenly their radios began to

Continued on p. 18

QUIT MARKIN' TIME JOIN the RCYB!

The Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade is the youth group of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA.

We are working to put an end to this present day slave machine called capitalism/imperialism. This means first and foremost educating the masses of people, and for us this means especially youth, about the source and solution. The misery and suffering of people all over the globe stems from one place: imperialism, and the profit-crazed drive of the billionaires who own and control the factories, land, banks, and governments. Right from the belly of the U.S. beast we proudly and defiantly declare that we stand with the people of the world in their struggle against all imperialism, and we proudly vow to perform our duties as rebel communists in the U.S. to help bring this imperialism down.

We are out to stomp this system which has nothing, NOTHING to offer youth and the working and oppressed peoples. No future, only a lifetime of living hell. At "best" a lifetime of being robots and clones on a modern day chain gang, and increasingly likely, a future as bullets shot out of an imperialist gun in World War III.

We are working to educate the masses of people that the only solution to the hideous merry-go-round of war and crisis is working class revolution and socialism, the rule of the working class in its millions. And the possibilities for a revolution here in the coming decade are very real. Socialism will be a society where the divisions and inequalities left over from capitalism will be continuously eliminated, until communism, which means classless society worldwide.

We base ourselves on Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought, the science of the working class, the most revolutionary class in history. This revolutionary science is the most powerful and thorough-going understanding of what we're up against and how to fight it.

Especially as we enter into the 1980's and the hurricane of war and revolution encircles the earth, we call on all brothers and sisters of all nationalities and races from our "70s generation" who want to storm the heavens and make revolution to come forward, join the RCYB, get the home fires burning now for the decade ahead, and turn your dreams into realities. Revolution in the 1980s, Go for it!

Where We're At

National Address:
RCYB
PO BOX A 3836
CHICAGO, IL 60690

MIDWEST

Chicago, ILL—(312) 922-1140
Madison, WISC—call Chicago
St. Louis, MO—(314) 721-6159
Detroit, MICH—(313) 872-2286
Ann Arbor, MICH—call Detroit
Kalamazoo, MICH—call Detroit
Cleveland, OH—(216) 431-6910
Kent, OH—call Cleveland
Cincinnati, OH—(513) 542-6024
Columbus, OH—call Cincinnati
Morgantown, W.VA.—(304) 296-3450

EAST

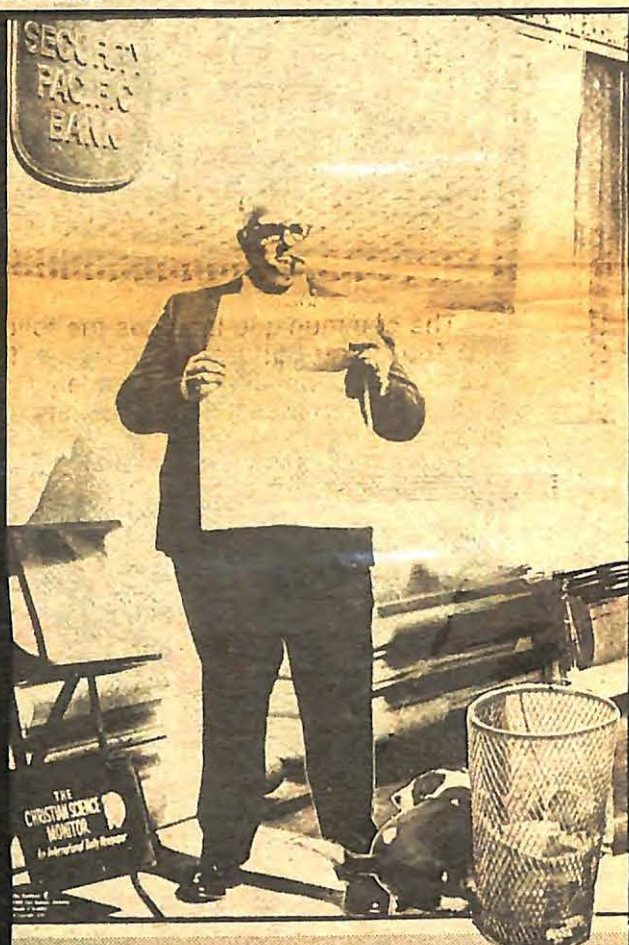
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Austin, TX—call Houston
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TO THE MARXIST-LENINISTS, THE WORKERS, AND THE OPPRESSED OF ALL COUNTRIES

Ceylon Communist Party
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Grupo para la Defensa del Marxismo-Leninismo (Spain)
Mao Tsetung-Kredsen (Denmark)
Marxist-Leninist Collective (Britain)
New Zealand Red Flag Group
Nottingham Communist Group (Britain)
Organizzazione Comunista Proletaria Marxista-Leninista (Italy)
Partido Comunista Revolucionario de Chile
Pour l'Internationale Proletarienne (France)
Reorganization Committee, Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist)
Revolutionary Communist Party, USA
Unión Comunista Revolucionaria (Dominican Republic)

Autumn 1980

The communique includes the following sections:
(1) The Current Situation; (2) Tasks of Marxist-Leninists, Colonial and Dependent Countries, Imperialist Countries; (3) On the Unity of the Marxist-Leninists.

Opening Section of the Communique:

"Today the world is on the threshold of momentous events. The crisis of the imperialist system is rapidly bringing about the danger of the outbreak of a new, third, world war as well as the real perspective for revolution in countries throughout the world. During the last few years revolutionary struggles have erupted, including in certain areas of strategic importance. All the imperialist powers are preparing to lead the workers and the oppressed people to an unprecedented mutual slaughter to protect and expand their empires of profit and exploitation throughout the world. The imperialist powers and reactionary ruling classes are joined in two rival bands of cutthroats and slavemasters, two blocs which are led one by the U.S. imperialists, the other by the equally imperialist USSR. This war is looming on the horizon and will break out unless the revolutionary struggle of the masses, the seizure of power by the working class and oppressed people, is able to prevent it. Still if this does break out, it will represent an extreme concentration of the crisis of the imperialist system and will heighten the objective basis for revolutionary struggle that must be seized by the Marxist-Leninists.

But at the very time when such great dangers, challenges and opportunities are placed before the workers and oppressed of all countries, a great crisis exists within the ranks of the Marxist-Leninists who have the responsibility of leading the working class and peoples in making revolution. After revisionism had clearly come to power in the USSR with Khrushchev, the international proletariat suffered a further grievous loss after the death of Comrade Mao Tsetung in 1976 with the seizure of power in socialist China by a new, counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie dragging one fourth of humanity back down the capitalist road. This great loss was further compounded by the attacks on the great contributions Mao Tsetung made to the revolutionary science of the working class, Marxism-Leninism. These attacks were not only launched by the new reactionary rulers of China, but have been joined by deserters from the revolutionary ranks, and clearly the Soviet revisionists themselves are mixed up in these attacks.

In the face of this sharpening situation, and recognizing the critical need to rise to the great challenge that this situation represents, delegates from a number of Marxist-Leninist Parties and organizations have held a meeting to discuss how to emerge and advance from this crisis on the basis of forging and uniting around a correct ideological and political line for the international communist movement. Through the course of the meeting unity was achieved on the following points, which the undersigned Parties and organizations consider important elements for the development of this line."



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Stop the Railroad of Bob Avakian! Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants!

On Thursday, December 4, attorneys for Bob Avakian, Chairman of the RCP Central Committee, and the Mao Tsetung Defendants presented a petition to the District of Columbia Court of Appeals. A three-judge panel of the nine judge appellate court handed down a decision on October 21, which reinstated the 25 felony count indictment against the defendants dismissed last year in a lower court. The December 4 petition demanded that the entire court hear the case. No decision has yet been made by the court.

The Committee to Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants issued a call for a swift and decisive response to the October 21 decision, and the Revolutionary Communist Party and the RCYB have broadly taken out the struggle, mainly through the *Revolutionary Worker* and the *RCY*. By December 4, a literal tidal wave of telegrams had engulfed the court. Thousands of people had signed hundreds of statements condemning the railroad. This was a clear expression of militancy and anger in the face of the latest government

plotting. A small number of these appear below.

In another development in the Mao Defendants' case, the American Civil Liberties Union has filed an amicus (friend of the court) brief with the appeals court in support of the defendants.

The thousands of people who have directly joined the battle to Stop the Railroad of Bob Avakian and Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants have made a powerful statement to the ruling class over the past few weeks and this support continues to grow. But the struggle is by no means over. Messages of support should continue to pour in—the battle to overturn this railroad must spread and intensify.

Send statements to:

D.C. Court of Appeals
500 Indiana Ave., NW
Washington, D.C. 20001

Committee to Free the
Mao Tsetung Defendants
Box 6422 "T" Station
Washington, D.C. 20009

Committee to Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants.

Dear Comrades,

Please accept our small donation of \$50.00. We see your campaign to mobilize the people against the coming retrials of Comrade Avakian and others, as of international importance.

U.S. imperialism by this act of the retrials shows up clearly their need to defend their tool in China, Deng Xiaoping, a leading capitalist roader and a proven counter-revolutionary and traitor to China and the revolutionary movement in other countries.

Your campaign to free the Mao Tsetung Defendants comes at a time when Chairman Mao's closest colleagues, after 4 years' imprisonment, are to be brought to "trial" in their capitalist court.

We assure you that the Australian people will know about this struggle.

From a Group of Revolutionary Communists Pledged to Overcome
Modern Revisionism in the Australian Working Class

We, the undersigned, workers of many different countries, condemn the government's plot against Bob Avakian and the 16 Mao Defendants.

Now that the imperialists in the U.S. and the Soviet Union prepare for a war of worldwide plunder and devastation, the red flag of internationalism and revolution has been raised in the belly of a superpower by the RCP and its Chairman, Bob Avakian.

300 red flags flew in the garment district around May 1st, 1980, raised by workers who know by our own experience the vicious nature of the imperialist system. There is too much at stake to let you rob us of the revolutionary leadership of Bob Avakian. The opportunities around the world for defeating you and your equally imperialist rivals are in our hands, and we need Bob Avakian's leadership on the streets.

Keep your bloody hands off Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants.

40 Garment Workers in N.Y.C.

U.S. Launches Holiday Propaganda vs. Iran

There was the darkened "National Christmas Tree," the call for everyone to flick their Bic for 417 seconds on Christmas Eve, the somber TV anchormen and the sea of American flags tied to everything imaginable adorning the front pages of daily newspapers across the country. The U.S. rulers were out to get every ounce of propaganda and chauvinism they could out of the "second Christmas in captivity."

But when the few die-hard flag-wavers rushed into the cold winter night candles ablaze to demonstrate their undying passion for U.S. imperialism, they were shocked (again) to find themselves alone. There was no national outpouring.

Some of the newsmen and DJ's were desperate. When the Iranian government demanded that the U.S. deposit Iranian funds held in U.S. banks and money to

cover the Shah's stolen wealth in a special account in Algeria—a total of some \$24 billion—two Chicago DJ's calculated that this would cost the "average American" \$117 each—as if the billions in gold and looted wealth stored in American banks somehow belonged to the masses of people here and as if the people had some say in its disposition. It was a fine example of bankers' logic.

Then it was Walter Cronkite's turn. The Iranians, he screeched, are despicable "criminals," the scum of the earth, for taking the hostages. Then he let it slip—this is true, he said, even if the Americans in the Embassy were engaged in the "normal international activity of intelligence gathering." In his frenzy to whip up sentiments even international spying—a crime the U.S. capitalists punish by imprisonment and even death—suddenly becomes fine and pro-

To the Honor Justices:

The National Conference of Black Lawyers urges your reconsideration of the Court of Appeals decision in the case of *U.S. vs. Schiller*. The issue before the court is one of extreme seriousness and involves the protection of civil liberties and Constitutional rights for the instant defendants and potentially will affect the rights of many future persons appearing before the court.

It is our considered opinion that the Court of Appeals erred in its conclusion, that the U.S. Attorney's decision to re-indict the Mao Tsetung Defendants was in our opinion motivated by political considerations and vindictiveness on the part of the prosecutor. The standard used by the Court of Appeals in reaching its conclusion would practically require the admission of wrongdoing by the prosecutor to sustain a charge of prosecutorial vindictiveness. The totality of the circumstances observed by the trial judge gave the impression of vindictive prosecution, and upon closer examination, such impression was not satisfactorily dispelled by the prosecutor. It is unrealistic to expect prosecutors to willfully admit such wrongdoing or reveal political motivations in the clear and overt terms required by the court standards.

We reiterate our concerns in the amicus brief previously submitted and urge the court to consider the decision herein.

Victor M. Goode, Esq.
National Director

National Conference of Black Lawyers

We farmworkers and workers in this country give notice that we lend our complete support by giving our signatures. Our objective is to get the charges dropped and to free our Chairman, Bob Avakian, and the Mao Tsetung Defendants.

28 farmworkers and workers from Salinas, Calif.

To the D.C. Court of Appeals:

All of Dracula's desperate neck-biting couldn't stop the sunrise. Nor will your attempts to railroad Bob Avakian be allowed to succeed by those who struggle to hurry the dawn of a new day. Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants, stop the railroad of Bob Avakian.

Thunder Road, Chicago

The St. Louis Coalition Against the Draft is well aware of efforts to intimidate and crush the revolutionary and progressive forces, as those who call the shots in the U.S. try to prepare the rest of us for war.

This is evident from the recent Nazi/Klan acquittal in Greensboro to the murder of Black revolutionary activist Yulanda Ward.

The reinstitution of the charges against Bob Avakian and the 16 "Mao Tsetung Defendants" is clearly part of this effort. Though we don't necessarily agree with the politics of the RCP or RCYB, we see that an attack on one is an attack on all. We oppose the revival of this motion to prosecute Bob Avakian and the Mao Defendants!

The Coalition demands drop the charges on Bob Avakian and the Mao Defendants!

St. Louis Coalition Against the Draft

Statement to the Court in Washington, D.C.

We are outraged that the very courts who let the Klan scum go free in the massacre of 5 people in Greensboro, are now being used to railroad and rip away Bob Avakian from the revolutionary movement.

From those of us who have been in your imperialist army, and seen that your freedom and democracy is nothing but the freedom to rape and plunder, as you did in Vietnam—from those of us in your army today whom you hope will blindly fight in your next world war, we send this message—KEEP YOUR BLOODY HANDS OFF BOB AVAKIAN!

10 GI's Ft. Bragg
4 Veterans
3 Dependents

In the interests of maintaining the civil liberties of political demonstrators, I ask that you drop the charges against Bob Avakian and his fellow defendants.

Howard Zinn

Political Activist and Professor at Boston University

December 1, 1980

To the D.C. Court of Appeals

We the undersigned Iranian students condemn the outrageous action of the Court of Appeals.

We strongly urge you, "the court of injustice," to drop this scandalous conspiracy, this so-called trial against Bob Avakian and the other Mao Tsetung Defendants.

Your vindictive charges against the Mao Tsetung Defendants will bring more and more derogatory world opinion to your imperialist system, while Bob Avakian's revolutionary image and integrity is profoundly carved in the minds of people all over the world. It is time you, "the court of injustice," and the servants of imperialism understood that your servilities have reached the utmost; so has our abhorrence.

We are united. The united fists are ready to land right in your fist. You better know that "The people united will never be defeated."

34 Iranian students!

principally representing the class of national capitalists in Iran, appeared about to give in. After all, the U.S. imperialists were tightening the screws. U.S. orders firmly in hand, the reactionary rulers of neighboring Iraq had sent thousands of troops into the heart of Iran's oil province of Khuzestan, destroying much of the oil industry there and occupying large sections of the province. And in the face of the massive invasion, and the inability of the Iranian government to really mobilize to oppose it, the masses of people were beginning to take the initiative themselves in halting and beating back the Iraqis and in organizing military units, some led by Marxist-Leninist organizations such as the Union of Iranian Communists.

This situation sharply revealed the fundamental weakness of the Iranian rulers: their fear of the masses of people, who have all along been the motive force in the Iranian revolution, and whose interests lie in carrying the revolution all the way—far past the would-be capitalists who have tried to hold onto the reigns of power in Teheran. While

Continued on p. 21

A couple of months ago Iran's rulers,

Chiang Ching Hits Revisionists Like a Thundering Tornado



Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao at 10th Congress of Chinese Communist Party, 1973

In the last few weeks of December, the revolutionary fury of Chiang Ching (Jiang Qing) has shattered the plans of China's revisionist rulers to neatly put away the revolutionary legacy of Mao Tsetung. Her fiery rebel stand has literally turned the trial upside down, and more, it has seared in the minds of millions the world over the unforgettable portrait of a true leader of the international proletariat.

In preparing for this trial, the revisionist bosses of China had hoped that their well-greased railroad would present a picture of beaten, scared and repentant revolutionaries. Of revolution dead for all time. They had hoped to teach those in China who had not forgotten the taste of proletarian rule a lesson: forget the past, and even more, forget all hope for the future. They had hoped that after this trial Chiang Ching, Chang Chun-chiao (Zhang Chunqiao—the other revolutionary leader who has spit in the face of the trial and the Chinese revisionists), Mao Tsetung himself and his Thought would be marked as criminals of the people in the eyes of millions worldwide. But just the opposite has happened.

The revisionists in China postponed this trial many times in the last few years, hoping for a "more favorable time" to come to launch their all-out attacks on Mao Tsetung himself. This time never came, but events in the world and internally in China (where all attempts at "modernization" of industry and agriculture have royally flopped) forced the hand of the new clique ruling China. The revisionists set up tightly controlled media coverage, stacking the courtroom with the most slavish and robotlike of their lackeys. They have sent out very carefully edited reports of the trial, in one case they shot a scene with Chiang Ching in court four times before they could get a version acceptable to their needs. In addition, the revisionists added six followers of the infamous Lin Biao, revisionists in their own right who had tried to murder Mao and stage a coup in 1971, in an attempt to confuse people not familiar with events in China about who were the revolutionaries and who were the reactionaries.

And yet, even with all this, the revolutionary spirit of Chiang Ching

and Chang Chun-chiao (who has maintained a defiant silence throughout the trial) has come bursting through uncowed and unafraid and has commanded the world's attention. Venom oozed from the pages of the press in Peking as they described Chiang Ching's entry into the courtroom, "...under the public gaze (she) deliberately holds up her head and adopts a nauseating pose." How nauseating indeed for a slavemaster to witness a leader of his slaves, who refuses to bow her head, even after four years of prison, doubtlessly including the most brutal treatment, and facing the threat of death itself.

When Chiang Ching blasted out at the judges and most of all those who control their strings (she called the judges at one point merely insignificant puppets of the chief revisionists), they threatened her with a heavier sentence and screamed, "You must be obedient!"

Instead she repeatedly threw their petty orders back in their faces, shouting "making revolution is not a crime." She raised Mao's famous battlecry of the Cultural Revolution (which the revisionists, of course, are attacking with all their feeble might) "It's right to rebel against reactionaries!" Even surrounded by dozens of security guards, when they heard this the judges paled and became visibly upset. Against the threat of death, Chiang Ching replied that she would die before going back on her support of the Cultural Revolution and the line of Mao Tsetung. In fact, at the end of

the trial she looked the judges right in the eye and challenged, "I dare you to sentence me to death in front of one million people in Tienanmen Square!"

The Cultural Revolution

What was for these revisionists the nightmare of the Cultural Revolution was coming flashing back on them full force. For it was in the Cultural Revolution, launched by Mao Tsetung himself in 1966, that the "capitalist roaders"—and particularly those in leadership positions in the Chinese Communist Party—were targeted as the class enemy of the Chinese workers and peasants, and actually the international proletariat. Mao Tsetung led the way in analyzing the setback which had occurred to the revolution in the Soviet Union 10 years before this, specifically developing the understanding of the existence of classes and class struggle under socialism. And the bourgeoisie, the capitalist roaders, under socialism were not just holdovers from the old society, but in fact were constantly growing out of the very divisions and inequalities which still exist under socialist society. Mao developed the understanding more than anyone before him had that socialism is a *transition* to communist society, and that this transition would follow a tortuous path as it narrowed and eliminated the thinking and material basis (the level of the productive forces) for exploiting class society. But in order to do this a fierce class struggle had to be waged, and this includes the struggle against those persons high up in the Party who want to drag the socialist society backwards, which is precisely what Deng Xiaoping and Co. are doing today in

China, turning the country once more into an imperialist colony.

As Chang Chun-chiao said about the capitalist roaders nearly five years ago before the coup, "You wanted to carry out socialist transformation? They said the new democratic order (which was a first, and already completed, stage in the Chinese revolution—RCY) had to be consolidated. You wanted to organize cooperatives and communes? They said it was too early to do that. When you said literature and art should be revolutionized, they said it would do no harm to stage a few plays about ghosts. You wanted to restrict bourgeois right? They are a bunch of past masters at defending old things, and like a swarm of flies, buzz all day long over the 'birth marks' and 'defects' of the old society referred to by Marx."

So what could be done about the situation, to prevent the takeover of working class rule by revisionists like happened in Russia? This was a complicated question. Mao spoke to this problem, "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-around way and from below."

The situation was becoming urgent in China by 1966. The Right, headed by Liu Shao-chi (Liu Shao-chi) and Deng Xiaoping, was growing stronger, preparing for a counter-revolutionary coup. They used the significant influence they had in culture, education, the army, and sectors of the government. Although the leading revisionists were a handful, their roots went deep into Chinese society, especially among the better off strata, bureaucrats, and those who had "grown tired" and got stuck in the past. Because of these roots, the general influence of the ideas of the revisionists, and the material base underlying all these things, it was not a question of Mao lopping off a few heads and being done with it. The soil in which revisionism grew and developed would produce new revisionists again and again until the people themselves had consciously taken control of all society—not just in China, but worldwide—and wiped out the weeds of exploitation and oppression from the soil for all time.

The form was developed to carry forward the struggle to transform people's thinking, and kick out the capitalist roaders in power from below: the Cultural Revolution. Initially sparked by the Red Guards, groups of rebel youth following the line of Mao Tsetung, hundreds of millions took part in waging the revolution which would take the proletariat to the greatest heights yet scaled in history. Peasants and workers over-

The Loss in China and the Revolutionary Legacy of Mao Tsetung

by Bob Avakian

Text of the speech given by Bob Avakian at the historic Mao Tsetung Memorial Meetings which were held in New York City and in 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 for the first time 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. It also goes into the effects of the coup on the international situation, and its implications and lessons for the revolutionary movement worldwide. 1978. 151p.

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The Loss in China and The Revolutionary Legacy Of Mao Tsetung



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El Salvador

U.S. Behind Terrorism Against People's Struggle



Leftist guerrillas of all ages prepare to take U.S.-backed junta

On December 5, the U.S. government halted the flow of economic and military aid to the fascist military junta that rules the small Central American country of El Salvador. This move, the U.S. imperialists piously declared, was pending an "investigation" into the rape and murder of three American nuns and one lay worker a few days earlier in the Salvadorean countryside.

On December 15, the economic assistance was resumed and on December 18 the U.S.-controlled Inter-American Development Bank approved \$45.4 million in new loans to the junta "as part of a plan to combat rural guerrilla violence," according to a report in the *New York Times*.

Had the "investigation" been completed, the murderers and rapists uncovered and dealt with? Hardly. In fact those directly responsible for these brutal murders, and for the killing of at least 9000 others this year alone in El Salvador, are none other than the colonels, generals and "civilians" who make up the ruling junta itself—their actions approved, funded and coordinated by their U.S. imperialist bosses. The cutoff of money temporarily was purely cosmetic, an attempt to cover their ass.

In the case of the American nuns, Salvadorean National Guard officers (the National Guard is the army of that country's ruling class) supervised the burial of the nuns by the murderers. Less than a week before the military had carried out the torture and assassination of eight leaders of groups and parties opposed to the junta, who were arrested while holding a press conference only three blocks from the U.S. Embassy in San Salvador. While the junta has tried to say—for the consumption of the international press—that the murders were committed by right-wing terrorist groups, eyewitnesses reported that 200 soldiers and police surrounded the building where the opposition leaders were meeting, an air force helicopter circled overhead, and plainclothesmen did the dirty work (providing an interesting insight into who the "right-wing terrorists" actually are).

Inside the country these moves came as little surprise from a junta that is universally hated by workers, students and large sections of the peasantry and so isolated that even pro-U.S. forces within the ruling class have joined the opposition for fear of losing all to a growing popular insurgency concentrated in the countryside. It is these forces in particular, as well as religious personalities and organizations which have been critical of the widespread repression, torture and assassination by the junta, that these latest actions were directed against. The message was pretty clear: NO OPPOSITION WILL BE TOLERATED.

Even the latest in a series of actions by the junta aimed at trying to improve its image outside the country (and thereby to deaden international opposition) only exposed it further. For the first time in 49 years, a civilian was appointed to be President of the country.

The junta's choice was José Napoleón Duarte, a staunchly anti-communist and pro-U.S. imperialist politician long tied to El Salvador's ruling class and for months a loyal member of the junta. But even here they were taking no chances. Duarte admitted to the *Times*: "I do not have the guns or bullets. I cannot stop a coup d'état. The only reason I am in this position is because I have the support of the army."

The junta's increasing desperation to hold on to power reflects that of the U.S. imperialists, who are determined not to lose the control they have long exercised over this key region in a period when they will be counting on stability there while they go at it with the Soviets in other contested areas from Europe to the Middle East. In particular the U.S. is trying to make sure that their Soviet rivals do not make any gains in Central America in the course of the widening and deepening of opposition to the U.S.-backed regimes. One of the opposition leaders murdered by the junta was from the "Communist" Party of El Salvador, a pro-Soviet party which has sought to ride the mass hatred for the junta into positions of power for itself and the Soviet capitalists.

The U.S. maneuvers have been complex in El Salvador, with their apparent contradictory character explained by their single common purpose: to maintain U.S. imperialist domination. Towards the workers and peasants, whose struggle is the motive force of the movement to liberate El Salvador from the U.S.'s clutches, there has been a heavy and continuing dose of repression and outright murder.

Towards the bourgeois opposition forces, and especially those whose interests are more in line with those of the U.S. but who fear too close an association with the U.S.'s junta, there have been dual tactics. On the one hand, assassinations such as the most recent ones aimed at stemming the tide of these forces joining the opposition. On the other hand, there have been some negotiations with opposition leaders among this group who have tried to convince the U.S. to drop its support for the junta before it's too late, and to back them instead.

While the U.S. imperialists apparently toyed with this idea for awhile, they seem to have decided such a move—and the influence of pro-Soviet forces within the opposition bloc—is too risky, and to back the junta all the way instead. These latest murders are the implementation of this decision, attempting to drive some of the opposition forces back more firmly into the U.S. grip and to silence those speaking out against the junta.

Increasingly U.S. policy is to drown everything in blood, and this in turn reflects the continuing opposition to their domination and the diminishing options open to the imperialists in dealing with it. Recently some "dissenters" among U.S. government policy analysts released a memo detailing growing U.S. intervention in El Salvador and feverish preparations for even more overt intervention. The authors of this memo make clear that the extent of U.S. "activities" in El Salvador represent "an allocation of bureaucratic and

financial resources exceeding those made to any other hemispheric crisis since 1965" (a reference to the 1965 U.S. invasion and occupation of the Dominican Republic).

Further they come right out and state what is by now obvious to many, that U.S. media coverage of El Salvador is nothing but State Department and CIA lies: "Media coverage of El Salvador has been responsive to official government policies: greater emphasis on U.S. interests in the region, continuous references to Cuban involvement, understatement of the 'human rights' dimension, effective use of the 'extremists of the right and left' formula." And they point out, "Informal signals to foreign desk editors during the electoral campaign discouraged their interest in the region."

And what are these "activities"? Increased training for Salvadorean military officers in Panama, Argentina, Chile and Uruguay; improving military infrastructure for more effective urban and rural combat communications and rapid troop deployment; setting up military supply lines and stockpiling weapons; providing "strategic and tactical command advisory assistance" to the Salvadorean military; bringing paramilitary groups under a unified command; improving communications and cooperation among armed forces and paramilitary organizations in El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras (including what is described as a "paramilitary strike force made up of former members of the Nicaraguan National Guard, anti-Castro Cubans, Guatemalan military personnel and mercenaries" ready to intervene "when the situation requires it"). The document also details recent U.S. efforts aimed at "improving and protecting the international legitimacy and prestige" of the junta by providing logistical support, discouraging diplomatic efforts to obtain international support and legitimacy, and "closely monitoring and feeding U.S. and world media coverage of the region and publicizing widely U.S. confidence in and support for current process in El Salvador."

And finally there are the plans for direct U.S. military intervention should all these other "activities" fail: "Updating detailed contingency plans for U.S. alternative responses to deterioration of the conditions in the region." These include not only scenarios and status reports for actual U.S. troops deployment against El Salvador in coordination with paramilitary forces and the armed forces of U.S. puppet regimes in Guatemala and Honduras, but also plans for how to deal with the political and diplomatic consequences of such involvement. Along with this are plans for massive U.S. economic aid and technical assistance to the junta, and plans to assure "continued Congressional and public opinion support for current policies through liaison and press relations efforts" which would attempt to create a favorable image of the junta, discredit opposition forces and closely monitor U.S. press coverage "to avoid Nicaraguan style publicity for opposition insurgents."

No doubt what is revealed in this memo is just a partial picture, but certainly the general features of U.S. military preparation in El Salvador and Central America as a whole come through loud and clear.

Mao Tsetung on "Telling Off" the Youth

The following are two talks in the mid-1960s between Mao Tsetung and Mao Yuan-hsin, Mao Tsetung's nephew. At the time of Mao Tsetung's death in 1976, it was Mao Yuan-hsin who Mao had entrusted with the responsibility of managing his day-to-day affairs, including controlling access to Mao. Mao Yuan-hsin was one of the foremost revolutionary leaders at the time of the revisionist coup in 1976, clearly highly regarded by Mao Tsetung, and Mao Yuan-hsin was therefore immediately imprisoned by the likes of Hua Guo-feng after the revisionists took power. He is today reported to be facing trial in his native Liaoning Province, where the revisionists will attempt to break him as they have tried and failed with Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao.

Two things in particular shine through in these talks. One, that Mao was especially sharp with those on whom he relied the most to carry out a revolutionary line at all times, never allowing them to get bowled over by successes or complacent with the status quo. The other, what Mao said in 1967 to a visiting military delegation about the object of the Cultural Revolution: "The struggle against the capitalist roaders in the Party is the principal task, but not the object. The object is to solve the problem of world outlook and eradicate revisionism."

At the time of these discussions, Mao Yuan-hsin was a student at the Harbin Military Engineering Institute, (by the time of the second one a leader of the Red Guards), and consequently much of the discussion is around the revolution in the universities.

First Talk

July 5 1964

THE CHAIRMAN: Have you made any progress in the course of the past half year? Have you raised (your level)?

YUAN-HSIN: I'm a bit mixed up about it myself, I wouldn't venture to say that I have made any progress; if I have, it is merely superficial.

THE CHAIRMAN: I think you have after all made some progress, your way of looking at problems is no longer so simple. Have you read the 'Ninth Reply' or not? Have you seen the five criteria for successors?²

YUAN-HSIN: I have seen them....

THE CHAIRMAN: You have talked about it, all right, but do you understand it? These five criteria are indissolubly linked to one another. The first is theory, or also orientation. The second is the aim—i.e. when you come right down to it, whom do you serve? This is the most important. When you have mastered this point, you can do anything. The third, fourth and fifth criteria relate to questions of methodology. You must unite with the majority, you must implement democratic centralism, you must not allow everything to be settled by the word of one man, you must carry out self-criticism, you must be modest and prudent. Isn't all this methodology?....Are you going to study Marxism-Leninism, or revisionism?

YUAN-HSIN: Naturally, I'm studying Marxism-Leninism.

THE CHAIRMAN: Don't be too sure, who knows what you're studying? Do you know what Marxism-Leninism is?

YUAN-HSIN: Marxism-Leninism means that you must carry on the class struggle, that you must carry out revolution.

THE CHAIRMAN: The basic idea of Marxism-Leninism is that you must carry out revolution. But what is revolution? Revolution is the proletariat overthrowing the capitalists, the peasants overthrowing the landlords, and then afterwards setting up a workers' and peasants' political power, and moreover continuing to consolidate it. 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*³ commit-

tees, 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. Who is leading the Ministry of Culture? The cinema and the theatre are entirely in their service, and not in the service of the majority of the people. Who do you say is exercising leadership? To study Marxism-Leninism is to study the class struggle. The class struggle is everywhere; it is in your Institute, a counter-revolutionary has appeared in your Institute, are you aware of this or not? He wrote a reactionary diary filling a dozen or so notebooks, every day he cursed us, shouldn't he be considered a counter-revolutionary element? Are you people not completely insensitive to class struggle? Isn't it right there beside you? If there were no counter-revolution, then why would we still need revolution?....Everywhere there is counter-revolution, how could it be absent from the factories? Middle- and low-ranking Kuomintang⁴ officers, secretaries of *hsien* (Kuomintang) party offices, etc., have all crept in. No matter what guise they have been transformed into, we must now clean them all out. Everywhere there is class struggle, everywhere there are counter-revolutionary elements. Is not Ch'en Tung-p'ing⁵ sleeping right next to you? I have read all the various materials (of his) denounced by your Institute. You were sleeping together with a counter-revolutionary, and yet you did not know it!

(The Chairman next asked about political and ideological work in the Institute. Mao Yuan-hsin gave his views of this.)

YUAN-HSIN: They call meetings and talk a lot; outwardly it's very stirring, but they don't solve many real problems.

THE CHAIRMAN: The whole country is engaged in learning from the People's Liberation Army on a vast scale. You are members of the PLA; why aren't you learning from it? Does the Institute have a political department? What is it doing? Do you have political training or not?

(Yuan-hsin explains the way political training is carried out at the Institute.) All this is nothing but attending classes and discussing things, what is the use of it? You should go and study reality. You have not even applied the principle that ideology comes first, you have no real knowledge at all, so when people talk about those things how can you understand them?....(Starting angrily at Mao Yuan-hsin) In fact, you like comfort, and fear difficulties....You know how to think about yourself, you spend all your time pondering your own problems. Your father (Comrade Mao Tse-min) was dauntless and resolute in the face of the enemy, he never wavered in the slightest, because he served the majority of the people.⁶ If it had been you, wouldn't you have got down on both knees and begged for your life? Very many members of our family have given their lives, killed by the Kuomintang and the American imperialists. You grew up eating honey, and thus far you have never known suffering. In future, if you do not become a rightist, but rather a centrist, I shall be satisfied. You have never suffered, how can you be a leftist?

YUAN-HSIN: Is there still some hope for me?

THE CHAIRMAN: Well, yes, there is hope, but if you surpass the criteria I have set, that will be even better. ...When you people hold a meeting, how do you hold it? You are a squad leader; how does one go about being a squad leader? When everyone criticizes you, can you accept it? Can you accept their criticisms even if they are wrong? Can you accept a false and unjust charge? If you cannot accept it, then how can you unite people? You must especially learn to work with people who disagree with you. If you like to have people praise you, if you like to have honey on your lips, and songs to your glory in your ears, that is the most dangerous thing, and that is exactly what you do like.

....Do you unite with the masses or not? Is it not the case that you spend your time with the sons and daughters of cadres, and look down on other people? You must let people talk, and not be satisfied with letting one person settle everything.

....In this respect you have already made some progress, you have engaged in a bit of self-criticism, but it's barely a beginning, you mustn't think everything is all right.

....The most fundamental defect of your Institute is that you have not applied the 'four firsts.'⁷ Didn't you say

4) The Kuomintang (or "Nationalist") Party played a progressive role very early in its history (up to the mid-1920s), but after that mainly played a lackey role to imperialism in trying to crush the Chinese revolution, finally fleeing to Taiwan Island after liberation in 1949.

5) A counter-revolutionary at the Harbin Military Engineering Institute before 1964.

6) Mao Tse-min was a communist who was arrested by the Kuomintang in 1942 and executed in 1943.

7) The "four firsts" were: priority of men over weapons; of political work over other work; of ideological work over routine political work; and of living ideology over ideas from books.

you wanted to study Marxism-Leninism? What method of study do you employ? How much can you learn merely by relying on listening to lectures? The most important thing is to go and learn from practice.

YUAN-HSIN: A faculty of science and engineering and faculty of letters are different; (the former) doesn't provide for so much time to go and enter into contact with society.

THE CHAIRMAN: That is wrong; the class struggle is your most important subject, and it is a compulsory subject. I have already discussed this question with XXX.⁸ Your Institute should go down to the countryside to carry out the 'four clean-ups',⁹ from the cadres to the students all of you should go, and not one should remain. You should go this winter, or in the spring of next year; it is better to go earlier than later, you must definitely go. As for you, you must not only spend five months participating in the 'four clean ups', you must also go to a factory and spend half a year carrying out the 'five antis'.¹⁰ Isn't it true that you don't understand a thing about society? If you don't carry out the four clean-ups, you won't understand the peasants, and if you don't carry out the five antis, you won't understand the workers. Only when you have completed such a course of political training can I consider you a university graduate. Otherwise, if the Military Engineering Institute lets you graduate, I won't recognize your diploma. If you don't even know about the class struggle, how can you be regarded as a university graduate? If you are to graduate, I will set you this additional subject. Your Institute has not carried out ideological work; so many counter-revolutionaries, and you were not aware of it; Ch'en Tung-p'ing was right next to you and you didn't know it....What are the four firsts?....You know about this; why, then, do you not grasp living ideology? I hear there are a lot of political cadres in your Institute, but they do not grasp the essential, so naturally they do not grasp ideology. Naturally, your Institute has scored some successes; there's nothing so remarkable if it has a few problems. We've been engaged in military engineering for only a decade. Our army has no experience in running technical schools. It's like when we learned to fight in 1927: at first we didn't know how, and we kept being defeated, but afterwards we learned how....How is it with the reform of teaching in your Institute?

YUAN-HSIN: The last time we had examinations, our

8) Person unknown.

9) The "four clean ups" were centered on politics, economics, organization, and ideology.

10) The "five antis" were aimed at bribery, tax evasion, theft of state property, cheating on government contracts, and stealing state economic secrets for private speculation.

Continued on p. 18

1) The ninth polemic written by China, under the leadership of Mao, against Soviet revisionism: "On Khrushchev's Phoney Communism and its Historical Lessons for the World."

2) The "five requirements" were explained in the "Ninth Reply": They must be genuine Marxist-Leninists and not revisionists; they must be revolutionaries who wholeheartedly serve the majority of the people of China and the whole world; they must be proletarian statesman capable of uniting and working together with the overwhelming majority; they must be models in applying the Party's democratic centralism, and must apply the mass line; and finally that they must be modest and prudent and guard against arrogance and impetuosity.

3) "Hsien" means "county" here.



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A Woman's Place In World War 3



In boot camp you'll attend classes in "Image Development" where, as the Marine Corps writes in *A Woman Marine*, "you'll learn confidence, poise, and how to apply make-up properly, style your hair, and control your weight"—all designed to make you into attractive cannonfodder. You will then be given the chance to fight for the rulers of this country who have singled you out for so much: Barbie dolls, "As the World Turns," Mr. Clean, one of the highest rape rates in the world, wages that barely pay a babysitter, Nancy Reagan, and the Virgin Mary. While in the service you will have the opportunity, right alongside men, to kill and maim your rulers' enemies. They will be easy to recognize—they will look a lot like American soldiers, young working class people—maybe even some women. The only difference will be they'll be wearing different uniforms and fighting for a different set of rulers.

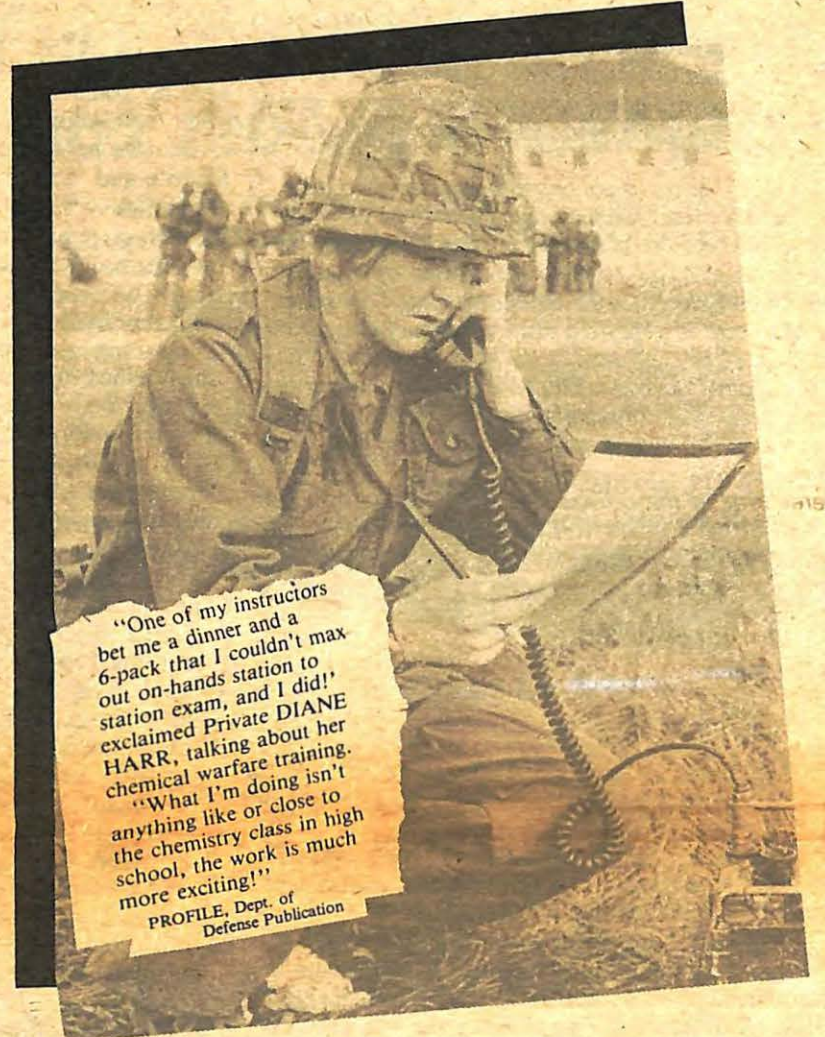
For those of you who weren't around in World War 1 or 2, the U.S. has had a lot of experience in offering its version of equal opportunity to women during wartime. In fact women have always had a chance to "do their bit" in one capacity or another every time the U.S. has mobilized for mass imperialist slaughter. Take World War 1—mothers offered up their sons and then were used in posters and ads to make poignant patriotic pleas for war funds to produce more bullets so even more sons could be killed.

Since it took the U.S. 4 years to win World War 2, a much more destructive war, women had a lot more to do that time around. They got their own hero-line for the times, Rosie the Riveter, who took her place on the assembly lines of the munitions plants. Some women even got a chance to enter the Marines—to "free a Marine to fight."



BE A MARINE...
Free a Marine to fight

U.S. MARINE CORPS WOMEN'S RESERVE



"One of my instructors bet me a dinner and a 6-pack that I couldn't max out on hands station to station exam, and I did!" exclaimed Private DIANE HARR, talking about her chemical warfare training. "What I'm doing isn't anything like or close to the chemistry class in high school, the work is much more exciting!"

PROFILE, Dept. of Defense Publication

Today once again women are getting an opportunity to do real battle—this time in a war on a grander scale than any we've ever seen. Chemical warfare, nukes, all the excitement of truly modern imperialist combat. A war like this requires millions of warm bodies, so women may even be "allowed" right on the front lines in World War 3. And even if they're not, there will still be a chance for some real action: According to

William Clark, the Army's acting Secretary for Manpower, "The whole battlefield—rear areas and all—are going to be extremely lethal in any next major war. Women will be killed, wounded and captured in the next war." Yes, women will have a ticket to authentic American soldierhood this time around—killing, maiming and dying for the greater glory of the U.S. empire.

For those of you who have had more of the bourgeoisie's "equal opportunity" than you can stomach—and are ready to seize the coming opportunity with women and men of the world to transform society through revolution—this is the future for you:

incite!
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Equal Opportunity



What to Do on Draft Registration Week...

On January 5, draft registration will resume. For the first week guys born in 1962 are supposed to register, followed by continuous registration required within 30 days of one's 18th birthday.

At least that's what the imperialists would like to see happen. Last summer, when the first phase of this major part of preparations for world war took place, it met widespread opposition, both in the form of organized demonstrations as well as large numbers refusing to register. This time, even though the press has hardly mentioned the registration, the growing moves toward war coming into focus throughout the world are sure to throw up yet more opposition to their plans.

This will be a crucial time for the RCYB and others to be taking out bundles of the key revolutionary weapons, the *Revolutionary Worker* and the RCY, to the registration lines and broadly throughout society, to expose the imperialists' war moves and spread the all-round conspiracy against them and the system that fosters them among many more awakening to political life.

It is also a time to get out 100's of copies of the "Pledge of Internationalism," with its uncompromising statement of standing with the working class and the masses of people worldwide in opposition to the imperialists who plan to hurl us against each other in the interests of their empires.

"Revolutionaries in the Making"

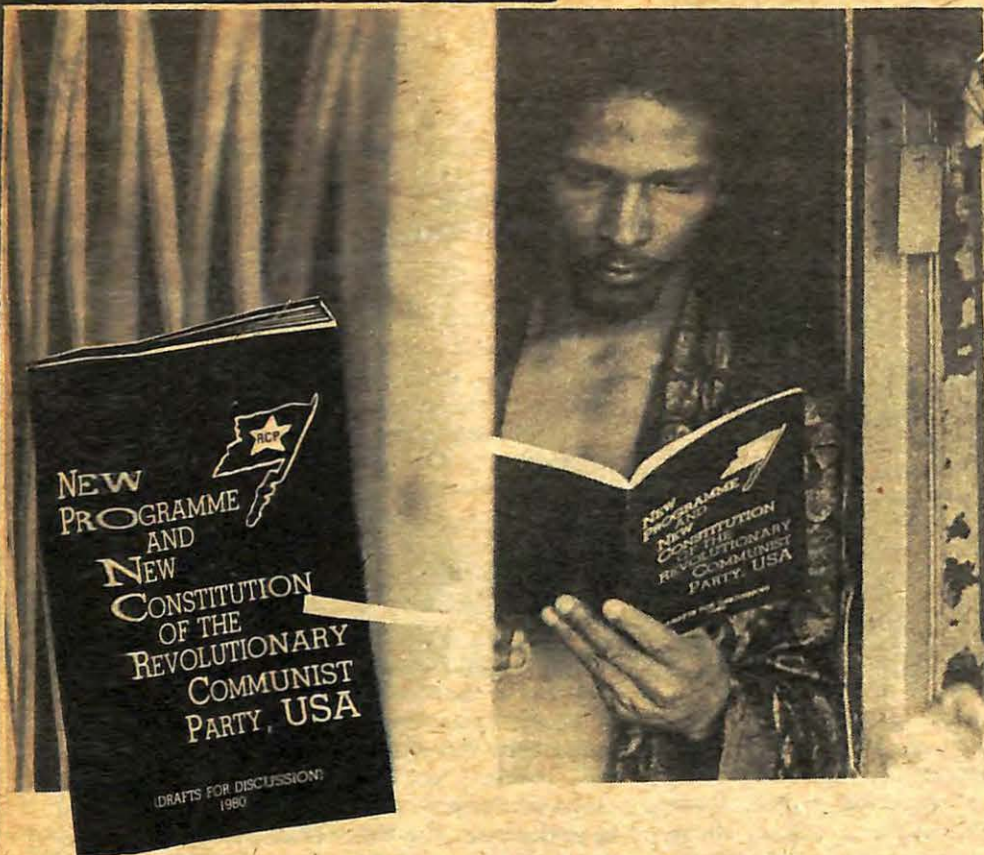
We received the following in the mail:

"I have a friend who is an art student at the University of Texas in Austin. He is an Iranian revolutionary internationalist who is very concerned about how to raise the class-consciousness of the American masses. A couple of weeks ago his art class was to present a showing of their sculpture. For several weeks he had been reading the *Revolutionary Worker* newspaper and trying to figure out how to get it into the hands of more people.

"So he built a bench. In front of the bench he placed a title card that read 'American Revolutionaries in the Making: 1980.' When the showing began he sat down on the bench with a book from his American history class entitled, of course, *American Revolutionaries in the Making*. Soon enough a student visiting the exhibit sat down next to him on the bench and asked what it meant, whereupon my friend pulled out a copy of the *Revolutionary Worker* and went on to discuss the possibility of revolution and the science of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought with the student, using the newspaper to guide the discussion.

"That's it! Long live proletarian internationalism!"

DARE TO GRAPPLE WITH THE BATTLE PLAN FOR REVOLUTION



In a situation which is developing as rapidly as today's, the actions taken by the advanced section of the proletariat are of decisive importance. They will in no small part determine how far along we are and whether we are able to break through all the way when the conditions fully ripen and the opportunity for revolution is there to seize. These moments, particularly in a country such as this, are rare in history and their outcome has a profound influence on history for years, even decades, to come. Those who do understand what is going on and choose not to act are contributing to the prolonging of this destructive and decadent rule of imperialism. This programme is a declaration of war, and at the same time a call to action and a battle plan for destroying the old and creating the new. It must be taken up. Today the words of Mao Tsetung ring out with full force:

**"Seize the Day,
Seize the Hour."**

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PLEDGE OF INTERNATIONALISM

—To the People of the World—

We will not shoot down the people of other lands in the service of those who rule the United States today. This we proudly and loudly pledge to the world's people at a time when the war preparations of the U.S. and Soviet imperialists are moving into high gear.

We see clearly that World War 3 is exactly what's on the agenda for these two superpowers, and that this is why draft registration is here and why the draft and bootcamp assignments won't be far behind.

We will never become star-scrambled American patriots—we are INTERNATIONALISTS!

We have no country; we just live here. We do not own the giant companies, the banks, the land in the U.S.—these all belong to the tiny class of U.S. imperialists who exercise their dictatorship of corporate empire over the vast majority of people living within the borders of the U.S.

We are one with the masses of people worldwide in battle against imperialism, headquartered today in the U.S. and USSR. We support all struggles against imperialism as our own because they are our own. We are not interested in the "treats" the U.S. imperialists offer us, their "own people," which come directly from their bloody domination of foreign markets and peoples.

We have no desire to "Keep America Number 1." We welcome each and every defeat the U.S. suffers. We laugh straight in the face of decrepit American Legionnaires who wheeze and pant as American choppers eat desert sand in Iran. "You must restore America to her rightful place in the world." We will never submit to pleas for "National Unity, especially in times of trouble." We will strike hardest precisely at these times.

We will not answer their hideous calls to attack the people, here or around the world. We will not be used to further their modern-day piracy by dropping their human-incinerator nukes from 60,000 feet, by occupying other lands so that "God's chosen rulers," the rulers of the U.S., can maintain and expand their power and control over vast sections of the world, by raping and robbing "the enemy" to help spread the American way of life, while the Wall Street bankers and Houston oil kings sit locked in velvet-lined bomb shelters, "so there will be somebody left to run things."

Their frantic war cries echo hollow in our ears: this

is the third time this century when imperialist powers have sought to rally their slaves behind national flags to tell other slaves of the "wrong flags." Our flag is red. It is the flag of the international working class, and of revolution. Those who raise the red flag are part of another army, the army made up of every nationality on every continent whose message is: the working people of the world have everything in common with each other, and nothing in common with the imperialists.

We will be inside and outside the imperialist military machine, men and women of all nationalities, hidden and yet everywhere. We, the prisoners of capitalist society, will seize the ever growing opportunities presented to us—because the imperialists will be stretched to the limits internationally—to influence and arouse millions to put an end to this periodic global genocide the only way possible: end the problem by ending the source.

War lays bare the essence of the system. All the ugly features of imperialism that lie hidden in "peaceful times" become blatantly clear in war. We pledge to use their war preparations and the war itself to help people wake up, to jolt people out of meek obedience or at least keeping-on-keeping-on.

We will be told to go off and fight Russian soldiers no different than ourselves, except that they have been bombarded with the poison of patriotism in Russian instead of English, and called on to carry out the crimes of their own ruling class. We will be told to put down rebellions, of people fighting to be free in this country, like the one recently in Miami. We will be told to clamp down on anyone who does not go along with the program, "USA All The Way." But, we will not shoot our brothers and sisters! When the overlord of industry put guns in soldiers' hands, we will teach the soldiers which way to aim these guns and when.

We don't agree that "All generations have to go to war for The Nation sooner or later," and that now it's our turn. We've got other plans in mind because our war is here at home.

We will shoulder the great responsibilities that we have in this country to deliver the final blows to U.S. imperialism, and by doing so lift a gigantic weight off the backs of oppressed people here and in every corner of the globe.

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Court on Child Custody

Unwed Mother—"Unfit" Wife-Murderer—"Good Dad"

In December 1979 the Illinois Supreme Court took three young children away from the custody of their mother, Jacqueline Jarrett (who had been given custody of them in an earlier divorce settlement), on the sole grounds that she was living with a man to whom she was not married. Such a situation, declared the black-robed mummies of Illinois' highest court, "was injurious to the moral well-being of the children."

Nine months later in another custody case, the same court decided it would *not* take a child away from the custody of his father, even though the father had just been convicted of murdering his wife (the child's mother) and sentenced to 60 years in prison.

What is it that the court has said if not that it's one thing for a man to be convicted of murdering his wife (that certainly won't harm the "moral well-being" of a child), but when a woman lives "out of wedlock" with a man—this is "immoral and unacceptable." And if murdering one's wife isn't all that bad, what about "merely" beating her? "No harm to the children's moral well-being," we can almost hear them intone, "why, they might even learn something about a woman's place."

The sudden concern of our rulers for the "moral well-being" of children would be touching were it not so transparently hypocritical and vile (what are the children of the masses of people to them anyhow but future slaves for their factories and future cannon fodder to be registered and drafted for coming wars?). It is about as touching as the recent passage of the Hyde Amendment cutting off federal funds for abortions, a move which will deny legal abortions to between 250,000 and 300,000 poor women a year. And it represents much

the same kind of attack.

The Hyde Amendment, and the capitalists' promotion of every reactionary dinosaur with vocal chords, make clear that this case is no aberration—no wierd discrepancy inconsistent with the rest of their system or where it's headed today. It is also no product of the bourgeois myth called "The Rise of the Right." It is completely in keeping with our rulers' need to intensify exploitative relations throughout society, and in particular here to give a "legal" green light to the oppression of women.

These cases, especially the Jarrett case which received considerably more publicity, and the transparent attack on women they announce, are sure to make a lot of people angry—as did the passage of the Hyde Amendment on a broader scale. This is even anticipated in the "dissenting" opinions to the cases, which protest not this rubber stamp for intensifying oppression but the overly exposing aspects of these particular decisions (one dissenting justice, for example, implies that the Jarrett decision might be OK if only it included a provision for a hearing to determine a woman's "fitness" to have custody of her children). This is like those who proclaim their opposition to the inequalities and oppression faced by women in this society only to turn around and preach that the "solution" is to fight for the equal right to be world war three cannon fodder.

Our rulers talk a lot these days about their intense and fervent belief in "equal rights." The workings of their system reveal what they actually have in store for the masses of women: yet more oppression, as well as a chance to die defending that oppression.

Chant your way off to war

1,2,3,4

5,6,7,8

**Don't ask why,
it's your fate**

1,2,3,4,
WHOOSH!
HUP,2,3,4,
ATTACK...IRAN!

EVERYWHERE WE GO
PEOPLE WANT TO KNOW—
WHO WE ARE,
WHERE WE COME FROM.
SO WE TELL THEM:
WE ARE (name of unit)
BADASS (name of unit)
TANK KILLIN' ASS-KICKIN'
RUSSIAN KILLIN' (name of unit)!

In "Today's Army" (or Navy, Marines, etc.), they'll teach you how to march, when to salute, how to use an M16, maybe how to fire a tank or launch a nuclear-tipped missile. And they also bust their butts trying to teach something else: how you're supposed to think. Forcing the "shitheads" (as GIs are contemptuously called by the officers or lifers) to march to chants like those above are a part of this imperialist indoctrination machine.

As a GI from a base in Kentucky told the RCY last December:

"They got these chants, singing things like '1,2,3,4, Send our battalion off to war,' shit like that, and to me, it's a serious thing. If you don't sing, while you're running, if you don't sing these things, sing chants like 'Kill communists, kill communists,' if you don't sing these things, they'll punish you....If you have a bad attitude toward the army and don't like the way the army is, they'll harass you more and make you do extra push-ups. Just harass you to try and brainwash you into believing that what they're saying is right, what they do is try to break you...."

In boot camp recruits are whisked away from the rest of society, "protected" from the "subversion" and "infection" of the outside world. And inside the Green Machine they turn on the indoctrination and intimidation to try to complete the process the rest of their society has already been trying to accomplish. "This is who the enemy" is. This is why you want to fight, kill, and crush him. This is why America is and should be number one, and fuck everyone else."

As our rulers face serious challenges from the masses of people worldwide (particularly now from the Iranian people) and the need to fight it out with their equally imperialist rivals who head up the Soviet Union, it's little wonder who their chants take aim at today. The point is to break the rebelliousness and resistance of the troops, teach blind obedience to orders, and promote the outlook of an imperialist army among its rank-and-file soldiers.

WHEN I GET TO HEAVEN
PETER'S GONNA SAY
HOW'D YOU GET TO HEAVEN?
HOW'D YOU EARN YOUR PAY?
AND I'LL REPLY WITH A LITTLE BIT OF ANGER
I EARNED MY PAY AS AN AIRBORNE RANGER!
BLOOD, GUTS, HELL AND DANGER
THAT'S WHAT IT TAKES TO BE AN AIRBORNE
RANGER!

C130 GOIN' DOWN THE STRIP
AIRBORNE DADDY GONNA TAKE
A LITTLE TRIP
STAND UP, BU LE UP, SHUFFLE
TO THE DOOR,
JUMP RIGHT OUT AND COUNT TO FOUR.

1,2,3,4,
IF MY MAIN DON'T OPEN WIDE
I'VE GOT ANOTHER ONE BY MY SIDE
IF THAT ONE DON'T OPEN TOO
LOOK OUT GROUND I'M COMIN' THROUGH!
1,2,3,4.

"Look out ground I'm comin' through"—It is this

sort of mindless bravado the imperialists would like to see their troops march into World War Three displaying. The "big and bad" imperialist army, invincible and undaunted, spitting in the face of death because of the pride in their "higher mission," to defend America from the foreign aggressors. All this chest-puffing covers over the question of just what the hell interest GIs have in defending the "American way" in the first place—but, then, that's why soldiers aren't supposed to think about such matters.

1,2,3,4,
1,2,3,4,
I WISH ALL THE LADIES
WERE PIES ON A SHELF
AND I WAS A BAKER
I'D EAT'EM ALL MYSELF.

I WISH ALL THE LADIES
WERE BRICKS IN A PILE
AND I WAS A MASON
I'D LAY THEM ALL IN STYLE.

I WISH ALL THE LADIES
WERE BLADES OF GRASS
AND I WAS A LAWNMOWER
I'D CUT ME A PIECE OF ASS.

Perhaps you're not supposed to think about these questions, but they do try to drill a stand into you to get you to identify with the bigtime exploiters and oppressors who run this society. Chauvinist shit such as this chant puts forward the basic capitalist outlook on human relations: exploitation, here of women by men. The capitalists have this "little"—and ultimately, insoluble—problem: the cannon fodder they must mobilize, arm and send off to do the fighting and dying in their war are not the children of the high and mighty but come from the masses of working people, from among the oppressed nationalities, and others—those who are ruled over by these same capitalists. In chants like these the idea is that all of us, whether worker or boss, shithead or lifer, share a common bond in the exploitation of women. An interesting exposure of the real nature of the "equality" and "equal rights" for women in the capitalist military about which we hear so much these days.

(CHORUS) VIETNAM
VIETNAM
LATE AT NIGHT
WHEN YOU'RE SLEEPING
CHARLIE CONG COMES
A'CREEPING.

YOU'RE SITTING IN YOUR FOXHOLE
THINKING ABOUT YOUR WIFE
HERE COMES CHARLIE
HE'S TRYING TO TAKE YOUR LIFE.
(CHORUS)

YOU'RE SITTING IN YOUR FOXHOLE
THINKING ABOUT YOUR SON
WISHING YOU WERE WITH HIM
INSTEAD OF YOUR GUN.

Ask
a Marine

YOU'RE WALKING THROUGH THE JUNGLE
YOUR SHIRT IS FULL OF BLOOD
YOUR BOOTS ARE GETTING HEAVY
BECAUSE THEY'RE CAKED WITH MUD.
(CHORUS)

YOU'RE WALKING THROUGH THE JUNGLE
YOU STOP TO HELP A FRIEND
YOU WONDER IF THIS WAR
WILL EVER END.
(CHORUS)

Exactly because of the problems the imperialists face—and will increasingly face—as they prepare to send millions of GIs across the globe against the Soviets in a war of unprecedented death and destruction, they are also forced to speak to some big questions and holes in their fabric. One of these, still a gaping chasm and all the more serious for them as war approaches, is how to sum up the last war—Vietnam.

The Vietnam war was a wrenching experience for hundreds of thousands of GIs—many saw the reality of an imperialist war, in particular a war to maintain a U.S. colony against a popular struggle for national liberation, and many had their ideas and understanding changed in significant ways. Here's how one GI summed up what happened to him in Vietnam (from an interview in the *Revolutionary Worker*, July 18, 1980):

"...when I got to Vietnam, of course, my whole outlook changed....I was living it every day, and I came to understand the Vietnamese struggle through my experiences....that the Vietnamese people, from the tiniest little baby to the oldest Vietnamese workers and peasants were involved in the liberation struggle. And it was a righteous struggle. People who were fighting the war and were in the bush could see that. And it takes the heart right out of a fighter who's supposed to oppress people when he starts sympathizing with the people that he's supposed to be oppressing...."

These sentiments, along with widespread opposition to the imperialists' war throughout U.S. society, are something even the military must acknowledge and deal with. They cannot claim the war was a noble venture, period. Particularly they cannot act as if everyone here loved and supported it. So instead we get a line (reflected in this chant) that runs something like: "It was necessary but it was also hell."

During the Vietnam war the imperialists experienced something which struck fear into their guts: the large-scale disintegration of their armed forces in a war to defend a part of their far-flung empire. Entire units refused to go into combat, tens of thousands of GIs made their own peace with "the enemy," and many vets

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USSR READIES TO INVADE POLAND AS U.S. BELLOWS WAR CHANTS

As events in Poland continued to sharpen in December, the big question on everyone's mind was—and is—Will the Soviets invade or not?

All of the military preparations were made for the Soviets and their Warsaw Pact allies to exercise the option of an all-out invasion. As the U.S. press loudly advertised, Soviet divisions in the western USSR were brought to full strength and put on a war footing with reservists being summoned for six weeks service rather than the three weeks customary for routine maneuvers. Soviet medical teams arrived to join these units, and Russian road survey crews were reportedly spotted mapping out the Soviet-Polish border area.

The Soviets announced that they might move 80,000 troops through Poland from Czechoslovakia to East Germany—a maneuver that would triple the number of Soviet forces already stationed in Poland, and which could provide a formidable initial occupation force, or at least an intimidating show of military might while the Polish government unleashes its own crackdown on the masses. All in all, with dozens of Soviet divisions geared up on its western borders, along with four Soviet divisions stationed in Hungary, five in Czechoslovakia, and nineteen more in East Germany, Poland is surrounded with roughly half a million Soviet social-imperialist troops.

At the same time, the U.S. imperialists were up to a considerable amount of sabre-rattling themselves. Four U.S. Airborne warning and control planes (AWACS) "requested" by NATO were rushed to Ramstein Airforce Base in West Germany, where they will fly continuously along the German border to provide early detection of any Soviet moves. The NATO Atlantic fleet was

kept at sea over Christmas. And Secretary of State Muskie flew to Brussels for a meeting of the NATO Council of Ministers where he told reporters: "Poland is 200 miles from NATO territory. NATO is created to defend the territory, and there is the possibility of the use of force. NATO cannot be insensitive to the use of military force. NATO cannot prudently ignore the use of force." Defense Secretary Brown blustered that if Poland were invaded, "The seriousness of the consequences should be understood by the Soviets."

While all this was more than mere bluster on the part of the U.S. imperialists, it was mainly intended to indicate to the Soviets that while the U.S. rulers may not be able to stop a Soviet invasion now, they are not about to sit back passively while *their own* influence in Poland is challenged. While the U.S. has openly complained that there is little they can do militarily to counter such an invasion without provoking World War 3—something they are not quite ready for just yet—nevertheless they are milking the "threat of Soviet aggression" for all it is worth.

In particular the U.S. imperialists are using the situation to pull their Western European allies more tightly into line. The NATO meeting, which produced many promises and threats of sanctions against the Soviets should they go ahead and invade, was most notable for its show of political unity by the U.S. imperialist allies around the fact that, when push comes to shove, their basic interests lie within the confines of the U.S. war bloc.

These moves took place in the wake of a Warsaw Pact meeting called by the Soviet rulers in Moscow. At that meeting the revisionist rulers of all the Pact countries expressed confidence in their fellow



Polish strikes last summer.

revisionists who head the Polish Communist Party. While this was widely hailed as a "reprieve" for the Polish government and a sign no invasion would occur, the Soviets followed it up with ominous-sounding reports condemning the independent unions which have sprung up and obtained wide membership all around the country, asserting that "counter-revolutionary groups, operating under the cover of branches of the 'Solidarity' union, have turned to open confrontation" with the Communist Party and factory management.

Of course, the Soviet rulers are experts in spotting "counter-revolutionary elements," since they take the cake, having seized power from the Soviet working class in the 1950s and converted the once-socialist USSR into one of the world's two imperialist superpowers. There is absolutely nothing Communist about the "Communist Party" of the USSR, or the ruling revisionist parties of any of its Eastern European war bloc.

But what they are complaining about here when they speak of "anti-socialist" activity is on the one hand the struggle of the Polish people themselves, and on the other hand activity of pro-U.S. forces within that movement. The struggle of Poland's working class has already forced the reorganization of the government and Party leadership and the granting of widespread concessions, especially official sanction to independent labor unions. And this movement, which took roots among the shipyard workers of the north and the coal miners of southern Poland, continued to draw into motion wide-ranging strata of Polish society, much to the alarm of the Soviets. Most recently there have been broad efforts to organize a union among Poland's millions of small farmers, a move which could seriously aggravate the economic crisis and food shortages facing the country should the government decide to oppose these growing efforts.

At the same time, it is also true that there is considerable pro-U.S. political activity in Poland by leaders of Solidarity and the intellectual dissidents who are riding the continuing anti-Soviet ferment among the masses. Solidarity leader Lech Walesa makes few bones about being openly pro-U.S., recently heaping

lavish praise on Ronald Reagan as a "strong leader" and declaring his election to be a good sign for the Polish people.

In this situation the Soviets face a dilemma—a situation in which their growing necessity to invade and crush the struggle of the Polish people must be carefully evaluated against powerful factors which could make such an invasion an unmitigated political disaster. If they don't invade, they are faced with a situation in Poland which is spinning out of their control and which is bound to have far-reaching repercussions among the peoples of other Eastern European bloc countries. Already the Romanian government had to say it was opposed to "outside intervention" in Poland.

On the other hand, if the Soviets *do* invade, they are well aware that they will not be able to suppress the Poles in a few hours or even days (as they were able to suppress the resistance of the Czech people when they invaded that country in 1968). If the Russians march in, they would face resistance by sections of the masses and even the Polish army.

Today's situation has some similarities to Czechoslovakia in 1968. At that time the Soviets also said the threat of "counter-revolutionary forces" and "subversive activities by anti-socialist forces" necessitated their intervention. (Actually the Czech Communist Party at that time had initiated a campaign of "liberalization," which was actually a code word for an opening to the U.S. bloc, and the Soviets moved in to prevent this slide toward their rivals.) Also, a similar conference expressing "confidence" in the Czech party was held shortly before the invasion, two weeks before Soviet commandos dressed as diplomats seized the Prague airport and directed in hundreds of Soviet transport planes loaded with troops and heavy equipment.

But what is more significant are the differences between Czechoslovakia in 1968 and Poland in 1980. In 1968 the U.S. imperialists, themselves bogged down in a war of aggression in Vietnam, were less in a position to blast the Soviets as they prepared to move in to

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We received this letter recently:

Friends, Comrades, or whatever's polite,

When it's handy at demo's and corners, I buy and read "Revolutionary Communist Youth." Used to hang out with the R.S.B. (Revolutionary Student Brigade, student group of the RCP until 1977, when it joined in forming the RCYB—RCY) and am still active. Really like your t-shirts.

I work in a factory that makes iron-ons. My job is making the ink. Have learned fluorescent, glow in the dark, reflective, and scratch and sniff. As an employee I might get a discount. As an inside worker, I could give you meticulous service and special effects if desired. The deal is: I get a free one for my efforts. I work for minimum wage and am sick of seeing t-shirts with pictures of beer and Charlie's angels. Want to see more revolutionary awareness on people's chest.

Send me a list of shirts, buttons, and whatever. They make great gifts. Thanks. Will send many more details to you if you're interested.

Flippie?
W.S.

**An RCYB
T-shirt**

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\$6.00 each

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RCYB
PO Box A3836
Chicago, IL 60690



THE SONG OF OUR



Demonstration against Deng Xiaoping April 1976, six months before the revisionist coup.

The following poem was written collectively by a group of students at Peking University in 1974. The students were among millions of Chinese youth who answered the call put out by Mao Tsetung, "Young people with education go to the countryside." In the countryside, the youth worked side-by-side with Chinese peasants, learning from them, and helping to develop the revolution, politically and economically, throughout China. Youth going to the countryside was one of the tradition-breaking changes brought about by the Cultural Revolution in China beginning in the mid-1960s. From the start, this revolutionary "socialist new thing" was attacked and ridiculed by the revisionists in China, who said that the job of these revolutionary youth was to look out only for themselves and to study, study, and study some more—to become hot-shot intellectuals and scientists, and the revolution and the masses be damned. It is no accident that these same revisionists, who today have overthrown the dictatorship of the proletariat in China and are ruling the roost, have completely reversed the gains made in the revolution in education, including mobilizing and unleashing youth to go out to the countryside. The poem originally appeared in *Chinese Literature*, May 1976, only five months before the revisionist coup. The footnotes are from *Chinese Literature*.

Red sun,
White snow,
Blue skies...
Wild geese, on the wings of the east wind,
Come heralding the spring.
Leaving Peking where the sun rises,
We fly to Pagoda Hill¹
And plant our feet on the banks of the Yenho River.

O welcome, welcome, new comrades
Coming to join our shock team.
We welcome you as new members of our commune!
Please drink:
Taste some steaming millet wine
—Fermented in Yen'an
By the passion of the people there.
Please eat:
Try these bright red dates

1. Pagoda Hill lies east of Yen'an in the northern part of Shensi Province. It was where the central organizations of the Chinese Communist Party remained from 1937 to 1947. The Yenho River flows through the town.

—Dates of northern Shensi
Sweet as honey.
With white towel head-dress,
Red arm-bands
—On these plateaux
A new patch of red lilies bloom...

O new comrades!
You ask me:
"What are the ideals of revolutionary youth?
How to interpret them,
How to carry them out?"
—This is indeed
A very serious test-paper!

With the lilt of the sona, the quick tattoo
of waist drums,
A Shensi folk-song soars to the clouds.
Setting the turbulent pulse
Of my heart all aquiver...
Let me tell you how revolutionary ideals
Guided me, helped me to follow
The broad road leading ahead
And how they spurred me on
To take great strides into an iridescent
tomorrow...

1

When I opened my eyes
For the first time,
Our motherland
Was bathed in the rosy light of dawn.²
My first steps
Were taken
On the deck of our red vessel
While, rushing towards us,
Great foam-capped waves came rolling
As our speeding vessel plied its course.
My aunties told me
The hopes of contract labourers.³
My uncles showed me
The red-tasselled spears of the Children's Corps.

2. Referring to the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949.

3. In old China, contract labourers, mostly young girls and women sold into bondage by their starving families, worked in textile mills under inhuman conditions. They were exploited by both capitalists and contractors, had no personal freedom and were virtually slaves.

"Hurry and grow up!
Awaiting you
Is yet another great revolution."
Someone also sent me
A white dove,
Saying that it symbolized
Perpetual peace.
"How fortunate you are!
You'll never see, nor ever know.
The fierce clash of class struggle..."
—So many pictures, such a wide panorama
Unfolded before my eyes,
Which one of them
Presented the best prospect?
So I hoisted aloft
The sails of my ideals
And the winds from all sides
Filled them, till they billowed.
The flames of the Big Leap Forward⁴
Destroyed the illusions of the Rightists;⁵
To that fiery furnace I also contributed
Scrap iron and little nails.
When my uncles were writing criticisms
And plunging into the struggle on Lushan⁶
I helped them to grind the ink
Making it good and black....
Though I wasn't born in the
Flaming years of war
All around me hurricanes
And tempests still raged!
Gazing at
The Red Army's⁷ blood-stained straw sandals
I stroked
The bullet holes in an armyman's cap.
I knew quite well that

4. Referring to the new upsurge in China's socialist economic construction in 1958.

5. Referring to the bourgeois Rightists who in 1957 opposed Communist Party leadership and our socialist system.

6. An enlarged meeting of the Central Political Bureau and the Eighth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party were convened in 1959 at Lushan in Kiangsi Province. There, the anti-Party reactionary Peng Teh-huai launched an attack on the Party and opposed the three red banners of the Big Leap Forward, the People's Commune and the General Line of going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better, and more economical results in building socialism. Peng Teh-huai's attack was severely criticized during the struggle in Lushan.

7. The Red Army was the precursor of the Chinese People's Liberation Army.

IDEALS



The trail blazed
By our revolutionary forbears
Was paved with their life's blood.
From the *Diary of Lei Feng*⁸
Reading between the lines,
Listening over the radio
To articles on the great polemics,⁹
I came to understand
That to consolidate our state power
A still more magnificent Long March
Was underway.
Watching keenly, our forbears
Seemed to ask me:
"Our ideals
Will they be realized?
Our unfinished tasks
Who will carry them out?"

Another seven or eight years passed,
Another eight years or so!
Then came the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution,¹⁰
A peal of thunder that shook the world.
The Ninth Great Struggle,
And the Tenth Great Struggle.
Already tall as my father and big brother,
I stood in the ranks
Of the great revolutionary contingents—
Do you still remember?
*Bombard the Headquarters*¹¹
A dynamic declaration full of lightning
And thunder.
Do you remember?
The countless pens wielded by Chairman Mao's
Red Guards
Slashing through all that was old
and decadent?

8. Lei Feng was a soldier in the Chinese People's Liberation Army who displayed a noble communist spirit. After his death in an accident while on duty, part of his diary was published under the title *Diary of Lei Feng*.

9. Referring to the nine articles published by the Chinese Communist Party in 1963 and 1964 criticizing the Soviet modern revisionist clique.

10. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution launched personally by Chairman Mao in 1966 shattered the two bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-chi and Lin Biao. The two struggles against these two bourgeois headquarters constituted the ninth and tenth major struggles between the two lines in the history of the Chinese Communist Party.

11. This is the title of a big-character poster written by Chairman Mao himself on August 5, 1966 exposing and criticizing the bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-chi.

And the proposals to sweep away the "four olds"¹²
That we posted all over the city
Overnight!
The footprints of those on long marches¹³
Reached into every corner of our country
Scattering Peking's seeds of fire.
An unforgettable date, August 18,¹⁴
Our bright red arm-bands
Were dyed with the brilliance
Of our red sun.
"We support you!"¹⁵
— That mighty voice
Stirred deep emotions,
Gave us support by saying,
"It is right to rebel against reactionaries."¹⁶
Gave us support
To strive our whole life long
"For the liberation of all mankind."¹⁷
When Chairman Mao waves his hand
I advance!
In the tempests' wild clamour
How many stormy petrels soar to the heights!
Though churning counter-currents would impede,
The great river rolls on eastward, undeterred.
Monkeys on the banks may cry out in anguish,
Our revolutionary vessel has passed a myriad
hills.

Raging tempests
Sweep away all dark clouds such as,
"Restrain oneself and return to the rites."¹⁸
Angry denunciations proclaim
The death sentence
Of the revisionist line in education!
What gibberish is this: "Unable to make a name,
He died of depression?"
"Ah, fly on, future scientist,
Mighty eaglet..."
An offspring of tenant peasants
Ashamed to own his parents,
The son of a collier
Refusing to work in the pit.
This is what's called
Peaceful transition
— The invisible poison of old influences.
This is indeed
Class struggle
— A battle to the death;
In the storm of January¹⁹
I came to a Shanghai port,
Where a worker in a shipyard
Told me how,
As hot tears of happiness filled his eyes,
He had helped to launch
Our country's first ten-thousand-ton ship.
On the route of our long march,
I arrived at the Red Flag Canal!²⁰
The poor and lower-middle peasants there
Brought out to show me
A steel spike they'd used to transform the land,
It had been worn down from a metre
To just three inches....
The mighty pens that depict our ideals
Must always express
The deepest class feelings;
Only by integrating with workers and peasants
Can we make progress
Along the only road leading
To our revolutionary ideals!...

12. The "four olds" are old ideas, culture, customs, and habits. In the early days of the Cultural Revolution, the Red Guards launched a campaign of criticism of these "four olds" in order to sweep them away.

13. In the early days of the Cultural Revolution, Red Guards and members of other revolutionary mass organizations went on long marches to various parts of the country to visit and support each other and spur on the development of the revolution.

14. On August 18, 1966 Chairman Mao received hundreds of thousands of Red Guards and representatives of the revolutionary masses at Tien An Men Square in Peking.

15,16,17. These words are quoted from the letter Chairman Mao wrote to the Red Guards of the middle school attached to Tsinghua University.

18,26,36. Confucius (551-479 B.C.), founder of the reactionary Confucian school, was the spokesman of the declining slave-owning class. "Benevolence" is the basic theme of the Confucian school of thought. Confucius said, "Those with benevolence love men." In actual fact he loved only the slave-owning class. "Rites" refer to the whole system and conventions of the slave-owning class during the Western Chou Period (c. 11th century-770 B.C.). By talking about returning to the rites Confucius was advocating retrogression and restoration of the slave system.

19. Refers to the struggle of the proletarian revolutionaries in Shanghai in January 1967 during which they seized power from the capitalist-roaders.

20. The Red Flag Canal in Linhsien County, Honan Province embodies a series of canals and irrigation channels in the Taihang Mountains. This canal with a total length of 1,500 kilometres took the Linhsien people ten years (1960-69) of hard work to complete. By bringing water in from the Changho River in Shansi Province, this extensive irrigation system has fundamentally changed the county which now no longer suffers from water shortage.

"Young people with education
go to the countryside...."²¹

Chairman Mao issued
This command to advance
As the waters of a hundred streams converge
And ten thousand steeds gallop.
To sign a pledge of determination,
They waited in queues
Stretching into the far distance.
Outside the reception stations,
Young students gathered
Waiting to set off.
Invincible young shoots
Have sprouted in these
Red fiery years!
On the eve of departure
From dear Peking
I and my comrades-in-arms
Arrived at the gates of Chungnanhai.²²
We gazed from afar
At the light shining through the night,
Listened to the water
Softly lapping on the shore.
With our writing brushes we pledged:
"We're going to the countryside
To make a thorough-going revolution."
Each word so large it covered
Eight whole sheets of paper.
We spent the hours writing
From dusk till dawn
For we wanted our beloved
Chairman Mao to see from his windows,
In the glow of the rosy morning clouds,
Our pledge of determination,
And smile with satisfaction.

2

Rows of cave dwellings,
Terraced field upon terraced field,
A thousand li of high plateau,
Thousands of acres of levelled land.
Close to our hearts, we kept
Chairman Mao's letter to us Red Guards,
We went from Peking
To Yen-an.
Here lies the soil
Where the seed of our ideals can strike root.
This is our base
Where we'll struggle against heaven and earth.

The morning gong
Calling us to work
Strikes the first note
In the song of our ideals.
The blazing prairie fire
Has coloured red
The first lines
Of the lyric proclaiming our ideals.

Pickaxes
Broke bleeding blisters on our palms.
Prickly brambles
Tore our faded jackets of students' blue.
Hoeing,
Auntie taught me to distinguish weeds from
useful plants.
Winnowing,
Uncle taught me how to catch the wind.
In the course of our advance,
Every single step
Was gained through struggle
Through all this we were supported
By our class kin close beside us.

On a night of raging blizzard,
My blunt old pick
Suddenly disappeared.
Following footprints I reached the end of the village
Where, from the mouth of a cave,
A red hot furnace glowed.
My old pick was being reinforced with steel.
An "Old Eighth Router" sat by the bellows,
His cheeks rosy under a thatch
of frost-white hair,
An old model worker
In the big production drive at Nanniwan,

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21. In 1968 Chairman Mao issued the call: It is highly necessary for young people with education to go to the countryside to be re-educated by the poor and lower-middle peasants.

22. Chairman Mao lives at Chungnanhai in Peking.

23. The Eighth Route Army was part of the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army and so called during the War of Resistance Against Japan (1937-1945). The soldiers of this period were lovingly called "Old Eighth Routers" by the people. Later some of them went back to their own villages to take part in the building of a new socialist countryside.

24,28. During the difficult years of the War of Resistance Against Japan the soldiers of the 359th Brigade of the Eighth Route Army responded to Chairman Mao's call to launch a production campaign. They reclaimed waste land in Nanniwan, southeast of Yen-an, and succeeded by their own efforts in producing ample food and clothing.



Mao receiving Red Guard armband in Cultural Revolution.

Continued from p.13

A hero in the defence
Of Sanggamryong!
He'd placed all his demob pay
In the funds of the brigade, resisting firmly
Any return to individual farming.
Sledge-hammer in his hand
He'd forged the countless tools
Needed to conquer rugged hills
and turbulent waters.
As the hammer rang, it reinforced
The song of our ideals
With the cadence of continued revolution.
The fire in the furnace
Tempered every single note
In the song of our ideals.

In those days when we'd just set up
Our hydroelectric station
I went to an old member of the
"Women's Association"
—Mother of a revolutionary martyr and asked,
"Shall I fix up an electric light in your cave?
It'll make mending and sewing so much easier!"
The old woman smiled, but shook her head:
"Better set up a local broadcasting system first,
Fix up a line
Across these mountains and the plain
So that everyone can hear
The voice from Peking;
Let Chairman Mao's thinking
Light up the hearts
In thousands of households!"
Such simple language, my class kinswoman used,
Devoid of all sophistication.
But her words
Helped me to take my bearings
And realign the orientation of my ideals.
Opening the book of minutes
Kept by our brigade committee, I wrote in it,
"Never forget class struggle."²⁵
Striking out that big "Benevolence"²⁶
In the Confucian Temple,
We worked on an exhibition
Criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius.²⁷
Under starlight
We inspected the reservoir, lantern in hand,

25. When the armies of the U.S. imperialists invaded the Korean Democratic People's Republic in 1950 the Chinese People's Volunteers went to Korea to fight shoulder to shoulder with the Korean People's Army. At the battle of Sanggamryong, the Chinese People's Volunteers fought with great valour and smashed the enemy's autumn offensive.

26. See 18.

27. Referring to the political and ideological struggle in the superstructure launched by Chairman Mao in 1974 to uphold Marxism and oppose revisionism, to uphold the proletariat and oppose the bourgeoisie. Confucius' reactionary teaching, the essence of which was retrogression and restoration, was the main ideological base of Lin Piao's counter-revolutionary revisionist line.

To gauge the weather
Distinguish friend from foe
And gain discernment in class struggle.
At the cross-roads
We stopped the cart deserting the land
for profit.
Bucking the wind,
Adhering to the correct line
We continued to forge ourselves into
The finest steel.

Donning my first pair of Shensi shoes,
I and my dear ones
Followed the plough ourselves,
And climbed high mountains.
To thoroughly turn the earth,
We raise high overhead
The pickaxe wielded by the 359th Brigade.²⁸
Clearing up accounts,
My fingers rattled the same abacus
Used during the re-examination
Of the agrarian reform.²⁹
At harvet time, dripping with sweat
I sharpened my sickle
Until its blade shone like silver.
Learning from Tachai,³⁰ we welcomed

28. See 24.

29. Agrarian reform against feudal landownership was carried out in Yen'an around 1946 and a re-examination of the work was carried out immediately afterwards.

30. The Tachai Brigade in Hsiyang County, Shansi Province, is the red banner leading agriculture in our country.

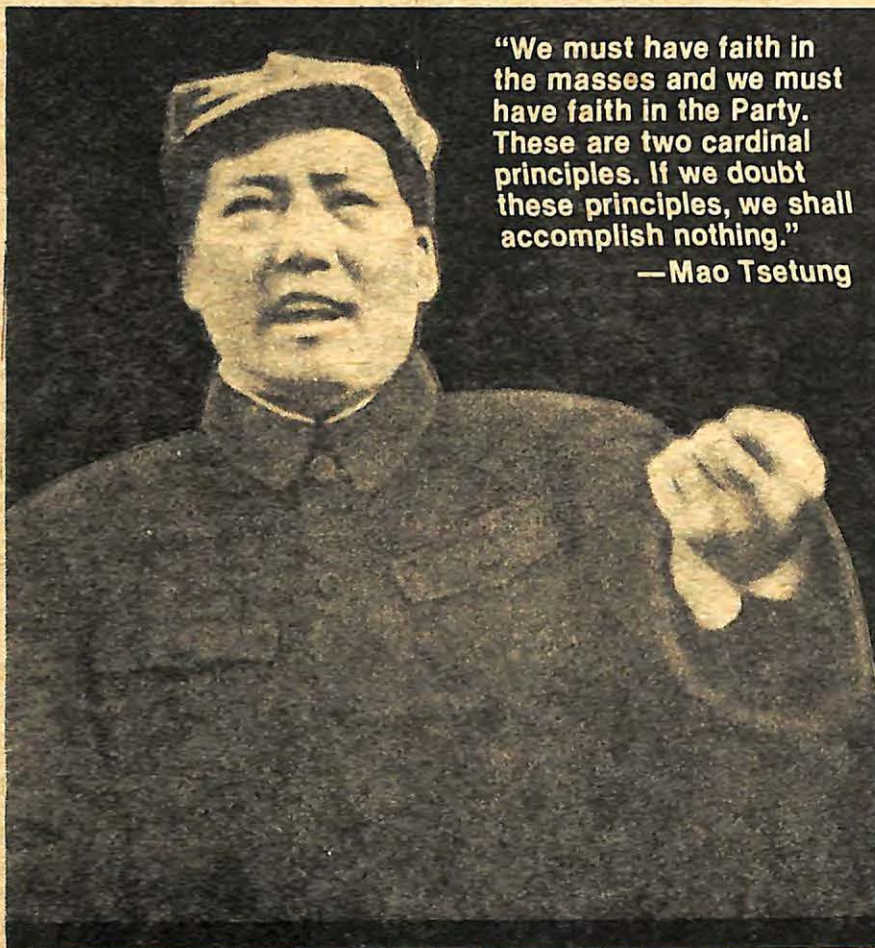
Yet another golden autumn;
Then braving whirling snowflakes,
Set off continuous blasts levelling
Hills into plains,
So beginning our battle
To cross the Yangtse.³¹

Happiness crystallized from hardships endured
Along the path of former trail-blazers,
Victory heralding
Even more severe trials.
It was here under Pagoda Hill
By the banks of the Yenho River
Slowly I came to realize
There never could be any poetry
In individualistic ideals.
The ideals of revolutionary youth
Must be fashioned by the whole proletariat
Calling on millions upon millions
To participate!
Our beautiful reality
And glorious ideals
Are tightly joined
By the red line of revolutionary struggle.
What joy it is
To struggle with heaven
With earth
And with man!
Thus we followed the directive to integrate
With workers and peasants,
We rushed into battle
Knowing no return!

Who says our life
"Is dull and prosaic,"
In working for our cause
We find infinite beauty.
Who says, "The countryside's too backward,
Too difficult to change!"
**Nothing is hard in this world
If you dare to scale the heights.**³²
The rural areas
Need me,
I need the countryside
Even more.
In the expectations of the poor and lower-
middle peasants
I've discovered my own aspirations,
To realize the ideals of the proletariat
I'd gladly stay on this glorious Shensi plateau
To welcome ten years or even decades
Of militant springtimes.
Dear comrades-in-arms,
My new work-mates!
It was then,
Only then I was able
To start and write an answer
To that serious test-paper:
"What are the ideals
Of revolutionary youth?"

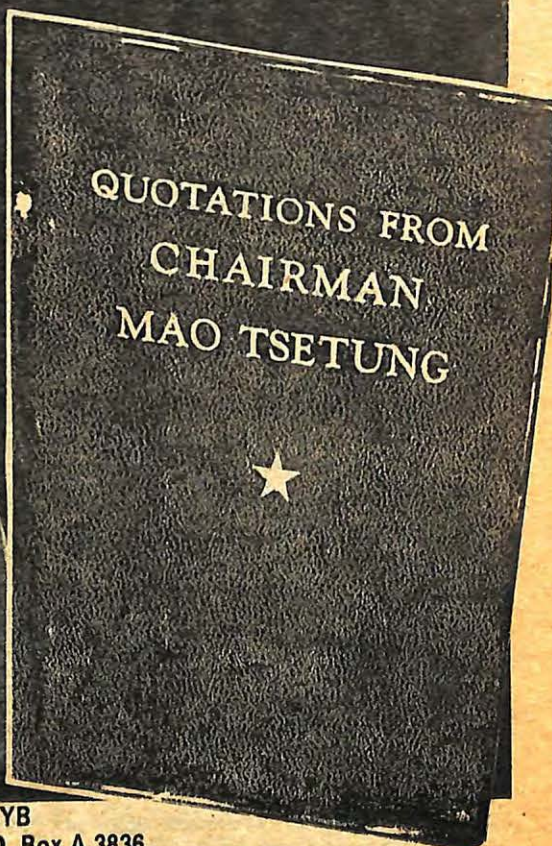
31. A programme for the development of agriculture was issued by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party in 1956. It stipulated that in the twelve years between 1956-1967, the average grain production per *mu* in areas north of the Yellow River was to be increased to 400 catties. In areas south of the Huai River, including the Yangtse River Valley it was to be 800 catties per *mu*. To cross the Yangtse meant to catch up and surpass this last target.

32. These two lines come from Chairman Mao's poem *Reascending Ching Kangshan*—to the tune of *Shui Tiao Keh Tou*. See *Chinese Literature* No. 4, 1976.



"We must have faith in
the masses and we must
have faith in the Party.
These are two cardinal
principles. If we doubt
these principles, we shall
accomplish nothing."

—Mao Tsetung



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However, the implementation of our ideals
Is by no means calm and tranquil.
Not all rich and fertile mountains
Are covered by walnut and apple trees.
Frauds will pretend to be in tune
And full of sympathy.
Landlords and rich peasants
Will flatter under the guise of their "concern"
Vessels that dare not hoist sail
May be grounded on a sandy shoal.
Swallows hovering under the eaves
May get their wings smudged with soot.
Some will hide in dark corners
To fling poisonous darts:
"Labour reform in disguise."³³
Others travelling along the wrong road
Will peddle such arsenic as:
"Those with brains will rule."³⁴
What's all this talk of "Life",
"Youth", "the Future" and "Ideals"?
How often ugly individualism
Beautifies itself in these
Alluring terms.
From Siberia also
A cold wind came:
The clamour of the new Tsar.
On the question of "ideals"
The revisionists too
Are raising a hullabaloo.
They say, "Chinese youth have no ideals."
—What a hypocritical mask they wear
To cover up their sinister motives.

You're the ones who've turned back
From the road of the October Revolution,
It's you who have sold out
The Bolsheviks!
Your so-called "Ideals"
Of what poor stuff are they?
Nothing but intoxication and stupor
From guzzling vodka,

...
Before the brilliance of proletarian fighters
You're no more than the flicker of a fire-fly.
You with your ladder of exploitation,
How can you ever reach
The heights and see our vista.
You with your imperialist yardstick,
How can you ever measure
The breadth of our vision.
Though our fighting post
Lies in this tiny village
The mountains and rivers of our motherland
Are always kept in mind.
The thin cobwebs of Confucian morality³⁵
Can never screen from us the radiance
Of the Manifesto of the Communist Party.
We expose our broad chests
To the winds from the Five Continents,
As we tramp along the road
Of integration with workers and peasants,
We'll shatter to bits
The idle millet dreams³⁶
Of you sparrows³⁷ in the bush.

—Horses' hooves pierce icy streams,
Lasso poles catch wolves.
"My youth belongs to the people,
I pledge my treasured youth to them."³⁸
—There was our Chang Yung
Who gave her life
To save the commune's flock of sheep.
Her spirit hovers over the waves of Shuangho
Her noble song shook the northern border.
"As long as there's still breath in me,
I'll work with might and main.
I dedicate my life to Chairman Mao."³⁹

33. These references are to the counter-revolutionary views spread by Lin Piao and his gang in preparation for the restoration of capitalism. He slandered young people going to the countryside to be re-educated by the poor and lower-middle peasants, saying this was really labour reform in disguise.

34. Quoted from Mencius, a spokesman for Confucianism and the slave-owning class. The complete statement is "Those using their brains will rule; those using their labour will be ruled." This is typical of the ideas and political thinking of the reactionary ruling class.

35. See 18.

36. An allusion from *The Tale of the Pillow*, a romance of the Tang Dynasty (A.D. 618-907). The story is about a scholar travelling by road to Hantan. When he stopped at an inn one evening, the innkeeper gave him a pillow telling him that when he put his head on it he would get his heart's desire. The scholar dreamed of living a lifetime of great wealth and honour. When he awoke, he discovered that a pot of millet the innkeeper was cooking was still bubbling on the stove.

37. In his poem *Two Birds: A Dialogue*—to the tune of *Nien Nu Chiao* Chairman Mao compared modern revisionists to sparrows in the bush.

38, 39. These were the words of Chang Yung and Chin Hsun-hua, both young school graduates who, during the Cultural Revolution, responded to Chairman Mao's call and settled down in the countryside. They both gave their lives for the country, one fighting to save the commune's flock and the other to protect public property from damage.



Educated youth who answered Mao's call to go to the countryside and learn from the peasants.

There was our Chin Hsun-hua,
A noble eagle,
Soaring through the clouds!
"Come follow us!"
—Our heroes are calling.
"We're coming!" we answer,
—Our voices reverberate
Throughout the southern ranges,
North of the pass,
On off-shore islands and along distant frontiers.
Thousands like Chin Hsun-hua and Chang Yung
Have joined the battle,
Thousands of young heroes
Are maturing.
Ah—
In the vast countryside,
So much can be achieved.
A few swindlers
Can never negate these hard facts!
It is written on our great earth
And in the sky.
It's all written into the chronicle
Of our magnificent age
And written too into the ardent hearts
Of hundreds of millions of young people.
This is a great movement of rebellion
In the history of our times,
This is a battle against revisionism
That will shake the whole world.
Let the torch blaze ever brighter,
Beat the battle drums with greater force.
We are declaring war
On the old world!
On imperialism, revisionism and all reaction!
We shall break through
The snares of bourgeois rights,⁴⁰

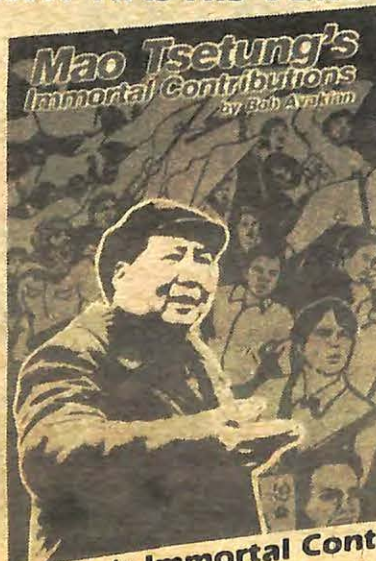
40. The essence of bourgeois rights—the legal expression of capitalist relations of production—is to protect the system of exploitation and social hierarchy of the bourgeoisie so that camouflaged by the slogan "equality" a system of inequality still persists. As vestiges of the old society remain during the historical period of socialism, bourgeois rights are still to be found in the economic sphere in our method of distribution—to each according to his work—and in our wage and commodity systems. These should be restricted under proletarian dictatorship.

We shall destroy
The prison walls of traditional ideas.
Just look at us,
Eight hundred million with banners flying,
Listen!
Wind and thunder reverberate
Across our ninety thousand li.
Countries want independence
People want revolution
Nations want liberation!
With our brawny shoulders
We take up the heavy revolutionary load,
With callused hands
We take up our forbears' swords and guns.
Our own Party,
Please review our new contingents!
Millions and
Tens of millions!
For a whole generation
Of Chinese youth with high aspirations,
The future is boundless.
Over a thousand perilous peaks
Across a boundless expanse of seething waves
Successors will come;
Much can be hoped for.
We have Marxism—Leninism,
A mighty weapon to cleave the heavens.
We have
Mao Tsetung Thought,
Its brilliant beams guide us on our way!
Forge ahead, advance!
"Our hope is placed on you."⁴¹
Ah!
Hope is placed on us.
Forge ahead then, advance!
Welcome the tempest,
Brave the flames,
Welcome the thunder,
Brave fierce waves,
Welcome the bright
Red sun of
Communism!

41. Chairman Mao said in 1957: "You young people, full of vigour and vitality, are in the bloom of life, like the sun at eight or nine in the morning. Our hope is placed on you."

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Chiang Ching to revisionist
rules at her trial:
"You have power now so you can
easily accuse people of crimes and
fabricate false evidence to support your
targets. But if you think you can fool the
people of China and worldwide, you are
completely mistaken. It is not I but your
small gang who is on trial in the court
of history."

*Be
Obedient!*

Teng Hsiao-ping

Revolutionary Communist Youth

**CHIANG CHING—LIVE LIKE HER!
CHIANG CHING—VIVA COMO ELLA!**

Mao's Talk...

Continued from p. 7

unit tried out a new method. Everyone thought it was good, and gave a correct evaluation of the level (of each student). It also had an influence on the method of study as a whole, making it possible to study in a lively fashion.

THE CHAIRMAN: This should have been done long ago.

YUAN-HSIN: In the past, the notion of marks prevailed, so that we did not study with initiative.

THE CHAIRMAN: It's good that you are able to recognize this. I can't blame you for this either, for the whole educational system brazenly calls on you to strive for a mark of five. If you don't strive for such a perfect mark, they may block (your advancement) completely. Your elder sister, too, suffered from this kind of thing. There was a student at Peking University who never took notes at ordinary times, and scored between three-and-a-half and four marks in examinations, yet at graduation time the dissertation he presented was of the highest level in the class. There are people who have seen through all this, and have taken the initiative in study. There are some people like that who have seen through marks, and who study boldly, and with initiative. Your teachers teach by inculcation. Every day you attend lectures. Do they really have that much to say? The teachers should distribute their lecture notes to you. What are they afraid of? They should let the students study them by themselves. To keep the lecture notes secret from the students, allowing them only to take notes in class, hampers the students terribly. In the past, when I was teaching at K'ang Ta, I used to distribute lecture notes to my students in advance. I only talked for thirty minutes, and let the students themselves do their own study; afterwards the students would ask questions and the teacher would answer. With university students, especially the senior students, the main thing is to let them study and work out problems. What is the point of talking so much?

In the past they openly called on everyone to strive for perfect marks. People were perfect in school, but they weren't necessarily perfect in their work. In Chinese history, none of the highest graduates of the Hanlin Academy had true talent or learning. These were found rather among those who failed even to pass as second-degree graduates. The two greatest poets of the T'ang dynasty did not even obtain the degree of chu-jen.¹¹ Don't put too much emphasis on marks; you should concentrate your energies on fostering and training your ability to analyse and solve problems. Do not run along behind the teachers and be fettered by them. The problem of educational reform is primarily a problem of teachers. The teachers have so many books, and they can do nothing without their lecture notes. Why don't they distribute their lecture notes to you and study problems together with you? When the students in the senior classes ask questions, the teachers will only answer half of them, and will know nothing about the rest, so they will study and discuss the problems together with the students. This is not bad either. They

11) "Chu-jen" (literally "selected man") was a high-ranking official in the government at that time. (T'ang dynasty—618-907 A.D.)

must not put on arrogant airs to frighten people off. Even the bourgeoisie has opposed the cramming method of teaching. Why shouldn't we oppose it? It will be all right so long as the students are not treated as targets of attack. Teachers are the key to educational reform....

(Once Mao Yuan-hsin had urged the Chairman to visit an exhibition of new scientific achievements; the Chairman had said: 'I'm busy now, I can't go and look at it. I haven't time to look at it carefully, and to look at flowers while riding by on horseback isn't worth while either.')

How is it that you are interested in this, but not in Marxism-Leninism? In any case, I rarely hear you ask questions about this aspect of things most of the time. What newspaper do you usually read?

YUAN-HSIN: I read the *People's Daily*.

THE CHAIRMAN: There's nothing worth looking at in the *People's Daily*. You should read *Liberation Army Daily*, or *Chinese Youth Daily*. The things the workers and soldiers write are real and lively, and they know how to explain problems. Have you read the discussion on 'two combines into one'?

YUAN-HSIN: I've read only very little, and I didn't understand much of what I did read.

THE CHAIRMAN: Is that so? Have a look at this newspaper (*the Chairman hands him a copy of Chinese Youth Daily*), see how the workers analyse things, see how the cadres of the Youth League analyse things, they analyse things very well, it's easier to understand than *People's Daily*....

Your political study is nothing but talk. If you want to learn a lot of things, the most important point is to go and study in the midst of reality. Why are you interested in your professional speciality, but not in Marxism-Leninism?

When you study history, if you don't combine it with present reality it's no good. If you study modern history and don't carry out work compiling village histories and family histories, it's a complete waste of time. When you study ancient history, this too must be combined with present reality, and cannot be divorced from excavations and archaeology. Did Yao, Shun, and Yu¹² exist or not? I don't believe it, you don't have any real evidence. There are oracle-bones to provide evidence regarding the Shang dynasty,¹³ we can believe in that. If you go and burrow into a pile of books, the more you study, the less knowledge you'll have.

Second Talk

1966

CHAIRMAN MAO: Formerly, I was principal of a primary school, and a teacher in a middle school. I am also a member of the Central Committee, and was once a department chief for the Kuomintang. But when I went to the rural areas and spent some time with the peasants, I was deeply struck by how many things they knew. I realized their knowledge was wide, and I was no match for them, but should learn from them. To say the least, you are not a member of the Central Committee, are you?¹⁴ How can you know more than the peasants?

12) Legendary people who supposedly ruled China over 4000 years ago.

13) Shang dynasty—from around 1500 to 1000 B.C.

14) In 1973, at the last Chinese Communist Party Congress before Mao Tsetung died, Mao Yuan-hsin was a member of the presidium, the group of people leading the meeting.

When you return, tell your political commissar that I said from now on you should go to the countryside once each year. There are great advantages in this!

You don't understand dialectics; you don't understand that one divides into two. Formerly, you thought you were something extraordinary, and now you do not think you are worth a tinker's damn. Both views are wrong.

Those who are guilty of errors should be encouraged. When someone who has made errors sees his mistakes, you should point out his good points. Actually, he will still have many good points. Those who have made errors should be washed clean in warm water. If it is too hot they can't stand it; warm water is most suitable. Young people who make mistakes should not be dismissed. Dismissal harms them, and there cannot be any confrontations. People like Pu-yi and K'ang Tse were transformed. Among the young people who have not been transformed are some Party members and some (Youth) League members. To dismiss them would be to simplify matters to excess.

At the Institute are you a leftist? I saw an article praising you. To have people flatter you is no good at all. Young people like you should be told off. If they tell you off too little it won't do. Everything is subject to this kind of compulsion. When I wrote XXX, I was compelled to do it. If I had to write it now, I could not do it.

What do we mean by advanced? To be advanced is to do the work of the backward, to analyse those who are around us, to be intent on making inquiries and making friends wherever we go. Our young people must study dialectics, and master the use of dialectics in analysing problems. Take me, for example. I am not at all more intelligent than others, but I understand dialectics and I know how to use it in analysing problems. If we use dialectics to analyse an unclear problem, the problem becomes clear in a trice. You must diligently study dialectics, its efficacy is very great.

Chants...

Continued from p. 10

returned home with a deep hatred for imperialism and its crimes.

The crimes of unparalleled monstrosity that they are about to launch as they go at it with the Soviets to re-divide their world empires cannot but have far deeper and more profound effects still on their troops. It is this reality that has the imperialist indoctrination machine turned up to "high" and headed toward full blast. This is why they mete out punishment to GIs who resist this chauvinist shit.

This is not a ruling class confident of its position and power and of those on whose backs it has built its empire—this is a class whose whole ball game is going up for grabs in the period ahead and is lashing out all the more desperately as its skies darken.

Germany...

Continued from p. 2

perk; "1805 (6:05 p.m.)—on the Fraenkelufer (street) there are squatters running around with helmets and clubs. Automobiles that look like police cars are being stoned...18:18—barricades are going up—at the moment about 100 people present—18:23—a patrol car has just been turned over—18:40—Marianenstrasse: a construction trailer has been capsized...."

And from there things got hot. A telephone tree set up for just such an occasion brought supporters from throughout the city. Hundreds gathered. Barricades flew up. And then in waded the cops.

But Berlin's finest got a big surprise. They had grown accustomed to the routine of dispersing demonstrators by simply beating them into subjection. What happened next threw them into panic. Their riot vans squealed up, but suddenly everyone disappeared—down alleyways, into houses of sympathizers, into bars—and just as suddenly they'd reappear in the rear of the pigs, raining down a hail of bricks and cobblestones, devastating their plexi-glassed paddy wagons. Over and over again the riot cops retreated, regrouped, and then reattacked, ripping through the barricades, only to meet a shower of bricks from behind new barricades....and on and on

through the night the skirmishing raged. The warfare finally died down in the early dawn hours at a stand-off.

For three more days the battle burst out at night, spreading into other districts of the city as well. On Monday, December 15, a demonstration called to protest arrests made in the previous two nights began with 1500 and swelled rapidly to 3,000. When they were met by 2000 riot-equipped cops, the skirmishing of the nights before took on larger proportions as groups of hundreds fought the cops, and smashed the windows of downtown banks, hotels, and department stores and other symbols of the wealth that holds tyrannical sway over "Free" Berlin.

The three days of street fighting took their toll: over 200 demonstrators severely injured, 109 arrested (half of whom were under 21) hundreds of thousands of dollars in damage to the marketplaces of the rich, and 50 wrecked police vehicles, 17 smashed beyond repair.

The city fathers were freaked, particularly by the fact that, as the Chief of the Police moaned in the press, "When I club down 500 today (an unusually frank way of putting things—RCY), there are about 5,000 out in the streets tomorrow." No—more like 15,000, Mr. Police Chief, the number which in fact marched the next Saturday from Moabit prison, where various political prisoners are held, to the center of the city, demanding the release of those arrested in the previous nights.

This whole series of events shocked the bourgeoisie. Minister of the Interior Ulrich bitterly complained that the demonstrators could not be compared to the 60s, that they were much worse. A source of particular worry was the obvious sympathy that the streetfighters had won from the immigrant workers, among whom are a large number of Turkish workers. The demonstrators reported that these foreign-born workers warned them of approaching riot squads and coached them from windows and bars. The bourgeoisie openly fretted in their press of the participation of many foreign-born youth in the rebellion.

The outpouring of such rage on *this side* of the Berlin wall, the symbol that supposedly divides the free world from the totalitarian, has of course received exactly the opposite treatment in the bourgeois press as the outpouring of rage on the *other side* so recently in Poland. The story has been squelched, except for in Berlin where the authorities were forced to wage a battle for public opinion and attacked the movement as made up of "criminal elements."

What was more difficult to squelch were the actions of the German youth at what the authorities had hoped would be a series of stirring ceremonies taking place throughout West Germany, in Bermen, Bonn, Stuttgart, Hannover and other cities. They had arranged solemn displays in town squares in which

hundreds or even thousands of Germany's youth are inducted in mass into the armed forces of German imperialism. Millions watch on TV, bigshots from generals to the President of West Germany look on, martial music fills the air.

But, all of a sudden, the air is full of something very different. Chants, boos, shouts, flying objects, and finally tear gas. The spell is broken. The smug grins disappear from the rulers' faces. The solemn ceremonies aimed at preparing public opinion in West Germany for the coming world war between the U.S. imperialist bloc (of which West Germany is an important part) and the Soviet bloc are turned into disasters by thousands of rebellious German youth from all over the Federal Republic.

These clashes, which began with major street fighting between demonstrators and riot police in the streets of Bremen last May, on the occasion of the first such ceremony, have literally freaked out Germany's rulers. The public inductions of draftees into the West German army were supposedly being held to "celebrate" the 25th anniversary of the founding of the Federal Republic after the last imperialist world war. But for many, these "celebrations"—which represented a leap in attempts to whip up patriotism and war sentiment—look very much like the round of military/religious orgies

Continued on p. 19

What They're Trying To Bury With John Lennon

There is most definitely much that can be written about John Lennon, the Beatles, and their relation to the period of political upheaval of the 1960s. And there is certainly much that can be written to expose the virtual mountain of lies and hypocrisy that has been cranked out by the computerized pens of the rulers of this country upon his death. But at this point, we will confine ourselves to a few brief remarks. First, a word to the bourgeoisie—put your silk handkerchiefs back in your pockets, wring out the phony tears, and give up on trying to make John Lennon “the fallen hero of the 1960s” which are now “forever dead.” It will not work. And by the way, your massive public wake and funeral really isn't all that convincing. Your political motives are far too obvious and your methods are unconvincing (by the way, you did try to run John Lennon out of the country a few years back, didn't you?).

Truly, the pervasive and quite systematic propaganda barrage of the past week is almost staggering and the repetition of the same basic message in a zillion different ways virtually endless. The basic riff that we are to swallow goes something like this: John Lennon along with Kennedy, Martin Luther King and the like represented the 1960s. They represented hope and idealism about the future. And this idealism and hope were what everybody was into except those bad violent elements, those radicals and troublemakers who helped ruin everything by not “giving peace a chance” etc. But this era is now officially shot dead as was John Lennon. The message to the millions, especially white middle-class youth of that period, who were part of and affected by this period of intense political upheaval is simple: It's all over. And you better watch out now because this is going to be a violent era. All you can do is try to protect yourself and your family like John Lennon centered his life around for the past five years. And if that's not enough you can get active in gun control or join the fight for capital punishment and law and order to deal

with those violent types like the nut who shot John.

If anyone doubts that this is, precisely, their political message, they should pick up their newspaper or turn on their TV to hear it. We reprint a typical example below from the *Chicago Sun-Times*:

“The Beatles are a metaphor for the youth generation of the 1960s. To borrow an image from *Sun-Times* cultural observer Abe Peck, they threw the coming-out party for that generation—on Feb. 8, 1964, when the Beatles made their first American appearance on the Ed Sullivan television show....

“Postwar affluence had provided those kids with leisure time to engage in social protest—and to explore alternative lifestyles as a form of protest. Kennedy's optimistic New Frontier rhetoric had fueled youthful idealism and hopes that society could indeed be transformed by this new generation to whom Kennedy said the torch had been passed. Who had been told by Kennedy they were somebody special.

“Then Kennedy was ripped from the scene, in 1963.... And the Beatles arrived in New York....

“They gave the youth culture a rallying point,” said Peck. “They helped mold a sense of generation, a sense of youth as a group.... And the Beatles became their touchstone. They offered the vision of an alternative feeling—the feeling that people could change the world.”

“THAT FEELING persisted through the Free Speech Movement at Berkeley in the fall of 1964 and the emergence of the Haight-Ashbury flower children in 1967. After 1965 it merged with the anti-war movement and the more political activism that erupted with the student takeover at Columbia University in the spring of 1968 (the beginning of ‘campus unrest’) and the brief coming together of the counterculturists and political radicals at the Democratic National Convention later that year in Chicago.

“It culminated in the Woodstock festival in August of 1969. Then it

started to come apart with the Weatherman “Days of Rage” in Chicago in October of that year, with the radicals and counterculturists going their separate ways. And the next year it came completely apart after the last-gasp campus demonstrations protesting Kent State and the Cambodian incursion, in the spring of 1970.

“Something else happened in that cruel spring. The Beatles officially broke up—and went their separate ways. Except for the good music, it was all over.

“BUT MARCUS’ (a rock columnist—*RW*) vision turned dark, even as he spoke. *Because Lennon didn't just die. He was put to death, as Kennedy was put to death, reminding us all of our own mortality.* (our emphasis—*RW*). And something surely was taken away on that street in New York, as Camelot was taken away on a street in Dallas. Said Marcus:

“‘Somebody decided, I'm going to kill John Lennon.’ It wasn't a mugging. He was killed because of who he was. And that's absolutely terrifying to me. *He was shot because he promised a certain kind of hope to people—and quite inevitably was not able to deliver.* No one can. The Beatles were Utopia. And that Utopia didn't work, any more than Camelot worked. People felt betrayed.

“‘My fantasy is perhaps darker than that,’ said Geoffrey Stokes, author of *The Beatles... my fantasy is not that these killings happen because hope is promised and not delivered—but because hope is promised.*” (Our emphasis—*RW*)

What is the aim of this unadulterated bull but to help in politically neutralizing if not winning over to their side a sizeable section of people in this country and other countries who have constituted an important part of the opposition to their rule? One more point, however; the very lengths to which they are going in this case reveal not simply their desperation to accomplish this task in preparation for the period of upheaval ahead but that they have a long way to go to pull this off.

And what of John Lennon? What was his actual role in the past period? While it was contradictory and he did do some progressive things especially in the early years of the Beatles, overall he and the group as a whole played a backward role. The early irreverence, the mocking of authority and wearing long hair all had a positive effect, and were in fact a reflection of much more basic and profound things that were going on in society generally at the time. And there were a few anti-Vietnam war statements like the original album cover to *Yesterday and Today* which featured a picture of the Fab Four with butcher knives cutting up dolls.

But as the revolutionary movement developed more and more and challenged the bourgeoisie the Beatles sank to an outright reactionary role with the song, “Revolution” that appeared in 1968, shortly after the upsurge that rocked France in May 1968. A more appropriate title for this piece of garbage would be “Counter-Revolution” and it was written explicitly for this purpose with lyrics like: “If you go carrying pictures of Chairman Mao YOU ain't going to make it with anyone anyhow,” etc. And then came John and Yoko's “Give Peace a Chance” which became the mainstream anthem for a whole trend that was consciously aimed at pouring cold water on all the revolutionary militancy that was bursting forth. Since the early '70s John Lennon drifted from fantasy to fantasy winding up keeping house for five years before coming out with his latest “Double Fantasy” album which extols the glories of such lofty pursuits as being exclusively devoted to your wife and family and to hell with anything else.

It is more than a little ironic that while John Lennon made a principle out of the narrow confines of house and family in his later years, his death became such an international political event involving both imperialist superpowers. Both the U.S. and Soviet radio mouthpieces devoted an entire day's programming to his and the Beatles' music the day after he was killed. The Voice of America played his songs to the world in 17 languages. Radio Moscow played them too. And each used these songs to make their hypocritical calls of “give peace a chance” while they feverishly prepare for world war.

(Reprinted from the *Revolutionary Worker*.)

Germany...

which preceded World War Two.

The German bourgeoisie has a particular problem as it prepares to play the role assigned to it in the U.S. bloc. During the last world war, the German capitalists—desperately thirsty for the spoils of empire—dropped their “democratic” mask and ruled through an open dictatorship—the Third Reich of Adolf Hitler and the Nazis. While today they do appeal to reactionary sentiments such as those they pushed during the Nazi period, mainly West Germany's rulers must claim that the Nazis were some kind of freaks, and that they didn't represent the German bourgeoisie, that somehow the class that ruled Germany changed during that time, and has changed back since.

In chorus, the West German rulers plead: “We're not the same imperialists who led you to the last war. This time, we're the democracy that has to fight the fascists to the east.” But imperialism is imperialism. Imperialist war is imperialist war, no matter what particular form of class rule the imperialists hide behind. The pants have been ripped off the German bourgeoisie within recent memory, and now they're finding it difficult to dissociate the “defense of the fatherland” of the 1980s from that of the 1930s and 40s. Many who know imperialist war preparations when they see them are not pacified.

The mass inductions in Germany today are a serious escalation in the war preparations, and a move which the West German imperialists have been more than a little hesitant to undertake. Besides the legacy of Nazism, they must contend with the fact that, unlike the U.S., which was relatively untouched in both previous world wars, Germany was devastated. More than five million Germans died in World War Two and entire cities were laid waste.

Moreover, because it directly borders

the Soviets' Eastern European bloc, it cannot escape being a major battleground in the coming imperialist showdown. (Central Europe which Germany sits astride is considered by both NATO and Warsaw Pact planners to be a decisive battlefield.) Under these conditions it is much harder to blind people to the even more massive destruction and misery the masses will suffer in World War Three, and mainly the German rulers have relied on trying to convince the people they are “oh so reasonable” and willing to go “the last mile for peace”—but they are being forced toward war by the “totalitarian aggressors.”

But the demonstrations of youth blasting these ceremonies have blown the lid right off their careful propaganda and awakened millions to the reality of the war preparations, and the need to actively oppose them. Thousands of riot-equipped police, military police and other forces have been called out to Stuttgart and other sites of recent ceremonies and yet even they and their armaments failed to halt or blunt the demonstrators.

These demonstrations have drawn a wide section of German students and working class youth from around the country, as well as forces from the environmental and anti-nuke movements and from the “unorganized left.” Many of the demonstrations have been initiated, on the other hand, by an assortment of revisionist groups ranging from JUSOS (Young Socialists, the youth group of the ruling Social-Democratic Party) to pro-Moscow and pro-China revisionists. The fact that these groups have had to initiate activities around the ceremonies in order to maintain their credibility reflects how deeply people have been drawn into discussion and struggle around the question of war preparations.

But the role of these revisionists has been to try to rope in and derail this whole struggle. They decry “militarism” in the abstract, and criticize only those

aspects of the ceremonies reminiscent of the Nazis, while not hitting the actual and very real preparations for World War Three and the role the West German army will have in that war. This became patently obvious in Stuttgart, where JUSOS tried to divert people miles away from the induction ceremony for a harmless and officially-sanctioned “Walk for Peace”. As happened in the other cities, thousands of youth ignored them and headed for where the ceremony—and the chance to strike a blow—really was.

Coming at a time when the two superpower blocs are hurtling toward world war, with Germany certain to be a key battleground, the kind of actions that took place at Stuttgart and the other ceremonies, and the kind of outpouring of rage that shook West Berlin, are tremendously important. The German capitalists will meet real opposition among the very section of society they must mobilize to grab up new territories for the greater glory of German imperialism—opposition that will not only make those preparations more difficult but which is also sure to bear fruit if and when Germany is in the midst of a third orgy of death and destruction, imperialist-style.

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Trial in China...

Continued from p. 5

threw local bigshots, educated youth went out into the countryside, and they all took part in the massive upheavals which threw out Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping. Practices like material rewards in the factories were fiercely attacked and restricted by the masses. The schools were either transformed into instruments for the dictatorship of the proletariat or they were closed. In culture, fantastic new plays, songs, and other things were developed, full of the revolutionary daring and line of the class-conscious proletariat.

The revisionists counter-attacked. Huge debates and demonstrations swept China, as the people themselves struggled out the direction forward in every sphere of society. Throughout this period, Mao was frequently under sharp attack. Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao and millions of others stood firmly with Mao, playing a critical role in defending and advancing Mao's line.

Chiang Ching

In the field of culture, for instance, where most of the plays, dramas, musicals, and movies were about government bigshots, princes, generals, scholars, beauties and so on, Chiang Ching led in pointing out that this was creating reactionary public opinion, she argued, "There are well over 600 million workers, peasants, and soldiers in our country, whereas there is only a handful of landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements, Rightists and bourgeois elements. Shall we serve this handful, or the 600 million? This question calls for consideration not only by Communists but also by all those literary and art workers who love their country. The grain we eat is grown by the peasants, the clothes we wear and the houses we live in are all made by the workers, and the People's Liberation Army stands guard at the fronts of national defence for us and yet we do not portray them on the stage. May I ask which class stand you artists do take? And where is the artists' 'conscience' you always talk about?"

Carrying out revolution in culture was a complex and hotly fought struggle, and today the revisionists are bringing witnesses to the trial to testify about how Chiang Ching persecuted them—"Why, all they were doing was producing culture to prepare for reversing the revolution." It was against just such a bigshot that Chiang Ching let loose on Dec. 12, when she pointed out that Liao Mosha, who was bawling in the court to try and evoke sympathy (all of which was of course according to a prepared text coached by teleprompter) was a high official in the Peking government, a member of a group who had attacked Mao as "having amnesia," being a "raving lunatic" full of "empty talk," etc., ad nauseum.

Chiang Ching has consistently brought out in the trial itself a defense of Mao's line. Even before the trial began, she pointedly remarked that, "If you're going to beat a dog, look first to the master," an old Chinese proverb that she used to bring out that it was the line of Mao himself that she was defending.

During a hearing preceding the trial, Chiang Ching intensified this attack, saying that "To try me is to try the Communist Party, to find me guilty is to find the Party guilty. What I have done corresponds completely to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought. If you want to repudiate me, that is because you have betrayed Marxism-Leninism." And during the trial itself, she hammered at the fact that Mao had known of and led in the fundamental line that had guided her actions.

This threw the revisionists into turmoil. When they first carried out the coup four years ago, they made a big show of how they were the ones upholding Mao and how the "Gang of Four" had betrayed him, all chiefly to fool the masses. (In the trial itself, two members of the "Gang of Four"—Wang Hongwen and Yao Wenyuan—have apparently capitulated



Chiang Ching and Mao Tsetung during the war of liberation.

to the revisionists, "confessing" their so-called "crimes" or actually blaming Chiang Ching in particular for everything being leveled against them. As we said in last month's *RCY*, before Wang rather clearly capitulated and Yao apparently began making "excuses" to the judges, "even if any of the Four do cave in it could only mean completely repudiating everything they and Mao stood for, and everything the class-conscious proletariat internationally honors them for.")

But as the revisionists have increasingly carried out capitalist restoration in China and capitulated to imperialism, it has become more and more necessary to dismantle the socialist system and, as a key way of preparing for and trying to justify this, to attack Mao's revolutionary legacy. But they are very worried about trying to carry this too far, as the tremendous respect for Mao among the broad masses of China, and particularly the advanced who grasp his line, is plain to see.

Revisionist In-Fighting

And more than this, there is heavy in-fighting between the cliques around Hua and Deng over how to deal with Mao, a contradiction which Chiang Ching has skillfully exploited. In the spring of 1976, faced with a strong Right that was able to prevent the Left from getting the post of Premier, Mao worked to turn this around by splitting the forces of the Right. He put Hua, who was generally in the camp of the revisionists although at the time not one of its most well-known members, in a position where he was forced to attack Deng. Because of this, and because more generally Hua and people like him rode to high positions in the course of the Cultural Revolution, Hua is more inclined to try to retain Mao as an empty figurehead, while gutting the heart out of his line, instead of taking the more blatant approach of Deng. It was with full knowledge of this that, when Chiang Ching was accused of repressing people in the spring of 1976 at a counter-revolutionary demonstration in Peking's Tiananmen Square, she replied, "I was not responsible for the suppression of the Tien Anmen incident. You can ask the minister of public security at that time to come act as my witness." The unnamed minister turns out to be none other than Hua Guofeng.

Chiang Ching's sarcastic remark hits dead on at the opportunism of those revisionists like Hua who carried out the counter-revolutionary coup after Mao's death.

But today Hua is definitely on the defensive in his bourgeois in-fighting with Deng's forces and it seems clear that he is on his way out. He was useful to Deng exactly because he was not so

clearly identified as a revisionist in the course of the Cultural Revolution, and so was able to temporarily confuse people, even some supporters of Mao, at the time of the coup and afterwards.

But today, Deng and his cohorts are, as the U.S. press is fond of noting, "men in a hurry"—a hurry to step up their exploitation and capitulation to imperialism. And to do so, they must go more and more openly after Mao himself. They must hit his revolutionary line and policies and try to create public opinion for the increasingly reactionary plans necessary to their capitalist rule, such as the recent contracting out of cheap Chinese labor for U.S. construction projects in the Middle East, sending thousands of Chinese workers as modern-day "coolies." This is exactly the kind of capitulation to imperialism that Mao fought his whole life. It is for these reasons that the wishy-washy revisionism of Hua is no longer the asset that it once was, and so is getting the boot.

The hurry that Deng is in to get on with the business of capitalism is not just some product of his character. Fundamentally, it is because the new revisionist rulers are being squeezed by the rising pressure generated by the two imperialist blocs' moves towards world war three, bringing sweat to their brow and some desperation to their actions. And like Chiang Kaishek before them, their policy is geared to latching on to whichever imperialist sail looks taller, and hoping for a good wind.

Also like Chiang Kaishek, they're not going to get one. The Dec. 24 *New York Times* reported a major demonstration in Changsha, the capital of Honan Province, Mao's birthplace, against the first significant inflation China has had since 1949—rocketing to 10% after decades of 0%. There is bound to be increasing resistance to the hell on earth which capitalism is swiftly bringing to once-socialist China.

But even more important, and more terrifying to Deng's class, is the spectre of Mao's line being taken up. They long to go after it more directly in connection with Chiang Ching, and in fact have already made statements in the party newspaper *People's Daily*, which have gone farther than ever before in blaming Mao himself for the "people's plight" in the Cultural Revolution. But after four years of increasing attacks, they are still fearful of provoking a storm of resistance if they do so too straightforwardly. As leading honcho Hu Qiao-mu said earlier this year, "The last ten year history of the Cultural Revolution gave an extremely painful lesson. But it seems this lesson was still not enough for a section of the comrades, certain people in

society, and the youth. Some even think they should negate everything like they did in the Cultural Revolution, form a variety of factions, and continue activities to oppose the Party leadership. Among these people, foremost are the various remnants of the 'gang of four,' and in certain areas they are a significant force in endangering unity and stability."

All this provides fertile ground for the advance of the revolutionary forces in China, and the fearless stand and actions of Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao have provided a fresh rain to spur their growth. The revisionist and the U.S. press has repeated over and over that Chiang Ching is isolated and that the Cultural Revolution is dead and that the Chinese masses adore Deng. Yet in the bowels of their court, her mere words have thrown them into turmoil and confusion. She is so "isolated" they have carefully cordoned off the trial from all but a handful of their zombies, and it was she who dared them to try and sentence her to death in front of a million people!

Chiang Ching's actions have had a tremendous significance within China itself—but they go far beyond those borders. Her actions are taking place at a time when the face of the earth is darkened by the storm clouds of world war—clouds which, however, also contain the lighting of mass revolution. At such a time, filled with opportunity and danger, Chiang Ching has risen to full stature, defying prison and death itself, and firing millions with an indelible image of a proletarian revolutionary.

Her uncompromising defense of the revolutionary politics of Mao Tsetung has also come at a critical crossroads in the international communist movement, at a time when attacks have been launched against his line from many quarters, all amounting as in China to one form or another of capitulation to imperialism, at the very time when the possibility of seizing revolutionary opportunities is so great. Her actions have proved a mighty salvo against these attacks, strengthening those who will use the coming upheaval to lead the masses, as Mao did, to storm the heavens.

Before the trial even began, in a 181 page document which is a stinging indictment of the revisionists, Chiang Ching wrote, expressing the revolutionary optimism of the proletariat, "You have the power now so you can easily accuse people of crimes and fabricate false evidence to support your charges. But if you think you can fool the people of China and worldwide, you are completely mistaken. It is not I but your small gang who is on trial in the court of history."

Iran...

Continued from p. 4

these forces would like some greater freedom of movement than the U.S. imperialists are interested in giving them, they are more afraid of the mass movement and are unable to mobilize the masses to defeat the imperialists and their maneuvers (such as the Iraqi invasion), which has the effect of pushing them closer and closer to capitulation.

But the U.S. pressure also intensified the infighting within the Iranian ruling class between factions headed by the Islamic Republican Party and by President Bani-Sadr. Each faction has been trying to shore up its own weakened position by pinning the blame for the country's economic and military difficulties on their rivals, throwing accusations back and forth and at each other's throats even while they are basically united in trying to find a way to come to terms with the U.S.

But the Iranian national bourgeoisie faces a precarious task. The Iranian people, who rose up in a tremendous revolutionary upsurge to drive U.S. imperialism out of the country, overthrowing the U.S. puppet Shah, are firm in their hatred of and resistance towards imperialism. In fact, the Iranian government has been able to win support for its war effort against the Iraqi invaders to a great extent because the Iraqi army is widely understood to be a tool of U.S. imperialism. Giving up the hostages and coming to terms with the U.S. would clearly not be such a move—and would be sure to meet with widespread and serious opposition from the Iranian people.

This is what the Iranian rulers are so worried about and, along with their internal squabbling—much of which also revolves around this question—is basically what has held up a leap toward more complete capitulation.

One effort they have made to prepare the groundwork for such a move is to attack the revolutionary Left, spearheaded by a frontal assault on the People's Mojahadeen. Because they are the largest anti-imperialist organization in Iran, and because their radical interpretations of Islam threatens the government's efforts to use religion as their authority to rule, the government views them as the most immediate target among revolutionary groups.

At the front, military units led by the Mojahadeen have all along been singled out for attack by Islamic Revolutionary Guards. And in November a Mojahadeen leader was sentenced to 10 years in prison after being convicted on charges of obtaining information from a Soviet agent. Similar charges were then leveled against the entire leadership of the Mojahadeen, and the courts ordered them all arrested. These and other attacks have been clearly aimed at weakening the Left, and isolating it from its growing mass support.

As it tightens the noose around the necks of Iran's rulers, U.S. imperialism has also utilized the Iran-Iraq war and the situation in the area to mount a major political and military escalation throughout the Persian Gulf and other parts of the Middle East aimed at making further gains against its Soviet imperialist rivals. Hiding behind the mask of "neutrality" in the war, the U.S. has overseen a massive rearming of the Iraqi regime, through other puppet rulers in the region such as Jordan and the U.S.'s European imperialist allies. At the same time the U.S. has directed Iraq's military efforts aimed at applying maximum pressure on Teheran, sent sophisticated military aircraft and personnel to Saudi Arabia to oversee U.S. operations, assembled a large U.S. and NATO naval task force in the Indian Ocean just outside the entrance to the Persian Gulf, conducted military exercises of its Middle Eastern Rapid Deployment Force in Egypt, stepped up efforts to build bases and stockpile equipment in Kenya, Oman, Egypt and the island of Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean, and stepped up overall arms sales to U.S. client regimes.

These moves are aimed at strengthening the U.S. position in the Middle East in preparation for world war. But another basic and fundamental U.S. ob-

The Opportunism of the Kent State Conference Organizers

400 people, mainly students from the Midwest and East, attended a "Progressive Student Conference," held at Kent State University the weekend of Nov. 14-16. The conference was organized by the Revolutionary Workers Headquarters (billing itself here as the "Progressive Student Union") and the Communist Party Marxist-Leninist.

Most of the students who came to the two-day conference had only recently become active around political issues, brought forward by the earthshaking events in the world from Iran to Miami, from moves towards world war (including the draft) to the anti-nuke movement. Many were involved in local multi-issue coalitions, student governments, women's groups, as well as anti-draft and anti-nuke groups. For many it was the first time they had been to a conference with people from such a wide geographic area, and there was an air of excitement and anticipation as the meeting opened.

People had big questions and ideas about war, the international situation, the so-called "Rise of the Right," the road forward in the 1980s. The situation in the world demanded to be dealt with, and many came to the conference to do just that.

But the conference organizers had other plans.

The "Proposed Main Draft Statement" of the conference began like this: "America is in crisis and as the 1980s open our future looks dim." Stirring words designed to unleash every ounce of pessimism, despair, and cynicism possible. To those at the conference who saw "America's future" as meaning only the *future of the U.S. ruling class* (and whose crisis is one of the important things that makes the *people's future internationally* look bright), this set the tone for everything to follow from the conference organizers. The lofty goals "officially" proposed were little more than leftovers from the Democratic Party's liberal offerings, to the "poor, elderly, and invalid."

A big topic of discussion throughout the conference was the "Rise of the Right." With more and more blatant war preparations by the imperialists, with the vicious Greensboro verdict, and with Reagan's mythical "mandate," it was clear that there are some serious, escalating reactionary attacks that have to be dealt with. But what direction did the conference organizers provide for understanding and dealing with all this? As lownote speaker Nick Unger (a high priest of the RWH, although for the purposes of this conference billed as a rep from the "Coalition for Political Alternatives") said in his speech opening the conference, "The basic decent instincts and feelings of the common, hard-working person are torn up and used by the Right....The Right is having a field day."

This picture of the masses of workers, as dumb-mule hardhat troops of the Right, and by implication the actual force behind Reagan's election, etc., stands reality on its head and leaves the actual force for reaction totally unexposed and unopposed. For there was in fact no massive popular "mandate" for Reagan—it was the lowest voter turnout

jective in preparing for World War Three is to force the Iranian rulers to capitulate, or to overthrow them by coup d'etat, so as to clear the way to completely crush the Iranian revolution and restore Iran as a key base for U.S. power. This task has proven—and will continue to prove—more difficult than the most hideous of the imperialists' nightmares. They have the Iranian people to deal with. After all, they're the ones responsible for the U.S. "losing" Iran in the first place!

in decades. But there is a bourgeois class hellbent on preparing for war, stepping up its repression as part of this, and disguising it all as "the will of the people" through the use of their media and their facade of democracy. To analyze this and expose it before the broad masses of students and others is a critical task, far from showing the strength and support among the people, the so-called Rise of the Right actually reveals a mad-dog system with its teeth bared, a cornered and desperate handful who rule vast expanses of the world today, but who face great and historic difficulties.

But it is not too surprising that the conference organizers did not expose the bourgeoisie's hand behind the "Rise of the Right." In a discussion over whether students should explicitly target capitalism throughout their organizing, a view which had strong support from a large number of students at the conference, supporters of the Revolutionary Workers Headquarters and the CPML came out in strong opposition. Among the reasons they raised for omitting any targeting of capitalism was that they want to organize in a lot of small rural towns and that people there haven't even heard of capitalism. First, they shouldn't put their own backwardness on other people, and second, even if people haven't heard of capitalism and people fighting it they damn sure need to. They also said that they want a lot of conservatives to join in too. They might at least have been straightforward enough to go a little further and reveal their more long-range plans for a merger with the Moral Majority.

For just what kind of role and future the RWH and CPML did see for progressive students, Nick Unger had this to say, "A new American vision will come that has truth, is popular, so you will no longer be wierd if you want change; geared to everyone."

This point of gearing politics to "everyone" was further elaborated on by the leader of a workshop later, who said, by way of summing up the rebellions and political earthquakes of the 1960s, "We made a lot of mistakes in the 60s. We went in for long hair and Mao jackets. That isolated us from the masses of people. Don't make the same mistake." Not only Mao—but long hair too!!

In fact, what happened in the 60s was that a section of the people broke loose

from all the bourgeois bullshit that was coming down—ripping through all the bureaucrat jargon justifying the Vietnam war and the oppression of Black people in particular. And this minority—and at first it was a minority, just as any advanced movement always begins with a minority—with its Mao jackets, revolutionary anthems, and yes, its long hair too, shocked people, awakening millions to stand against discrimination, the war, and some against capitalism itself. Mao himself made an analysis of just such a process when he wrote that, "The masses in any given place are generally composed of three parts, the relatively active, the intermediate and the relatively backward. The leaders must therefore be skilled in uniting the small number of active elements around the leadership and must rely on them to raise the level of the intermediate elements and to win over the backward elements." In calling for gearing politics to everyone and in attacking the symbols of rebellion of the 60s, these conference organizers are doing nothing but smothering the more active and advanced, attacking their rebellion, and trying to make themselves palatable to the more backward forces like Jerry Falwell and his flock.

Similarly, while the conference organizers paid token lip service to "Third World Liberation Movements," the Iranian revolution was attacked ("deploring the hostage takeover"—we wouldn't want to offend the Moral Majority, would we?!). The question of the emerging world war and the tasks of the people in the U.S. were not ignored though. With only slightly veiled patriotism, the view was promoted that "we need draft registration to protect our vital interests abroad," but criticized "the system's avoidance of our vital interests at home."

However, despite their best attempts, the conference organizers couldn't succeed in squelching the rebel fires in the hearts of the advanced students attending as much as they wanted to. In response to a point made by an RCYBer that ripped the reformism of Unger, brought out the possibilities for revolution emerging today, and the tasks of preparing right now, one brother got to the heart of the conference problems, "Yeah, I agree with a lot of that. But you can't expect the people organizing this conference to say that."

Poland...

Continued from p. 11

Czechoslovakia. Today the situation is far different; in fact, they must use this for all it's worth exactly because of the explosive international situation in which these two superpowers are headed at top speed toward a world war, and in preparation for which both are frantically at work readying their positions and securing their war blocs. Both are maneuvering to come out of this with the greatest political and military gains and the least losses. In particular, the Soviets face an extremely severe crisis, the most serious threat to the unity of their war bloc in some time. This is made particularly acute by the fact that, militarily, Poland is the centerpiece of the War saw bloc, the country through which Soviet troops would have to pass in order to square off with the U.S. forces in Western Europe.

Clearly, the U.S. would not like to see the Soviets invade, as this would result in the suppression of the very forces through which the U.S. hopes to make further inroads into Poland, and would threaten the substantial political and economic leverage they and their Western allies already have in that coun-

try through their ties to the Catholic Church, some "dissident" elements, and huge loans to the Polish state (over \$25 billion). At the same time, the U.S. could live with an invasion exactly because it would put the Soviets in such a vulnerable position politically—all the while portraying themselves as "upholders of world peace," of course.

While the Soviets would prefer to delay an invasion until the U.S. rulers become embroiled themselves in a similar sticky situation (such as the intervention in a country in their bloc, like El Salvador), they may decide that their need to deal with the rebellious Poles and put the stamp of "Soviet territory" on the country outweighs the political consequences. The situation in Poland is a sharp example of how, as the U.S. and Soviets prepare for the all-out slugfest, there is one factor with the potential to throw a big hitch into their respective plans for world domination: the contradiction between imperialism and the masses of people, which is being greatly intensified as war approaches, and which continually thrusts itself to center stage from Poland to El Salvador.

(Much of the information for this article was taken from the *Revolutionary Worker*, voice of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA)



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**CHIANG
CHING-
iVIVA
COMO
ELLA!**



Veredicto de Greensboro: GOBIERNO APRUEBA ASESINATOS NAZI/KLAN

El 17 de noviembre un jurado todo blanco en Greensboro, North Carolina, presentó su veredicto en el caso de los 6 miembros de los Nazi y del Klan acusados de asesinar a 5 personas en una manifestación en contra del KKK hace un año. "Inocente"—David Wayne Matthews, el miembro del Klan que se jactó a su carcelero que "No me pueden colgar por todos asesinatos porque solo maté a tres". "Inocente"—Jerry Paul Smith, que usó un magnum .357 para matar la cuarta víctima. Cuatro veces más la mentira asquerosa de "inocente" resonó por el corte como liquidaron todos los cargos en contra de los seis acusados. Inmediatamente después del juicio el fiscal declaró que ni enjuiciaría a los seis demás acusados. Así que la "ley y orden" del imperialismo EU benignamente sonrió como saltaron estos perros rabiosos para recorrer las calles una vez más.

El veredicto del 17 de noviembre no fue ningún "fracaso" del sistema de justicia o simplemente producto de un puñado de jurados blancos racistas. Fue la justicia capitalista 100%. Fue la clase de esclavistas impartiendo una licencia para matar a unos de sus supervisores más viciosos—una licencia que no tiene que ser firmado hasta después

de la matanza. El sello de aprobación de los capitalistas para un evento que no fue nada más que un linchamiento moderno. Este sello de aprobación, completo con todos los adornos de la "democracia" burguesa, comunicó la amenaza espantosa a los oprimidos: "Esto es lo que podemos hacer—¡así que quédense donde están!"

No es ninguna exageración decir que esto era maniobra de los imperialistas EU. Desde el día del mismo masacre, sus manos sangrientes han maniobrado detrás de la escena a través de sus representantes oficiales y no oficiales.

Claro estaba en la desaparición de la policía de la escena de la manifestación solo pocos minutos antes de que la caravana de los Nazi y Klan llegó y abrió fuego. Claro estaba cuando la policía permitió escapar de la escena de la matanza la gran mayoría de estos neo-fascistas. Y aún entonces, cuando las pruebas para identificar tales personas "desaparecidas" surgieron en el juicio, el fiscal no registró ningún cargo contra ellos. Por ejemplo, la misma evidencia del fiscal ha probado que el fusil que Jerry Paul Smith usó para matar uno de los manifestantes, otro fusil semi-automático disparado por otro acusado y el coche que llevó el arsenal del Klan—todos estos

pertenecían a Raeford Milano Caudle, un líder Nazi que participó en la caravana. Caudle fue soldado por el fiscal por "falta de evidencia".

El jurado reaccionario todo blanco también fue producto de la colaboración entre los oficiales del corte. El juez, el fiscal y los abogados de la defensa no sólo cooperaron para impedir que hubiera negros en el jurado, sino también para aprobar jurados como número 7 quien dijo que al mirar uno de los acusados se vió a sí mismo. Este mismo hombre no se podía contener, echándose a aplaudir cuando testificó un compañero del trabajo de uno de los manifestantes matados (un miembro del Partido Comunista Obrero, PCO), que había ofrecido pagar el via "de vuelta a Rusia" para él.

Pero por lo asqueroso que eran los jurados no eran más que pendejos que hicieron su papel como debían—y en realidad el cubrimiento de la prensa burguesa antes del juicio de sus ladros reaccionarios fue para desviar la atención fuera del verdadero poder detrás de esta farsa reaccionaria, el gobierno.

Porque no solo cooperaron el juez y los abogados—el fiscal y los de la defensa—para escoger cuidadosamente el jurado, también conspiraron para

establecer la base más firme para absolución a causa de "defensa propia". Para una vista breve de las verdaderas intenciones del fiscal, sólo hay que fijar en el argumento que presentó para aumentar la fianza a \$115.000, no para uno de los asesinos fascistas sino para uno de los miembros del PCO que participó en la manifestación: "Estamos hablando de un hombre (él del PCO) quien inspira y anima a la gente hasta el punto que cinco personas fueron matadas. Dice que no es legalmente responsable para los muertos de cinco personas el 3 de noviembre pasado, pero claramente es responsable moralmente". Este es el hombre que supuestamente está enjuiciando al Klan, y en su vez está echando la culpa a los que fueron atacados por el Klan—como la acción diaria de un policía de la calle golpeando alguien y después arrestándole por "asalto contra un policía". Los del PCO no son revolucionarios ni comunistas, pero el papel del gobierno y del Klan trabajando juntos está bien claro.

Tales acciones crearon una base fuerte para el argumento de la defensa de que estos fascistas verdaderamente son unos "tipos buenos" que fueron a la manifestación en contra del Klan para rastrearla y fueron atacados por los manifestantes y forzados a defenderse. Lo que supuestamente es "defensa propia" se compone de—disparar 39 salvas en 88 segundos de un arsenal que incluyó los magnum .357, fusiles de caza y rifles, matando a cinco y hiriendo a cinco demás mientras ellos ni sufrieron un arañ—obviamente es absurdo. Pero esto se mostró un obstáculo menor como los

Vea la página 9

¡Dejar de marcar el paso Juntarse a la BJCR!

La Brigada de la Juventud Comunista Revolucionaria es el grupo de la juventud del Partido Comunista Revolucionario de los EU (PCR).

Estamos luchando para poner fin a esta actual máquina esclavizadora llamada el capitalismo-imperialismo. Esto significa primeramente y principalmente educar a las masas, y para nosotros esto quiere decir en particular a la juventud, sobre *el fuente y la solución*. La miseria y sufrimiento de la gente tras el mundo se origina en una cosa: *imperialismo* y el impulso delerío de ganancias de los billonarios que tienen y controlan las fábricas, tierras, bancos y gobiernos.

Tenemos el fin de destruir este sistema que no tiene nada ¡NADA! que ofrecer a la juventud y a la gente obrera y oprimida del mundo. Ningún futuro, sólo una vida de infierno. A lo "mejor" una vida de ser robots y clonas, parte de una moderna cuerda de presidiarios, y más probable ya, balas expulsadas de una arma imperialista en la Tercera Guerra Mundial. Dentro de las mismas entrañas de la bestia EU, orgullosos y desafiantes declaramos que nos contamos al lado de la gente del mundo en su lucha contra el imperialismo, y que vamos a hacer nuestro deber como comunistas rebeldes en los EU de derrocar este imperialismo.

Estamos trabajando para educar a las masas en la única solución a este carrusel horrible de guerra y crisis—*la revolución de la clase obrera y el socialismo*, el dominio de la clase obrera en sus millones. Y las posibilidades de una revolución aquí en la década que viene son muy verdaderas. El socialismo será una sociedad en la cual las divisiones y desigualdades que quedan del capitalismo serán continuamente eliminadas hasta el *comunismo*, que significa una sociedad mundial sin clases.

Nos basamos en el Marxismo-Leninismo, Pensamiento Mao Tsetung, la ciencia de la clase obrera, la clase más revolucionaria en la historia. Esta ciencia revolucionaria es la comprensión más poderosa y completa de lo que enfrentamos y de como combatirla.

En particular al entrar en los 1980 la huracán de guerra y revolución rodea el mundo, llamamos a todos hermanos y hermanas de toda nacionalidad y raza de nuestra "generación de los 70" que quieren asaltar el cielo y hacer revolución que se adelanten, que se junten con la BJCR, y empezar quemar a los fuegos aquí ahora para la década que nos espera, y hacer de nuestros sueños una realidad. Revolución en los 1980, ¡Hazlo!

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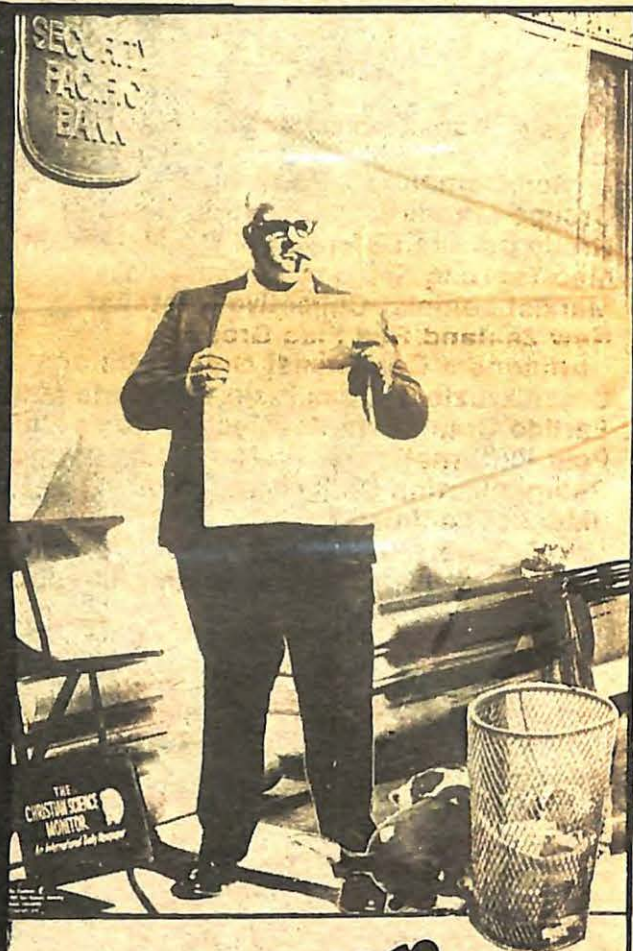
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A los Marxista-Leninistas, a los Obreros y a los Oprimidos de Todos los Países

**Nuevo Comunicado Conjunto
Recientemente Publicado—**

Otoño 1980

La introducción al comunicado conjunto:

Hoy, el mundo se encuentra en el umbral de sucesos muy importantes. La crisis del sistema imperialista está creando rápidamente las condiciones que llevan al peligro de que estalle una nueva guerra mundial, la tercera; condiciones que dan también perspectivas reales para la revolución en todo el mundo. Durante estos últimos años, han estallado luchas revolucionarias en varios países, incluso en algunas regiones que tienen importancia estratégica. Todas las potencias imperialistas se preparan a comprometer a los obreros y a los pueblos oprimidos en una masacre recíproca sin precedentes, a fin de poder defender y extender aún más sus imperios basados en las ganancias y en la explotación de todos los pueblos. Las potencias imperialistas y las clases dominantes reaccionarias se han agrupado en dos bandas rivales de asesinos y esclavistas, en dos bloques que están dirigidos por los imperialistas yanquis y por la Unión Soviética igualmente imperialista. Esta guerra que se perfila en el horizonte estallará a menos que la lucha revolucionaria de las masas, la toma del poder político por la clase obrera y por los pueblos oprimidos, pueda impedirla. Pero si la guerra se produce, representará una crisis extraordinariamente concentrada del sistema imperialista que agudizará las condiciones objetivas para las luchas revolucionarias, lo que debe ser aprovechado por los marxista-leninistas.

Pero, en el mismo momento en que los obreros y los oprimidos de todos los países se encuentran amenazados por tales peligros, enfrentan los desafíos de la situación, las posibilidades que ésta ofrece, las filas de los marxista-leninistas que tienen la responsabilidad de dirigir a la clase obrera y a los pueblos para hacer la revolución atraviesan por una grave crisis. Los marxista-leninistas sufrieron un duro golpe después que el revisionismo llegó claramente al poder en la Unión Soviética dirigido por Jruschov; y nuevamente en 1976 después de la muerte del camarada Mao Tse-tung, en que una nueva burguesía contrarrevolucionaria tomó el poder en China socialista y arrastró nuevamente a un cuarto de la humanidad al camino capitalista. A esta gran pérdida se han agregado los ataques a las grandes contribuciones que Mao Tse-tung ha hecho al marxismo-leninismo, la ciencia revolucionaria de la clase obrera. Estos ataques no han sido lanzados solamente por los nuevos dirigentes reaccionarios de China, sino también por aquellos que han desertado de las filas de la revolución, y evidentemente los revisionistas soviéticos mismos están mezclados en estos ataques.

Ante esta situación que se hace cada vez más aguda, y reconociendo la urgente necesidad de recoger el gran desafío que implica esta situación, representantes de varios partidos y organizaciones marxista-leninistas se han reunido para discutir cómo salir de esta crisis; cómo avanzar sobre la base de forjar una justa línea ideológica y política para el Movimiento Comunista Internacional y unirse en torno a esta línea. Durante la reunión se llegó a la unidad con respecto a las cuestiones siguientes, que los partidos y organizaciones que firman estiman ser elementos importantes para el desarrollo de esta línea.

El comunicado conjunto incluye las secciones siguientes: (1) La situación actual; (2) Las tareas de los marxista-leninistas, los países coloniales y dependientes, los países imperialistas; (3) Sobre la unidad de los marxista-leninistas.

Los partidos y organizaciones siguientes firmaron el comunicado conjunto:

- Ceylon Communist Party
- Groupe Marxiste-Leniniste du Sénégal
- Grupo para la Defensa del Marxismo-Leninismo (España)
- Mao Tsetung-Kredsen (Dinamarca)
- Marxist-Leninist Collective (Bretaña)
- New Zealand Red Flag Group
- Nottingham Communist Group (Bretaña)
- Organizzazione Comunista Proletaria Marxista-Leninista (Italia)
- Partido Comunista Revolucionario de Chile
- Pour l'Internationale Proletarienne (Francia)
- Reorganization Committee, Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist)
- Revolutionary Communist Party, USA
- Unión Comunista Revolucionaria (República Dominicana)

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Declaraciones Exigen:

Alto al Complot Contra Bob Avakian y los Acusados Mao Tsetung

El jueves 4 de diciembre, los abogados de Bob Avakian (Presidente del Comité Central del Partido Comunista Revolucionario) y de los Acusados Mao Tsetung, presentaron una petición a la Corte de Apelaciones del Distrito de Columbia. Un panel de tres jueces de la corte de apelaciones de nueve jueces anunció una decisión el 21 de octubre que reinstauraba la acusación de 25 felonías contra los acusados, desechada el año pasado por una corte menor. La petición del 4 de diciembre exigía que la corte en su totalidad prestara audiencia al caso. La corte todavía no ha tomado una decisión.

El Comité para Liberar a los Acusados Mao Tsetung lanzó un llamado para dar una respuesta rápida y decisiva a la decisión del 21 de octubre, y el Partido Comunista Revolucionario y la BJCRha emprendido la lucha ampliamente, principalmente por medio del *Obrero Revolucionario* y la JCR. Para el 4 de diciembre, un maremoto de telegramas había literalmente sumergido la corte. Miles de personas habían firmado cientos de declaraciones condenando el complot. Esto fue una clara expresión de militancia y rabia ante la última de las estratagemas del gobierno. Una pequeña parte de las declaraciones recibidas aparece abajo.

En otro desarrollo en el caso de los Acusados Mao Tsetung, la American Civil Liberties Union (Unión de Libertades Cívicas) ha registrado un alegato amicus (amigo de la corte) con la corte de apelaciones en apoyo de los Acusados.

Los miles de personas que le han metido el hombro directamente a las batallas para Detener el Complot Contra Bob Avakian y Liberar a los Acusados Mao Tsetung le han dado una poderosa declaración a la clase dominante en las últimas semanas. Esto se puede ver en las declaraciones que siguen. Pero de ninguna manera ha concluido la lucha. Los mensajes de apoyo deben continuar lloviendo; la lucha para trancar este complot debe regarse e intensificarse.

Enviar declaraciones a:
Corte de Apelaciones de D.C.
550 Indiana Avenue NW
Washington DC 20001

Comité Para Liberar a los Acusados Mao Tsetung
Box 6422 "T" Station
Washington DC 20009

Nosotros los abajo firmantes, obreros de muchos diferentes países, condenamos el complot del gobierno contra Bob Avakian y los 16 Acusados Mao Tsetung.

Hoy que los imperialistas EU y en la URSS hacen preparativos para una guerra de pillaje y saqueo a escala mundial, la bandera roja del internacionalismo y la revolución ha sido levantada en las entrañas de una de las superpotencias por el PCR y su Presidente, Bob Avakian.

Durante los días del Primero de Mayo 1980, en el distrito de costura, ondeaban 300 banderas rojas, levantadas por obreros que conocemos en carne propia la feroz naturaleza del sistema imperialista. Hay mucho en juego como para dejarles que nos roben el liderato revolucionario de Bob Avakian. Las oportunidades a través del mundo para derrotarlos a Uds. y a sus igualmente imperialistas rivales están en nuestras manos y necesitamos el liderato de Bob Avakian en las calles.

¡Mantengan sus manos sangrientas lejos de Bob Avakian y los 16 Acusados Mao Tsetung!
40 Trabajadores de Costura de Nueva York



Bob Avakian

Melbourne, Australia
11 de noviembre 1980

Comité de Liberar a los Acusados Mao Tsetung:
Estimados Camaradas,

Favor de aceptar nuestra pequeña donación de \$50,00. Vemos que su campaña de movilizar la gente contra el nuevo juicio del camarada Bob Avakian y otros es de importancia internacional.

El imperialismo EU por este acto del nuevo juicio muestra claramente *sunecesidad de defender su instrumento en China, Teng Siao-ping*, un dirigente de los que toman el camino capitalista y un contrarrevolucionario probado y traidor a China y al movimiento revolucionario en otros países.

Su campaña de liberar a los Acusados Mao Tsetung viene en una época cuando las colegas más íntimas de Mao, después de haber estado encarcelado 4 años, se están llevando a "juicio" en su corte capitalista.

Les aseguremos que el pueblo de Australia sabrá de esta lucha.
De un grupo de comunistas revolucionarios prometidos al vencimiento del revisionismo moderno en las clase obrera en Australia.

A los honorados jueces:

La Conferencia Nacional de Abogados Negros urge que reconsideren la decisión por la Corte de Apelaciones en el caso de *EU vs. Schiller*. El asunto ante la corte es de mucha severidad implicando la protección de los derechos civiles y constitucionales de los acusados en este caso y, potencialmente, afectará a muchas otras personas que se presentarán ante la corte en el futuro.

Vea la página 11

E.U. Lanza Propaganda de vacaciones contra Irán

Había el "Árbol de Navidad Nacional" oscuro, la llamada a que saliera todo el mundo a las calles para encender una luz por 417 segundos en las vísperas de Navidad, los reporteros sombríos, y la mar de banderas estadounidenses atadas a cada cosa imaginable que adornaron la primera página de periódicos diarios a través del país. Los gobernantes EU estaban determinados a sacar cada onza posible de propaganda y chovinismo de esta "segunda Navidad en cautividad".

Pero cuando el pequeño número de ondeabanderas fanáticos salieron a la fría noche de invierno con velas encendidas para demostrar su eterna pasión para el imperialismo EU, otra vez recibieron un choque al encontrarse solos. No hubo ninguna efusión na-

cional.

Varios de los periodistas y locutores de la radio estaban desesperados. Cuando el gobierno iraní demandó que EU sacara los fondos iraníes que tenía en bancos EU, y la riqueza robada por el Sha, y lo depositara en una cuenta bancaria especial en Algeria—un total de \$24 mil millones—dos DJ en Chicago calcularon que le costaría al estadounidense "típico" \$117 cada uno—como si los billones en oro y riqueza de pillaje en los bancos americanos de alguna manera perteneciera a las masas aquí y como si ellas tendrían algo que decir en cómo se iba a disponer este dinero. Un buen ejemplo de la lógica del banquero.

Entonces le tocó a Walter Cronkite. Los iraníes, gritó, son despreciables

"criminales", horror del mundo, por haber tomado los rehenes. Pues lo dejó escapar—est es cierto, dijo, aún si los estadounidenses en la Embajada estaban enredados en la "actividad normal internacional de recolectar información de inteligencia". En su frenesí de fomentar sentimientos hasta el espionaje internacional—un crimen que los imperialistas castigan con encarcelamiento y hasta la muerte—de repente se hace fino y aceptable. Gracioso como esta "actividad normal internacional" se vuelve en una cosa fea y amenazadora cuando cualquier otro lo haga.

Igual como encontraban obstáculo tras obstáculo en sus intentos de crear la opinión pública acerca de los rehenes en EU, nuestros gobernantes también lo encontraban más difícil de lo que habían anticipados forzar los gobernantes de Irán a liberar los rehenes. En particular como los rehenes *nunca* eran el asunto verdadero para ellos en cuanto esto. Cuando la Embajada EU en Teheran fue asida hace algunos 14 meses, fue una acción—y con bastante éxito—para parar un golpe de Estado reaccionario apoyado e inspirado por EU contra la revolución iraní. Y desde aquel entonces, el objetivo principal del imperialismo EU ha sido el restablecimiento de una base para tal golpe, y en otras maneras forzar los gobernantes de Irán a capitular al im-

perialismo EU. La liberación de los rehenes indicaría un gran salto en esta dirección.

Hace unos meses los gobernantes de Irán, principalmente representando la clase de capitalistas nacionales del país, aparecieron al punto de darse por vencidos. Después de todo, los imperialistas estaban apretando las clavijas. Los ordenes de EU firmemente en mano, los gobernantes reaccionarios del vecino Irak habían mandado miles de tropas y cientos de tanques al corazón de la provincia de petróleo en Irán, Khuzestan, destruyendo la industria de petróleo allí y ocupando grandes secciones de la provincia. Enfrentadas con esta incursión masiva y la incapacidad del gobierno iraní de verdaderamente movilizar al pueblo para oponerla, las masas en Irán estaban empezando a tomar la iniciativa ellas mismas por organizar unidades militares para parar los ataques de los irakíes y forzarlos a retirar. Algunas son dirigidas por organizaciones marxista-leninistas, como la Unión de Comunistas de Irán.

Esta situación reveló claramente la debilidad fundamental de los gobernantes iraníes: su temor de las masas, quienes han sido desde el principio la fuerza motriz en la revolución iraní y

Vea la página 10

Chiang Ching golpea revisionistas como un tornado

En las últimas semanas de diciembre, la furia revolucionaria de Chiang Ching (Jiang Qing) ha quebrantado los planes de los gobernantes revisionistas de China de diestramente deshacerse del legado revolucionario de Mao Tsetung. Su ardiente posición rebelde ha literalmente dado la vuelta a este juicio, y más, ha impresionado en la mente de millones alrededor del mundo el retrato inolvidable de una verdadera líder del proletariado internacional.

En la preparación para este juicio, los jefes revisionistas en China habían esperado que su ágil complot presentaría un cuadro de revolucionarios temerosos, vencidos y arrepentidos; de la revolución muerta una vez para siempre. Esperaban enseñar una lección a los en China que no habían olvidado el sabor del dominio proletariado: olviden el pasado, y más aún, olviden todas las esperanzas para el futuro. Esperaban que después de este juicio Chiang Ching, Chang Chun-chiao (el otro líder revolucionario que ha escupido en el rostro de este juicio y de los revisionistas chinos), Mao Tsetung mismo y su Pensamiento estarían marcados como criminales del pueblo en el punto de vista de millones alrededor del mundo. Pero ha pasado todo lo opuesto.

Los revisionistas chinos posponieron este juicio muchas veces en los últimos años, esperando la llegada de "un tiempo más favorable" para lanzar sus ataques descarados contra el mismo Mao Tsetung. Aquel tiempo nunca llegó, pero los desarrollos del mundo y en China (donde todos los intentos de la "modernización" de la industria y la agricultura han sido reales fracasos) forzaron la pandilla gobernando en China a poner sus cartas en la mesa. Los revisionistas establecieron un control estricta del cubrimiento del caso por los medios de comunicación, y llenaron la corte con sus más serviles y autómatos lacayos. Han emitido informes cuidadosamente editados del juicio—en un caso filmaron una escena de Chiang Ching en la corte cuatro veces antes de que sacaron una versión aceptable para sus necesidades. Junto con esto, los revisionistas añadieron tres seguidores del infame Lin Biao—revisionistas ellos mismos que habían intentado asesinar a Mao y llevar a cabo un golpe de Estado en 1971—en un intento de confundir a la gente que no estaban al corriente de los eventos en China y con quienes eran los revolucionarios y quiénes los reaccionarios.

Y aún con todo esto el espíritu revolucionario de Chiang Ching y Chang Chun-chiao (quien ha guardado una silencia desafiante durante todo el juicio) ha surgido sin miedo y no intimidado, y ha dominado la atención del mundo. El veneno escurrió de las hojas de la prensa en Pekín al describir la entrada de Chiang Ching en la corte, "...bajo la mirada pública (ella) deliberadamente mantiene la cabeza levantada y toma una postura asquerosa". ¡Cómo de asquerosa es para los esclavistas ver un líder de sus esclavos que se rehúsa bajar la cabeza, aún después de cuatro años en la cárcel, sin duda bajo el tratamiento más cruel, y enfrentado con la pena de muerte!

Cuando Chiang Ching gritó a los jueces y más aún a los que controlan sus hieiras (en un punto llamó los jueces meramente marionetas insignificantes de los jefes revisionistas), la amenazaron con una condena más dura y chillaron "¡Ha de ser obediente!"

En vez, repetidas veces se les echó en la cara de sus ordenes, gritando "Hacer revolución no es ningún crimen". Levantó la famosa grito de batalla de Mao de durante la Revolución Cultural: "Es justo rebelar contra los reaccionarios" (que los revisionistas por su puesto están atacando con toda su fuerza débil). Aunque rodeados por docenas de guardias de seguridad, cuando los jueces oyero esto palidieron y estaban visiblemente molestados. En cuanto la pena de muerte, Chiang China respondió que moriría antes de



Chiang Ching y Chang Chun-chiao al Décimo Congreso del Partido Comunista de China, 1973.

revocar su apoyo por la Revolución Cultural y la línea de Mao Tsetung. De hecho, al final del juicio se fijó la mirada en los jueces y retó "¡Les atrevo setenciarme a la muerte delante un millón de personas en la plaza de Tienanmen!"

La Revolución Cultural

Lo que era para los revisionistas la pesadilla de la Revolución Cultural les volvió a ser una realidad con toda fuerza. Porque era en la Revolución Cultural, lanzada por Mao Tsetung mismo en 1966, que estos "seguidores del camino capitalista"—en particular los que estaban en posiciones de liderato en el Partido Comunista Chino—fueron apuntados como el enemigo de clase de los obreros y campesinos chinos, y verdaderamente del proletariado internacional. Mao Tsetung dirigió el camino en analizar el retraso que ocurrió con la revolución en la Unión Soviética diez años antes de esto, específicamente desarrollando el entendimiento de la existencia de las clases y de la lucha de clases bajo el socialismo. Y la burguesía, los que siguen el camino capitalista, bajo el socialismo no son sólo restos de la vieja sociedad, sino, de hecho, constantemente nacen de las mismas divisiones y desigualdades que todavía existen en la sociedad socialista. Mao desarrolló más que cualquier persona antes el entendimiento de que el socialismo es una transición a la sociedad comunista, y que esta tran-

sición seguiría un largo camino tortuoso al disminuir y eliminar el pensamiento y la base material (el nivel de las fuerzas productivas) de la explotativa sociedad de clases. Pero para hacer esto había que realizar una feroz lucha de clases, y esto incluyó la lucha contra las personas en altas posiciones en el Partido que querían llevar por atrás la sociedad socialista—precisamente lo que Deng Xiaoping y Cía. están haciendo en China hoy, transformando el país una vez más en colonia del imperialismo.

Como dijo Chang Chun-chiao acerca de los seguidores del camino capitalista hace cinco años, antes del golpe de Estado:

"¿Querían ustedes trabajar por la transformación socialista? Ellos hablaban de la necesidad de consolidar el régimen de nueva democracia. ¿Deseaban ustedes crear cooperativas y comunas populares? Ellos opinaban que esto era prematuro. Cuando ustedes consideraban necesario hacer la revolución en la literatura y el arte, ellos sostenían que no era dañino escenificar algunas óperas de fantasmas. ¿Se proponían ustedes restringir el derecho burgués? Ellos decían que éste sí era algo magnífico que debía ser extendido. Ellos son un grupo de especialistas en la defensa de las viejas cosas y son como un enjambre de moscas zumbando todo el día alrededor de los 'estigmas' y 'defectos' de la vieja sociedad referidos por Marx".

Así, ¿qué se podía hacer para impedir un asimiento del poder de la clase

obrero por los revisionistas, como ocurrió en Rusia? Era una cuestión complicada. Chang Chun-chiao escribió de la nueva burguesía, "...una vez que hayan asegurado sus logros, sienten que ya es hora de formalizarse y hacer su agosto..."

Mao habló de cómo resolver el problema:

"...en el pasado libramos luchas en las zonas rurales, en las fábricas, en los círculos culturales y realizamos el movimiento de educación socialistas. Sin embargo, todo esto no pudo resolver el problema, porque no habíamos encontrado una forma, un medio de movilizar a las amplias masas de manera abierta, en todos los terrenos y de abajo arriba para exponer nuestro lado oscuro".

La situación se hizo urgente en China en 1966. La Derecha encabezada por Liu Shaoqi (Liu Shao-chi) y Deng Xiaoping, se estaba fortaleciendo y preparando para un golpe de Estado contrarrevolucionario. Usaban la influencia significativa que tenían en la cultura, la educación, el ejército y sectores del gobierno. Aunque los revisionistas dirigentes eran un puñado, sus raíces estaban profundamente metidos en la sociedad china, especialmente entre los más acomodados, burócratas, y los que "se habían cansado" y quedado parado en el pasado. Por causa de estas raíces, y la influencia general de las ideas de los revisionistas, y la base material debajo de todas estas

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Texto del discurso pronunciado por Bob Avakian antes las históricas Reuniones Conmemorativas a Mao Tsetung en Nueva York y el Area de la Bahía de San Francisco en septiembre de 1978. Los programas se realizaron con motivo del segundo aniversario de la muerte de Mao Tsetung, donde el PCR hizo público por primer vez su análisis del reaccionario golpe de Estado revisionista en China en octubre de 1976. *La Pérdida en China y El Legado Revolucionario de Mao Tsetung*, describe con pelos y señales la lucha de clases en China hasta el golpe de Estado, analizando porqué los reaccionarios pudieron triunfar después de la muerte de Mao. También analiza el efecto que tuvo el golpe sobre la situación internacional, sus implicaciones y lecciones para el movimiento revolucionario internacional.

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La Pérdida en China y El Legado Revolucionario De Mao Tsetung



Discurso por Bob Avakian,
Presidente del Comité Central del
Partido Comunista Revolucionario, EEUU
Pronunciado ante las REUNIONES
CONMEMORATIVAS A MAO TSETUNG, 1978

EL SALVADOR EU DETRAS DEL TERRORISMO CONTRA LUCHA POPULAR



El 5 de diciembre el gobierno de EU canceló el flujo de ayuda económica y militar a la junta fascista que hoy domina El Salvador en América Central. Este gesto, los imperialistas EU pidadosamente declararon, estaba pendiente una "investigación" del asesinato y la violación de tres monjas y una misionera lega estadounidenses pocos días antes en el campo salvadoreño.

El 15 de diciembre la ayuda económica se resumió y además el 18 de diciembre el Banco para el Desarrollo Intra Americano, controlado por EU, aprobó \$4.5 millones en préstamos nuevos a la junta "como parte de un plan para combatir la violencia guerrillera urbana", según un informe en el *New York Times*.

¿Había llevado a cabo la "investigación", se habían desmascarado los asesinos y violadores y tratado con ellos? Anda ya. De hecho los que fueron responsables directamente para estos asesinatos brutales, tanto como de haber matado a lo menos 9000 demás en sólo este año en El Salvador, son nada menos que los coroneles, generales y políticos "civiles" que componen la misma junta gobernante—sus acciones aprobadas, auspiciadas y coordinadas por sus jefes imperialistas EU. La suspensión de ayuda fue puramente cosmética—un intento de cubrirles el culo.

En el caso de las monjas estadounidenses, los oficiales de la Guardia Nacional salvadoreña (la Guardia Nacional es el ejército de la clase gobernante de aquel país) supervisaron el entierro de las monjas por los mismos asesinos. Menos de una semana antes el ejército había realizado la tortura y asesinato de ocho líderes de partidos y grupos que se oponen a la junta, quienes fueron arrestados mientras asistían a una conferencia de prensa sólo tres cuadras de la embajada EU en San Salvador. Mientras la junta ha intentado decir—para el consumo de la prensa internacional—que los asesinatos fueron cometidos por los grupos terroristas de la derecha, testigos informaron que 200 oficiales militares y policíacos rodearon el edificio donde los líderes de la

oposición llevaban a cabo su mitin, un helicóptero de la fuerza aérea volaba por encima, y policías vestidos de civiles hicieron la tarea sucia (lo que da un discernimiento interesante en cuanto quiénes son los "terroristas de la derecha").

Dentro del país estas movidas tenían poco de sorpresa por parte de una junta universalmente odiada por los obreros, estudiantes y amplias secciones de los campesinos. Es tan aislada que hasta algunas fuerzas burguesas pro-EU dentro de la clase gobernante se han juntado con las fuerzas de la oposición por miedo de perder todo a la insurgencia popular creciente que se concentra en el campo. Estas fuerzas, tanto como las personalidades y organizaciones religiosas que han sido muy críticas de la amplia represión, tortura y asesinato por la junta, fueron el blanco particular de estas acciones más recientes. El mensaje quedaba bastante claro: NO SE VA A TOLERAR NINGUNA OPOSICION.

Hasta lo más reciente de las acciones por la junta con el fin de mejorar su reputación fuera del país (y así paralizar la oposición internacional) sólo la exponía más. Por la primera vez dentro de 49 años, la junta dió el puesto de Presidente del país a un político civil. El hombre escogido fue José Napoleón Duarte, un político firmemente anticomunista y pro-imperialismo EU, quien lleva mucho tiempo atado a la clase gobernante de El Salvador y durante meses ha sido miembro fiel de la junta. Pero hasta en esto la junta no corrió ningún riesgo: Duarte reconoció al *Times*: "No tengo ni las armas ni las balas. No puedo parar un golpe de Estado. La única razón que tengo esta posición es porque tengo el apoyo del ejército".

La desesperación siempre aumentando de la junta para mantener el poder refleja la de los imperialistas EU, que están determinados a no perder el control que han ejercido durante mucho tiempo sobre esta región clave en una época cuando tendrán que contar con la estabilidad allí mientras confrontan a los soviéticos en otras partes del mundo de competencia entre ellos, desde Europa hasta el Medio Oriente. En particular EU está intentando asegurar que sus rivales soviéticos no logren avances en América Central en el corriente de la

oposición que se está extendiendo y profundizando a los regímenes apoyados por EU. Uno de los líderes de la oposición asesinado por la junta era del Partido "Comunista" de El Salvador, un partido pro-soviético que ha intentado aprovechar del odio de las masas por la junta para subirla a posiciones de poder para sí mismo y para los capitalistas soviéticos.

Las maniobras de EU en El Salvador han sido complejas, con su carácter aparentemente contradictorio explicado por su meta final común: mantener la dominación del imperialismo EU. Hacia los obreros y campesinos, cuya lucha es la fuerza motriz del movimiento por liberar a El Salvador de las garras de EU, sólo ha habido un dosis feroz de represión y matanza.

Hacia la oposición de las fuerzas burguesas, en particular los cuyos intereses están más de acuerdo con los de EU, han tenido una táctica dual: Por un lado asesinatos como los más recientes con el fin de para que se junten con la oposición. Por otro lado han tenido negociaciones con líderes de la oposición de entre este grupo quienes han intentado convencer EU a abandonar su apoyo para la junta antes de que sea demasiado tarde, y en vez apoyarles a ellos.

Mientras los imperialistas EU aparentemente consideraban esta idea, parece que han decidido que tal movida—y la influencia de las fuerzas pro-soviéticas dentro de este bloque de oposición—es demasiado arriesgado, y de apoyar completamente la junta fascista. Los asesinatos más recientes son la ejecución de esta decisión, intentando impulsar algunas de las fuerzas de la oposición regresar más firmemente en al agarro EU y de callar los que hablan en contra de la junta.

Más y más la política de EU es ahogar todo en sangre, y esto a su vez refleja la oposición continua a su dominación y las alternativas decrecientes que los imperialistas tienen para tratar con ella. Recientemente algunos "disidentes" entre los analistas de la política gubernamental de EU hicieron público un memorando que detalla la creciente intervención EU en El Salvador y las preparaciones febriles para la intervención más abierta. Los autores ponen en claro que el grado de las "actividades" de EU en El Salvador representa una "asignación de recursos burocráticos y financieros que excede a

los que se han asignado a cualquier otra crisis hemisférica desde 1965". Aquí se refieren a la invasión estadounidense de la República Dominicana en 1965.

Y admiten lo que a estas alturas es completamente obvio, que todo el cubrimiento de la prensa y los medios de comunicación sobre El Salvador no es más que mentiras del Departamento de Estado y la CIA: "El cubrimiento de los medios de comunicación sobre El Salvador ha sido sensible a las políticas oficiales del gobierno: mayor énfasis a los intereses de EU en la región, continua referencia al involucramiento de Cuba, subestimación de la dimensión de 'derechos humanos', uso efectivo de la fórmula de los 'extremistas de derecha e izquierda'". Y señalan que: "Indicaciones informales a los escritorios de los redactores de noticias extranjeras durante la campaña electoral desalentaron su interés en la región."

¿Y cuáles son estas "actividades"? Aumentación del entrenamiento de oficiales militares salvadoreños en Panamá, Argentina, Chile y Uruguay; mejoramiento de la infraestructura militar para comunicaciones de combate rural y urbano más efectivas y para movilización rápida de tropas; establecimiento de líneas adecuadas de abastecimiento y de almacenamiento de armas; "suministro de asistencia y asesoría estratégica y técnica de mando" al ejército salvadoreño; unificando las unidades paramilitares bajo un solo mando; mejorando las comunicaciones y cooperación entre las fuerzas armadas y paramilitares que operan en El Salvador, Guatemala y Honduras (inclusive lo que describen como "una fuerza paramilitar de ataque compuesta de antiguos miembros de la Guardia Nacional de Nicaragua, cubanos anticastristas, personal militar guatemalteco y mercenarios" que están listos para intervenir "cuando la situación lo requiera").

El memorando también detalla los esfuerzos de EU que se apuntan al "mejoramiento y protección del prestigio y la legitimidad internacional" de la junta, activando mecanismos para "dislocar los esfuerzos de la oposición para obtener apoyo y legitimidad internacional y limitar el impacto de dichos esfuerzos", y "supervisar de cerca y alimentar las fuentes de información de EU y el mundo sobre la región, y publicar extensamente la confianza de

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El 5 de enero la registración para la conscripción militar resumirá. Durante la primera semana, jóvenes nacidos en 1962 se tienen que registrar, seguida por la registración continua que se requiere dentro de 30 días de cumplir 18 años.

A lo menos, esto es lo que a los imperialistas EU les *gustaría* ver pasar. El verano pasado, cuando empezó la primera etapa de esta parte importante de sus preparaciones para la tercera guerra mundial, se enfrentó con extensiva oposición, ambos en la forma de

manifestaciones organizadas tanto como grandes números que se rehusaron a registrar. Esta vez, aunque la prensa casi no ha mencionado esta registración, las crecientes movidas hacia la guerra que se enfocan por todas partes del mundo seguramente van a dar luz a aún más resistencia a estos planes.

Esto será un tiempo crítico para la BJCR y otros a llevar a las calles paquetes de los armas revolucionarios claves, el *Obrero Revolucionario* y el *JCR*, en las colas de registración y extensivamente por toda la sociedad, para

exponer estas movidas bélicas de los imperialistas y difundir entre todos la conspiración en contra de ellas y del sistema que las fomenta entre los muchos demás que se están despertando a la vida política.

También es un tiempo para distribuir cientos de la "Promesa de Internacionalismo", con su declaración sin compromiso de ponerse con la clase obrera y las masas alrededor del mundo en oposición a los imperialistas que planean tirarnos uno contra otro en los intereses de sus imperios.



PROMESA DE INTERNACIONALISMO

—A los Pueblos del Mundo—

No mataremos a tiros los pueblos de otros países en servicio de los que dominan E.U. hoy.

Esto orgullosamente y en voz alta prometemos a los pueblos del mundo, en un tiempo cuando los imperialistas E.U. y URSS han puesto en marcha alta sus preparaciones bélicas.

Vemos bien claro a la tercera guerra mundial que estas dos superpotencias han puesto al orden del día, y que esto es porque han instituido la registración para la conscripción, y porque la misma conscripción y las asignaciones para los cuarteles no tardarán en venir.

Jamás seremos patriotas E.U. estrellas revueltas —¡somos INTERNACIONALISTAS!

No tenemos país, sólo vivimos aquí. No nos pertenecen a las gigantes corporaciones, los bancos, la tierra en E.U.—éstas son propiedad de la pequeña clase de imperialistas que mantiene su dictadura del imperio corporativo sobre la amplia mayoría de personas que viven dentro de las fronteras E.U.

Somos un hombre con los pueblos del mundo en una batalla contra el imperialismo, encabezado ahora por los E.U. y la URSS. Apoyamos toda lucha contra el imperialismo como nuestra porque es nuestra. No nos interesan los "delitos" que los imperialistas E.U. nos ofrecen, a "su pueblo", y que vienen directamente de su dominación sangrienta de mercados y pueblos extranjeros.

No tenemos ningún deseo de "Mantener E.U. como el Número Uno". Damos la bienvenida a cada derrota que sufra E.U. Nos reímos en la cara de los decrepitos de la Legión Americana quienes resusitan y jadean, mientras los helicópteros americanos muerden el polvo en Iran. "Deben de restaurar E.U. a su posición justa en el mundo". Nunca nos someteremos a las suplicas de "unidad nacional", en particular en tiempos de problemas". Daremos el golpe más fuerte en estos momentos.

No responderemos a sus llamadas horribles a atacar al pueblo, aquí o alrededor del mundo. No nos usarán para sostener y adelantar su piratería moderna, dejando caer bombas nucleares crematorias desde 50,000 pies de altura, u ocupando otros países para que los "gobernantes escogidos por dios", es decir los gobernantes de E.U., puedan mantener y expandir su poder y control sobre amplias secciones del mundo, violando y robándole al "enemigo" para ayudar en la difusión del modo de vivir E.U., mientras los banqueros de Wall Street y reyes del petróleo de Houston, se sientan tranquilamente en los refugios antiaerocubiertos de terciopelo, "para que quede alguien para después dirigir las cosas."

Sus gritos de guerra frenéticos suenan huecos en el oído: esta es la tercera vez en este siglo que las potencias imperialistas han tratado de unir a sus esclavos alrededor la bandera nacional para matar a los otros esclavos de la "bandera impropia". Nuestra bandera es roja. Es la bandera de la clase obrera internacional, y de la revolución. Los que levantan la bandera roja forman parte de otro ejército, un ejército que está compuesto de cada nacionalidad de cada continente y cuyo mensaje es: la gente obrera del mundo tiene todo en común, pero nada en común con los imperialistas.

Estaremos dentro y fuera de la maquinaria militar imperialista, hombres y mujeres de todas nacionalidades escondidos y a la vez por todas partes. Nosotros, presos de una sociedad capitalista, asiremos las siempre crecientes oportunidades que se nos presentan—porque en escala internacional los imperialistas E.U. están empujados hasta sus límites—para influenciar y animar a millones a poner fin a este genocidio periódico mundial en la única manera posible: resolver el problema acabando con su fuente.

La guerra desnuda la esencia de este sistema. Todas las feas características del imperialismo que están tapadas durante "los tiempos de paz" se hacen descaradamente claras durante la guerra. Prometemos usar sus preparaciones bélicas y la misma guerra para ayudar a despertar al pueblo, sacarlo de la obediencia sumisa o a lo menos el seguir la rutina.

Nos mandarán a luchar contra soldados rusos no diferentes de nosotros, salvo que a ellos los han bombardeado con el veneno del patriotismo en ruso en vez de inglés, y llamado a llevar a cabo los crímenes de su propia clase dominante. Nos mandarán a suprimir rebeliones de personas luchando para la libertad en este país, como la de Miami recientemente. Nos mandarán a aplastar cualquier persona que no siga el programa de "E.U. Para Siempre". Pero no mataremos a tiros a nuestros hermanos y hermanas! Y cuando los dueños de industria pongan armas en las manos de los soldados, les enseñaremos adónde apuntar estas armas y cuándo.

No estamos de acuerdo que "Toda generación tiene que ir a la guerra para la Nación tarde o temprano", y que ahora nos toca a nosotros. Tenemos pensado otra cosa porque nuestra guerra está aquí mismo.

Assumiremos las grandes responsabilidades que tenemos en este país de dar los golpes finales al imperialismo E.U. y al hacerlo levantar un peso gigante de los hombros de los pueblos oprimidos aquí y en cada rincón del mundo.

VINIENDO DESDE ATRAS PARA HACER REVOLUCION

Charla por Bob Avakian
Presidente del Comité Central del
Partido Comunista
Revolucionario, EEUU

Este importante análisis primero apareció en el *Obrero Revolucionario*, número 49, con el título: "¿Es la Revolución Realmente Posible en esta Década y qué Tiene que Ver con esto el Primero de Mayo?"

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China

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cosas, no era cuestión de que Mao cortara unas cabezas para acabar con el problema. La tierra en que los revisionistas crecieron y se desarrollaron produciría más revisionistas vez tras vez hasta que el pueblo mismo se había conscientemente tomado el control de la sociedad—no sólo en China, sino por todo el mundo—y destruido las malas hierbas de la explotación y opresión de la tierra una vez para siempre.

La forma que desarrollaron para llevar adelante la lucha para transformar el pensamiento de la gente, y botar los seguidores del camino capitalista desde abajo, fue la Revolución Cultural. Al principio incitado por las Guardias Rojas, grupos de jóvenes rebeldes siguiendo la línea de Mao Tsetung, cientos de millones tomaron parte en hacer la revolución que llevaría el proletariado a sus mayores alturas en la historia. Campesinos y obreros derrocaron los peces gordos locales, jóvenes educados fueron al campo, y todos ellos tomaron parte en los masivos levantamientos que botaron a Liu Shaoqi y Deng Xiaoping. Cosas que practicaron como recompensas materiales fueron terminadas por las masas. Las escuelas o eran transformadas en instrumentos para la dictadura del proletariado o las cerraron. En la cultura nuevas obras fantásticas, canciones y otras cosas se desarrollaban

repleto de la bravura y línea revolucionaria del proletariado consciente de clase.

Los revisionistas contra atacaron. Grandes debates y manifestaciones ocurrieron por todas partes en China, como el pueblo mismo luchaba para determinar la dirección adelante en cada esfera de la sociedad. Durante todo este período, frecuentemente Mao estaba bajo ataque feroz. Chiang Ching y Chang Chun-chiao y millones demás en China se mantuvieron firmes con Mao tomando un papel crítico en la defensa y el desarrollo de la línea de Mao.

Chiang Ching

En el campo de la cultura, por ejemplo, la mayoría de teatros, musicales y películas trataban con los peces gordos en el gobierno, príncipes, generales, escolares y bellas, y por esto Chiang Ching dirigió en señalar que esto estaba creando opinión pública reaccionaria y discutió: "...hay bastantes más de 600 millones de obreros, campesinos y soldados en nuestro país, en tanto que hay sólo un puñado de terratenientes, campesinos ricos, contrarrevolucionarios, elementos malos y elementos derechistas y burgueses. ¿Debemos servirle a este puñado, o a los 600 millones? Esta pregunta debe ser reflexionada no solamente por los comunistas sino por

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Promesa de Internacionalismo

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¡Atrévete a Bregar con el Plan de Batalla para la Revolución!



Nuevo Programa y Nueva Constitución del Partido Comunista Revolucionario, E.U.

En una situación que se desarrolla tan rápidamente como la presente, las acciones que efectúa el sector avanzado del proletariado son de importancia decisiva. En gran medida, éstas nos darán una indicación de nuestro progreso y de si podemos tomar ese paso decisivo cuando las condiciones hayan madurado completamente, y se nos presente la posibilidad de aprovechar la oportunidad de hacer la revolución. Estos momentos, especialmente en un país como éste, son muy raros en la historia, y su resultado ejerce una profunda influencia en la historia por muchos años, inclusive décadas, en el futuro. Aquellos que sí comprenden lo que está ocurriendo y escogen no tomar acción estarán contribuyendo a la prolongación de este mando destructivo y decadente del imperialismo. Este programa es una declaración de guerra, y a la vez una llamada a la acción y un plan de batalla para la destrucción de lo viejo y la construcción de lo nuevo. Tiene que ser emprendido.

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ENTRENAMIENTO BÁSICO



Enfrentado con la necesidad de preparar para la guerra más destructiva en la historia, el ejército EU recientemente anunció planes para poner sus unidades basadas en EU en pie de guerra.

Una parte clave de este plan, que fue anunciado en septiembre por el jefe del estado mayor del ejército, General Edward Meyer, es de mejorar el entrenamiento básico. Como el *New York Times* lo explicó: "El entrenamiento básico para los soldados nuevos sería más duro, la disciplina más rigurosa y dedicarían más tiempo a enseñar habilidades militares". Bajo este plan el ejército está volviendo casi 7000 sargentos de unidades en el extranjero a los EU para el entrenamiento de unidades basadas en este país. El básico será extendido de 8 a 9 semanas y cada día de entrenamiento se extenderá por una hora y media más. También un programa obligatorio de entrenamiento físico está planeado.

En el Pentágono, más y más se preocupan de su capacidad de mantener estable su ejército en la guerra venidera. Los recuerdos de la desintegración del ejército EU en Vietnam todavía aterrizan los generales, tanto como la perspectiva de lograr que los millones de jóvenes que los imperialistas necesitarán se marchen a la batalla a morir por la gran gloria del imperialismo EU.

Revistas militares como *Army*, *The Armed Forces Journal* y *Military Review* (El Ejército, La Jornada de las Fuerzas Armadas, y Revista Militar) que se concentraban principalmente en la tecnología militar ahora dan posición importante a debates y discusiones sobre la cuestión del "liderato", los cuales podrían bien titularse: "Como llevar las tropas a la tercera guerra mundial". Claramente están preocupados por el gran número de bajas que sufrirán en los primeros días y semanas de combate con las tropas del Pacto de Varsovia, y las perspectivas para mantener funcionando el ejército EU como la guerra se prolongue. Un desfile de coroneles, mayores y generales se quejan que "sus" tropas no muestran el nivel de fiedad y el buen espíritu y disciplina necesarios para la situación no-muy-antecedente a la guerra.

Como lo dijeron dos capitanes: "Nuestra prioridad en tiempos de paz debe ser de establecer unidades del ejército con un nivel de unión suficiente para aguantar el choque inicial de

guerra intensiva sin desintegrar, unidades que, aún después de sufrir bajas graves, pueden todavía ofrecer cuadros con experiencia y capaces de recibir grandes números de reemplazos individuos activados con poca noticia".

Otra manera en que expresen sus preocupaciones es en términos de lo que llaman "bajas de batalla psicológicas", soldados que van AWOL (ausentes sin permiso oficial) después de períodos iniciales de combate, de los cuales esperan un número bastante grande en la guerra venidera porque "la capacidad de matar y herir de las armas modernas" asegurará "altos niveles de bajas psicológicas dentro de horas—no días o semanas—después de que comiencen las hostilidades". "Bajas psicológicas representan una pérdida de mano de obra recuperable en el campo de batalla", dos oficiales médicos del ejército escriben. "Si las vamos a contar como bienes o apuntarles como pérdidas permanentes depende de las preparaciones (o la falta de ellas) que hacemos ahora..."

Además del aumento de entrenamiento y la disciplina mucho más rigida que están estableciendo, el ejército también está haciendo planes para intentar tratar con estos problemas ahora por formar sus unidades en el entrenamiento básico y moverlas como unidades de un sitio a otro—en vez de transportar individuos de una unidad a otra como hacen ahora. La idea es que la rotación constante de soldados individuos—necesario porque casi la mitad del ejército EU está situado en el extranjero, protegiendo su imperio mundial—ha debilitado sus esfuerzos de fomentar el entusiasmo de "nuestra batallón es el número uno" que el ejército intenta usar para incitar las tropas.

En el mismo entrenamiento básico, la propaganda come-como de la "batallón EU" poniéndose en posición para dar a toda madre con "la batallón rusa" se está aumentando a niveles de record. Reclutas nuevas no sólo tienen que aprender los varios tipos de armamentos que los imperialistas EU y sus aliados usan, sino también todas las reclutas tienen que aprender la eficaz y apariencia de los tanques, armas ligeras, minas, gas, etc., hechos por los soviéticos. Se dice constantemente que los rifles AK rusos son superiores a los M16 EU, pero si los soldados EU saben lo que hacen, pueden vencer a las tropas rusas... Esto viene junto con carteles en los cuarteles de soldados y uniformes

Incitando las Tropas para Luchar Contra "Ivan"

rusos y recuerdos constantes de como "los soldados rusos están entrenando a toda fuerza para acabar con los soldados EU".

En el entrenamiento básico les "enseñan" a las reclutas como tratar con los presos. Primero les enseñan las reglas "oficiales". Luego los sargentos intervienen con "sus propias ideas," con sus orígenes obvios en niveles más altos, de que "Si tenga entre mis manos uno de esos presos comunistas, mierda, no le voy a proteger el pellejo". Así preparan las tropas para las futuras campañas de aniquilación de presos "enemigos", mientras al mismo tiempo propagan que, "por supuesto" el ejército EU tiene criterios de alta moralidad, no como "el enemigo".

Junto con esto están diseñando nuevas insignias charras para unidades, rangos y secciones de las fuerzas armadas, y también están discutiendo la posibilidad de tener gorras de colores diferentes para señalar la infantería, blindados y otras armas de combate.

Pero claramente estas medidas son sólo un pequeño sabor de lo que queda por venir, ambos en cuanto la preparación de los que ya están en uniforme para la guerra, y en cuanto los cientos de miles (y eventualmente millones) de tropas nuevas que necesitarán para expandir sus filas como la guerra se acerca. También han puesto en marcha planes para mejorar el entrenamiento y armamento y estado de preparación de la Guardia Nacional y de las Reservas para que se las podría llamar al combate con la mínima de noticia. Y esto, aún más, subraya su necesidad para empezar el reclutamiento mandatorio en el futuro inmediato (hasta los imperialistas mismos no piensan que unas gorras de colores más llamativas y otra chuchería van a inspirar millones a tener sus entrañas sacadas a pedazos para el imperialismo EU—tendrán que forzar la mayoría a su máquina verde).

Se están detallados muchos de sus planes en un papel escrito por el General Meyer titulado: "Una Estructura para Transformar el Ejército de los 1980 en una Fuerza de Lucha Disciplinada y bien Entrenada". En su resumen el documento declara:

"La década de los 80, empezando con peligros evidentes a los intereses críticos nacionales, parece ser una época de demanda, un tiempo de crisis continua potencial. Tales situaciones presentan graves peligros. Para la nación preparada, también proponen grandes oportunidades. El ejército EU—por su preparación hacia una capacidad militar verdadera y visible—busca sostener la nación y sus valores durante esta década crítica de los 80".

¿Y cómo planea el ejército tratar con los retos a los "intereses nacionales críticos" (LEA: el imperio mundial de los imperialistas EU) y realizar "las grandes oportunidades" (LEA: la oportunidad para expandir este imperio y aplastar sus rivales imperialistas)? General Meyer llama por "la flexibilidad sin precedente... en el empleo de alternativas tácticas, en el despliegue estratégico, en nuestro pensamiento tanto como nuestra estructura de fuerza" y para gran mejoramiento y expansión de la capacidad de EU de movilizar para y llevar a cabo la guerra. La meta de esto sería, según Meyer, perfeccionar "nuestra capacidad de proyectar el poder de combate para todas partes del mundo".

Esta es una declaración bastante clara de la posición que les enfrenta a los imperialistas EU como el mundo entra en los 1980, de su propia boca. Enfrentados con un reto serio de los imperialistas soviéticos a su imperio mundial, una grave crisis económica que se está profundizando y las crecientes luchas revolucionarias desde Irán hasta El Salvador, es ciertamente el imperio EU y la dominación de los imperialistas EU (lo que Meyer llama "la nación y sus valores") que está en juego en esta década.

También es una declaración bastante descarada de como planean sacarse de esta desmadre: por luchar y ganar la tercera guerra mundial, así una vez más dividiendo el mundo a favor de ellos, y al llegar los 1990 ya estar otra vez en la posición no contestable del perro imperialista número uno del mundo. Para realizar esta visión están preparando friamente la muerte de cientos de millones de personas en la guerra convencional, química y nuclear en una escala mundial.

Ya han fijado carteles en las bases militares EU de soldados de los diferentes países del Pacto de Varsovia para que los soldados se pueden familiarizar con "el enemigo" (quien se llama "Ivan"). Lo más probable es que dentro de poco usarán estos carteles para blancos para practicar disparar, tanto como usaron carteles de los vietnamitas durante la guerra en Vietnam. Pero como la reciente manifestación y otras actividades contra las maniobras de guerra de la "Avanzada de Otoño 80" en Alemania Occidental—y la respuesta entusiástica a ellas y a la agitación revolucionaria por parte de un número de soldados EU—revela, hasta en el "nuevo y mejorado" ejército algunas de las tropas están sacando diferentes ideas de quién va a ser el blanco de esta guerra venidera.

"Revolucionarios en Desarrollo"

Recibimos la carta siguiente: "Tengo un amigo quien es estudiante de arte en la Universidad de Tejas en Austin. Es revolucionario iraní internacionalista que está bien ocupado de cómo elevar la consciencia de clase de las masas estadounidenses. Hace algunas semanas su clase de arte iba a presentar sus esculturas. Durante varias semanas él había estado leyendo el *Obrero Revolucionario* y bregando con cómo podía llevarlo a las manos de más personas.

"Así que construyó un banco. Delante del banco puso un cartel que dijo 'Revolucionarios Americanos en Desarrollo'. Cuan-

do empezó la estrena se sentó en el banco con un libro de su clase de historia titulado, por supuesto, *Revolucionarios Americanos en Desarrollo*. Después de poco un estudiante visitando la exhibición se sentó a su lado y le preguntó que significaba, entonces mi amigo sacó un ejemplar del *Obrero Revolucionario* y comenzó a hablar con el estudiante de la posibilidad de la revolución y de la ciencia del Marxismo-Leninismo, Pensamiento Mao Tsetung, usando el periódico para guiar la discusión.

¡Es todo! ¡Viva el internacionalismo proletariado!"

Alto al Complot Contra Bob Avakian y los Acusados Mao Tsetung

Viene de la página 4

Es nuestra opinión considerada que la Corte de Apelaciones cometió un error en sus conclusiones, que la decisión por el fiscal federal de entablar nuevamente las acusaciones contra los Acusados Mao Tsetung, en nuestra opinión, fue motivada por consideraciones políticas y venganza por parte de la fiscalía. El estándar empleado por la Corte de Apelaciones para llegar a su conclusión prácticamente requeriría que la fiscalía admitiera maldad para sustentar la acusación de venganza por la fiscalía. Todas las circunstancias examinadas por el juez del juicio dieron la impresión de venganza por parte de la fiscalía, y al examinar esto minuciosamente, dicha impresión no fue satisfactoriamente desecha por el fiscal. Es poco práctico esperar que el fiscal admitiera por su propia voluntad semejantes maldades o que diera a conocer motivos políticos bajo los claros y patentes términos demandados por las reglas de la corte.

Repetimos nuevamente nuestra preocupación expresada en nuestro documento antes presentado a la corte y le urgimos a la corte que considere la decisión.

El Licenciado Victor M. Goode

Director Nacional

Conferencia Nacional de Abogados Negros

Nosotros campesinos y obreros de este país, notificamos que brindamos todo nuestro punto de apoyo con nuestras firmas y con la intención de retirar todos los cargos y poner en libertad a nuestro presidente Bob Avakian y los Acusados Mao Tsetung.

Firmado por 28 Campesinos y Trabajadores de Salinas, Calif.

Al Corte de Apelaciones en D.C.:

Por todo que desesperadamente chupaba cuellos, Dracula no podía impedir la salida del sol. Tampoco sus intentos del complot contra Bob Avakian serán permitidos a tener éxito por los que luchan para animar el amanecer del nuevo día. Liberar a los Acusados Mao Tsetung, Alto al Complot contra Bob Avakian.

Thunder Road, Chicago

La coalición de St. Louis Contra la Conscripción está bien consciente de los esfuerzos de amedrentar y aplastar a las fuerzas revolucionarias y progresistas en tanto que los que mandan en EU tratan de prepararnos al resto de nosotros para la guerra.

Esto se manifiesta desde la declaración de inocencia de los Nazis/Klan en Greensboro, y a las audiencias de deportación del activista-minero de carbón, Marion Buston hasta el asesinato de la activista revolucionaria Yulanda Ward.

La reinstalación de los cargos contra Bob Avakian y los otros 16 "Acusados Mao Tsetung" todo esto es claramente parte de este esfuerzo. Aunque no estamos en acuerdo necesariamente con la política del PCR y la BJCR, sabemos que un ataque contra uno es un ataque contra todos. Nos oponemos a la reactivación de esta moción para enjuiciar a Bob Avakian y los Acusados Mao Tsetung.

¡La coalición exige que rechacen los cargos contra Bob Avakian y los Acusados Mao!

Coalición de St. Louis Contra la Conscripción

Veredicto de Greensboro

Viene de la página 2

que lo promovieron eran tan claramente objetivos de la simpatía de los poderes.

Una parte importante de la ayuda que los Nazi y KKK recibieron del fiscal era el rehusamiento de aquel a permitir surgir cualquier prueba que trataba con la planificación de este masacre bien ejecutado, lo que dió fuerza al argumento de que debería de haber sido espontáneo, y así de defensa propia. El fiscal rehusó llamar a Bernard Butkovich, un agente federal quien asistió al mitin clave de planificación de los fascistas sólo dos días antes del masacre. Rehusó llamar a Edwin Dawson, un informante de la policía de Greensboro que no sólo infiltró al Klan, sino colectó información sobre la manifestación contra el Klan de la policía misma, informó la policía del gran arsenal del Klan por las afueras de la ciudad, y luego dirigió la caravana justo al sitio de la masacre.

Pero, dijo el fiscal Mark Schlosser, "Ni se dejaron una piedra sin volverla en este juicio". De hecho el crimen fue enterrado bajo una pila de piedras, contruida por los esfuerzos colutorios del juez, fiscal, defensa y prensa.

Uno de los aspectos más reveladores del papel del juez era las decisiones en cuanto que se podía presentar como evidencia.

Por ejemplo, rehusó permitir como evidencia una cinta magnética de Smith cuya defensa fue "automatismo" (que no tenía control de sus acciones y no se acuerda de lo que pasó) cabe en que el 3

de noviembre había sido golpeado en la cabeza. A pesar de esto, en un discurso que hizo en una manifestación del KKK el 13 de noviembre (que estaba completa con una exhibición de fotos de autopsia de los cadáveres mutilados de las víctimas), Smith no sólo recordó el masacre sino también llamó a otros "hombres blancos, fuertes y sanos" a hacer lo mismo. "Luchabamos para la libertad de Uds. en las calles de Greensboro en contra del comunismo....el Klan lo hizo en 1865, lo podemos hacer de nuevo en 1980. Lo que pasó en Greensboro no es nada en comparación con lo que viene..." El juez decidió que esto era "no pertinente" en cuanto el estado de mente de Smith.

Sin embargo no le causó ningún problema permitir el testimonio de un oficial del ejército retirado que había trabajado con uno de las víctimas. Este militar de carrera dijo que el miembro del PCO le dijo, "Esto es lo que nos hace falta, un mártir", una declaración que el juez decidió era prueba "pertinente". De hecho, las contradicciones legales en estas dos decisiones se mostraron bien "no pertinentes" al juez puestas en la luz del propósito político de este juicio entero, como trabajó para no incitar el jurado contra el KKK y hasta promover estos fascistas como simplemente "patriotas desviados" que al fondo estaban "haciendo lo que se tenían que hacer".

En verdad, hacían exactamente lo que la burguesía necesita que hagan. Porque la basura asquerosa como el Klan que surge en el decaimiento de esta sociedad siempre ha sido útil para la clase gobernante, en particular durante tiempos de crisis y guerra, como tropas de choque para atacar físicamente las luchas revolucionarias del pueblo negro y de todos los oprimidos. Primero fueron soltados en el período después de la Guerra Civil para forzar los esclavos liberados a sumisión, estos reaccionarios ahora están respondiendo otra vez a la

Declaración a la Corte en Washington:

Estamos ultrajados que las mismas cortes que dejaron libertad al horrra, el Klan, en la masacre de las cinco personas en Greensboro, ahora se los están usando para un complot y para agarrar a Bob Avakian del movimiento revolucionario.

De los que hemos sido en su ejército imperialista, y visto que su libertad y democracia no son nada más que la libertad para violar y sacar pillaje como hicieron en Vietnam—de los que estamos en su ejército ahora mismo que esperan ver luchar ciegamente en su próxima guerra mundial—les mandamos este mensaje—QUITAN SUS MANOS SANGRIENTAS DE BOB AVAKIAN...

10 Soldados en Ft. Bragg

4 veteranos

3 dependientes

"Con el fin preservar las libertades civiles de los manifestantes políticos, y pido que rechacen los cargos contra Bob Avakian y sus compañeros acusados"

Howard Zinn

Activista Político y Profesor de la Universidad de Boston

1 de diciembre 1980

A la Corte de Apelaciones:

Nosotros, estudiantes iraníes, condenamos la acción ultrajante de la corte de apelaciones.

Les rogamos resolutamente, "corte de injusticia", a abandonar esta conspiración escalandosa, este llamado juicio contra Bob Avakian y los demás Acusados Mao Tsetung.

Sus cargos vindicativos contra los Acusados Mao Tsetung traerán más opinión mundial despectiva a su sistema imperialista, mientras la imagen revolucionaria e integridad de Bob Avakian están profundamente gravados en la mente de gente alrededor del mundo. Es hora que Uds., "corte de injusticia" y los criados del imperialismo se dieron cuenta de que su servilidad ha llegado al máximo y así también nuestro aborrecimiento.

Estamos unidos. Los puños unidos están listos para darse en su puño. Deben saber que "la gente unida jamás será vencida".

34 estudiantes iraníes

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<p>Porque Nosotros Rojos Queremos Destruir el Capitalismo</p> <p><small>LA BRIGADA DE LA JUVENTUD COMUNISTA REVOLUCIONARIA</small></p>	<p>Disponible de:</p> <p>RCYB PO Box A3836 Chicago, IL 60690</p> <p>25c</p>
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llamada de sus dueños. Este juicio claramente no era para encarcelarles sino para promover estos asesinos fanfarrones.

En esta luz, es importante examinar si este veredicto refleja el llamado "ascenso de la derecha". De hecho los eventos en Greensboro son una aguda manifestación de que este "ascenso de la derecha" es actualmente poco más que una creación de la clase gobernante y de la prensa.

Porque esto ciertamente no fue ataque por parte de "los crecientes rangos de la derecha". Tampoco fue el veredicto de "inocente" una concesión a una demanda de las "masas rabiosas". En vez los asesinatos de Greensboro fueron acto vicioso de un puñado, promovido y hasta dirigido por la burguesía y sus agentes. Y el veredicto fue resultado de una manipulación cuidadosamente orquestada por el juez, la policía, el fiscal y otros. Es un ejemplo vivo de como la burguesía usa su control del aparato del Estado y de la prensa para presentar su represión intensificante como resultado del funcionamiento

normal de "democracia" para intimidar y confundir los que odian a este sistema y desean acabar con ello.

En vez, los acontecimientos en Greensboro sólo confirman que los capitalistas gobiernan este país con un firme puño de acero, y su llamada democracia es nada más que democracia para los ricos, y que nada—ni asesinato ni otra cosa—es "il-egal" en cuanto esté de acuerdo con sus intereses de prolongar su dominio. El hecho es que más y más están forzados a desenmascarar el puño de acero que esconden debajo tal fachada democrática y dar aprobación abierta a perros como el KKK y los Nazi. Esto no indica la creciente fuerza de la burguesía sino su debilidad y desesperación, una revelación del hecho de que al fondo de su dominación está un fusil, que usarán para dominar. Estos eventos ultrajantes en Greensboro, un crimen vicioso que no se va a olvidar, sirven de exponer aún más su "democracia" y subrallar su debilidad a los que están determinados que aquella dominación no va a durar mucho más.

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Asir el
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Dos artículos claves. Reimpresos de la revista *Revolución*, acerca del papel clave de agitación y propaganda en el trabajo del Partido de desarrollar la conciencia revolucionaria de las masas para preparar la toma del Poder.

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China

Viene de la página 7

todos aquellos trabajadores del arte y la literatura que quieren a su país. Los cereales que comemos son el producto del trabajo del campesino, los obreros hacen la ropa que usamos y las casas que habitamos, y el Ejército Popular del Pueblo mantiene guardia en los frentes de defensa nacional por nosotros, y aún así no los representamos en la escena. ¿Me permiten preguntarles qué posición de clase toman ustedes los artistas? ¿Y dónde está la 'consciencia' de los artistas, de la cual ustedes siempre hablan?"

Llevando a cabo una revolución en la cultura era una lucha aguda, y hoy los revisionistas están llevando testigos al juicio para dar testimonio de como Chiang Ching les perseguía—"Pues lo único que hacían era de producir cultura para preparar para echar por atrás la revolución". Era en contra de este tipo de pez gordo que Chiang Ching atacó el 12 de diciembre, cuando enseñó que Liao Mosha—que estaba llorando en la corte intentando evocar simpatía (todo lo que era por su puesto según un texto preparado)—era un alto oficial en el gobierno de Pekín y miembro de un grupo que había atacado a Mao por "tener amnesia," y de ser "un loco en delirio" lleno de "habladería vacía," y que estaba usando la cultura para preparar para un asimiento de poder por la Derecha.

Durante todo el juicio, Chiang Ching ha firmemente surgido una defensa de la línea de Mao. Aún antes de que empezó el juicio dijo, "Si van a golpear un perro, fijarse primero en su dueño," un proverbio viejo chino que usaba para mostrar que era la línea de Mao mismo que ella estaba defendiendo. Durante una audiencia antes del juicio, Chiang Ching intensificó los ataques, diciendo que "Enjuiciarme a mí es enjuiciar al Partido Comunista, condenarme es condenar al Partido. Lo que he hecho corresponde completamente a los principios del marxismo-leninismo, pensamiento Mao Tsetung. Si quieren repudiarme, es porque han traicionado el marxismo-leninismo". Y durante el juicio subrayó el hecho de que Mao había sabido de y dirigido en la línea fundamental que había dirigido sus acciones a ella.

Esto echó los revisionistas en un tumulto. Cuando primero realizaron el golpe hace cuatro años, hicieron mucho de como eran ellos que apoyaban Mao y como "La Banda de los Cuatro" le había traicionado, principalmente para engañar a las masas. (En el mismo juicio, dos miembros de "la Banda de los Cuatro", Wang Hongwen y Yao Wenyan, aparentemente han capitulado a los revisionistas, "confesando" sus llamados "crímenes", o de veras echando la culpa de todo lo que están acusados a Chiang Ching. Como dijimos en la JCR del mes pasado, antes de que Wang claramente capituló y Yao aparentemente empezó a hacer "excusas" a los jueces, "aun si cualquier de los cuatro capitulara, sólo significaría repudiar completamente todo lo que ellos y Mao habían representado, y todo por lo cual la clase proletariado internacional les honora".)

Pero como más han realizado los revisionistas la restauración del capitalismo en China y capitulado al imperialismo, ha sido más y más necesario deshacer el sistema socialista y, como parte clave de preparar para y justificar esto, atacar al legado revolucionario de Mao.

Pero están bien preocupados de hacerlo demasiado, como el respecto tremendo para Mao que existe ampliamente entre las masas, y en particular los avanzados, está claro.

La Lucha Interna de los Revisionistas

Más, hay una profunda lucha interna entre las pandillas revisionistas alrededor de Jua y Deng sobre cómo tratar con Mao, una contradicción de que Chiang Ching ha diestramente aprovechado. En la primavera de 1976, enfrentado con una Derecha fuerte que

impidió a la Izquierda en sus esfuerzos de ganar el puesto de primer ministro, Mao trabajó para voltear esto por dividir el campo de la Derecha. Puso Jua, quien generalmente estaba en el campo de la Derecha aunque no uno de sus miembros bien conocidos, en una posición en la cual fue forzado a atacar a Deng. Por esto, y porque generalmente Jua, y otros como él, subieron a puestos de poder por el corriente de la Revolución Cultural, Jua está más inclinado a intentar usar Mao como símbolo vacío, mientras desentrañando el corazón de su línea, en vez de seguir el camino más descarado de Deng. Era con un entendimiento claro de esto que, cuando acusaron a Chiang Ching de haber reprimido a varias personas en la primavera de 1976 en una manifestación contrarrevolucionaria en

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EL LIBRO ROJO de MAO TSETUNG

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Iran

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cuyos intereses caben en llevar a cabo la revolución al final—mucho más allá de lo que desean los capitalistas que han intentado mantener las riendas del poder en Teheran. Aunque a estas fuerzas capitalistas les gustaría más libertad de acción de lo que a los imperialistas EU les interesa darles, más temen el movimiento de las masas y son incapaces de movilizar las masas para vencer el imperialismo y sus maniobras (como la incursión iraní), lo que tiene el efecto de empujarles más y más cerca a la capitulación.

Pero la presión de EU también ha intensificado la lucha entre las facciones de la clase dominante iraní, encabezadas por el Partido Republicano Islámico y por el Presidente Bani-Sadr. Cada facción ha estado intentando mejorar su propia posición debilitada por echar la culpa de las dificultades económicas y militares a sus rivales, acusaciones volando entre los dos y chillando entre sí, aunque básicamente están de acuerdo en cuanto encontrar una manera de llegar a un acuerdo con EU.

Pero la burguesía nacional de Irán tiene una tarea precaria. El pueblo iraní, quienes se levantaron en una tremenda tormenta revolucionaria para botar el imperialismo de su país, derrocando el títere EU el Sha, están

firmes en su odio de y resistencia al imperialismo. De hecho, el gobierno ha podido ganar apoyo para su esfuerzo de guerra contra los invasores iraquíes por una gran parte porque hay un amplio entendimiento en Irán de que el ejército iraquí está en servicio del imperialismo EU. Liberando los rehenes y llegando a un acuerdo con EU claramente no sería acción semejante—y seguramente encontraría oposición extendida y grave del pueblo iraní.

Esto es lo que les preocupa a los gobernantes iraníes y, junto con sus pleitos internos—muchos de los cuales tratan de esta misma cuestión—es básicamente lo que hasta ahora ha impedido un gran salto hacia la capitulación completa.

Un esfuerzo que han hecho para preparar el fundamento para tal movida es atacar a la izquierda revolucionaria en Irán, empezando con un asalto directo contra los Mojahadeen del Pueblo. Porque son la organización anti-imperialista más grande en Irán y porque sus explicaciones radicales de Islam amenazan los esfuerzos del gobierno de usar la religión como su autoridad para gobernar, el gobierno les ve como el blanco más inmediato entre los grupos revolucionarios.

En el frente, unidades militares dirigidos por los Mojahadeen siempre han sido singularizados por ataque por la Guardia Revolucionaria Islámica. Y en noviembre un líder del Mojahadeen fue condenado a 10 años en prisión, bajo cargos de haber obtenido información de un agente soviético. Acusaron el liderato entero del Mojahadeen de cargos semejantes, y los cortes ordenaron el arresto de todos ellos. Estos y otros ataques tienen la meta de debilitar la izquierda y de aislarla de su creciente apoyo entre las masas.

Como el lazo se ajusta por los cuellos de los gobernantes iraníes, los im-

perialistas EU también han usado la guerra entre Irán e Irak y la situación en el área para impulsar una gran escalación militar y política por todo el Golfo Pérsico y otras partes del Oriente Medio con el fin de ganar más en contra de sus rivales soviéticos imperialistas. Escondido detrás de su máscara de "neutralidad" en la guerra, EU ha supervisado un reforzamiento militar masivo del régimen iraquí por otros regímenes títeres en la región, como Jordania, y por los aliados EU en Europa Occidental. Al mismo tiempo, ha dirigido las tropas de Irak con el fin de aplicar la mayor presión posible contra Teheran, mandado aviones militares sofisticados y personal a Arabia Saudita para supervisar las operaciones militares EU, congregado una gran fuerza naval de EU y OTAN en el Océano Índico justo por la entrada al Golfo Pérsico, llevado a cabo ejercicios militares de su fuerza especial para el Oriente Medio en Egipto, aumentado los esfuerzos de construir bases militares y acumular provisiones en Kenya, Oman, Egipto y la isla de Diego García en el Océano Índico, e intensificado la venta de armas a los regímenes clientes de EU en la región.

Estas movidas tienen el propósito de fortalecer la posición EU en la región en preparación para la guerra mundial. Pero otro objetivo básico y fundamental de EU en su preparación bélica es lo de forzar los gobernantes de Irán a capitular, o derrumbarlos por la fuerza, para listar las vías para aplastar la revolución iraní y restaurar Irán como una base clave para el poder EU. Esta tarea se ha mostrado —y aún más se mostrará—ser más difícil que lo más terrible de las pesadillas de los imperialistas. Tienen que tratar con el pueblo iraní. ¡Después de todo, son ellos los responsables por el hecho de que EU "perdió" Irán en primer lugar!

El Salvador

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EU y su apoyo en al actual proceso en El Salvador".

Y finalmente hay planes para la directa intervención militar EU por si acaso estas otras "actividades" fracasen: "La puesta al día de los planes de contingencia para alternativas estadounidenses al deterioro de las condiciones de la región". Estos incluyen no sólo escenarios y evaluaciones para enviar tropas EU en cooperación con las fuerzas paramilitares y las fuerzas armadas de los regímenes títeres de EU en Guatemala y Honduras, sino también planes para cómo tratarán con las consecuencias políticas y diplomáticas de tal acción. Junto con esto hay planes para enorme ayuda económica EU y ayuda técnica a la junta, y planes para "asegurar un sostenido apoyo congressional y de la opinión pública a las actuales políticas por medio de enlaces y relaciones con la prensa" que intentarían crear un imagen favorable de la junta, desacreditar las fuerzas de la oposición y supervisar de cerca los sucesos en la prensa para "evitar publicidad al estilo Nicaragua de los insurgentes de la oposición."

Sin lugar a duda todo esto es apenas un cuadro parcial, pero ciertamente refleja con claridad y precisión los rasgos generales de los preparativos militares de EU en El Salvador y América Central en general. El cuadro que emerge aquí es el de una clase dominante desesperada preparándose frenéticamente en todos los posibles frentes para defender una parte clave de su imperio como las cosas se giran fuera de su control.

China

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la plaza de Tienanmen de Pekin, ella respondió, "No fui responsable de la represión del incidente de Tienanmen. Pueden pedir al ministro de seguridad pública de aquel tiempo a presentarse como testigo en mi defensa". El no nombrado ministro es no más que Jua Guofeng.

Este comentario sarcástico de Chiang Ching clava el oportunismo de los revisionistas como Jua que realizaron el golpe de Estado después de la muerte de Mao. Pero Jua definitivamente está en la defensiva en esta lucha interna burguesa con las fuerzas de Deng, y parece claro que está por botar. Era útil a Deng precisamente porque no era tan claramente identificado con los revisionistas en el corriente de la Revolución Cultural, y así podía temporalmente confundir a la gente, hasta unos apoyantes de Mao durante el golpe y después.

Pero hoy Deng y sus socios son, como le gusta a la prensa EU notar, "hombres con prisa"—una prisa de dar pasos nuevos en su explotación y capitulación al imperialismo. Y para hacerlo, tienen que atacar más y más abiertamente a Mao. Tienen que pegar su línea y políticas revolucionarias e intentar crear la opinión pública para sus planes siempre más reaccionarios necesarios para su dominio capitalista—como en firmar contratos recientes ofreciendo trabajadores chinos a salarios bajos para proyectos de construcción EU en el Medio Oriente, mandando miles de obreros chinos como culles modernos. Esto es precisamente el tipo de capitulación al imperialismo contra lo cual Mao luchaba toda su vida. Es por estas razones que el flojo revisionismo de Jua ahora no es útil como una vez era, y así que lo están echando.

Deng tiene prisa en avanzar el capitalismo, pero esto no es solamente producto de su carácter. Fundamentalmente, es porque los nuevos gobernantes revisionistas están apretados por

la creciente presión generada por las movidas de los dos bloques imperialistas hacia la tercera guerra mundial, haciéndoles sudar y haciendo sus acciones más desesperadas. Y como Chiang Kaishek antes de ellos, su política está dirigida a pegarse a cualquier vela imperialista que parezca más alta, y esperar un viento fuerte.

También como Chiang Kaishek, no lo tendrán. El *New York Times* del 24 de diciembre informó que una manifestación había ocurrido en Changsha, capital de la provincia de Hunan y sitio del nacimiento de Mao, en contra de la primera inflación de precios significativa que ha visto China desde 1949—volando a 10% después de tres décadas de ninguna. Se aumentará la resistencia al infierno en la tierra que el capitalismo está rápidamente trayendo a la China una vez socialista.

Pero aún más importante, y más aterradorizante para la clase de Deng, es el espectro de la línea de Mao. Tienen ganas de poder atacarla y surgirla en conexión con Chiang Ching, y de hecho ya han hecho declaraciones en el periódico central del partido las cuales más que antes habían echado la culpa a Mao mismo por "la mala situación del pueblo" en la Revolución Cultural. Pero después de cuatro años de ataques todavía temen provocar una tormenta de resistencia si lo hacen demasiado claro. Como un pendejo dirigente Hu Qiao-mu dijo anteriormente este año, "La historia de diez años de la Revolución Cultural nos dio una lección extremadamente dolorosa. Pero parece que esta lección no bastaba para una sección de los camaradas, cierta gente en la sociedad y la juventud. Algunas hasta piensan que debemos de negar todo como hicieron en la Revolución Cultural, formar una variedad de facciones y continuar actividades para oponer el liderato del Partido. Entre esta gente, sobre todo hay los rasgos de la 'Banda de los Cuatro' y en ciertas áreas sun una fuerza significativa en poner en peligro la unidad y estabilidad".

Todo esto establece una tierra fecunda para avances por las fuerzas revolucionarias en China, y el estandarte bravo de las acciones de Chiang Ching y Chang Chun-chiao ha dado una lluvia fresca para animar su crecimiento. Los revisionistas repiten y la prensa EU ha repetido vez tras vez que Chiang Ching



Chiang Ching y Mao Tsetung durante la guerra de liberación.

está "aislada" y la Revolución Cultural está muerta, y que las masas chinas adoran a Deng. Aún en las entrañas de su corte, sus meras palabras han causado tumulto y confusión. Es tan "aislada" que cuidadosamente han prohibido asistir a la corte a todos salvo un puñado de sus manigotes. Es exactamente porque es tan "aislada" que ella les retó a sentenciarla a la muerte frente a un millón de personas. ¡Ahora dínos quién es "aislado"!

Las acciones de Chiang Ching tienen un significado tremendo dentro de China—pero llegan mucho más lejos de aquellas fronteras. Sus acciones están ocurriendo en un tiempo cuando el rostro de la tierra está nublado por las nubes de tormenta de guerra mundial—nubes que también contienen las albas de revolución por las masas. En tal tiempo, lleno de tanto peligro y oportunidad, Chiang Ching se ha levantado de estatura monumental, desafiando prisión y la misma muerte alumbrando en millones una imagen imborrable de revolución proletaria.

Su defensa sin compromiso de la política revolucionaria de Mao Tsetung

ha venido también durante una conjuntura clave en el movimiento comunista internacional, en un tiempo cuando se ha lanzado ataques contra su línea por todos cuartos, todos que se sumen en una forma u otra en la capitulación al imperialismo en la misma época cuando las posibilidades de asir las posibilidades revolucionarias es tan grande. Sus acciones se han mostrado ser un salvo poderoso contra estos ataques fortaleciendo los que usarán el levantamiento venidero para dirigir las masas, como hacía Mao, a tomar por asalto el cielo.

Antes de que el juicio empezó, en un documento de 181 páginas que es una denuncia picante de los revisionistas, Chiang Ching escribió, mostrando el optimismo revolucionario del proletariado, "Uds. gozan del Poder hoy así que se les hace fácil acusar a gente de crímenes, fabricar falsas pruebas para lograr sus metas. Pero si piensan que puedan engañar al pueblo chino y del mundo entero, están completamente equivocados. No soy yo sino su pequeña banda la que está siendo juzgado ante la corte de la historia".

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