

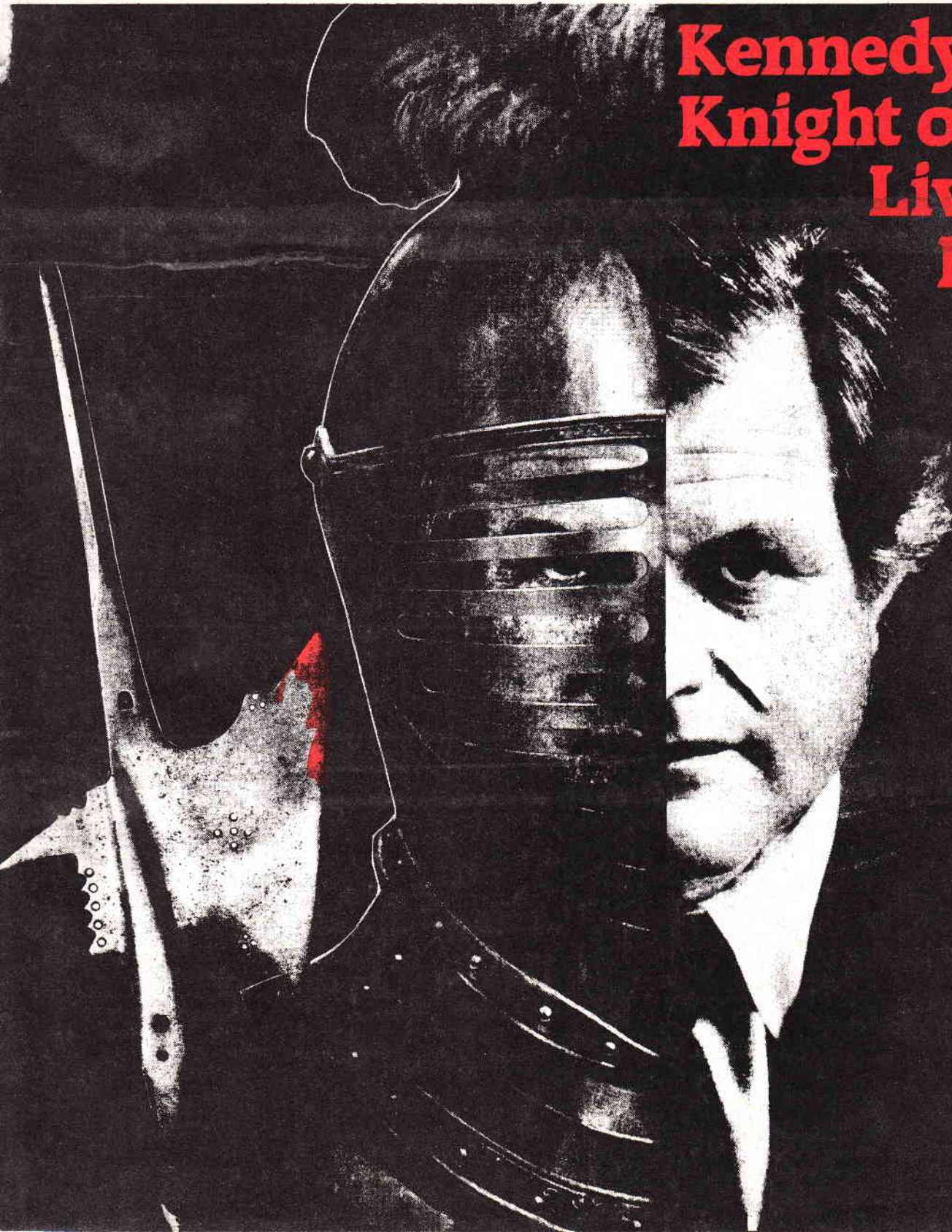
REVOLUTION

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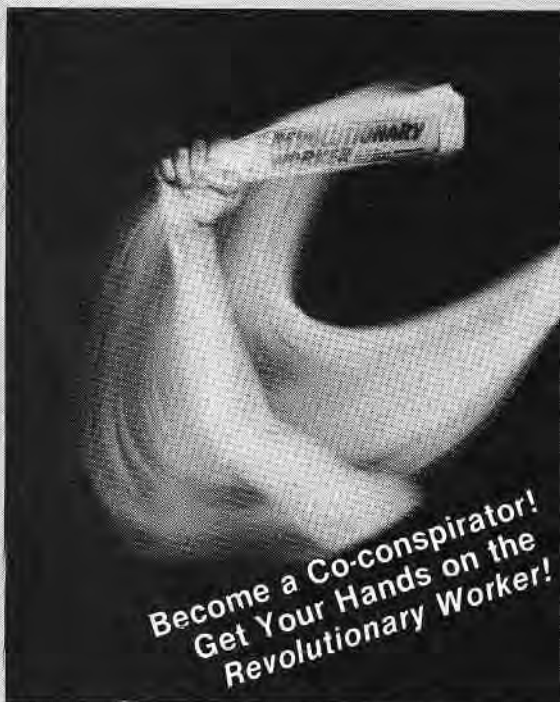
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Gov't Retreats, Attacks Again—

On November 14 a federal judge dismissed the charges against Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, and the 16 other Mao Tsetung Defendants—charges which carried penalties of 241 years in prison for each defendant. Clearly the decision to drop the case at this time—after refusing to do so for so long—resulted from a political decision by the highest authorities. This victory was won by the struggle of the thousands and thousands of people who stepped forward from every walk of life to oppose this outrageous attack.

The dismissal came on the eve of demonstrations and rallies scheduled for November 17-19 in Washington, D.C. and the San Francisco Bay Area—and was clearly meant to deflate them and to dissipate the momentum built up around this case. But the actions went ahead as scheduled; 800 rallied in D.C. and 600 in Oakland, California, under new slogans reflecting the new situation: "Keep Bob Avakian and the Mao Defendants Free! Heighten Our Vigilance, Continue the Struggle! Advance on Our Victory!"

The RCP warned that through this action the government was both retreating and maneuvering to launch new attacks. It was retreating because the Party had widely exposed and denounced the attempted frame-up and won very powerful support from among a broad spectrum of the people, creating unfavorable conditions for the government to go ahead with its flimsy case without paying a high political price; but at the same time the imperialists' nature did not change nor did their desire to wipe out the Party, which was their purpose in singling out Comrade Avakian.

The correctness of this analysis was proved almost immediately. Nine days later the government filed a notice of appeal, so that the charges may be reactivated at any time. Meanwhile the government has been going through legal acrobatics to keep the bail conditions on Comrade Avakian even though no charges are presently pending. But these maneuvers only set the stage.

On November 28 the U.S. Secret Service initiated a new phase of the attack. The pretext is an August 19 story in the *Los Angeles Times* which completely fabricated a "threat" against Jimmy Carter by Bob Avakian. When this story first appeared, the RCP saw that its falsifications were aimed at setting Comrade Avakian up for attack, and created enough pressure to force the unwilling



RCP Central Committee Chairman Bob Avakian at Thanksgiving day dinner for the D.C. volunteers.

Times to print a partial retraction (although they refused to retract some of their deliberate lies). Now, some four months later, the Secret Service suddenly decides (two weeks after the dismissal

of the other charges) that this supposed "threat" warrants a big investigation. This is even less of a pretense of "non-political" charges than the last round of attacks—and it is even more deadly.



Nov. 19 March in Washington, D.C.

Bob Avakian Must Stay Free!

When the *Times* article first appeared, the RCP filed in federal court for a temporary restraining order to prevent just such an attack as the government has now launched. It was turned down on the grounds that the RCP had failed to prove that this fabricated quote had actually resulted in an active investigation. When the Secret Service suddenly did begin their very active "investigation," this suit was refiled—to be turned down this time (after eight days of judicial stalling) on the ground that the court had no jurisdiction to interfere with a Secret Service investigation!

What does this "investigation" consist of? At first, the Secret Service visits Bob Avakian's house and the Chicago Workers Center. Then the SS collars two *Revolutionary Worker* agitators in Chicago and grills them for several hours on such topics as whether they had guns in their car or at home and where "Mr. Avakian" could be located. What they're up to becomes more obvious—on a Washington, D.C. campus, two "students" burst into a discussion between Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade members and students with a concoction about Bob Avakian

pulling a gun on a guard at the Chinese Embassy. Finally one of these "students" flashes a Secret Service badge to "prove" his story. Later, in a similar situation, another "student" declares, "Well, he murdered somebody so he should go to jail, after all he admitted it," and then runs off when challenged on his big lie. For a week the SS refuses to return phone calls from Bob Avakian's lawyer. They pretend not to even know about the *Los Angeles Times*' partial retraction or the RCP's suit, etc., etc. All the while they keep looking for Bob Avakian. At first they try to convince Comrade Avakian's lawyer that all they want to do is talk. What they want is Bob Avakian.

What does this add up to? Certainly not a "routine investigation." It is neither routine nor is it in fact an investigation. It is an attempt to create conditions so that they can grab Bob Avakian and put him away one way or another. The bail conditions which the government is trying to continue on the appealed charges can mean jail if new indictments are devised based on these Secret Service investigation maneuvers. But also beyond this, and much more

importantly, they are out to create further pretexts and hysteria. They are out to create public opinion—in order to prepare the way for even more vicious attacks. They hope to use the November dismissal of the charges to their own advantage—to play on people's illusions about bourgeois justice, to plant doubts about whether the attack was really serious to begin with. At the same time, by portraying revolutionaries as violence-prone crazies (as they did with the Panthers), they try to isolate them from the masses and "justify" deadly political assaults ranging from prison terms to murder.

The context in which this particular attack is being carried out is extremely important. The Greensboro massacre of five anti-Klan demonstrators, with its open police complicity, has helped set up a climate of an "open season" against revolutionaries. And this is taking place against the backdrop of the wave of patriotic hysteria which the bourgeoisie has worked so hard to build up around Iran. Clearly the ruling class thinks the time is now to move on the revolutionary forces. This has become all the more urgent for them just because of the work revolutionaries have done in broadly exposing the U.S.'s role in Iran and taking advantage of this new, highly politicized climate to mobilize new forces against them.

What were the factors that enabled us to beat back the first phase of this attack?

First, the government was shaken by the broad and rapidly growing support which was mobilized in the face of this attack—manifested in the thousands who came to hear Bob Avakian on his nationwide speaking tour, the increasing coverage of the case which the bourgeois media was forced to undertake, and the broad number of people and organizations signing the statement of support that appeared in the November 19th *Washington Post*, as well as in other ways. Second, 150 D.C. Volunteers, "picked troops" including many new revolutionary fighters drawn from the ranks of the workers and oppressed of this country, were mobilized to turn Washington upside down through broad agitation in every area of the city—and their success in beginning to do so was a big factor in forcing the government's retreat. And third, the



A youth squad of the D.C. volunteers raps about Bob Avakian and the Mao Defendants with students at D.C.'s Howard University.

U.S. imperialists no doubt took close notice of the support demonstrated by Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations from all over the world. In short, this victory was achieved through mobilizing and relying on the masses of people. And it is through the same revolutionary strategy that the continuation of the bourgeoisie's attack on this revolutionary leader and party will be

met head on and defeated.

Every slimy maneuver of the Secret Service and other ruling class agencies can and must be exposed as a knife in the back of the masses of people, and those same masses mobilized against it on that basis. The main weapon we have with which to accomplish this is the *Revolutionary Worker*, waging a toe-to-toe struggle over every one of their

maneuvers and dragging their secret war into the light of day, showing all this in relation to the bourgeoisie's dictatorship and the exploitation and oppression suffered daily by the people here and all over the world—and to the revolutionary struggle against all of it. This newspaper is the main way the line of our Party, guided by its Chairman, reaches and moves the people, it is the main way we are preparing the masses for armed revolution. Of course, the more we hit them the more they will be driven to hit us even harder—but only in this way will we be able to defend our Party and its leadership, waging a back and forth battle until they are finally overthrown.

As Bob Avakian said in his speech in Washington on November 18: "We have fought to keep them from carrying through this railroad and we can and we will fight to keep them from using murder or any other means to crush and cripple and destroy the vanguard Party, the necessary weapon of the working class and the masses of people to rise up and make revolution in this country. We are determined to wage that battle and more than that we are determined to win it. The masses of people, no matter what they think, have something to say about whether or not they can destroy the revolutionary vanguard Party in this country." ■



(Right) The newly-arrived volunteers give their first press conference—in front of the D.C. courthouse where the trial was to take place. (Above) The authorities no doubt took note of the many fresh faces and they were more than a little worried by what their spy cameras uncovered.



REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHILE

Evaluation of the Work of Mao Tsetung



Since World War 2 the International Communist Movement and the socialist world have suffered a grave crisis. Almost all the communist parties which belonged to that movement openly adopted a revisionist line; and almost all the countries where socialist construction had begun have restored capitalism or are on the road to doing so, as is the case with China. The Soviet Union, the first country where the proletariat took power, has been transformed not only into a state capitalist regime, but also into an imperialist superpower, currently one of the main enemies of the peoples of the world.

The future of the Marxist-Leninist movement, and of world socialism, is linked to the correctness of the authentic communists' analysis of the basic causes of this immense, sustained and extremely grave setback for the revolutionary proletarian movement. What has happened confirms the dialectical character of all development; neither Marxism nor socialism advances in a straight line, but like all processes, through contradictions. Marxism advances through line struggle, opposing the various forms which the bourgeois and petty bourgeois line assumes; socialism, through class struggle, confronting the old bourgeoisie, and the new bourgeoisie which arises within socialism itself, including within the vanguard party.

It is important to consider that under socialism the class struggle acquires an unprecedented profundity, because we are not dealing with one class simply replacing another, as in previous systems, but rather with the elimination from society of classes themselves, with all

their ideological manifestations, in order to advance to communism, classless society. The most important thing in analyzing what happened is to show who has betrayed Marxism and how, as well as the errors committed by the authentic Marxists in the struggle against them. Such an analysis, which is both critical and self-critical, will show that it is neither authentic Marxism nor real socialism which have failed in their objective of advancing to classless society, to communism. In their confrontation with the bourgeois lines and with the old and new bourgeoisie, what they have lost is only a battle in the stage of the transition to communism. This analysis, together with laying bare the mistakes committed by the revolutionaries and the distortions of Marxism perpetrated by the revisionists, will be a stinging reply to the bourgeois ideologues, who, by showing how the revisionists have abandoned the basic principles of Marxism and by presenting the oppressive state capitalist regimes as "socialism," claim that Marxism and socialism have failed. A correct analysis of what has occurred will restore the confidence in Marxism and socialism which broad sections of the people have lost because of revisionism's betrayal of both, and once again will arm the proletariat and peoples of the world with the only scientific and revolutionary theory which can make it possible for them to put an end to exploitation.

An important aspect of the analysis of what happened which Marxist-Leninists must make, concerns the process of the struggle between classes and between lines that occurred in China, culminating, temporarily, in a coup by those sectors who seek to restore capitalism there and

Evaluation . . .

transform China into an imperialist superpower. This investigation and analysis of what happened in China is particularly important, not only because it involves a quarter of the human race, but also because in that country, for almost 20 years, there was a prolonged struggle, under the leadership of Mao Tsetung and the Chinese Marxist-Leninists, against the revisionist line that was imposed in almost all the communist parties after the 20th Congress of the Soviet CP, and against the restoration of capitalism.

There can be no investigation and analysis of the events in China without evaluating the actions and ideas of Mao Tsetung, who played an outstanding role not only in that revolutionary process, but also in the International Communist Movement.

In consideration of the interest among our people and the peoples of Latin America and the world in general in understanding what happened in China and in evaluating the ideas and actions of Mao Tsetung, the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile has decided to make public the results of its investigations in this matter, thus contributing to the debate which has broken out. Our Party, even though it does not have all the information which it would be desirable to have in analyzing and judging these facts, is not starting from complete ignorance, nor still less from negative prejudices about the revolutionary advances in China and the role of Mao Tsetung. Our long-standing support for the Chinese Revolution and Mao Tsetung's ideas have been based on concrete knowledge of that revolution and the ideas which led it, and the utilization of those experiences and ideas in our own anti-revisionist, revolutionary struggle.

We believe that in order to make a correct and principled analysis of the Chinese experience and Mao Tsetung's ideas, without falling into either a pragmatist interpretation that judges the validity of those experiences and ideas on the basis of their temporary defeat; nor into an idealist and metaphysical interpretation that does not take into account the real development of the class struggle and the objective contradictions, it is necessary to make a twofold comparison of Mao Tsetung Thought, which guided these ideas and this experience. It is necessary to judge it in relation to, on the one hand, the essential principles of Marxism-Leninism, as an application of these principles to China's concrete reality and as a legitimate development of some aspects of these principles, and on the other hand, in relation to the objective difficulties encountered in its application to the complex reality of Chinese society. Both comparisons permit an evaluation of the role played by errors of application or possible deviations from Marxism in the temporary defeat suffered by the Chinese revolution, as well as the role played by the objective difficulties which stood in opposition to the successful development of that revolutionary process.

In analyzing Mao Tsetung's ideas, one runs up against a particular difficulty regarding those works which were published unofficially during the Cultural Revolution, and Volume 5 of his works which was edited after Mao's death by the revisionist clique which now holds power. Revolutionary ideas can be also used with a reactionary class spirit, and quoted out of context, adulterated or openly falsified. This is exactly what the revisionists do with Marxism. Lenin, in his work *State and Revolution*, begins by analyzing this problem of the deliberate distortion of the ideas of revolutionary thinkers, both by the bourgeoisie and by phony revolutionaries, who take ad-

vantage of their prestige in order to fool the masses. This work of forgery was especially intense with respect to Mao Tsetung Thought, due not only to the tremendous prestige of his ideas, but also his own prestige as leader of a quarter of humanity's revolution and as eminent ideologist and leader of the world revolution. Mao Tsetung himself (like the other great Marxist ideologists) on many occasions had to call attention to and fight these distortions. Such forgeries in no way compromise his works—on the contrary, they clearly demonstrate their revolutionary significance and the reactionaries' and opportunists' hatred of them. It's clear, for example, that in Volume 5 there are notable discrepancies with other versions of these materials which became known during the Cultural Revolution: omissions, dubious versions, phrases and even whole paragraphs that did not appear in them. We could point out numerous examples which lead one to think that while Volume 5 and other works edited without Mao's supervision contain some of Mao's ideas, they also contain many and at times subtle falsifications. Taking into account, therefore, the reactionary essence of the clique which now rules China, which Mao fought all his life, and which has already shown that step by step they are carrying out a plan to disparage his ideas and accomplishments (calumnies against the Great Leap Forward, against the Cultural Revolution, revoking of measures to restrict and eliminate the bourgeoisie which had been applied by Mao, the rehabilitation of many counter-revolutionaries who opposed him, etc.), it seems to us completely unjust to make use, without a critical spirit, of their version of Mao Tsetung's writings to criticize his ideas. Our Party has not accepted those documents, except for those concepts which are coherent with his works as a whole, which is an attitude adopted even by the academic specialists in Chinese history who bend every effort to safeguard their reputation for objectivity, and who do not accept the authenticity of all these texts. We should add, nevertheless, that even these revisionist falsifications done with the purpose of using Mao's prestige for their own ends cannot darken the essentially correct and revolutionary content of his ideas which are contained in these writings.

Together with the precautions which are necessary in analyzing Mao Tsetung's ideas (so as not to attribute falsifications to him), the investigation into the objective difficulties that their application faced must be carried out with dialectical materialist criteria. We think that there are two basic aspects that must be taken into account so that such an analysis will be based on materialism and dialectics. On the one hand it's necessary to analyze that process in the international context within which its various stages developed; on the other hand, it's necessary to consider the particularities of Chinese society and the real contradictions—objective and subjective—which occurred in that process. Otherwise, one will fall into a one-sided, metaphysical and idealist analysis, considering Mao, for example, "omnipotent," and thus attributing everything that happened in China to him, and then searching his works in a forced way to find formulations which might seem to explain the reactionary course which the politics of that country took, and even attributing to him the paternity of openly anti-Marxist theories (such as that of the "Three Worlds") which are in complete contradiction with his long-standing views and which he never formulated either in writing or in speaking.

In our judgement, the most serious consequences of an incorrect analysis is not just the disparaging of a great revolutionary leader, but also the negation of the important contributions he made in the application and develop-

ment of Marxism-Leninism, both in his leadership of the struggle for revolution and in his fight against international revisionism and to build and develop socialism.

I. THE PROBLEM OF THE PROLETARIANIZATION OF THE PARTY

The first important problem we think should be considered in judging the difficulties which the Chinese Marxist-Leninists faced is the class composition of that country. On the eve of the Communist Party of China's foundation, out of the country's population of 427 million, there were scarcely a million and a half industrial workers. Of these, more than 78% worked in light industry and transport. The industrial working class, therefore, represented less than .4% of the total population, with little more than .1% working in sizable plants. In 1939, 10 years before the seizure of power, there were only a little more than two and a half million workers in fairly developed plants, that is, scarcely .5% of the population. In 1949, the year of liberation, there were three million industrial workers out of a population of almost 550 million, that is, little more than .5%.

Here we find a gigantic contradiction which must be resolved to correctly lead the revolution: the formation of a leading party, a proletarian vanguard, capable of leading hundreds of millions of people, in a country in which the proletariat was extremely weak. It was necessary to mobilize and lead these hundreds of millions in the various phases of the civil war as well as in the war against Japanese imperialism's invasion and the domination of China by other imperialist powers; it was necessary to lead and administer in certain periods liberated zones which in 1945 had almost 100 million inhabitants; to lead an army which in 1946 had two and a half million combatants. All of this inescapably required a party with many members, with deep roots among the masses. This necessarily large party could not be built predominantly of workers because of that class' weak development in China. In April 1945, when the Seventh Congress of the CPC took place, it already had 1.21 million members, reaching 2.7 million in 1947. After liberation, in 1951, there are 5.8 million members, while the whole industrial working class reaches this figure, approximately, the following year. In 1956, the year of the CPC's Eighth Congress, there are more than 10.7 million members, a number which surpasses by more than a million the total number of industrial workers that year, but which represents scarcely 1.74% of the total population. In the year 1958, the beginning of the Great Leap Forward (and this is one of the many merits of that initiative), the number of workers increases from about 12 million (in 1957) to more than 20 million. This number shrinks, however, in the years 1959-61 because of the natural calamities of those years and of the sabotage of industrial projects carried out by Soviet and Chinese revisionists. This maximum number, nevertheless, is only less than 4% of the population. In Russia, in contrast, 14 years before the October Revolution, according to the figures reported by Lenin in his book "The Development of Capitalism in Russia," there were 2.8 million workers in manufacturing, railroads, metallurgy and mining, that is, 2% of the total population of the time (projected on the basis of the 1897 census).

The weakness of capitalist development in China and consequently of the proletariat meant that after the agrarian reform, the petty bourgeoisie was transformed into the overwhelmingly predominant sector of the

population in that country. In effect, in 1954 the rural petty bourgeoisie made up 30% of the agrarian population, that is, some 150 million people. The rest of the agrarian population (about 350 million people), made up of the proletarian and semi-proletarian poor people of the countryside, was also transformed into small owners when it received land. To this enormous mass of the agrarian petty bourgeoisie are added some 50 million small merchants, artisans, employees, intellectuals, students, etc., of an urban character.

Mao Tsetung, therefore, and the Chinese Marxist-Leninists, were obliged to build the extremely large party that was indispensable for them, without being able to bring into it a vast proletarian contingent. In the year 1956, which marks the going over to socialist construction, the CPC has 1,502,814 worker members, that is, only 14% of the total membership; 7,417,459, that is 69.1%, of peasant origin; 1,255,923, or 11.7% of its members, are intellectuals; and 558,188, that is, 5.2%, come from other social strata.

To resolve this serious contradiction, Mao Tsetung and the Chinese Marxist-Leninists could only apply (and did apply) the following measures: 1) maximum efforts to fortify the ideology of the proletariat, Marxism-Leninism, in the party's ranks; 2) ideological combat against the manifestations of bourgeois and petty bourgeois ideas within the party and the removal of the anti-party factions which were established around those ideas; 3) the carrying out of permanent campaigns to rectify the style of work and of criticism and self-criticism to correct erroneous methods and ideas; 4) facilitating the entry of workers into the party and restricting (especially after the triumph of the revolution), the entry of other social sectors. These, essentially, were the possibilities for resolving this contradiction, and there is conclusive proof that Mao Tsetung and the Chinese Marxist-Leninists put them into practice intensely. Can it be that there is someone who would put forward that, given the unfavorable class composition due to China's backwardness, the revolution shouldn't have been carried out until the development of capitalism forged a numerous and advanced proletariat? Our party thinks that this alternative was unacceptable, and that one of the great merits of Mao Tsetung and the Chinese revolutionaries is that the people's democratic revolution and the socialist revolution were carried out under these extremely difficult conditions.

Regarding the spreading and study of Marxism, from the beginning of the revolution until his death Mao Tsetung always insisted on the necessity to train the CPC (and not just the party, but also the masses themselves) in Marxism-Leninism, and he promoted concrete measures for this. This process of the assimilation of Marxism in China runs up against serious objective difficulties, inherent in such an immense population and the great size of the country, and in the very low cultural level inherited from colonial and semi-feudal oppressive regimes. A very high percentage of the masses and the party members during important stages of the revolutionary process are illiterate, and the difficulties inherent in the Chinese language impede the translation, distribution and comprehension of the classic Marxist texts. In overcoming these difficulties, an extremely important role is played by Mao Tsetung's works, which apply the principles of Marxism to Chinese reality, in clear and simple language, utilizing images and symbols belonging to Chinese culture, without altering their essence.

II. THE ROLE OF MARXIST-LENINIST IDEOLOGY

As for his appraisal of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung not only encourages its spread, but also constantly calls for its use, not in a dogmatic way, but as an indispensable instrument for analyzing the concrete reality of China. In 1938, in his work "The Role of the Chinese Communist Party in the National War," he points out: "Generally speaking, all Communist Party members who can do so should study the theory of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, study our national history and study current movements and trends; moreover, they should help to educate members with less schooling. The cadres in particular should study these subjects carefully, while members of the Central Committee and senior cadres should give them even more attention. No political party can possibly lead a great revolutionary movement to victory unless it possesses revolutionary theory and a knowledge of history and has a profound grasp of the practical movement.

"The theory of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin is universally applicable. We should regard it not as a dogma, but as a guide to action. Studying it is not merely a matter of learning terms and phrases but of learning Marxism-Leninism as the science of revolution. It is not just a matter of understanding the general laws derived by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin from their extensive study of real life and revolutionary experience, but of studying their standpoint and method in examining and solving problems. Our Party's mastery of Marxism-Leninism is now rather better than it used to be, but is still far from being extensive or deep. Ours is the task of leading a great nation of several hundred million in a great and unprecedented struggle. For us, therefore, the spreading and deepening of the study of Marxism-Leninism present a big problem demanding an early solution which is possible only through concentrated effort. Following on this plenary session of the Central Committee, I hope to see an all-party emulation in study which will show who has really learned something, and who has learned more and learned better. So far as shouldering the main responsibility of leadership is concerned, our Party's fighting capacity will be much greater and our task of defeating Japanese imperialism will be more quickly accomplished if there are one or two hundred comrades with a grasp of Marxism-Leninism which is systematic and not fragmentary, genuine and not hollow."

Further on, Mao says that "we can put Marxism into practice only when it is integrated with the specific characteristics of our country and acquires a definite national form," linking the internationalist content of Marxism with the particularities of China. In this he faithfully applies the teachings of Lenin, who states in his book, "*Left-Wing Communism, An Infantile Disorder*," "But while the working-class movement is everywhere passing through what is actually the same kind of preparatory school for victory over the bourgeoisie, it is in each country achieving this development in *its own way*." And further on, "Everywhere we can feel that dissatisfaction with the Second International is spreading and growing, both because of its opportunism and because of its inability, or incapacity, to create a really centralized, a really leading centre that would be capable of directing the international tactics of the revolutionary proletariat in its struggle for a world Soviet republic. We must clearly realize that such a leading centre cannot under any circumstances be built up on stereotyped, mechanically equalized and identical tactical rules of struggle. As long as national and state dif-

ferences exist among peoples and countries—and these differences will continue to exist for a very long time even after the dictatorship of the proletariat has been established on a world scale—the unity of international tactics of the Communist working-class movement of all countries demands, not the elimination of variety, not the abolition of national differences (that is a foolish dream at the present moment), but such an application of the *fundamental* principles of Communism (Soviet power and the dictatorship of the proletariat) as will *correctly modify* these principles in certain *particulars*, correctly adapt and apply them to national and national-state differences. Investigate, study, seek, divine, grasp that which is peculiarly national, specifically national in the *concrete manner* in which each country approaches the fulfilment of the *single* international task, in which it approaches the victory over opportunism and 'Left' doctrinarism within the working-class movement, the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, and the establishment of a Soviet republic and a proletarian dictatorship—such is the main task of the historical period through which all the advanced countries (and not only the advanced countries) are now passing."

In 1941, at a cadre meeting held in conjunction with a party rectification campaign being carried out in Yen-an, Mao, recognizing Marxism's contribution to the Chinese revolution, points out, "The twenty years of the Communist Party of China have been twenty years in which the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism has become more and more integrated with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. If we recall how superficial and meagre our understanding of Marxism-Leninism and of the Chinese revolution was during our Party's infancy, we can see how much deeper and richer it is now. For a hundred years, the finest sons and daughters of the disaster-ridden Chinese nation fought and sacrificed their lives, one stepping into the breach as another fell, in quest of the truth that would save the country and the people. This moves us to song and tears. But it was only after World War I and the October Revolution in Russia that we found Marxism-Leninism, the best of truths, the best of weapons for liberating our nation. And the Communist Party of China has been the initiator, propagandist and organizer in the wielding of this weapon. As soon as it was linked with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution, the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism gave an entirely new complexion to the Chinese revolution. Since the outbreak of the War of Resistance Against Japan, our Party, basing itself on the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism, has taken a further step in its study of the concrete practice of this war and in its study of China and the world today, and has also made a beginning in the study of Chinese history. These are all very good signs."

The following year (1942), in the Party School attached to the Central Committee, as part of one of the campaigns to rectify the style of work, with the purpose of ideologically proletarianizing the party, he remarks, "Let us first ask, is the theoretical level of our Party high or low? Recently more Marxist-Leninist works have been translated and more people have been reading them. That is a very good thing. But can we therefore say that the theoretical level of our Party has been greatly raised? True, the level is now somewhat higher than before. But our theoretical front is very much out of harmony with the rich content of the Chinese revolutionary movement, and a comparison of the two shows that the theoretical side is lagging far behind. Generally speaking, our theory cannot as yet keep pace with our revolutionary practice, let alone lead the way as it should. We have not yet raised our rich and varied practice to the proper theoretical plane."

On the eve of the revolution's triumph, in June 1949, in his work "On the People's Democratic Dictatorship," Mao once again gives recognition to the role played by Marxism in the victories which had been won, victories which formed one of the greatest epics of revolutionary history. "As everyone knows, our Party passed through these twenty-eight years not in peace but amid hardships, for we had to fight enemies, both foreign and domestic, both inside and outside the Party. We thank Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin for giving us a weapon. This weapon is not a machine-gun, but Marxism-Leninism."

In March 1955, in a National Conference of the CPC, he once again emphasizes the necessity of studying Marxism-Leninism. "We must propagate dialectical materialism among the five million intellectuals inside and outside the Party and among cadres at all levels so that they will grasp it and combat idealism, and we shall then be able to organize a powerful corps of theoretical workers, which we urgently need. That again will be a very good thing.

"We must draw up a plan for the formation of such a corps with several million people taking up the study of dialectical materialism and historical materialism, the theoretical basis of Marxism, and combating all shades of idealism and mechanical materialism. At present there are many cadres doing theoretical work, but there is still no corps of theoretical workers, much less a powerful one. Without such a corps, the cause of the entire Party, the socialist industrialization and socialist transformation of our country, the modernization of our national defence and our research in atomic energy cannot move along or succeed."

In 1956, after the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU, in the face of the beginning of the public abandonment of Marxism by a series of communist parties, among them the Soviet party, Mao points out to them, "How much capital do you have? Just Lenin and Stalin. Now you have abandoned Stalin and practically all of Lenin as well, with Lenin's feet gone, or perhaps with only his head left, or with one of his hands cut off. We, on our part, stick to studying Marxism-Leninism and learning from the October Revolution. Marx has left us a great many writings, and so has Lenin. To rely on the masses, to follow the mass line—this is what we have learned from them. Not to rely on the masses in waging class struggle and not to make a clear distinction between the people and the enemy—that would be very dangerous."

In the year 1957, a great ideological rectification campaign is undertaken, in order to mobilize the masses to criticize the reactionary ideas and actions which were stirred up in China due to the events in Hungary and Khrushchev's attacks on Stalin. Mao Tsetung is in favor of allowing the rightist forces within the national bourgeoisie, and among the intellectuals and other sectors, to express themselves, for a limited time, even in the press, in order to bring out their reactionary ideas and unmask them before the people, and then launch a big counteroffensive against them. "In general, counter-revolutionary statements will naturally be prohibited. However, if they are made not in a counter-revolutionary form but in a revolutionary guise, you will have to allow them. That will help us see these statements for what they are and wage struggles against them." The great struggle undertaken against these reactionary ideas was at the same time a training campaign in proletarian, Marxist-Leninist, ideology. "The intellectuals," Mao says, "are reluctant to accept Marxism-Leninism. Marxism-Leninism was opposed by many people in the past. The imperialists opposed it. Chiang Kai-shek opposed it, day in day out, saying 'Communism is not suited to China's

conditions' and making people afraid of it. It requires time as well as a socialist ideological revolutionary movement for intellectuals to embrace Marxism-Leninism and transform their bourgeois world outlook into the proletarian world outlook. The movement this year is meant to pave the way."

In 1963 Mao launched the Socialist Education Movement to strengthen the study of Marxism and fight the "Party persons in power taking the capitalist road," a movement which would create the conditions for the Proletarian Cultural Revolution two years later. At the same time, on June 14, 1963, "A Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement," directed against the USSR, and a series of Open Letters to that party were published, in defense of Marxism-Leninism and in opposition to Khrushchev's revisionist theses and politics.

During the Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the study of Marxism-Leninism reached massive proportions, unknown before in the history of any country. Suffice it to say that in the ten years after 1966, the year in which that revolution began, Chinese book stores sold 4.8 billion copies of the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao, and study was promoted on a vast scale.

Finally, in the years before his death, once again launching the struggle against Teng Hsiao-ping and those who wanted to reverse the victories of the Cultural Revolution, Mao Tsetung calls anew for intensifying the study and application of Marxism-Leninism, and particularly Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin's teachings on the dictatorship of the proletariat. A tremendous mass campaign is begun, to study and deepen the application of the dictatorship of the proletariat, restricting the remains of bourgeois right which served as the basis to nourish revisionism.

It's clear, then, that in the course of the various stages of the Chinese Revolution Mao Tsetung bent every effort not only to see that Marxism-Leninism was assimilated and applied by the party cadres and members, but also that it was spread to and applied by the vast masses of Chinese people. Without a doubt, this titanic work of spreading scientific socialism, as enriched by Mao himself, is a seed in the consciousness of the honest CPC members and the masses, so that they will rebel against the anti-Marxist theories and practices of the current renegades who have usurped power in China.

III. THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN LINES WITHIN THE PARTY

Another aspect of the ideological proletarianization of the CPC which Mao promoted, although later we'll see that its political significance was even greater, was the struggle he led both against the manifestations of the bourgeois lines in the party and the factions which formed around those lines. With a profound understanding of dialectics, Mao Tsetung put forward the consolidation of the party as taking place through the solution of the contradictions which arose within it, contradictions which are inherent in every process in the universe. As Lenin, Stalin and Mao pointed out, the class contradictions in society are reflected within the communist parties, giving rise both to erroneous views which reflect aspects of the different manifestations of the bourgeois line, and to factions, organized around the bourgeois line, which are antagonistic to the party. The recognition of this reality, inherent not only in the history of all communist parties and the very International Communist Movement, but in the universally dialectical and con-

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contradictory development of reality itself, is a question of principle for any dialectical materialist. Marx and Engels called for not being content with interpreting the world, but rather struggling to transform it in a critical and revolutionary manner. Such transformation is impossible without studying and resolving the contradictions inherent within every process, whether it be physical, chemical or social, whether it be a society as a whole or a party which is part of it. It follows, therefore, that in order to develop, a proletarian party has to resolve its internal contradictions in favor of Marxism-Leninism, the interests of the proletariat and revolution. Even more, the working class' vanguard party has to train itself in the struggle between lines, especially in its ideological aspect, in order to combat the bourgeois line among the masses and win them to the party's leadership, and win the advanced among them to the party's ranks. The contradictory development of every process is an objective reality, independent of our will. Will and revolutionary consciousness play their role in investigating the nature of the objective contradictions which arise in order to solve them, and in applying the correct methods to achieve this. At that same time, by acting in this way the effects of bourgeois influence are reduced and diminished, and the development of these contradictions to a very serious level is impeded. The recognition, therefore, that partial or systematic manifestations of the bourgeois line arise within the party is no more than a dialectical materialist approach to the party as a contradictory process. The existence of contradictions is recognized and investigated exactly in order to combat the manifestations foreign to Marxism that arise within the party, and not to enjoy them and accept them as inevitable; it is done in order to oppose the side of the contradiction represented by bourgeois influences with the side of the revolutionary line. Refusing to recognize the contradictory development of the proletarian party (like any process), setting a line without educating the party members in the struggle against the objections and obstacles which the bourgeoisie raises against it, permits the bourgeoisie to take the initiative and undermine the members' consciousness, without a concrete reply to the arguments and intrigues it uses to fight the Marxist line.

In all of his works and revolutionary practice Mao Tsetung has simply recognized this contradictory development of the proletarian party and prepared its members and cadres to resolve the contradictions which arise within it in a correct manner. He never upheld the existence of bourgeois influences within it—still less of bourgeois factions—as a positive thing, nor held that they should be maintained and encouraged. On an international level he unequivocally opposed conciliating with the bourgeois line of Khrushchev and his successors, and undertook a principled struggle against them. Perhaps refusing to recognize that the International Communist Movement also develops through contradictions and through fighting the bourgeois influence that arises within it would have helped advance and consolidate it? On the contrary, one of the decisive factors in the establishment of a revisionist line in the majority of the parties of the old International Communist Movement was an undialectical conception of its development, the members' lack of experience in line struggle, the lack of a critical and self-critical spirit and internal democracy in those parties, and the blind faith of many of the members in those who were setting the line in those parties.

In his conception of how to carry out line struggle

within the party, Mao Tsetung has called attention to the difference between the influence of bourgeois ideas or habits on members who are essentially honest and fall into wrong positions, and the infiltration and generation in the party of factional groups who come together in an open or secret way behind an anti-proletarian line. He has laid out the necessity of drawing a dividing line between those who fall into errors or deviations under the influence of bourgeois views, and those conscious defenders of the bourgeoisie's interests who have infiltrated the party. With the former, we have to struggle and criticize them, so that they can overcome their errors, while at the same time we unite with them to the degree that they are honestly mistaken elements, to reeducate them and help them overcome their errors. The latter we unmask through ideological struggle, we expel them from the party, and we punish them in accordance with their crimes against the revolution. In practice the problem of differentiating between the two is complex. This is particularly so because those who are honest and who have fallen into errors believe, until criticism and education shows them otherwise, that they are right, and they frequently express their points of view vehemently. The factionalists, on the other hand, conscious of their counter-revolutionary work, hide their intentions and in many ways act in secret. Therefore there is the danger of treating enemies like people who are mistaken and of treating like enemies those honest members who have been drawn into error to these enemies' benefit. This differentiation is particularly difficult with hidden enemies who occupy a high position in the party's ranks and take advantage of the authority this gives them to camouflage themselves and draw the members into wrong positions. Only a party which has been tempered in line struggle, in the correct method of resolving contradictions within the party, both among the people and with enemies, is capable of correctly resolving this complex problem. This is why Mao Tsetung attached so much importance to the party's training to resolve these contradictions by, on the one hand, studying Marxist-Leninist principles, and by, on the other hand, all members educating themselves through active participation in the struggle against the various manifestations of the bourgeois line, carrying out criticism and self-criticism, and, when dealing with the defense of principles, daring to "go against the tide." For that reason he opposed the bureaucratic resolution of this type of problem of who is wrong and who is an enemy through mechanical dictates from on high, without a wide debate in which the members, oriented by those who uphold the correct line, differentiate between enemies and mistaken comrades for themselves, and reaffirm their revolutionary positions or liberate themselves if they have been influenced by the wrong ideas. In each struggle it's more important that the members learn for themselves how to distinguish between the correct and the incorrect and between comrades and enemy infiltrators, than that they acquire a blind faith in the infallibility of their leaders to overcome this kind of problem and determine who is Marxist or anti-Marxist.

The concrete problem of how capable Mao Tsetung and the CPC in general really were of discovering the enemies infiltrated among them and their real power, and in fact of making a clear distinction between those who were mistaken and the conscious enemies, and whatever errors they might have committed in that regard in the face of the powerful revisionist current which imposed itself on almost all of the Communist Movement after World War 2 (errors which other great revolutionary leaders also committed), in no way diminishes the validity of Mao's correct statements about how to resolve this type of contradic-

tion, nor of the extremely valuable experiences of the struggle which he waged to resolve them.

During the whole history of the CPC and the Chinese Revolution, Mao Tsetung and the Chinese Marxist-Leninists applied a clear line in order to: detect the contradictions within the party; fight all manifestations of the bourgeois line; make every effort to criticize and reeducate the mistaken members or leaders; and purify the party of the anti-party factionalist elements. The very fact that the ten line struggles are talked about shows these lines were fought against, to remove them from the party, and not tolerated in it. Already in his 1928 article about "The Struggle in the Ching Kang Mountains," Mao remarks, "During the revolutionary upsurge (in June), many careerists took advantage of the Party's open recruitment of members and sneaked into the Party, with the result that the membership in the border area rapidly rose to more than ten thousand. Since the leaders of the branches and district committees were mostly new members, good inner-Party education was out of the question. As soon as the White terror struck, the careerists defected and acted as guides for the counter-revolutionaries in rounding up our comrades, and the Party organizations in the White areas mostly collapsed. After September the Party carried out a drastic house cleaning and set strict class qualifications for membership."

In 1938, in his work "The Role of the Chinese Communist Party in the National War," Comrade Mao says, "As for Chang Kuo-tao's organizational line, it violated all Party principles, disrupted Party discipline and carried factional activity to the point of opposition to the Party, the Central Committee and the Communist International. The Central Committee did everything possible to overcome Chang Kuo-tao's iniquitous and erroneous line and to frustrate his anti-Party activity, and also tried to save Chang Kuo-tao himself. But as he stubbornly refused to correct his mistakes and resorted to double-dealing, and subsequently even betrayed the Party and threw himself into the arms of the Kuomintang, the Party had to take firm measures and expel him." And then he adds, "In the struggle against deviations, we must give serious attention to opposing double-faced behaviour. As Chang Kuo-tao's career shows, the greatest danger of such behaviour is that it may develop into factional activity."

Later, in 1939 he remarks, "In applying the policy of recruiting intellectuals in large numbers, we must undoubtedly take great care to prevent the infiltration of those elements sent in by the enemy and the bourgeois political parties and to keep out other disloyal elements. We must be very strict about keeping out such elements. Those who have already sneaked into our Party, army or government organs must be firmly but discriminatively combed out on the basis of conclusive evidence."

In his article, "Oppose Stereotyped Party Writing" he states, "Two terms used to appear in the articles and speeches of many comrades, one being 'ruthless struggle' and the other 'merciless blows.' Measures of that kind are entirely necessary against the enemy or against enemy ideology, but to use them against our own comrades is wrong. It often happens that enemies and enemy ideology infiltrate into the Party, as is discussed in Item 4 of the Conclusion of the *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks), Short Course*. Against these enemies, we must undoubtedly resort to ruthless struggle and merciless blows, because the scoundrels use these very measures against the Party; if we were tolerant of them, we should fall right into their trap. But the same measures should not be used against comrades who occasionally make mistakes; to them we should apply the

method of criticism and self-criticism, the method indicated in Item 5 of the Conclusion of the *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks)*."

In April 1944, in his work "Our Study and the Current Situation," he says, "It should be stated that as a result of the series of changes since the Tsunyi Meeting the factions which formerly existed and played an unwholesome role in the history of our Party no longer exist. In our present study of the two lines within the Party, it is absolutely necessary to point out that these factions did exist and did play an unwholesome role. But it would be wrong to think that factions with the same erroneous political programmes and organizational forms still exist in the Party, after all the changes brought about by so many inner-Party struggles—the Tsunyi Meeting of January 1935, the Sixth Plenary Session of the Sixth Central Committee in October 1938, the enlarged session of the Political Bureau in September 1941, the Party-wide rectification movement in 1942 and the campaign begun in the winter of 1943 for the study of the past struggles between the two lines within the Party. The old factions are gone. What is left is only the remnants of dogmatist and empiricist ideology, which can be overcome by continuing and intensifying our rectification movement." Here Mao Tsetung is referring, of course, to the six line struggles before the triumph of the revolution, which ended with the defeat of these factional groups.

In 1953, Mao continues this struggle to purify the party of poisonous elements. In his essay, "Combat Bureaucracy," directed at the party, he states, "For our Party and government, bureaucracy and commandism are a big problem not only for today but for a long time to come. In terms of social origin, it reflects the survival in our Party and government of the reactionary style of work (an anti-popular style of work, a Kuomintang style of work) of the reactionary ruling classes in dealing with the people. If we strengthen and improve our role and methods of leadership, then bureaucracy and commandism, which are harmful to the people, will gradually diminish and many of our Party and government organizations will be able to break away sooner from this Kuomintang style of work. And the sooner will the many bad people who have infiltrated our Party and government organizations be combed out and the many bad deeds still evident today be eliminated." And he continues, "Typical cases of bureaucracy, commandism and violations of the law and of discipline should be widely exposed in the press. Serious offenders should be punished by law, and when they are Party members they should also be dealt with according to Party discipline. Party committees at all levels should make a determined effort to punish and clear out of Party and government organizations those violators of the law and of discipline who are bitterly hated by the masses, and the worst among them should be executed so as to assuage the people's anger and help educate the cadres and the masses."

Later on, in 1955, the first line struggle after the triumph of the Revolution takes place against the faction created by Kao Kang. In his opening speech before the National Conference of the CPC, Mao says, in this regard, "As you comrades all know, the emergence of the anti-Party alliance of Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih was by no means accidental, but was an acute manifestation of the intense class struggle in our country at the present stage. The criminal aim of this anti-Party alliance was to split our Party and seize supreme power in the Party and the state by conspiratorial means, and thus pave the way for a counter-revolutionary come-back. Under the unified leadership of the Central Committee, our Party has smashed the anti-Party alliance and become still more

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united and consolidated. This is an important victory in our struggle for the cause of socialism.”

And then he adds, “For the purpose of building a socialist society, the Central Committee deems it necessary at this juncture to set up a central control commission in accordance with the Party Constitution to replace the old Discipline Inspection Commission. Its aim is to tighten Party discipline in the new period of intense class struggle, step up the struggle against all kinds of violations of the law and of discipline and in particular guard against the recurrence of cases like the Kao-Jao anti-Party alliance which seriously jeopardizes the interests of the Party.”

The same year, showing the complexity of the problem of how to prevent infiltration of hidden reactionaries into a party which was so large and in a society in which the specific weight of the proletariat was so small, Comrade Mao points out regarding this, “The masses of people are very much in need of this material [the evidence against the Hu Feng clique, published in the *People's Daily*]. How do counter-revolutionaries employ their double-dealing tactics? How do they succeed in deceiving us by their false appearances, while furtively doing the things we least expect? All this is a blank to thousands upon thousands of well-intentioned people. On this account, many counter-revolutionaries have wormed their way into our ranks. The eyes of our people are not keen, they are not adept at distinguishing good people from bad types. When people operate in normal conditions, we know how to tell the bad from the good, but we are not adept at seeing through those who operate in unusual conditions. The Hu Feng elements are counter-revolutionaries who put on a disguise to hide their true features and to give a false impression.” Then he adds, “As for many of the individuals in the Hu Feng clique, they were able to deceive us because our Party organizations, state organs, people's organizations, cultural and educational institutions or enterprises failed to make a strict examination of their records before admitting them. It was also because we were in a stormy period of revolution in the recent past and people of all sorts tried to get close to us as we emerged the victors; so inevitably the waters were muddied, the bad became mixed with the good, and we have not yet got around to sifting them thoroughly. Furthermore, success in spotting and clearing out bad elements depends on a combination of correct guidance from the leading organs with a high degree of political consciousness on the part of the masses, but in this regard our work in the past was not without shortcomings. These are all lessons for us.”

Finally, we also know—and we won't go into this now, since we analyze it further on—the criteria with which Mao Tsetung and the Chinese Marxist-Leninists fought against the revisionist current headed up first by Liu Shao-chi as well as Lin Piao and his followers. As long as they limited themselves to putting forward wrong positions and didn't reveal their counter-revolutionary countenance, the struggle against them was carried out by means of criticism. As soon as it became clear that it wasn't a question of mere deviations but rather of a tendency with reactionary aims, Mao Tsetung himself clearly unmasked them and launched a struggle to the death against them, counteracting their influence by mobilizing the broad masses. He points out, in fact, “Those representatives of the bourgeoisie who have sneaked into the Party, the government, the army and various spheres of culture are a bunch of counter-

revolutionary revisionists. Once conditions are ripe, they will seize political power and turn the dictatorship of the proletariat into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. . . they are faithful lackeys of the bourgeoisie and the imperialists. Together with the bourgeoisie and the imperialists, they cling to the bourgeois ideology of oppression and exploitation of the proletariat and to the capitalist system, and they oppose Marxist-Leninist ideology and the socialist system. . . . Their struggle against us is one of life and death, and there is no question of equality. Therefore, our struggle against them, too, can be nothing but a life-and-death struggle, and our relationship with them can in no way be one of equality.”

We believe, then, that throughout Mao Tsetung's works and his ruthless concrete struggle against the opportunists inside and outside the Party, an entirely correct line and great teachings for the revolutionary movement shine through, and they must be preserved. It wasn't he who favored the existence of contradictions, the arising of deviations or anti-party factions. On the contrary, he carried out a consistent struggle against them until his last days, purifying the party at each point when he was able to foresee that what was being dealt with wasn't just a question of ideological errors. The size of the CPC and Chinese society determined the complexity and breadth of these problems and made it impossible for Mao Tsetung, leading the Marxist-Leninists, to resolve them during his lifetime—which, considering exactly these factors, makes the gigantic battle he waged stand out even more sharply.

In the Soviet Union, too, the line struggle within the Bolshevik Party was extremely complex, and the result was unfavorable there too, since the revisionists have temporarily come to power. If we rely on what is laid out in the *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks)*, even just in relation to what happened in that party after the seizure of power, it is established that:

In 1918, as the *History* indicates, the “‘left’-wing communists” took over the party's Moscow Regional Bureau. That same year, Lenin declared in the CPSU's Seventh Congress, “the severe crisis which our Party is now experiencing, owing to the formation of a Left opposition within it, is one of the gravest crises the Russian revolution has experienced.”

In 1919, at the Eighth Congress of the CPSU, Bukharin and Pyatakov put forward a program of opposition with a line opposed to that of the Marxist-Leninists on the national question, the peasant question, etc. At that same time, there arose the so-called “Military Opposition” group, which, while it opposed Trotsky in these matters, also had opportunist ideas. On their part, Saprnov and Ossinsky headed up another faction which denied the leading role of the proletariat in the Soviets.

The Ninth Congress of the CPSU took place in 1920. The *History* tells us, “But not all members of the Party were of the same mind as the Central Committee. The small opposition groups—the Trotskyites, ‘Workers Opposition,’ ‘Left Communists,’ ‘Democratic-Centralists,’ etc.—wavered and vacillated in face of the difficulties attending the transition to peaceful economic construction. There were in the Party quite a number of ex-members of the Menshevik, Socialist-Revolutionary, Bund and Borotbist parties, and all kinds of semi-nationalists from the border regions of Russia. Most of them allied themselves with one opposition group or another.”

At the Tenth Congress all these groups put forward anti-Marxist views, and the Congress ordered “the immediate dissolution of all factional groups. . . non-observance of the congress decision to be followed by unconditional and immediate expulsion from the Party.” In

1921, in fact, the first party purge was carried out against "rascals, bureaucrats, dishonest or wavering Communists, and of Mensheviks who have repainted their 'facade' but who have remained Mensheviks at heart." According to the *History*, 170,000 members are expelled, that is, 25% of the total membership. Nevertheless, as we'll see, the main opportunist groups continue operating within the party.

In the fall of 1923, the *History* tells us, at the Twelfth Congress of the CPSU, Trotsky "mustered all the anti-Leninist elements in the Party and concocted an opposition platform against the Party, its leadership and its policy."

In January of 1924, in the Thirteenth Conference of the CPSU, Stalin fought the opposition's views. Nevertheless, the *History* points out, "The Trotskyites did not cease their subversive work." In May of this same year, they are condemned again by the Thirteenth Congress of the CPSU, but still they are not liquidated.

In April 1925, at the Fourteenth Conference of the CPSU, the Trotskyites raise their theory of the "permanent revolution." Bukharin, for his part, puts forward an openly rightist line. In December of that year, the Fourteenth Congress of the CPSU is held, and according to the *History*, "The situation within the Party was tense and strained. Never in its history had there been a case when the whole delegation from an important Party centre like Leningrad prepared to come out in opposition to their Central Committee." And then it indicates, "Though defeated at the Congress, the Zinovievites did not submit to the Party. They started a fight against the decisions of the Fourteenth Congress."

"In the summer of 1926," the *History of the CPSU* continues, "the Trotskyites and Zinovievites united to form an anti-Party bloc, made it a rallying point for the remnants of all the defeated opposition groups, and laid the foundation of their secret anti-Leninist party." "They tried to get the Party members to discuss [a platform]." Still, this didn't prevent the main factionalists from presenting a statement against factional activity to the Central Committee, in order to fool it. "Nevertheless," the *History* indicates, "the bloc continued to exist and its adherents did not stop their underhanded work against the Party. They went on banding together their anti-Leninist party, started an illegal printing press, collected membership dues from their supporters and circulated their platform."

In November 1926, at the Fifteenth Party Conference, once again the majority condemns them. Nevertheless, in 1927 they raise an opportunist platform called the "Platform of the Eighty-Three." It was discussed and defeated in October 1927. Then they try to organize public protest demonstrations in Moscow and Leningrad, on November 7, the anniversary of the Revolution no less. For that reason, on November 14, 1927, Trotsky and Zinoviev are expelled from the party. In December of the same year, the Fifteenth Congress of the CPSU ratifies that expulsion.

Nevertheless, the *History of the CPSU* points out that some time after the Fifteenth Congress, "The majority of the expelled accepted the terms of reinstatement and made public statements in the press to this effect. Desiring to be clement with them, and loath to deny them an opportunity to once again become men of the Party and of the working class, the Party reinstated them in its ranks. However, time showed that, with few exceptions, the recantation of the 'leading lights' of the bloc of Trotskyites and Zinovievites were false and hypocritical from beginning to end." Meanwhile, aside from those infiltrating the Party, there arose another rightist group

headed by Bukharin and Rykov, and, "At a meeting of the Central Committee they advanced a new anti-Party platform."

In 1934, Kirov, a top-level leader of the CPSU, is assassinated. The Moscow trials then begin, lasting until 1937. "The trials," the *History of the CPSU* indicates, "showed that these dregs of humanity [Bukharin, Radek, etc.], in conjunction with the enemies of the people, Trotsky, Zinoviev and Kamenev, had been in conspiracy against Lenin, the Party and the Soviet state ever since the early days of the October Socialist Revolution." They were finally accused and convicted of having sold out to the German fascist espionage services. The *History of the CPSU* concludes, "The Soviet court sentenced the Bukharin-Trotsky fiends to be shot."

From that time on, there is no record of any new manifestations of the struggle against factional groups within the CPSU. The dictatorship of the proletariat and socialist construction in the USSR seem to develop without significant obstacles from within the CPSU. Nevertheless, little more than two years after Stalin's death, with the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU, one discovers that it has fallen into the hands of revisionists who already had high-level positions within it; that these revisionists, after slandering Stalin, raise an anti-Marxist platform for the whole International Communist Movement worldwide; that they begin to rush to restore capitalism in the USSR and transform it into an imperialist superpower; that in all the so-called People's Democracies of Eastern Europe, except Albania, the revisionist line is supported and capitalism is restored; that in almost all the parties of the old International Communist Movement the majority of the leaders and militants submit to the revisionist line of Khrushchev and his successors. It has been more than twenty years since these events, and still there is no word of a significant struggle led by Marxist-Leninists against revisionism in power and the state capitalism, either in the USSR or in the countries tied into the Warsaw Pact.

As we'll see later on, the revisionist bourgeoisie which restores capitalism in the countries where the proletariat had seized state power is not the old bourgeoisie nor a new bourgeoisie arisen from small-scale production, but rather a bourgeois sector of a new type which has been incubated in, or has infiltrated into, the leadership of the communist parties themselves, and which has its economic base in the management of the state economy, creating a state capitalist regime. Clearly this is a matter of a reactionary current generated within the International Communist Movement itself, whose development and objectives could not be exercised by Lenin, nor Stalin, nor Mao Tsetung nor other leaders in the countries where they took power. Its predominance in almost all the communist parties of the capitalist world as well could not be prevented by the Marxist-Leninists within them. It is in this context that we have to analyze the struggles waged against this current by Mao Tsetung and the Chinese Marxist-Leninists, without abandoning the purpose of deeply investigating the causes which gave rise to this current.

IV. THE CONTRADICTIONS WITH THE NATIONAL BOURGEOISIE

In China the advance to socialism and communism had to be achieved in a colonial, semi-colonial and feudal society. These conditions demanded that before the establishment of socialism there had to be a previous stage, a people's democratic revolution, in order to liberate the coun-

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try from imperialism, do away with the remains of feudalism, and put an end to the rule of the big bourgeoisie linked with imperialism. This process was carried out on the basis of the worker-peasant alliance and in alliance with sectors of the national bourgeoisie, under the leadership of the proletariat. With the expulsion of imperialism from China and the overthrow of the feudal forces and the big comprador bourgeoisie tied to imperialism—that is, with the complete triumph of the people's democratic revolution in regard to the question of political power—in order to go on to socialism, the national bourgeoisie must be maintained for a relatively long period of time to develop the productive forces and the proletariat. This situation gives rise to a complex problem in the class struggle: on the one hand, it was necessary to allow capitalism to develop to a certain extent, controlled and subordinated to the already socialized sector of the economy; on the other it was necessary to stop the bourgeoisie's tendency to transform itself into the ruling class, both economically and politically, and to liquidate it as a class in both aspects, step by step, in order to go over to socialism. Since this process strongly influenced the class and line struggle which took place in China, it's important to investigate how Mao Tsetung and the Chinese Marxist-Leninists acted to resolve it. Although Mao Tsetung considers the peasantry the main force in the Chinese revolution (because of its relative weight within the population), and the people's democratic revolution had to be carried out in alliance with the national bourgeoisie, at the same time he makes it perfectly clear that only under the leadership of the working class and its party can that revolution succeed. In 1936, for example, in his work "Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War," he points out, "The masses of China's peasantry and urban petty bourgeoisie wish to take an active part in the revolutionary war and to carry it to complete victory. They are the main forces in the revolutionary war, but, being small-scale producers, they are limited in their political outlook (and some of the unemployed masses have anarchist views), so that they are unable to give correct leadership in the war. Therefore, in an era when the proletariat has already appeared on the political stage, the responsibility for leading China's revolutionary war inevitably falls on the shoulders of the Chinese Communist Party. In this era, any revolutionary war will definitely end in defeat if it lacks, or runs counter to, the leadership of the proletariat and the Communist Party." The next year he insists, "It is a law confirmed by Chinese history that the Chinese bourgeoisie, which may participate in fighting imperialism and feudalism in certain historical circumstances, vacillates and turns traitor in others, because of its economic and political flabbiness. Thus it is history's verdict that China's bourgeois-democratic revolution against imperialism and feudalism is a task that can be completed, not under the leadership of the bourgeoisie, but only under that of the proletariat. What is more, it is possible to overcome the bourgeoisie's inherent vacillation and lack of thoroughness and to prevent the miscarriage of the revolution only by bringing the perseverance and thoroughness of the proletariat in the democratic revolution into full play. Is the proletariat to follow the bourgeoisie, or is the bourgeoisie to follow the proletariat? This question of responsibility for leadership in the Chinese revolution is the linchpin upon which the success or failure of the revolution depends."

Mao insists on this basic point in almost every work written before the conquest of power. Nevertheless, Mao

Tsetung did not rest content with simply laying out the necessity for proletarian leadership in general, but rather made an important dialectical development of the different methods used in relation to the bourgeoisie's unstable and changing behavior. In his article "Introducing *The Communist*," he says, "On the one hand, it is necessary to combat the error of neglecting the possibility that the bourgeoisie may join in the revolutionary struggle at certain times and to a certain extent. It is an error of 'Left' closed-doorism to regard the bourgeoisie in China as being the same as in the capitalist countries, and consequently to neglect the policy of forming a united front with the bourgeoisie and maintaining it for as long as possible. On the other hand, it is also necessary to combat the error of identifying the programme, policy, ideology, practice, etc. of the proletariat with those of the bourgeoisie, and neglecting the differences in principle between them. The error here consists in neglecting the fact that the bourgeoisie (and especially the big bourgeoisie) not only exerts an influence on the petty bourgeoisie and the peasantry, but does its utmost to influence the proletariat and the Communist Party in a strenuous effort to destroy their ideological, political and organizational independence, turn them into an appendage of the bourgeoisie and its political party, and ensure that it will reap the fruits of the revolution for itself or its political party alone; this error also consists in neglecting the fact that the bourgeoisie (and especially the big bourgeoisie) betrays the revolution whenever the revolution conflicts with its own selfish interests or with those of its own political party." Then he speaks of the necessity of carrying out a policy of alliance and struggle with the bourgeoisie, and says, "Unity here means the united front with the bourgeoisie. Struggle here means the 'peaceful' and 'bloodless' struggle, ideological, political and organizational, which goes on when we are united with the bourgeoisie and which turns into armed struggle when we are forced to break with it. If our Party does not understand that it must unite with the bourgeoisie in certain periods, it cannot advance and the revolution cannot develop; if our Party does not understand that it must wage a stern and resolute 'peaceful' struggle against the bourgeoisie while uniting with it, then our Party will disintegrate ideologically, politically and organizationally and the revolution will fail; and if our Party does not wage a stern and resolute armed struggle against the bourgeoisie when forced to break with it, our Party will likewise disintegrate and the revolution will likewise fail."

Already, before the triumph of the people's democratic revolution, Mao Tsetung sees that the hegemony of the proletariat is an indispensable condition not only for the triumph of this stage of the revolution, but also, even more so, of the socialist stage. "The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party" indicates, "Except for the Communist Party, no political party (bourgeois or petty-bourgeois) is equal to the task of leading China's two great revolutions, the democratic and the socialist revolutions, to complete fulfilment. From the very day of its birth, the Communist Party has taken this twofold task on its own shoulders and for eighteen years has fought strenuously for its accomplishment. It is a task at once glorious and arduous. And it cannot be accomplished without a bolshevized Chinese Communist Party which is national in scale and has a broad mass character, a party fully consolidated ideologically, politically and organizationally. Therefore every Communist has the duty of playing an active part in building up such a Communist Party."

On the eve of the complete countrywide conquest of power, in June 1949, Mao Tsetung clearly defines the

kind of power to be established with the people's democratic revolution, and at the same time, the continuing and insuring of proletarian leadership within that state power. In his work, "On the People's Democratic Dictatorship," he says, "The people's democratic dictatorship is based on the alliance of the working class, the peasantry and the urban petty bourgeoisie, and mainly on the alliance of the workers and the peasants, because these two classes comprise 80 to 90 per cent of China's population. These two classes are the main force in overthrowing imperialism and the Kuomintang reactionaries. The transition from New Democracy to socialism also depends mainly upon their alliance."

"The people's democratic dictatorship needs the leadership of the working class. For it is only the working class that is most farsighted, most selfless and most thoroughly revolutionary. The entire history of revolution proves that without the leadership of the working class revolution fails and that with the leadership of the working class revolution triumphs. In the epoch of imperialism, in no country can any other class lead any genuine revolution to victory. This is clearly proved by the fact that the many revolutions led by China's petty bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie all failed."

Right after this he explains why, during a certain stage in *China*, it is necessary to maintain an alliance with the national bourgeoisie, under the hegemony of the proletariat: "The national bourgeoisie at the present stage is of great importance. Imperialism, a most ferocious enemy, is still standing alongside us. China's modern industry still forms a very small proportion of the national economy. No reliable statistics are available, but it is estimated, on the basis of certain data, that before the War of Resistance Against Japan the value of output of modern industry constituted only about 10 per cent of the total value of output of the national economy. To counter imperialist oppression and to raise her backward economy to a higher level, China must utilize all the factors of urban and rural capitalism that are beneficial and not harmful to the national economy and the people's livelihood; and we must unite with the national bourgeoisie in common struggle. Our present policy is to regulate capitalism, not to destroy it. But the national bourgeoisie cannot be the leader of the revolution, nor should it have the chief role in state power. The reason it cannot be the leader of the revolution and should not have the chief role in state power is that the social and economic position of the national bourgeoisie determines its weakness; it lacks foresight and sufficient courage and many of its members are afraid of the masses."

After the seizure of state power, at every step of the way Mao Tsetung reaffirms the leading role of the proletariat, especially during the years when the transition to socialism was being accelerated throughout the whole economy. In 1953, in "Criticism of Liang Shu-ming's Reactionary Ideas," he proclaims, "We firmly stand for the leadership of the proletariat over all and sundry (workers, peasants, industrialists and businessmen, the nationalities, democratic parties and people's organizations, industry, agriculture, political and military affairs, in short, everything) and for both unity and struggle. If you want to sound us out, then this is one thing you will learn, a thing which is fundamental in nature. This is no trifling matter, is it?" This hegemonic proletarian leadership is progressively converted into proletarian dictatorship, as the country advances to socialism and the bourgeoisie opposes it. In "On the Ten Major Relationships," written in 1956, while Mao Tsetung is in favor of the continued existence of some parties which represent sections of the national bourgeoisie, as a way to force

them to cooperate and to unmask their opposition to socialism, he also clearly declares, "But at present we cannot do without the proletarian party and the dictatorship of the proletariat and, what is more, it is imperative that they should be made still more powerful. Otherwise, we would not be able to suppress the counter-revolutionaries, resist the imperialists and build socialism, or consolidate it when it is built. Lenin's theory on the proletarian party and the dictatorship of the proletariat is by no means 'outmoded,' as alleged by certain people. The dictatorship of the proletariat cannot but be highly coercive." And the same year, in his speech at the Second Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee, he indicates, "Our state organs are organs of the dictatorship of the proletariat."

Mao's line in regard to the national bourgeoisie is profoundly materialist and dialectical. Its purpose is to skillfully resolve the contradiction which the advance to socialism presents in a backward country like China, with its strong feudal remnants: on the one hand, to take advantage of the continued existence of the national bourgeoisie which is necessary in order to develop the productive forces which the state was not able to immediately take into its own hands, and on the other, to restrict the bourgeoisie's development, incorporating its enterprises into the state sector step by step, in the form of joint enterprises, and firmly combating its reactionary ideas and activities. This line was on its way to complete success, if it hadn't been for the interference by the new bureaucratic bourgeoisie which had arisen within the party and the state, and which to a large extent sabotaged this process so as to obtain an ally for their sinister purposes, in this way openly revealing their plans to establish state capitalism.

Mao Tsetung's point of departure is that the principal contradiction in China after the triumph of the people's democratic revolution is the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and that this is, in essence, an antagonistic contradiction. In March 1949, in his Report to the Second Plenary Session of the Central Committee, in opposition to Liu Shao-chi's formulation that the principal contradiction was "between the advanced socialist system and the backward productive forces," Mao indicates that "After the country-wide victory of the Chinese revolution and the solution of the land problem, two basic contradictions will still exist in China. The first is internal, that is, the contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie. The second is external, that is, the contradiction between China and the imperialist countries." In many works, furthermore, among them "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People," he indicates the antagonistic nature of this contradiction. Nevertheless, even the essential character of a contradiction has two aspects. An antagonistic contradiction has a non-antagonistic aspect as well, and *under certain conditions* it can be dealt with and even resolved by non-antagonistic methods. This is because every property of a contradiction (in this case its antagonism) can be transformed into its opposite. It is exactly the possibility of this transformation, under the conditions of an anti-imperialist, anti-feudal struggle in a backward country, that permits the formation of a united front with certain sections of the bourgeoisie whose antagonism with the proletariat is less profound than that of imperialism or the big bourgeoisie. This property also permits, if correct methods are applied, the possibility that in a country which has carried through the revolution against imperialism, feudalism and the big bourgeoisie, the proletariat can resolve its contradictions with the national bourgeoisie or part of it by non-antagonistic methods, for a certain time and under certain conditions. This possibi-

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ty of transforming the character of a contradiction into its opposite, the dominant, antagonistic aspect into a non-antagonistic one, although developed and applied in a masterful way by Mao (without in any way reducing dialectics to a mere inversion of opposites), was laid out by the creators of Marxism and by Lenin himself. Actually, in his "Conspectus of Hegel's *Science of Logic*," Lenin says: "*Dialectics* is the teaching which shows how *Opposites* can be and how they happen to be (how they become) *identical*,—under what conditions they are identical, becoming transformed into one another,—why the human mind should grasp these opposites not as dead, rigid, but as living, conditional, mobile, becoming transformed into one another." From a materialist and dialectical viewpoint, Lenin indicates that this possibility of transformation has to be judged in accord with concrete conditions and not in an absolute, abstract and metaphysical way.

In his article "The Junius Pamphlet," Lenin points out: "That all dividing lines, both in nature and society, are conventional and dynamic, and that *every* phenomenon might, under certain conditions, be transformed into its opposite, is, of course, a basic proposition of Marxist dialectics," warning further on, nevertheless, that this must be judged according to concrete conditions so as not to fall into sophism in the name of dialectics. When, for example, Lenin refutes Kautsky, who put forward the "peaceful road to socialism," citing the fact that Marx and Engels referred to such a possibility in the 1860s in England and the United States, Lenin doesn't refute that possibility (which would in fact mean resolving an antagonistic contradiction by non-antagonistic means) in absolute terms, but rather points out the concrete conditions which led them to consider that possibility at that time, conditions which had ceased to exist completely by the time Kautsky invoked it. On the other hand, the same materialist and dialectical spirit led Lenin, despite the antagonistic nature of the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in Russia under the concrete conditions that existed in September 1917 of the proletariat's great power and preparations for insurrection, to think about the particular and momentary possibility of resolving the antagonistic contradiction of the seizure of power in a peaceful way, without an insurrection, as he states in his article, "The Tasks of the Revolution." Engels himself, for his part, calls attention to the fact that, while in France the antagonistic contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the feudal nobility was resolved through violent revolution, in England, on the other hand, "in 1869 the revolution was brought to a close by a pact between a part of the nobility and the bourgeois."

It follows, then, that Mao's views on treating the contradiction between the proletariat and the national bourgeoisie in a non-antagonistic way under the conditions, first, of people's democratic dictatorship under proletarian leadership, and later the dictatorship of the proletariat, were correct for China's concrete reality, even though the contradiction between the proletariat and the national bourgeoisie is an antagonistic one. Furthermore, in order to have capitalist production while the socialist sector of the economy was being strengthened, there was no other way except to make the maximum efforts to maintain this kind of solution, which, of course, didn't depend just on the proletariat, but on the attitude of the bourgeoisie as well. Mao correctly strove to maintain this relationship with the bourgeoisie, without ceasing to

eliminate capitalism step by step and to fight all the bourgeoisie's reactionary efforts. Extremely valuable lessons can be drawn from this policy of unity and struggle with the national bourgeoisie, especially for the countries that must pass through the stage of people's democratic revolution, and these can't be discarded because of the temporarily negative results of the Chinese Revolution which are due to the traitorous and reactionary actions of another kind of bourgeoisie arisen and developed within the Chinese Communist Party and state.

One has to take into account that the Chinese revolutionaries had to resolve the problem of advancing to communism in struggle against the remains of the reactionary forces overthrown through the people's democratic revolution (the comprador big bourgeoisie and the landlords), the various imperialist powers which had interests in China (especially U.S. imperialism), the national bourgeoisie, and the new type of bureaucratic bourgeoisie which arose within the socialist economy itself. After the 1949 triumph of the people's democratic revolution, the CPC Central Committee under Mao Tsetung's leadership laid out an 18-year plan for carrying out socialist transformation in the city and countryside. Speaking "On the Cooperative Transformation of Agriculture" in July 1955, Mao Tsetung states that the Central Committee "intends to accomplish the plan, in the main, in eighteen years. The period of a little over three years from the founding of the People's Republic of China in October 1949 to 1952 was spent on rehabilitating the national economy. In the sphere of agriculture, in addition to agrarian reform and the restoration of production, during this period we greatly extended the organization of agricultural producers' mutual-aid teams in all the old liberated areas, where we also began to form semi-socialist agricultural producers' co-operatives and gained some experience. Next followed the First Five-Year Plan, which began in 1953; nearly three years have elapsed since then, during which our agricultural co-operative movement has been spreading all over the country and our experience growing. The period from the founding of the People's Republic of China to the end of the Third Five-Year Plan covers eighteen years. In that period, we intend basically to accomplish the socialist transformation of agriculture together with socialist industrialization and the socialist transformation of handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce. Is this possible? Soviet experience tells us that it is entirely possible. In the Soviet Union the Civil War ended in 1920 and the collectivization of agriculture was completed in the seventeen years from 1921 to 1937, the main part of this work being done in the six years from 1929 to 1934." Nevertheless, at the end of 1955, Mao sums up the development of cooperativization in the countryside, concludes that it has amply exceeded previous calculations, and makes the decision to accelerate the whole process of socializing the country. In his "Prefaces to *Socialist Upsurge in China's Countryside*," he says, "In my report of July 31, 1955 on the co-operative transformation of agriculture, I put the number of peasant households in co-operatives at 16,900,000, but in the space of a few months that number has been exceeded by well over 50 million. This is a tremendous event. This event makes it clear to us that we need only the calendar year 1956 in order basically to complete the semi-socialist co-operative transformation of agriculture. In another three or four years, that is, by 1959 or 1960, we can in the main complete the transformation of semi-socialist co-operatives into fully socialist ones. This event makes it clear to us that we must try to accomplish the socialist transformation of China's handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce ahead of schedule in order to meet

the needs of an expanding agriculture.”

Mao Tsetung compiles the experiences of the peasant masses in the cooperative movement, and at the end of 1955 prepares a book with more than 100 notes which sum up reports done in various regions of the countryside (Volume 5 only includes 43 of these). Already the ferocious opposition being carried out by opportunist elements within the CPC stands out very clearly, with all kinds of “revolutionary” arguments for stopping the socialization movement in the countryside and even, in fact, for dissolving many cooperatives. Already, in May 1953, Mao Tsetung is forced to demand that “all documents and telegrams sent out in the name of the Central Committee can be dispatched only after I have gone over them, *otherwise they are invalid*,” because Liu Shao-chi and his followers, who had argued against speeding up cooperativization, gave orders behind Mao Tsetung’s back to stop that movement and ordered the dissolution of the cooperatives. In alliance with the bureaucratic bourgeoisie that longed to consolidate a state capitalist regime, the national bourgeoisie prepared to furiously oppose the plans to accelerate the advance to socialism. The bureaucratic bourgeoisie, born and raised within the Communist Party itself, was particularly encouraged by the rise to power of Khrushchev and his accomplices in the Soviet Union, with whom they certainly had long-standing secret links. The national bourgeoisie had already been strongly hit at the end of 1951 by the mass campaign launched in the capitalist enterprises against bribery, tax evasion, theft of state property, cheating on government contracts and stealing economic information. The bureaucratic bourgeoisie, in the process of consolidating itself, for its part was hit by the campaign against corruption, waste and bureaucracy.

In October 1955 Mao Tsetung calls a meeting with the Executive Committee of the National Federation of Industry and Commerce, and in November of that year, a conference of party delegates working in the transforming of capitalist industry and commerce. At the Sixth Plenary Session of the Central Committee in October of the same year, he had stated, “Agricultural co-operation will enable us to consolidate our alliance with the peasants on the basis of proletarian socialism and not of bourgeois democracy. That will isolate the bourgeoisie once and for all and facilitate the final elimination of capitalism. On this matter we are quite heartless! On this matter Marxism is indeed cruel and has little mercy, for it is determined to exterminate imperialism, feudalism, capitalism, and small production to boot. In this respect, it is better not to have much mercy. Some of our comrades are too kind, they are not tough enough, in other words, they are not so Marxist. It is a very good thing, and a significant one too, to exterminate the bourgeoisie and capitalism in China, a country with a population of 600 million. Our aim is to exterminate capitalism, obliterate it from the face of the earth and make it a thing of the past.” At the Seventh Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee, a resolution is passed to completely transform capitalist industry and commerce into joint state-private enterprises, eliminating private enterprises. Between January 1956 and the end of that year the entire branches of 112,000 private industrial enterprises and 400,000 commercial enterprises are transformed. The capitalists thereafter receive a fixed interest of 5% of the value of their property expropriated by the state, until this interest is completely abolished by the Proletarian Cultural Revolution in 1966.

Despite the resounding blows waged against the national bourgeoisie in its economic base, the class struggle against it continues. In his 1957 work “On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People,” Mao

Tsetung indicates, “The class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the class struggle between the various political forces, and the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the ideological field will still be protracted and tortuous and at times even very sharp. The proletariat seeks to transform the world according to its own world outlook, and so does the bourgeoisie. In this respect, the question of which will win out, socialism or capitalism, is not really settled yet.” Mao puts forward a two-fold method to develop the struggle in the ideological sphere: one regarding the counter-revolutionaries overthrown by the people’s democratic revolution, and the other regarding wrong-thinking intellectuals, the petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie. “As far as unmistakable counterrevolutionaries and saboteurs of the socialist cause are concerned, the matter is easy, we simply deprive them of their freedom of speech. But incorrect ideas among the people are quite a different matter. Will it do to ban such ideas and deny them any opportunity for expression? Certainly not. It is not only futile but very harmful to use crude methods in dealing with ideological questions among the people, with questions about man’s mental world. You may ban the expression of wrong ideas, but the ideas will still be there. On the other hand, if correct ideas are pampered in hothouses and never exposed to the elements and immunized against disease, they will not win out against erroneous ones. Therefore, it is only by employing the method of discussion, criticism and reasoning that we can really foster correct ideas and overcome wrong ones, and that we can really settle issues.

“It is inevitable that the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie will give expression to their own ideologies. It is inevitable that they will stubbornly assert themselves on political and ideological questions by every possible means. You cannot expect them to do otherwise. We should not use the method of suppression and prevent them from expressing themselves, but should allow them to do so and at the same time argue with them and direct appropriate criticism at them. Undoubtedly, we must criticize wrong ideas of every description. It certainly would not be right to refrain from criticism, look on while wrong ideas spread unchecked and allow them to dominate the field. Mistakes must be criticized and poisonous weeds fought wherever they crop up.”

In order to temper the masses of people, under the party’s leadership, in the struggle against the influence of bourgeois and petty bourgeois ideology, the slogan “Let a Hundred Flowers Blossom, Let a Hundred Schools of Thought Contend” is launched. This is an orientation whose purpose is to promote “progress in the arts and sciences and a flourishing socialist culture in our land. . . . We think that it is harmful to the growth of art and science if administrative measures are used to impose one particular style of art or school of thought and to ban another. Questions of right and wrong in the arts and sciences should be settled through free discussion in artistic and scientific circles and through practical work in these fields. They should not be settled in an over-simple manner.” The next month, in his speech at the party national conference on propaganda work, he adds, “Truth develops through its struggle against falsehood. This is how Marxism develops. Marxism develops in the struggle against bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology, and it is only through struggle that it can develop.”

The policy of broad debate among the people, along with the policy of discussion, criticism and self-criticism within the party to fight incorrect ideas, is one of Mao Tsetung’s important contributions, with great significance for socialist construction and the creation of

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the conditions to go on to communism. In essence, this is a question of the broad masses of the people, guided by the party and Marxism, educating themselves and liberating themselves through discussion and through becoming conscious of what is right and what is wrong, of what is positive and what is reactionary. The mission of the proletarian party is to create the conditions for the working class and the masses to become conscious and take charge in all ideological and political matters, in order to make itself unnecessary as a leading party and create the conditions for the withering away of the state. In order to go forward towards these objectives (first laid out by the creators of Marxism), it is necessary to eliminate unnecessary division of labor, to eliminate the differences between manual and mental labor and between the city and the countryside, both within the leading party and the masses. It is impossible to advance in these spheres if the leading party settles things in a paternalistic fashion and dictates to the masses about what's right and wrong, about what's progressive and what's reactionary. As a vanguard detachment, the party cannot monopolize consciousness and reasoning and replace the masses, because this would only perpetuate the need for its existence indefinitely. On the contrary, it must create the conditions for the masses to think for themselves by confronting wrong ideas, and for them to reason correctly, by guiding the discussion and convincing them of the correct ideas, of the superiority of Marxism in opposition to the opposing ideologies. In the capitalist world, there is an analogy regarding trade union leadership. There are leaders who act correctly, freely imparting their knowledge to the masses, teaching them to think for themselves and to uncover all the exploiters' tricks, to organize themselves and take initiative, so that if these leaders fall in the struggle, the masses will not be paralyzed and unable to act. In sum, they play a leading role, striving to make themselves less and less indispensable and helping the masses to liberate themselves. On the other hand, there are leaders who, in order to perpetuate their positions, transform their knowledge into private property, strive to be indispensable forever and do nothing to encourage the initiative of the masses and their ability to liberate themselves. The same thing can happen with a communist party in power or with specific leaders within the party. This paternalistic policy becomes a serious danger if these party leaders or the party itself depart from the revolutionary line and the proletariat and people haven't been trained to distinguish between right and wrong, between the advanced and the reactionary, through active participation in ideological struggle. The establishment of a revisionist line in almost all the countries where the proletariat had won state power is testimony to this fact.

V. THE STRUGGLE AGAINST CHINESE REVISIONISM

Naturally, the indispensable condition for the education of the masses in this ideological debate is the existence of a solid communist party, armed with Marxism-Leninism. Without a vanguard that convinces and orients the masses in the course of debate against incorrect or reactionary ideas, there is the risk that these ideas will triumph. In China, the correct method of debate among the people taught by Mao and the Chinese Marxist-Leninists would have had great success, if it hadn't been

for the infiltration and revisionist degeneration of the CPC at all levels. Mao Tsetung did not realize the real extent of this, until the struggle against Soviet revisionism. Not to have detected this previously is the most serious criticism that can be made of him. But clearly neither Lenin nor Stalin foresaw the magnitude reached by this new type of revisionism arising from within the communist party itself with the goal of establishing a new system of exploitation, in the form of state capitalism. The acceleration of economic development under socialism, the centralization of the economy in the hands of the state, and the possibility of planning that economy constitute an immensely powerful economic base for a revisionist current that sets out to use these means to exploit and oppress the people through state capitalism. By comparison, the efforts of the overthrown bourgeoisie to make a comeback, or the engendering of a bourgeoisie through small-scale ownership, are dangers of minor scale. Engels had an intuition of this danger. In his Introduction to Marx's *The Civil War in France*, he calls for strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat, once power has been conquered, to prevent "the transformation of the state and the organs of the state from servants of society into masters of society," and as "an effective barrier to place-hunting and careerism." Lenin, also, in his "Report on the Party Programme" at the Eighth Congress, warned, "The tsarist bureaucrats began to join the Soviet institutions and practice their bureaucratic methods, they began to assume the colouring of Communists and, to succeed better in their careers, to procure membership cards of the Russian Communist Party. And so, they have been thrown out of the door but they creep back in through the window." Nevertheless, no leader really foresaw the extent of the problem, no longer a matter of the infiltration of enemies in the party and in the state, but of the corruption of elements that in the past may have been revolutionaries, who got used to the advantages that power could offer and began to want to consolidate and expand their privileges in opposition to the people. One of the merits of the great debates and ideological and political mobilizations Mao promoted on the mass level, even though, for the time being, they didn't attain the strength necessary to crush the counterrevolutionaries who had infiltrated and grown up in the CPC and the Chinese state, is that in the course of such struggles, it forced them to expose themselves in all their reactionary features.

Mao Tsetung and the Chinese Marxist-Leninists, as we've pointed out, find themselves facing not only the reactionaries overthrown by the revolution, and the national bourgeoisie, but also a hypocritical revisionist current that hides its sinister purposes and that occupies a dominant role in the Chinese party and state. Mao only starts to be on guard against this, although without suspecting its real magnitude, as the features of those who had taken control of the CPSU and state power in the USSR, were being revealed after 1956. Moreover, the problem he faces is not an isolated case in China, but a real secret revisionist international whose members mutually support each other, as we'll see later on.

At first, the representatives of this bureaucratic bourgeoisie taking form become known in the party through their reactionary views, although they hide behind arguments with which they pretend to defend the revolution. The majority of them are successful in hiding their factional secret work for a long period of time. In general, their objectives are to infiltrate, deform and corrupt the party and the organs of power, and to oppose the development of socialism in the city and the countryside so as to protect their own plans for capitalist restoration and seek out allies among the national bourgeoisie and

other even worse reactionaries.

As we have indicated, after the triumph of the Chinese Revolution in 1949, there was already a deep divergence between Mao Tsetung and Liu Shao-chi (one of the main revisionist ringleaders) regarding the principal contradiction now that the People's Republic had been founded. In a note sent in 1952, in which he refutes the head of the United Front Work Department of the Central Committee of the CPC, who presented the national bourgeoisie as an intermediate class, Mao again insists that, "With the overthrow of the landlord class and the bureaucrat-capitalist class, the contradiction between the working class and the national bourgeoisie has become the principal contradiction in China. . . ." This insistence notwithstanding, in October 1957, he finds himself obliged to reiterate this formulation, and points out that the Eighth Congress of the CPC had presented the principal contradiction as between "the advanced socialist system and the backward social productive forces." He adds, "This formulation is incorrect."

It's well known that Liu Shao-chi and his followers want to stop the revolution at the stage of People's Democracy and, abandoning the theory of the class struggle against the bourgeoisie, hold that the development of the productive forces will lead to socialism. In a meeting of the Political Bureau held in 1953, Mao has to combat the slogan spread by Liu Shao-chi and others—"firmly establish the new-democratic social order"—with which they want to oppose the advance of socialist construction.

Starting in the '50s, Liu Shao-chi and his clique oppose, in word and in deed, the cooperativization movement through which the countryside was advancing toward socialism. Naturally, they present their reactionary arguments wrapped in pseudo-Marxist phraseology, pretending to defend the interests of the masses of peasants and to oppose "rash leftism" in the cooperativization movement. In the same way, hiding his real intentions with pseudo-Marxist arguments, he opposes the accelerated advance of the socialization of industry, commerce and handicrafts in the cities. On May 12, 1949, in the First Youth Congress, Liu Shao-chi declares that it is necessary to greatly develop capitalism and that the number of factories, workshops and machines is more important than the ownership system. On another occasion he points out, "When in the future China has industrial overproduction, then it will be time to construct socialism."

After the elimination of private industry, commerce and handicrafts is in the main completed in 1956, Liu Shao-chi and his followers change tactics and begin to declare that with these transformations, the class struggle in China has ended. For example, in 1957, in a conference of party cadre in Shanghai, he asserts that "The bourgeoisie has been essentially eliminated. . ." and that "in China the class struggle has essentially ended." Nevertheless, he continues to go all out to stimulate capitalism in the countryside and city, using as always, pseudo-Marxist arguments. In 1961, he asserts regarding the peasant economy, "We don't fear that capitalism will get out of hand, the free market must be maintained." And, the following year, in his conversations with cadre going to the basic units, he states: "In the last years the peasants have not benefitted from the collective economy." In a speech in 1963 he indicates, "It is necessary to carry out enough of a retreat in industry and agriculture, and at the same time to establish more and more family production and individual operations programs." This declaration is seconded by Teng Hsiao-ping through his now-famous phrase: "As long as we can raise production, we can revert to individual exploitation. It doesn't matter if a cat is

black or white, as long as it catches mice."

These and other reactionary statements covered over with phony Marxist language are implemented under the pretext of "defending the interests of the masses" and opposing "'left' errors." Mao Tsetung and the Chinese Marxist-Leninists combat them through sharp criticism in the bodies of the party, still unaware of the sinister purposes that inspired their promoters. Such struggle is extremely complex, since the revisionists—as we will see—occupy important posts in the party and the state, and have secured the support of a vast bureaucracy in the middle echelons of both. Even more, they rely on the secret support of the revisionist current that is establishing itself with similar designs on an international scale.

Teng Hsiao-ping, for his part, especially when he wins control of the post of General Secretary of the CPC, busies himself with patiently infiltrating sworn followers and sowing corruption among the party cadre as well as in state enterprises of various types. In 1951, a special system of rewards for functionaries is created. It is perfected in 1955 and 1956, establishing many categories which bribe and buy the loyalty of numerous bureaucrats at various levels. In this way a series of rewards for "special" jobs are created, to be distributed by the leaders. Special schools are created for the children of cadre, who later play the role of unleashed provocateurs during the Cultural Revolution. Added to that is the unjust system of selection for the universities, through exams that in fact favor the children of the bourgeoisie and social sectors that in the past monopolized culture. In the industrial, commercial and agricultural enterprises, one-man management of the director and the technocrats who surround him is reinforced, without the control of the party committee and the masses. At the same time, the system of material incentives is used broadly as a means of corrupting certain sections of the masses. Through these and other methods, the bureaucrat bourgeoisie in formation is forging its base of support in the party and state (as well as the armed forces) in tens of thousands of middle-level cadre and separating the Marxist-Leninist section of the party from the masses.

To aid this work of corrupting the party, Liu Shao-chi republishes his book *How to Be a Good Communist* and distributes it on a vast scale. Counting, for good reason, on the corruption of the party that they are carrying out, he calls for "Subordinating personal interests to the interests of the party absolutely and unconditionally," and adds, "The interests of the party above all, that is the most important principle that commands the thought and the action of all communists," without considering the principles and the interests of the proletariat and the people, which are the party's reason for existence. In this way, pushing blind subordination to the party, they prepared the conditions to keep those who would not be bribed from rebelling when they began to openly use it as an instrument of capitalist restoration. At the same time, he justifies the methods of corruption that were being promoted, under the pretext that "To fulfill the tasks of the party, it is necessary to secure for members the indispensable conditions of material life, of work and instruction, that allows them to perform their duties with tranquility." At the same time he pushes careerism in joining the party, declaring that "It isn't bad that some people look for support in the Communist Party, that they come to find a solution for their problems." He maintains, on the other hand, that if "the revolutionaries of other epochs. . . could turn against the exploited classes to oppress them, this could never happen with the proletarian revolution and the Communist Party," in this way put-

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ting up a smokescreen in anticipation of the open treason they prepared. For his part, Teng Hsiao-ping's report on the modification of the party statutes presented to the Eighth Congress of the CPC contains a whole presentation in which he proclaims the extinction of social classes, maintaining that "Abolishing the old procedures for admission to the party has become necessary due to the fact that the concept 'distinction between social elements' has become void of its old meaning or is about to lose all meaning."

In his speech at the Conference of Secretaries of Provincial, Municipal and Autonomous Region Party Committees, held in January 1957, Mao begins his criticism of the careerism and corruption spreading in the party. "One kind of problem arises among our own ranks. For example, some cadres now scramble for fame and fortune and are interested only in personal gain. In the discussion of the grading of cadres, there were instances where a cadre would not be satisfied with a rise of one grade, even a rise of two grades still left him weeping in bed, and perhaps only a three-grade promotion could get him out of bed. The fuss they kicked up has settled the question. This business of grading cadres, have done with it! Let wages be roughly evened out, with slight differences here and there. In the old days, the government of the Northern warlords had a prime minister by the name of Tang Shaoyi. Years later he was magistrate of Chungshan County, Kwangtung Province. If a prime minister in the old society could serve as a county magistrate, why on earth can't our government ministers do likewise? In this regard, those who fuss over their rank and can be graded up but not down compare poorly, in my opinion, with this old mandarin. They vie with each other not in plain living, doing more work and having fewer comforts, but for luxuries, rank and status. At present, this kind of thinking has grown considerably in the Party, and the matter demands our attention."

In this speech, together with criticizing those who oppose the process of socialization in the countryside, he analyzes certain disorders which broke out among students and intellectuals in China echoing the events in Hungary, inspired by Khrushchev's attacks on Stalin. Mao Tsetung is in favor of allowing those among the people who are discontented to express themselves, in order to compile their just criticisms and mobilize and awaken the consciousness of the masses in the fight against the reactionary ideas they express. He thinks that it is even necessary to give a certain rein and means of expression to the reactionary sectors of the national bourgeoisie so that they can "let loose their poison," in order for the masses to come to know and fight them better. Of course the purpose is to effectively combat and sweep away these unhealthy tendencies in society. "Bad trends in society must definitely be overcome. Whether inside the Party, among the democratic personages or among students, bad trends, that is, mistakes which are not those of a few individuals but which have developed into trends, must definitely be overcome. The way to do so is through reasoning. So long as the reasoning is not convincing and only a few words of condemnation are used, these trends will go from bad to worse." And he adds, "In our state which is a dictatorship of the proletariat, poisonous weeds should of course not be allowed to spread unchecked. Whether inside the Party or in ideological or in literary and art circles, we must endeavour to make sure that fragrant flowers and Marxism occupy the chief and dominant position. Poisonous weeds and what is non-Marxist

and anti-Marxist must be kept in the subordinate position." Regarding counter-revolutionaries, the line is different, he indicates. "Counter-revolutionaries must be eliminated. Where this task has not yet been completed according to plan, it must be completed this year, and if there are still loose ends to tie up, the work must be finished next year without fail."

The most reactionary sectors of the national bourgeoisie fall for this trick. Thinking that the facilities for expressing their criticisms which they encounter are a sign of weakness, they leave the purely academic field completely and launch unbridled attacks against the party and socialism. In this way many who before had claimed to accept socialism out of fear are unmasked before the masses. A concentrated counterattack against them is taken up among the masses, demolishing their reactionary arguments and exposing them as the reactionaries they are. In this struggle, for the first time, the party rectification campaign against bureaucratism, sectarianism and subjectivism which had been launched in May 1957 acquires an open character through the participation of the masses using *dazibaos* (big-character posters). Mao will put the systematization of this experience to good use later, during the Proletarian Cultural Revolution. The revisionists in the party conduct themselves prudently and avoid going all out in inciting the bourgeoisie to attack, since they fear exposing themselves and they plan to take the fortress from within. They also fear the criticisms of bureaucracy raised by the masses. Nevertheless, some elements in the party are exposed for their reactionary positions. "Among Party and League members the waverers have already deserted to them or are contemplating desertion." And in July 1957, Mao indicates, "The aim of rectification is to guide the struggle in such a way as to set right the political orientation, raise the ideological level, overcome shortcomings in work, unite with the broad masses, and isolate and split the bourgeois Rightists and all other anti-socialist elements. The bourgeois Rightists referred to here include those who have sneaked into the Party and the Youth League and whose political complexion is exactly the same as that of the Rightists outside; they have betrayed the revolutionary cause of the proletariat and launched wild attacks against the Party, and therefore must be fully exposed and expelled in order to preserve the purity of the ranks of the Party and the Youth League."

Mao Tsetung had initiated the party rectification campaign with a speech, made two months before it began, at conferences of cadres in Tsinan and Nanking. There again he launches into a severe warning against the symptoms of corruption in the party. "Since our victory in the revolution, the revolutionary will of some of our comrades has been waning, their revolutionary enthusiasm has been ebbing, their spirit of whole-hearted service to the people has been flagging, and so has the death-defying spirit they displayed in the days of fighting against our enemies; at the same time, they are clamouring for position and for the limelight, becoming particular about what they eat and wear, competing for salary and scrambling for fame and gain—all these tendencies are growing." And in October 1957, in his speech at the Thirteenth Session of the Supreme State Conference, he says, "The socialist revolution is new to us all. The revolution we carried out in the past was only a democratic revolution, which was bourgeois in nature. It only destroyed imperialist, feudal and bureaucrat-capitalist ownership, but not individual ownership or national capitalist ownership. Thus many people could pass the test of the democratic revolution. While some were not really keen on a thoroughgoing democratic revolution and barely managed to come

through, others were willing to work hard for it and passed the test all right. The test now is socialism and it is hard for some people. Take for example that Party member in Hupeh Province who was originally a farm labourer. For three generations his family had to go beggling. Liberation brought him a new life, he grew well off and became a cadre at the district level. However, he complained bitterly about socialism and strongly disapproved of agricultural co-operation; he demanded 'freedom' and opposed the state monopoly of the purchase and marketing of grain."

Still Mao Tsetung was not able to see just how deep this corruption—generated by the bureaucratic bourgeoisie then taking shape—went among a great number of intermediate cadres, nor the profoundly reactionary nature of China's Khrushchevs. In the January 1957 speech mentioned previously, he continues to interpret the camouflaged reactionary views put forward by the revisionists in high places or their followers of lesser rank as errors and vacillations. He indicates, for example, "Most cadres in our Party are dissatisfied with the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU and think it went too far in attacking Stalin. That is a normal feeling and a normal reaction. But a few cadres started to vacillate. Before it rains in a typhoon, ants come out of their holes, they have very sensitive 'noses' and they know their meteorology. No sooner had the typhoon of the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU struck than a few such ants in China came out of their holes. They are wavering elements in the Party who vacillate whenever something is astir. When they heard of the sweeping denunciation of Stalin, they felt good and swung to the other side, cheering and saying that Khrushchov was right in everything and that they themselves had been of the same opinion all along." Further on he says, "Some Party members who have come through many tests, now find it difficult to pass the test of socialism...When agricultural co-operation was being carried out, again some people in the Party opposed it. In short, there are high-ranking Party cadres who have vacillated and cannot pass the test of socialism." Evidently, until that time, Mao did not know the identity of reactionary interests (and secret links) which existed between those "vacillating" high-ranking officials of the Chinese Communist Party, and Khrushchev and his successors in the Soviet Union and other countries where socialism was betrayed, who also were able to fool Stalin in regard to their real aims.

In any case, right after the start of the the 1957 rectification campaign, there are a series of measures designed to combat bureaucracy in the party, state and the various kinds of enterprises. In his remarks before the Second Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee, Mao had pointed out, "There are several hundred thousand cadres at the level of the county Party committee and above who hold the destiny of the country in their hands. If they fail to do a good job, alienate themselves from the masses and do not live plainly and work hard, the workers, peasants and students will have good reason to disapprove of them. We must watch out lest we foster the bureaucratic style of work and grow into an aristocratic stratum divorced from the people. The masses will have good reason to remove from office whoever practices bureaucracy, makes no effort to solve their problems, scolds them, tyrannizes over them and never tries to make amends. I say it is fine to remove such fellows, and they ought to be removed."

Further on, synthesizing the opinions of the masses in the rectification campaign, it is resolved that leading cadres (including in the Communist Party, unions, administration and in the Young Communist League) must

take part in manual labor regularly. They must identify themselves with the workers in their daily life and resolutely get rid of the privileges which separate them from the masses. Great efforts are necessary to reduce and simplify the organizational framework and reduce the number of personnel in the organizations of the party, administration, and trade unions, as well as those in the enterprises who are unnecessary and unproductive. Attention has to be paid to training cadres from among the ranks of the workers and to making full use of the activists and cadres who take part in production full or part time. Special efforts have to be directed toward the creation of tight links between technical and administrative personnel and the workers. Regulations which stand in the way of production and block the workers' initiative should be resolutely revised and abolished. Workers' assemblies, under the leadership of the party committee, are a good means for drawing workers and employees into management and combating bureaucracy. After summing up this first experimental phase, this method should be fully employed in the current rectification campaign and generalized throughout the country. According to Central Committee instructions, the workers' assemblies have the following functions and powers: 1) to examine and discuss the report on the factory's work presented by the director; to examine and discuss the plant's production plan, finances, technology, work and wages, as well as the main measures to carry out the plan; to make proposals; 2) to examine and discuss the use of bonuses, the welfare, medical assistance and union funds, and the funds designated by the administration for job safety, as well as other expenditures designated for the workers' welfare. On these questions, decisions can be made and put forward to the enterprise administration or other concerned sectors to be implemented, as long as these decisions don't contradict the instructions and directives of the higher level bodies; 3) to propose the removal of leading cadres in the enterprise to the next highest level administrative body, when necessary; 4) to make proposals to the higher body when the workers' assembly disagrees with its decisions.

It is emphasized that the full use of big character posters is necessary so that the workers and employees can widely express their views. Such big-character posters, with their simple form and lively style, are very good for mobilizing the masses. They are sharp and clear, intense and lively in their criticism of mistakes by the leading personnel and the workers themselves and in making proposals to rationalize the work. The big character posters can be gradually transformed into an important permanent communications medium through which criticism and self-criticism can spread throughout the factories, offices and schools.

This guidance, which represents a serious blow against the soil nourishing the bureaucracy the revisionists had been creating in the party and state, awakens deep enthusiasm among the masses, and inspires terror among the opportunist bureaucracy and its leaders, who sabotage it in every way possible. In the huge Anshan steel works alone, in 1958 the workers put up a million big-character posters and carry out 360,000 technical innovations. Still, these anti-bureaucratic measures could be implemented effectively only during the period of the upsurge of the Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

VI. THE GREAT LEAP FORWARD

Relying on the enthusiasm of the masses, in 1958 Mao Tsetung launches the Great Leap Forward to speed up

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socialist construction on the basis of appealing to the consciousness, initiative and enthusiasm of the masses. The Chinese revisionists and their network of bureaucrats, as well as their Soviet instigators, are horrified by the idea of advancing socialist construction and especially of doing it by bringing the consciousness and the initiative of the masses into full play, and they prepare to sabotage this line completely. Despite their sabotage, the Great Leap Forward leads to an impressive advance, in production and the creation of new industries, in more fully socialist forms of production in the countryside through the integration of the cooperatives into the People's Communes, and especially in the conscious involvement of the broad masses in socialist construction. Starting in 1958, work is begun on a thousand industrial and mining complexes, including 45 very large ones. Seven hundred of these begin production during the course of that year. Steel production goes up 49.5% over the previous year, reaching eight million tons (11 million tons if the steel produced by more primitive means is taken into account, although it is not of the same quality). Coal production reaches 270 million tons, doubling the 1957 output. Grain production reaches 250 million tons, which is 35% more than in 1957. Cotton production rises to 1.1 million tons, a 28% increase. Millions of peasants are drawn into industrial production, considerably increasing the working class' weight in society.

True, in regard to the economic aspect, errors are made, and Mao Tsetung recognizes and takes responsibility for them. Among them is not having combined the gigantic push forward of the masses with more thorough planning, not having taken into account the weakness in China's transportation system, in terms of the huge advances in production. In addition, there is no objective calculation of how agriculture will feed the millions who are drawn into urban industrial production. Nevertheless, the main problems arising during the Great Leap are due to the concentrated sabotage carried out against it by both the Chinese revisionists and their Soviet accomplices, and the tremendous natural disasters which took place between 1959 and 1961. In August of 1960, Khrushchev orders the withdrawal of 1,390 Soviet experts who had been advising various industrial projects in China, cancels 257 joint scientific and technical projects and blocks the construction of another 300 plants, especially in heavy industry. The bureaucracy, for its part, working for the Chinese revisionists, promotes speculation: loans, hiring of labor, skimming public funds, etc. At the same time, they promote "leftist" measures to discredit the movement, just as they did later on during the Cultural Revolution. Added to all of this, and in the context of the Soviet-U.S. double blockade against China, there are the serious natural disasters which occurred between 1959-1961. After the tremendous drought of 1959, the next year floods and typhoons devastate 150 million acres of land—half of the total area under cultivation—and damage another 60 million. Roads and railroads are greatly disrupted. A severe famine sweeps China.

In 1959, the emerging Chinese bureaucratic bourgeoisie launches an all-out attack against the general line for socialist construction, using the errors made in the Great Leap Forward as a pretext and basing itself on the difficult conditions of life, worsened by natural disasters. Peng Teh-huai, an open agent of the Soviet revisionists who had already proposed to "modernize" the Chinese army with Soviet weapons to make it dependent on the Soviet revisionists, launches a ferocious attack on the

Great Leap Forward, calling the mobilization of the masses "petty bourgeois fanaticism." He goes so far as to make open calls for Soviet intervention, claiming that "if the Chinese workers and peasants weren't so good, a Hungary-style incident would have occurred here and Soviet intervention would have been necessary." This Defense Minister and member of the CPC Political Bureau, in charge of the Party Central Committee's Military Commission, sends a letter with his criticism of the Great Leap to the Soviet CP and meets with Khrushchev to plot in May 1959. This renegade had strong ties to Kao Kang, who'd been unmasked at the end of 1953. Khrushchev defends both of them at the Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU, showing the links between his clique and some sectors of the Chinese bureaucratic bourgeoisie who sought to establish state capitalism there as well. Liu Shao-chi and Teng Hsiao-ping throw themselves into the attack against the Great Leap. Teng declares that "donkeys go slower, true, but they rarely have accidents." Liu Shao-chi is named President of the Republic on April 27, 1959. Although they are not able to cut Mao Tsetung out, because of his support among the masses, they isolate him to the maximum. In 1959 Mao can't get the party's daily to publish a report by Chang Chun-chiao on bourgeois habits in the party. In January 1960, Mao comments on the "Anshan Charter," written by steel workers who demand the application of principles which go against one-man bureaucratic management, but the party Secretariat doesn't consider it "urgent" to publish this document.

The Eighth Session of the Eighth Central Committee takes place August 2, 1959, and Mao Tsetung launches a strong attack against Peng Teh-huai. There he says, "Coming to Lushan, I have noticed three things: we have accomplished great things; many problems still remain to be resolved; the future is bright. But right away a new series of problems has arisen with right opportunism launching a frantic attack against the Party. There's no more 'communist wind' . . . nor fantastic exaggerations. At the present time, the problem is not to oppose the 'left,' but to oppose the right . . . After several months of struggle against left tendencies, it's natural that a right tendency should appear. True, there have been shortcomings and errors, but we've corrected them. Still they continue to demand corrections. They seize hold of that and attack the general line to try to overthrow us." As is widely known, in that meeting Mao Tsetung threatens to return to the countryside and organize an army against the government if the reactionaries are installed. The revisionists, frightened, give up and accept sacrificing Peng Teh-huai in order to save their positions.

With the pretext of correcting "economic errors" and "rationalizing" production, throughout the '60s the revisionists bring back material incentives and drive the masses out of participation in the administration of the enterprises, going back to the domination of managers and technicians. At the same time they send rectification teams to the countryside which knock down many revolutionary leaders and demand that the masses not disturb the work of the cadres installed by them. In 1962, under the cover of a classical work and commentaries on it, they begin to attack the party's line and demand Peng Teh-huai's rehabilitation. For his part, Lu Ting-yi, who was in charge of education, attacks the Great Leap Forward and the part-time work, part-time study schools established during that period.

Mao Tsetung continues his struggle. At the Peitaho meeting in 1962, he repeats the call, "Never forget class struggle." In May 1963 he formulates a 10-point document to launch a Socialist Education Movement, and then

a 23-point document with the same purpose. He emphasizes, "The important point in this campaign is rectifying those people within the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road. . . . Some of those people in authority taking the capitalist road do so openly, others act behind the scenes. Some of those who support them are at lower levels, some are at higher levels. . . . At the higher levels, there are those who oppose building socialism in the communes, the neighborhoods, the districts, and even in the work of provincial and Central Committee departments." Then he says, "On the whole, the Party's line is not being applied now, there's no concern for the revolution and socialist construction. . . . If we don't remedy this, some day a Petofi Club-type organization will be formed."

VII. THE PROLETARIAN CULTURAL REVOLUTION

As is well known, at the end of 1965, the first battles of the Proletarian Cultural Revolution are initiated, though still on the ideological plane (criticizing articles containing thinly veiled proposals for Peng Teh-huai's restoration). The Cultural Revolution is a gigantic mobilization of the masses that begins with the youth, later drawing in the working class and the peasants, to overthrow the revisionists who dominate the party and state, and seize back the portions of political power they have usurped. At the same time, it is an endeavor to sweep away their reactionary policies in the fields of production, education, culture, and in regard to the general line for socialist construction, which they oppose. In fact, the CPC is divided into two leading centers, two headquarters: the bourgeois and the proletarian. The bourgeois headquarters, as will be seen in the course of the Cultural Revolution and, especially, through the events after the death of Mao, has a strong base of support among the middle cadres of the party, the armed forces, and the state in general. The corrupting work of the revisionist leaders has borne its fruit. In the Soviet Union as well, after Stalin's death, the bourgeois headquarters proves to be dominant in the CPSU. Something similar occurs in the communist parties in the capitalist world. In most of them, the revisionist leadership, the majority of the party functionaries, and a great part of the membership adhere to Khrushchev's line. The Marxist-Leninists (including some party leaders in a few exceptional cases) constitute a minority, who end up breaking with the revisionists in order to form an authentic Marxist-Leninist communist party. In both the capitalist world and the socialist countries, the revisionists support and actively aid each other in their struggle against the Marxist-Leninists. The Marxist-Leninists begin to support each other as well.

The basic difference, nevertheless, compared with the revisionists who occupy a dominant position in the communist parties of the socialist countries, is that there they hold power: they control the economy, propaganda, the military, etc. It is not enough, therefore, to fight them ideologically and politically, to draw a line of demarcation between the camps and expel them from the party or break with the party if they control it. In the socialist countries it is necessary to mobilize the masses to throw them out of power in the party and the state. It is a real class struggle, in which, according to circumstances and the power they've usurped, it is necessary, in order to overthrow them, to pass through stages, as in any class struggle, to isolate the most dangerous enemies and make temporary alliances with those that may be less dangerous.

A leading party is indispensable in any revolutionary

battle. In this battle against revisionism in the countries where it has succeeded in seizing key parts of state power, a leading party, a communist party, is also necessary. But a very serious contradiction presents itself here, since the revisionist control of an important or decisive part of state power comes from the important or decisive positions (as we believe was the case in China) they occupy within the vanguard party. How can Mao Tsetung and the Chinese Marxist-Leninists be blamed for not having used the CPC as the leading nucleus in the Cultural Revolution? How could they have, if that party was decisively dominated by the revisionists? In the capitalist world, could we Marxist-Leninists make use of the old structure of the communist party in most cases? Didn't we have to do factional work, fight against revisionist oppression in those parties, strive to rescue the maximum number of honest members and, finally, break with the revisionists? On the contrary, if there is anything we should reproach the Chinese Marxist-Leninists for, given what happened after Mao's death, it is not having realized and thoroughly estimated the breadth of the base of support the revisionists had in the CPC, especially among the middle-level cadre—or having done so too late. Throughout the Cultural Revolution and after, they continue to speak of the leadership of the CPC, but, in fact, what is being referred to is a handful of revolutionary leaders led by Mao and of the members who followed them, intermixed with numerous middle cadre and even members committed, openly or secretly, to the revisionists, even after their main ringleaders were overthrown. In the old communist parties of the capitalist world, for a certain period (before the split) we Marxist-Leninists had to fight a similar battle, only there it wasn't dealing with the complex problem of taking back state power.

Speaking in the name of a party which they actually legitimately represent, but was already profoundly infiltrated and divided, in order to win back the CPC Mao Tsetung and the Chinese Marxist-Leninists have no choice but to mobilize the masses against "the bourgeois representatives who have infiltrated the Party, the government, the army, and the various fields of culture. . ." who are "a bunch of counterrevolutionary revisionists." Given the immense power the revisionists hold in the party and the state, the Marxist-Leninists have to make use of Mao's great influence among the masses, and even depend on Lin Piao and the Armed Forces, despite the fact that Mao had differences with him in the past and disapproved of the dogmatic methods (as Mao expresses in a 1966 letter to his wife) with which Lin takes advantage of Mao's prestige and work for his own ends. In view of the extent to which Mao was isolated in the years before the Cultural Revolution and the power achieved by the revisionists, this alliance with Lin Piao (which even goes as far as the aberration of having to designate him Mao's successor at the Ninth Congress) appears justified and inevitable. Mao's statement to the Albanian leaders—"The Party and the state had been usurped by the renegade Liu Shao-chi and Teng Hsiao-ping group and the victories of the Chinese revolution were in danger"—was totally real and objective and expresses the enormous obstacles the Marxists faced in regaining power. In regard to Lin Piao, there is the fact that only in the '70s was he discovered to be a conspirator, presumably in league with the Soviet revisionists.

It was necessary to lead the masses to smash the revisionists under the conditions of a divided party in which the revisionists (open and hidden) occupied decisive positions; of depending on the Armed Forces led by a hidden traitor who pursued his own plans and with many com-

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mands secretly tied to his conspiracy; and of a very large number of middle-level party and state cadres who, as the facts have shown, defended their petty privileges and were with the revisionists. Although Mao and the Chinese Marxist-Leninists relied on the fervent support of the masses, between them and the masses there was a whole intermediate apparatus that sabotaged their directives, stirred up the contradictions among sectors of the masses, promoted "left" tendencies and, in general, went all out to gut the content of the Cultural Revolution or to derail it.

The fact that the first group of five in charge of leading the Cultural Revolution later would be unmasked as revisionists working to derail it is eloquent testimony to this situation, although this isn't the only nor definitely the most important example. Then, the very revisionists who are in the process of being unmasked, Liu Shao-chi and Teng Hsiao-ping, form many "work teams" which go to the masses to "promote" the Cultural Revolution. In reality, what they do is repress the revolutionary leaders and party members and work to discredit the movement by promoting the overthrow of a large number of middle-level cadres, in order to turn the spearhead away from themselves. At the same time they repressed the masses' opinions, accusing anyone who opposed them of being a revisionist, fomenting endless disputes between various groups of the masses, and in every possible way sabotaging the concentration of forces against the main enemies. These teams operated for almost two months, eliminated only in August 1966 with the issuing of the famous "16-point Decision," with Mao's guidance for the Cultural Revolution.

The second group in charge of leading the Cultural Revolution includes Chen Po-ta and Tao Chu, who was later overthrown for being an agent of Liu Shao-chi. Taking advantage of his position in that group, he creates "liaison agents" who go out to the centers of the mass struggle and provoke serious splits, even fomenting armed conflicts between various Red Guard forces, who were divided into three general headquarters. Tao Chu works to prevent any discussion of Liu Shao-chi and Teng Hsiao-ping's counter-revolutionary "work groups" and his own "liaison agents," to keep them from being unmasked. The broadening of the target to include all cadres, and the extremist phraseology, not only scares these cadres even more into the arms of those who really were the main target of the Cultural Revolution and who were opposed to it, but also provokes big splits and confusion among the masses around defending some cadres and criticizing others. Many middle-level cadres become accomplices in cutting off the contacts between the Red Guards and the working class so as to keep the working class from taking the leadership of the movement. Chen Po-ta, as is well known, was part of Lin Piao's secret plot. Finally, it should be said that the true character of the plot the revisionists were hatching was revealed to the Chinese Marxist-Leninists and Mao only through the polemic against Soviet revisionism and learning how the revisionists had established state capitalism, as well as through the course of the Cultural Revolution. For a long time it is thought that they are fighting for the restoration of traditional capitalism and not of a state capitalism disguised as socialism. For the same reason, the base of support they have created among a vast sector of middle-level party and state cadres on the basis of privileges and bribes is not sharply seen at first. One of the symptoms of the seriousness of that corruption is the conduct of the

children of cadres, grouped together in special schools. They organize a United Action Committee, defend the idea that they are revolutionaries by birth since they are the children of cadres (they launch the slogan, "A revolutionary father, a brave son; a reactionary father, a scoundrel son"), and stage fascist-style attacks on revolutionary organizations. Evidence collected against them since then shows that they were financed by high-ranking party officials. In any case, their conduct and views reveal quite a bit about their parents' mentality. In many provinces they have no hesitation about using various kinds of bribes and intrigues to divide the masses and block anyone who demands their overthrow: the Agriculture Minister himself promotes these practices in Peking and in the countryside; in Shanghai and other places, special bonuses are paid to the workers, different wage grades are created to favor their followers, they paralyze production and encourage paid trips to the capital, and, with the aid of high-ranking cadres, promote the reinstatement of lower-ranking cadres overthrown by the masses. The better part of the Party Central Committee, with links to middle-level cadres in both open and disguised ways, oppose their dismissal. Chou En-lai plays a decisive role in this defense of cadres repudiated by the masses.

VIII. THE NECESSITY OF A RETREAT

In August 1967, after a nationwide tour, Mao Tsetung sees confirmed just how much "the cadres had lost touch with the masses," and for that reason, the lack of a revolutionary party solidly based on a large body of rank-and-file leaders, capable of leading the process of the Cultural Revolution. On the other hand, those cadres' administrative experience is necessary to prevent economic chaos and safeguard the country's external security. The new leaders who have come forward from among the masses in many ways lack administrative experience. He sees confirmed, too, that the masses are divided. This is because of the deliberate actions of cadres in league with the revisionists, as well as the work (still unknown at that time) of armed forces elements linked to the Lin Piao plot, who were playing the role of "arbitrator" in conflicts among sections of the masses. The problem Mao faces, in all its magnitude, is that he lacks a leading party he can fully rely on to deepen that process. Even cadres loyal to Marxism are viciously attacked by those who are carrying out intrigues among the masses, many times turning the masses against them without justification. He is forced, for that reason, to "reduce the movement" of the Cultural Revolution, as he expressed it in a conversation in July 1967, trying as hard as possible to save its political and ideological achievements. In fact, he is forced to compromise, on the one hand, with Chou En-lai, who uses all his ability to defend the party "apparatus," and on the other hand, with Lin Piao, who, through the army, insures, for his own reasons (unknown at that time) the chances of avoiding the mass confrontations promoted by those striving to derail the Cultural Revolution. He calls on the masses to unite and form *provisional* organs of power, made up of veteran cadres, representatives of the masses and members of the armed forces directly designated by the Military Commission. The organization of communes as organs of power directly derived from the masses, as proposed by the 16-point Cultural Revolution programmatic document and established in Shanghai, should be abandoned. Upon suggesting to the Shanghai leaders that they replace the Commune with a three-in-one committee, Mao expressly points out to them the necessity of a leading party to keep

advancing. "Do we still have a need for the Party?" he asks. And he answers: "We still need a steeled nucleus to strengthen us on the road that lies ahead," he says. Thus, in China, Mao faces a problem similar to that seen after Stalin's death in the Soviet Union, most of the Eastern European People's Democracies, and the capitalist world itself: the lack of parties whose high and middle-level leaders have a solid communist consciousness.

At the same time, he strives for the principled unity of the masses on the basis of a profound criticism of the revisionists' reactionary line. He puts forward the necessity of rebuilding the party, even with all the limitations of having to keep many bureaucratized cadres and the rehabilitation of cadres overthrown by the masses, which is promoted by those who take advantage of this consolidation to reinfiltrate these cadres. In the Communiqué of the Twelfth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee held in October 1968, Mao is quoted as saying, "The party organization should be composed of the advanced elements of the proletariat; it should be a vigorous vanguard organization capable of leading the proletariat and the revolutionary masses in the fight against the class enemy," and for this reason it must "get rid of the stale and take in the fresh," and, the communiqué adds, "conscientiously do the work of party consolidation and party building." The publication *Red Flag* at that time speaks of "a transfusion of proletarian blood" into the party, and indicates that "only by developing a party consolidation movement, a mass movement and not one that takes place behind closed doors, can we guarantee that the communist organizations at various levels will really be led by people loyal to Mao Tsetung, to his Thought and to his proletarian revolutionary line."

On the other hand, Mao Tsetung strives for the working class to take full leadership of the movement, so as to restrict the petty-bourgeois tendencies which arose during the first few months of the Cultural Revolution—which its enemies took full advantage of. Already, in the July 1967 conversations, Mao Tsetung had emphasized that the principal aspect of the Cultural Revolution was the participation of the masses of workers and peasants. He said, "After the working meeting of the Central Committee the emphasis was on criticizing the bourgeois reactionary line. As the criticism of this line aroused the revolutionary enthusiasm of many revolutionaries, the revolutionary intellectuals and the young students were the first to achieve consciousness, which is in accordance with the laws of revolutionary development. In January of this year the Shanghai workers rose, as did the workers of the whole country and the peasants too, when the January Storm swept across the country. The development of the movement showed that the workers and peasants are still the main force—the soldiers are only workers and peasants in uniform, so that workers, peasants and soldiers are, at root, workers and peasants. Only when the broad masses of workers and peasants arose was all that bourgeois stuff thoroughly smashed; while the revolutionary intellectuals and the young students had to fall back into a subsidiary place." Then he makes the call to "bring into full play the leading role of the working class in the great cultural revolution and in all fields of work." Furthermore, he points out, "In carrying out the proletarian revolution in education, it is essential to have working-class leadership. . . The workers' propaganda teams should stay permanently in the schools and take part in fulfilling all the tasks of struggle-criticism-transformation in the schools, and they will always lead the schools. In the countryside, the schools should be managed by the poor and lower-middle peasants—the most reliable ally of the working class."

Mao Tsetung's isolation, along with that of the Chinese Marxist-Leninists who identify with his objectives, becomes accentuated because of the necessity of stopping the vast mass mobilization of the Cultural Revolution, due to the lack of a really solid leading party nucleus to lead it to the complete achievement of its objectives. The necessity of relying on Chou En-lai, who does not reveal his strong links to Teng Hsiao-ping until after the Lin Piao plot, prevents the revolutionaries from intervening in China's foreign policy. Chou En-lai, as is well known, jealously defended the Central Committee Liaison Department cadres involved in foreign affairs. As all the Marxist-Leninist parties can verify, the rebels in the Liaison Department were removed very early. Minister Chin Yi is kept in office despite the masses' serious criticisms of him. Still, Marxist-Leninist principles and the line formulated by Mao in his polemic against the Soviet revisionists are essentially upheld until the Tenth Congress of the CPC, where Chou En-lai presents the main report on international affairs. Chou indicates at that Congress, "Stalin said, 'Leninism is Marxism in the era of imperialism and the proletarian revolution. . .'" and adds, "the era has not changed. The fundamental principles of Leninism are not outdated." The struggles of the peoples of the world are emphasized, and he quotes Mao, saying, "The people, and the people alone, are the motive force of world history," which contradicts what his collaborator Teng Hsiao-ping is to say the next year at the United Nations. He denounces "the two hegemonic powers—the U.S. and the USSR." In this speech there are also some secondary elements which could be interpreted as a subtle anticipation of Teng Hsiao-ping's ideas, but the thrust of the speech conforms to China's previous international line.

The already weak situation of the Marxist-Leninists who, although they can get their ideas across through certain propaganda media, lack a solid means for leading the masses, becomes even worse when Lin Piao's plot to grab power is discovered in 1971. This conspiracy's deep ramifications in the armed forces, the party and other state organisms forces the already weak Marxist-Leninist forces in the party to put even more emphasis on their temporary compromise with those who had opposed carrying the Cultural Revolution any further or who were openly or secretly linked to the revisionist forces. In addition to the internal danger, there is the open threat of the Soviet leaders, to whom Lin Piao seems to have been linked, who concentrate a huge number of troops on China's border and send many warships to cruise off China's coastline. At this point, forces who had been overthrown as revisionist ringleaders begin to reappear, not only in the lower-level bodies, as had already begun to happen during the height of the Cultural Revolution, but also in the top leading bodies. In April 1973 Teng Hsiao-ping reappears for the first time at a public banquet. Shortly after, he regains his post as Vice Premier. In August of that year he is reinstated as a member of the CPC Central Committee. By 1974 he has infiltrated the Political Bureau and assumes responsibilities in the reorganization of the armed forces, which shows the connection between his return and the necessity of neutralizing Lin Piao's influence. In April of that year he feels strong enough to lay the foundation of his reactionary "three worlds" theory at the United Nations. In January 1975, at the Tenth Plenary Session of the Central Committee elected at the Tenth Congress, he succeeds in being designated Vice Chairman of the Central Committee. The same month, at the Fourth National People's Congress, which Mao Tsetung does not attend (it seems he didn't attend the Tenth Congress either), Teng is named Vice

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Premier and Chief of Staff of the armed forces, assuming the functions of the Premier because of Chou En-lai's illness. In December 1973 the armed forces commanders had already been changed and many elements who were main targets of the Cultural Revolution begin to be rehabilitated. Between July and October 1975 alone, the Army Chief of Staff who had been overthrown, the Rector of Peking University, the ex-mayor of Shanghai and many others are rehabilitated.

IX. THE BETRAYAL OF MAO TSETUNG'S INTERNATIONAL LINE

The preparations for Nixon's visit to China and Chou En-lai's efforts to get China into the UN take place in the context of the serious internal threat arising from the Lin Piao plot in September 1971, and of the intensified threat from the Soviet Union. Nixon's visit takes place five months after the discovery of Lin Piao's plot. We don't know the tactical reasons which might have motivated Mao to accept the meeting with Nixon. In any case, a mere meeting with a chief enemy under certain tactical conditions does not imply a concession of principles. The same has been done by other great revolutionary leaders. Mao Tsetung also had discussions with Chiang Kai-shek, which certainly didn't mean giving up the struggle to overthrow him. In October 1972, on the occasion of the twenty-third anniversary of the Chinese Revolution, China's main newspapers publish an editorial which says, "Opposition to the bullying and hegemonism of the two superpowers has come to be a common demand of the peoples." "Certain countries strictly controlled by Soviet revisionism or U.S. imperialism also strive to put an end to this dependency." "During the last year, our country has continued to thoroughly apply Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in foreign affairs. We have developed our relations of friendship, aid and cooperation with the other socialist countries. We firmly supported the struggle of resistance against U.S. aggression and for national salvation carried out by the people of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia; we supported the just struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America to win and safeguard their national independence and defend their state sovereignty." "For the revolutionary movement of the world's peoples, the future is bright but the road tortuous. To win victory in their revolutionary struggle the world's peoples must rely chiefly on themselves to gradually raise their level of consciousness and sense of organization in the course of the struggle, and step by step integrate the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with revolutionary practice in their own countries. We have always upheld the revolutionary struggles of the world's peoples and it is in the peoples that our hopes are placed." "In the rather favorable international situation, we should strive still more to fully apply the revolutionary line and policies formulated by Chairman Mao for international affairs. We should unite with the other socialist countries and the proletariat worldwide, with all peace-loving peoples and countries which oppose bullying, to resolutely fight imperialism and social-imperialism's policies of aggression and war." Mao's meeting with Nixon, then, is still within the context of an international policy which is essentially correct and profoundly different from that formulated two years later by Teng Hsiao-ping at the United Nations.

We believe that our "Open Letter" to the CPC, pub-

lished at the end of 1977, with which we broke relations with its present leadership, clearly showed that Mao's ideas on international policy, as contained in both his past works and the polemic he developed against Soviet revisionism, not only have nothing to do with the "Three Worlds" theory, but are its complete opposite. Furthermore, China's concrete foreign policy during the height of the Cultural Revolution, when Mao's instructions and guidance dominated it, is essentially correct and in full solidarity with the world's peoples and the Marxist-Leninists. In that document, after comparing both lines and showing how Teng Hsiao-ping's line is in essence the same as that of the Soviets, except with its own hegemonic ambitions, after abundant documentation, in summing up we indicate:

"In his works and in the writings of the polemic, Comrade Mao holds that: the imperialist colonial political rule continues under the form of neo-colonialism through its lackeys; that national liberation is achieved through the class struggle inside the country subjugated by imperialism, by a revolution against this imperialism and internal forces which support its rule; that this revolution of national liberation can be successful only if led by the proletariat, and not by the bourgeoisie; that no liberation can be achieved through simple measures of economic independence put forward by the bourgeoisie; that the motive force of history is the class struggle, expressed in our time by the people of the world led by the proletariat and their vanguard parties; that the proletariat in the advanced capitalist countries must defeat the local monopolist bourgeoisie to conquer power and build socialism, as well as to fight the superpowers; that 'the view which blots out the class content of the contradiction between the socialist and the imperialist camps and fails to see this contradiction as one between states under the dictatorship of the proletariat and states under the dictatorship of the monopoly capitalists' is unacceptable; that the existence of the socialist states has changed the character and the perspective of the national liberation movement, which under proletarian leadership marches towards socialism and not to capitalist 'development' under bourgeois dictatorship; that the socialist states must practice proletarian internationalism as the core of their foreign policy, and never subordinate it to peaceful coexistence, still less to chauvinism or hegemonism; that it is possible to prevent a new world war through the peoples' struggle and carrying revolution through to the end; that it is necessary to strongly fight both the American imperialist and the Soviet social-imperialist superpowers, opposing them with the united front of the people of the world led by the proletariat."

Teng Hsiao-ping, on the contrary, holds that "colonial political rule has basically disappeared and that there are only 'remnant' forms of colonialism; that it is possible to 'safeguard' and 'consolidate' the independence through some changes in the 'international economic relations'; that national liberation will be achieved through the actions of the countries of the 'third world', basically accepting as such the bourgeois governments, lackeys of imperialism and oppressors of the people; that these bourgeois forces which control the governments of the countries of the 'third world' are not only the leading force of national liberation but also the 'motive force propelling the wheel of world history'; that the proletariat of the capitalist advanced countries of the so-called 'second world' must ally with their own monopolist bourgeoisie and strengthen the military pacts and other instruments of the domination of U.S. imperialism and their own monopolist bourgeoisies, under the pretext that an attack from so-

cial-imperialism is 'imminent'; that the socialist camp does not exist and that China, despite being socialist, belongs to the 'third world', which is basically made up by countries subjected to colonial or neo-colonial rule under the U.S. or the social-imperialists; that the countries of the 'third world', 'like' China, can bring about economic development to end their 'situation of poverty and backwardness' without carrying out the national liberation revolution or the socialist revolution; that China's foreign policy is fundamentally one of peaceful coexistence and not a policy based on proletarian internationalism; that a Third World War is inevitable and imminent, and that the allies of the U.S. imperialism must improve their armaments, armies and military pacts to confront social-imperialism, and for this reason the brakes must be put on the class struggle."

This is a question, then, of two diametrically opposed lines, one guided by Marxism-Leninism and the other by revisionism. Mao, in his polemics against the Soviets, openly and publicly fought the same line now put forward by Teng. Mao Tsetung has never defended Teng Hsiao-ping's opportunist theses, neither publicly nor privately as far as we know. It seems to us totally unfounded to think, without the slightest evidence, that Mao would make a 180-degree turn in his international line in the last years of his life. Furthermore, it seems inconceivable to us that a proven and consistent Marxist like Mao Tsetung, without any personal ambition, would turn into a complete revisionist and a renegade to his own ideas and life. Even from a practical point of view it is unthinkable that Mao Tsetung would turn over nothing less than the task of formulating a complete change in his international line to Teng Hsiao-ping against whom he was to initiate a new struggle, for the purpose of unmasking and overthrowing him, during these same years (as actually happened), and about whom he had declared, "he makes no distinction between Marxism and imperialism: he represents the bourgeoisie."

The only logical hypothesis about what happened is that because he was in an absolute minority among the leadership and party cadres who had been infiltrated on a grand scale by the revisionists even though they didn't dare overthrow him because of his great influence among the masses (and were waiting for him to die so that they could take advantage of his prestige), Mao no longer had much influence in the leadership of the party and especially on its international policy. What is more, there are signs that a struggle was waged against Teng Hsiao-ping's ideas on international policy, although not publicly. After Mao's death the revisionist leaders themselves indicate, in an article in *Peking Review* #45, "In our own country there are persons who frantically oppose Chairman Mao's theory of the three worlds. They are none other than Wang Hung-wen, Chang Chun-chiao, Chiang Ching and Yao Wen-yuan, or the 'gang of four'. Hoisting a most 'revolutionary' banner, they opposed China's effort to unite with all forces that can be united, and opposed our dealing blows at the most dangerous enemy. They vainly tried to sabotage the building of an international united front against hegemonism and disrupt China's anti-hegemonist struggle, doing Soviet social-imperialism a good turn." In this way they try not only to falsely attribute this revisionist theory to Mao Tsetung—which they never dared to do while he was alive—but also to spread the absurd idea that those who were recognized as Mao's closest collaborators in the Cultural Revolution and in his last struggle to overthrow Teng Hsiao-ping were, because they were against the "Three Worlds" theory, "against Mao" on such an important matter, and that Mao, on the other hand, was struggling to overthrow Teng Hsiao-ping, with

whom he "agreed" on international line despite having stated that he "makes no distinction between Marxism and imperialism." Obviously, this is the clumsiest of lies and an absurd supposition.

The clearest proof of Mao's reduced influence within the CPC "apparatus," despite his prestige among the masses, after the revisionist reinfiltration following the Lin Piao plot and the concessions that he was forced to make in this difficult situation, is that Teng Hsiao-ping, dismissed from office "unanimously" at Mao's insistence following the Tien An Men Square incident after a prolonged and patient campaign against the restatement of his reactionary views and his opposition to the gains of the Cultural Revolution, is returned to all his posts a few months after Mao's death, also unanimously (after the arrest of those who followed Mao).

X. THE STRUGGLE BEGINS AGAIN

As he takes up the struggles that arise in the wake of the discovery of the Lin Piao plot, Mao's plan is perfectly consistent with what he had seen confirmed during the Cultural Revolution, which led him to put a halt to its deepening. The CPC on all levels can't be cleaned out and rebuilt because of the revisionist reinfiltration which followed the inevitable compromise meant to thwart Lin Piao's plot. In order to once again launch the struggle against the revisionists, Mao Tsetung focuses on China's internal problems, the clearest and most directly comprehensible for the masses of people. He begins to fight all Teng Hsiao-ping's efforts to put economism in command, over and above class struggle, and his systematic efforts to overturn the gains of the Cultural Revolution—as he has done on a grand scale since Mao's death—whether it be in education, the factories or the countryside. Step by step Mao works to create the consciousness to revitalize the mass mobilization. At the same time, summing up the experiences of the Cultural Revolution which had faced a serious obstacle in many middle-level cadres, and even among a certain section of the workers who were manipulated by them through economic incentives, he proposes to focus the new struggle not only on combating revisionist formulations, but also on the whole unequal social and economic base which the top revisionist leaders had used to influence a series of middle-level cadre and gain their support. The way to resolve the problem is to reinforce the dictatorship of the proletariat and through it eliminate step by step the remains of bourgeois right which served as the basis for the privileges that those cadre who opposed the masses were defending. The formulation he uses to initiate this struggle is perfectly clear in this respect, and it shows us, at the same time, the conclusions which he had arrived at regarding the obstacles the Cultural Revolution faced. "Why did Lenin speak of exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie? It is essential to get this question clear. Lack of clarity on this question will lead to revisionism. This should be made known to the whole nation." "Our country at present practises a commodity system, the wage system is unequal, too, as in the eight-grade wage scale, and so forth. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat such things can only be restricted." And he adds, indicating what he judges to be the soil which nourishes the high-ranking revisionist leaders, "Therefore, if people like Lin Piao come to power, it will be quite easy for them to rig up the capitalist system." Furthermore, he points out, "Lenin spoke of building a bourgeois state without capitalists to safeguard bourgeois right. We ourselves have built just such a state, not much different from the old society:

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there are ranks and grades, eight grades of wages, distribution according to work, and exchange of equal values. What is different is that the system of ownership has changed." In the same way, he says, "Lenin said that 'small production engenders capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously, and on a mass scale.' They are also engendered among a part of the working class and of the Party membership. Both within the ranks of the proletariat and among the personnel of state and other organs there are people who take to the bourgeois style of life." Already at the First Plenary Session of the Ninth Central Committee of the CPC—systematizing the fundamental obstacle faced by the Cultural Revolution and the need to carry it out anyway—he indicates, "Apparently, we couldn't do without the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, for our base was not solid. From my observations, I am afraid that in a fairly large majority of factories—I don't mean all or the overwhelming majority—leadership was not in the hands of real Marxists and the masses of workers. Not that there were no good people in the leadership of the factories. There were. There were good people among the secretaries, deputy secretaries and members of Party committees and among the Party branch secretaries. But they followed that line of Liu Shao-chi's, just resorting to material incentive, putting profit in command, and instead of promoting proletarian politics, handing out bonuses, and so forth. But there are indeed bad people in the factories. This shows that the revolution is still unfinished." Lenin indicated a similar perspective when he declared in April 1918, "Yes, by overthrowing the landlords and bourgeoisie we cleared the way but we did not build the edifice of socialism. On the ground cleared of one bourgeois generation, new generations continually appear in history, as long as the ground gives rise to them, and it does give rise to any number of bourgeois. As for those who look at the victory over the capitalists in the way that the petty proprietors look at it—they grabbed, let me have a go too"—indeed, every one of them is the source of a new generation of bourgeois."

Through systematizing what had happened in the Soviet Union and other countries controlled by the revisionists as well as the events both during and after the hottest period of the Cultural Revolution, Mao Tsetung arrives at a clear understanding of the intentions of the arising new bureaucratic-state bourgeoisie and of the soil that feeds it, the survival of bourgeois right, which persists in the socialist period of transition to communism. During the 1964 Socialist Education Movement Mao had already pointed out, "Transformed or on the way to becoming transformed into bourgeois elements sucking the blood of the workers, how could these leading authorities taking the capitalist road understand the need for socialist revolution well enough? These people are the target of the struggle, the target of the revolution; it's impossible to rely on them in the Socialist Education Movement." And directly taking on Teng Hsiao-ping and his followers shortly before his death, he points out, "With the socialist revolution they themselves come under fire. At the time of the co-operative transformation of agriculture there were people in the Party who opposed it, and when it comes to criticizing bourgeois right, they resent it. You are making the socialist revolution, and yet don't know where the bourgeoisie is. *It is right in the Communist Party*—those in power taking the capitalist road. The capitalist roaders are still on the capitalist road." And on another occasion, he says, "After the

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

It's not necessary to demonstrate here that the line applied by Teng Hsiao-ping after his last rehabilitation is the complete antithesis of everything the Cultural Revolution was fought for. They've not only brought back material incentives, the old system of selection in the schools, putting production above class struggle, the establishment of the old system of management in the factories and repressive regulations, the consolidation of the differences in bourgeois right, but they've even given the capitalists back rights which were taken away from them even before the Cultural Revolution. The main revisionist ringleaders, among them Peng Chen (the first to be overthrown), Liu Shiao-chi's wife and many others, have been vindicated. Even Peng Teh-huai has been posthumously eulogized. An article criticizing one of Mao's closest collaborators, now in prison, goes so far as to call the previous period an "ideological fascist dictatorship" and calls for the reversal of the "wrong verdicts" by "a certain supreme leader." Thus, the continuing praise between clenched teeth for Mao Tsetung and taking advantage of his prestige to sell revisionism's rotten wares is no more than one more proof of Teng Hsiao-ping & Co.'s refined hypocrisy and cynicism. It also shows that his chauvinist, aggressive, hegemonistic and unprincipled international line through which they seek to transform China into an imperialist superpower is completely consistent with his internal line for capitalist restoration—fought by the Cultural Revolution under Mao's planning and direction. This confirms the complete antagonism between Teng Hsiao-ping's international line and Mao's objectives of opposing the restoration of capitalism in China through the Cultural Revolution and his subsequent struggle against Teng Hsiao-ping, and consequently, against all hegemonistic and chauvinistic designs for China, as Mao emphatically stressed.

XI. CONCLUSIONS

We think that in the period since World War 2 the International Communist Movement faces a revisionist current which has both profound differences and common essential features, as a defender of the system of exploitation, with that of the time of the First and Second Internationals. Present-day revisionism not only objectively favors the domination of the traditional bourgeoisie, by holding the proletariat back from making revolution, but also itself aspires to become a new bureaucratic bourgeoisie through a state capitalist regime disguised as socialism. According to the circumstances, it pursues this course both in alliance with certain sectors of the bourgeoisie as well as in opposition to other sectors of the traditional bourgeoisie. This new revisionist current has been given a decisive impulse by the establishment of state-capitalist (and even imperialist, in the case of the USSR) regimes in countries where the proletariat had conquered state power. In this transformation of socialism into state capitalism, serious ideological errors—committed in socialist construction, in the role of the vanguard party and in the relation of the party to the proletariat and the masses of people in general—all have their effect.

We are convinced that the experience of the Cultural Revolution and the ideas and line of Mao Tsetung that in-

spired it, which represent both Marxism-Leninism's application to the reality of that country and its development, contain extremely valuable lessons for fighting the present revisionist trend and deeply analyzing the motive causes of capitalist restoration in a series of socialist countries, and preventing this from happening in the future. We think Mao's insistence on the importance of applying Marxism-Leninism and its universal principles to the concrete reality of each country, avoiding dogmatism, as well as revisionism and empiricism, is very important; we think his dialectical conception of the party and his method of distinguishing the character of contradictions within the party as well as his method of dealing with them, are very valuable; we consider extremely important his concept that, with the guidance of leaders who should facilitate this process and not "resolve" it in a paternalist way, all the members of the party should participate and get educated through their active participation in the struggle against the errors that arise in the party, helping to correct them, and against the anti-party factions, to eliminate them; we consider of greatest importance his idea of developing, the struggle among the masses of people, particularly the proletariat, under the ideological leadership of the party, in such a way that the masses themselves learn to identify and fight against their enemies, and free themselves from their influence; we consider of enormous importance his concept that the masses, under the leadership of the party, must more and more take in their own hands the affairs of state, defense, the economy, planning, their well being, the management of the enterprises, education, art, culture, and all spheres of society; we consider decisive in the transition from socialism to communism the importance Mao gave to the role of ideology and revolutionary consciousness, and measures to fight bureaucratization of the cadres and their separation and opposition to the masses, such as the need for the masses, especially the proletariat to have an important influence in building the party and in the correction of errors committed by its members; we consider decisive his conception of the necessity, under socialism, through strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat, to restrict the remains of bourgeois right that constitute a

soil nourishing the growth of new sections of bourgeoisie and revisionists, including in the communist party. Finally, we believe that in Mao's ideas and the practice of his life there are many other concepts of revolutionary importance, among them, most basically, his correct dialectical materialist treatment of problems. We are not saying that Mao invented all these formulations, though he made valuable contributions of his own, but without doubt, he carried their development and application to a higher level. This enabled him, in the very complex reality of China and leading a country of hundreds of millions of people and a party of tens of millions of members, to profoundly advance in socialist construction, ideologically and politically exposing modern revisionism on an international scale and combating it relentlessly in China for the almost 20 years since the restoration of capitalism in the USSR and other socialist countries. We believe that Mao, inevitably, as also happened with the other great Marxist leaders, committed errors in terms of concrete appraisals, but never deviated from Marxist-Leninist principles. And all Marxist-Leninists share the responsibility for the temporary defeat, in as much as we did not know how to discover and reveal the particularities of modern revisionism which took over in almost all the old communist parties. The CPC, because of the class composition it inherited from Chinese society and the other enormous objective difficulties for its ideological and material proletarianization, could not be an exception in this process that took place on a world scale. The ultra-reactionary politics of the present Chinese leadership are one example of the fierce enemies that Mao had to face until his death, which underlines even more his merits and his revolutionary courage.

We are certain that the protracted struggle unleashed by the Chinese Marxist-Leninists led by Mao against international revisionism and revisionism in their country is a seed that will bear fruit in the future, and the Chinese Marxist-Leninists will regroup and put themselves at the head of the proletariat and of the glorious and fighting people of that country and, inspired by the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and of Mao Tsetung, once and for all sweep away the revisionist garbage.

Correction

In the Oct.-Nov. 1979 issue of *Revolution*, one line is missing at the end of the first paragraph on page 38. The last four lines should read:

"country could only lead to directing the proletariat's struggle away from the revolutionary program of waging civil war against the bourgeoisie."

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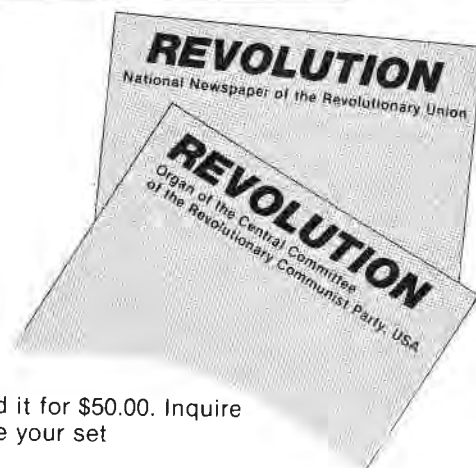
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THERE WILL BE REVOLUTION

But Wishing Won't Make It So

Voluntarism, Metaphysics and the Communist Workers Party

This past October, the Workers Viewpoint Organization, a dogmatist and sectarian organization, became the Communist Workers Party, U.S.A.

On November 5, the ruling class used the KKK, Nazis and the police to carry out a massacre of five CWP members at an anti-Klan rally in Greensboro, North Carolina, to declare "open season" on communists in this country and throw fear into the hearts of all potential rebels.

The Greensboro massacre presents a clear case of right and wrong, and our Party has condemned these brutal murders and mobilized the people against the perpetrators and those who stand behind them. We have also condemned those opportunist sycophants of the bourgeoisie, like the Communist Party Marxist-Leninist and the *Guardian* newspaper, who blame the massacre on what they call the CWP's "ultra-left actions" and provocations."

As the RCP stated immediately following the Greensboro massacre, "The Revolutionary Communist Party once again firmly condemns these brazen, brutal murders by the Klan and the Nazis, and the obvious role of the police and their bosses. The RCP, as has been stated before, has serious, deep disagreements with the Communist Workers Party, who called the demonstration, over many major political questions. These differences have been and will continue to be made clear in our Party's press. . . ."2 That is the subject of this article.

It is especially important to make these differences clear at present because there has been an unscrupulous lumping together of the RCP and CWP under the heading of "ultra-leftism," and the fact that the RCP was one of the few organizations to stand firmly and clearly against the bourgeoisie's attack in the Greensboro massacre has been used to confuse the two organizations in some people's minds.

Further, there is the fact that the CWP offers a sort of distorted mirror-image of the RCP's line. In fact at times this "mirroring" becomes very weird indeed. For instance, following the Mao Memorial Meetings which the RCP held in September 1978 to uphold Mao Tsetung in the face of the revisionist coup in China, the RCP announced the Mao Tsetung Enrollment into the Party. Some months later WVO proclaimed its own Mao Tsetung Enrollment. Or take the recent campaign to stop the railroad of Bob Avakian and free the Mao Tsetung Defendants, during which (as the trial approached and 150 volunteers descended on Washington, D.C.) the RCP put out the slogan, "Turn D.C. Upside Down!" And a little later, CWP puts out a slogan of its "own"—"Turn the Country Upside Down!" Cases of political pickpocketry such as these are indeed shallow, and rather strange as well, guaranteed to create confusion.

Out of the sorry rag-tag crew of "Marxist-Leninist" opportunists in this country, the CWP is the only organization which, first of all, claims to uphold Mao Tsetung and the four revolutionary leaders in China who were thrown down by the revisionist coup in that country and, second, particularly of late, actually talks about making revolution in this country. (This in itself is a sharp commentary on the extremely powerful rightward pull of the present overall situation in the U.S. which conditions and limits the CWP's "leftism.") The CWP's surface similarities to the line of the RCP however, makes a study of it useful, in conjunction with studying the RCP's line (as concentrated in the latest CC Report). An examination of the CWP's line makes it much clearer exactly what our line is and isn't.

Previous analyses by the RCP of the Workers Viewpoint Organization (WVO) have focused on its metaphysics and dogmatism, and have pointed out that this very dogmatism does not exclude—and in fact makes inevi-

table—*reformism* when the organization engages in political practice among the masses.³ In recent months, though, while the above still fully applies, an aspect of their line which has come particularly to the fore is *voluntarism*.

What binds together all these forms of error on the part of WVO/CWP, and what has always characterized this organization, is an inability to understand or correctly deal with the unity and contradiction of the subjective and objective factors. They understand neither what the objective situation actually is, nor what the role of the subjective (conscious) factor is in relation to it. Unlike other current opportunists, for whom the present overall non-revolutionary objective situation is a giant stop sign to all revolutionary activity (which they claim does not correspond to the actual situation), the CWP talks about revolution and the subjective factor constantly—but they, too, see no real basis for revolutionary work within the present situation, and retreat into voluntarism—"wishing makes it so."

The line of the CWP is a form of subjective idealism; rather than seeing things as they really are—objectively—their own subjective conceptions are substituted. The CWP's voluntarism is a "left" error, and it is this "leftism" (in which the CWP has been engaging since the formation of their party three months ago) which differentiates this organization from most other opportunist groups, with their open rightism. But at the same time it should be noted that, first, right opportunism, economism, etc. are also forms of subjective idealism, for this line equally does not analyze the actual contradictions which are driving the present state of things toward revolution. And second, as we shall see, CWP's "leftism" is completely shot through with the most blatant rightism.

Why does the RCP's Central Committee report speak of "the real possibility that a revolutionary situa-

tion might actually ripen within this country in the next decade"? Is it principally because of the existence of our Party and its revolutionary work? No—it is because of our analysis that U.S. imperialism has entered a "downward spiral" which already has begun to show itself in economic crisis and which will give way to world war—already manifesting itself in beginning skirmishes—unless prevented by revolution. This is a situation that will draw millions upon millions into political life—not just the advanced, but even the most backward—and most likely result in a situation in which the bourgeoisie cannot rule in the old way and the masses can't live in the old way either—in other words, a revolutionary situation. Although no one can say right now whether such a situation will occur for sure, or whether it will in fact result in revolution, it is absolutely certain that only the preparation of the conscious revolutionary forces today, including drawing thousands upon thousands of advanced elements from among the working class into the revolutionary ranks, can allow the masses to unite and overthrow the bourgeoisie when the time is right. It is this analysis which guides the RCP's work and determines the Party's strategy and tactics. As Bob Avakian said in his opening remarks at the recent Central Committee meeting of the RCP:

"If our basic analysis is wrong, that they're not really getting ready to, and being driven to, go to war and there's not really any serious crisis—already serious crisis and deeper crisis on the horizon, including world war—then what we're doing and what we're talking about doing, our political line and specific policies, etc. are all off, all wrong. They wouldn't fit the circumstances and would in fact subject us to unnecessary risks and sacrifices."⁴

But for the CWP, it seems, the situation is always ripe. In its front-page story announcing the formation of the Communist Workers Party, their newspaper, *Workers Viewpoint*, declares: "Comrades, we are still in the era of imperialism, the eve of proletarian revolution. . . Following from this, the proletarian revolution is an immediate and practical question."⁵ No ups and downs, no spirals, no change in the balance of forces, but just a constant revolutionary situation throughout the era of imperialism!

What has kept the revolution from happening through the eight decades of this century? Apparently all that has been wanting is revolutionary will on the part of Marxists. The CWP claims, in all seriousness, "The bourgeoisie rules by

default." (Italics in original.)⁶ For them, the bourgeoisie does not rule by means of a whole carefully built-up superstructure which includes institutions for the violent suppression, the ideological domination and the political co-optation of the masses of people at home and abroad, but only in "default" of anyone challenging their rule! The only thing missing that's necessary for their overthrow is for a group to come along with the revolutionary will to actually challenge the rule of the bourgeoisie.

The CWP does not usually put it out so crudely as in the above "indiscreet" statements. Good dogmatists that they are, they are aware that Lenin said something about a revolutionary situation, contrasting it with more ordinary times, even during the era of imperialism. But what they have to say about this only further illustrates their voluntarism (and closely linked, their economism, as well).

In the supplement to their paper on the occasion of the formation of the CWP, there is a whole section on this topic, titled "Revolutionary Situations Frequent Under Imperialism." Actually, when it comes down to cases, they say there have only been two such situations in the history of imperialism, linked to the two world wars. Regarding the second of these, CWP puts forward the following fantastic analysis:

"The U.S. imperialists, the only imperialists to gain from the war, faced overwhelming odds. They faced 13 socialist countries, a powerful rising storm of national liberation wars in the third world, and daily growing resistance from the U.S. workers (the largest strike wave in U.S. history) and other oppressed U.S. peoples. The imperialists were staring in horror at their graves!

"In this excellent situation, the Communist Party (USA) and communist parties throughout Europe lost their nerve. . . What was one of the best opportunities for proletarian revolution in the U.S., these revisionists now speak of as the 'horrors of the McCarthy era'."⁷

In a word, ". . . the labor aristocrats and other bribed agents in our ranks had handed state power *back* to the bourgeoisie on silver platters after World War II. In the face of the seemingly more powerful enemy, they lose their nerve. . ." (Italics added.)⁸

Here a dogmatic application of the correct Marxist teaching that war gives rise to revolution—and World War 2 did give rise to revolution in some countries and raised the question of a revolutionary situation in others—leads to ignoring the particularity of the contradiction in the U.S., namely that the U.S.

won. In the aftermath of World War 2, U.S. imperialism was on the offensive, at the apex of its power—a power which was certainly not either unopposable or invincible, as was shown especially by the Chinese revolution and the Korean war. But this power was quite real, particularly in its home base within the U.S., which was definitely not at that time the weak link in the imperialist chain. In postwar western and southern Europe there were revolutionary possibilities (although it is impossible to say whether successful revolutions could have occurred even in the absence of the revisionist capitulation to the bourgeoisie by the communist parties of these countries—which made revolution impossible).⁹

But the postwar U.S. did *not* present a revolutionary situation, even had the CPUSA maintained a revolutionary stance (which it of course did not). What a revolutionary party could have done, given this objective situation, was to lead the fight, under an openly revolutionary banner, against the reactionary onslaught of the bourgeoisie. This situation would not have led to a revolution in the U.S., and in fact there were bound to be some losses for the revolutionary forces—but a fighting revolutionary stand would have kept the spark of revolution and the science of Marxism-Leninism alive, and this in turn would have made the next wave of mass struggle—that of the '60s—immeasurably stronger, fiercer and more revolutionary. This is the lesson of that period, and not some stupid fantasy of automatic revolution if only revolutionaries don't "lose their nerve." This is also what makes that period different from today—and anyone who misses this distinction is definitely going to throw the developing opportunity away.

What leads CWP to say that there was a revolutionary situation in the U.S. at that time? "The largest strike wave in U.S. history." In a fashion we will find to be typical of the CWP, the most fire-eating voluntarism is coupled with the same old tired economism.

Indeed, despite their going on and on about the CP losing its nerve, it is striking that, first, the CWP offers no concrete analysis of the old CP and its line, and that, second, the CWP in effect mimics many aspects of that same CP's line, particularly that of the early 1930s, which may be characterized as "left" economism—tacking general propaganda about socialism and revolution onto reformist politics growing out of the economic struggle.¹⁰

The CWP's analysis of the present situation is different in one crucial respect—rather than seeing a revolu-

CWP . . .

tionary situation where there wasn't, they don't see one where there is. Of course, they say they see a revolutionary situation—in fact, they go us one better, because while we say that there is the very real possibility that a revolutionary situation might ripen within the next decade, they say that a revolutionary situation has already arisen. But what do they describe?

“The bourgeoisie increasingly cannot rule in the same way. The economic crisis is deeper than ever before. Second world countries are resisting the U.S.’ attempt to pass on inflation to them, threatening to go over to the Soviet Union. The third world countries are demanding equal exchange for their resources. The U.S. imperialists are no longer able to pass the crisis along to other countries like they used to. They are entangled among each other, fighting over which monopolist will have to be cut. Old tricks of Keynesian economics won't work any more. They are stuck! It took Franklin Roosevelt four years to unite the bourgeoisie around the New Deal state monopoly capitalism to get the capitalists out of crisis, and today the crisis is a lot deeper. There's no way the monopoly capitalists can get themselves together in less than five years.

“The masses are increasingly not willing to live in the same way. The powerful lever of economic crisis is pushing forward the awakening of the proletariat. The U.S. defeat in Vietnam, Watergate, and all the rest has broken through illusions about capitalist ‘democracy’. The ‘American Dream’ is the American nightmare. As workers are kicking out union hacks across the country, the bourgeoisie does not have the influential [*sic*] social-democrats, revisionists or the trade union bureaucrats’ stranglehold to shackle the rapidly growing anger.”¹¹

Three things must be said about this: First, it is the same complete disregard for the consciousness of the masses and the same foul economism as noted above. It says the “masses aren't willing to live in the same way,” but to the U.S. defeat in Vietnam and the inter-capitalist rivalry which resulted in the debacle of Watergate what they counterpose, again, is the economic struggle.

Second, it is a fantasy—because this country has not yet suffered a sharp economic collapse like the 1930s and the economic struggle is still at a relatively low level. Why do they claim otherwise? Can't they read the newspapers and the statistics? The answer is that since for

them the economic struggle is the motive force of revolution, and since they feel very strongly that there must be one soon, then the economic struggle must be at a high tide. Pure subjective idealism.

Third and most important, this is *rightist* idealism—an underestimation rather than an overestimation of the current situation. At bottom they don't see that U.S. imperialism is caught in a downward spiral “which will only give way to another spiral through a major change in the relation of forces in the world—redivision of the world, through war among the imperialists, revolution, or—most likely—both, on a world scale.”¹² All they can say is, last time it took the bourgeoisie four years to get out, this time it will take them at least five. Obviously, this isn't much of a crisis. Perhaps the CWP hasn't noticed that it wasn't the New Deal that ended the Depression—it was the new and very favorable redivision of the globe for the U.S. following World War 2. (Of course, war production temporarily took the unemployed off the streets—but only the expansion of U.S. imperialism into the markets of the U.S.'s imperialist enemies and allies alike provided the basis for the whole post-war 25-year relative “boom.”) Today, no amount of “getting themselves together” can reverse the direction of the downward spiral—only winning another world war—or revolution—will turn this spiral around.

When the CWP talks about the monopoly capitalists getting themselves together in five years, what they mean is reaching agreement among themselves to “reindustrialize America”—to “get a few productive sections going to temporarily stabilize the economy” “through state monopoly capitalism” just like FDR supposedly did with the New Deal.¹³ But the New Deal did not “reindustrialize” the U.S. The bourgeoisie was not capable of this then, and they are far less capable of doing so today. They have already played their historical role of advancing the productive forces through modern industrialization. In the era of imperialism their only escape from deep crisis is to restructure capital through the tremendous devastation of inter-imperialist world wars. And “reindustrialization” is not even their plan. As Paul Volker, Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, said in a speech in London late last year, more nearly expressing the rather modest prospects his class has set for itself pending a redivision of the world, “A controlled disintegration of the economy is a legitimate object for the 1980s.”

For the CWP, the theoretical possibility of war is unlikely as an actual pros-

pect. In fact, in an entire article on the economic crisis and how the imperialists plan to deal with it (entitled, in typical WVO/CWP style, “30s Depression Haunts Bourgeoisie But Fear of 80s Freaks Them Out”), this is their one mention of war:

“With the U.S. people deeply cynical about imperialist wars of aggression abroad after Vietnam and Watergate[!], there's little opportunity for the bourgeoisie to use the tanks, aircraft and other weapons that \$billions in taxes goes to produce.”¹⁴

But here they do not seem to be talking about world war at all. And in addition there is the strong suggestion that the primary reason the bourgeoisie has for pumping money into the military is that it provides profits for defense contractors (a classic expression of economism and the liquidation of politics in favor of economics), for this passage comes up in the context of presenting increased military spending as one of the bourgeoisie's avenues of escape from economic crisis. Thus for the CWP, the “option” of war is another expression of the freedom the imperialists have to more or less smoothly get themselves out of a crisis.

The CWP, like the RCP, considers itself in a race against time. Only, while for the RCP the race is for the subjective forces to keep up with the development of the objective situation, so that the masses are prepared to seize the time when the situation ripens, through crisis and, most likely, war, for the CWP the race is . . . to make revolution before U.S. imperialism saves itself through reform. For the CWP it is a contest of wills between themselves and the bourgeoisie—revolution *vs.* New Deal. They grant the bourgeoisie the same unlimited freedom they grant themselves.

The last point that needs to be pulled out here is the link between the CWP's clinging to the “three worlds” theory, and their disregard of the looming question of world war. (Of course they do mention that imperialism means war—being good dogmatists, they have to because Lenin said so—but when it comes down to the concrete world this little fact has no consequences for them.)

“The struggles of the third world have pushed back the danger of world war by ripping off corner after corner of the globe—the markets for the exploitation of capital and the basins of raw materials—away from the clutches of the superpowers.”¹⁵

Why does CWP imagine that removing “corner after corner of the globe” from the sphere of capitalist exploita-

tion would "push back the danger of world war"? On the contrary, if this were true it would accelerate the tendency toward war, as each of the imperialist powers would have more and more necessity to try to redivide the world in its favor.

This is the line put forward by Teng Hsiao-ping in his 1974 "three worlds" speech at the UN. By forming raw materials associations and such, countries under the domination of imperialism can free themselves from this domination without having to go through the nasty business of revolution.

Is this what has been happening? Have the countries of OPEC ripped themselves out of the clutches of imperialism?¹⁶ Have the newly "independent" countries of Africa done so? No, it is clear that they have not. To say that they have is a fantasy—or, more to the point, a counter-revolutionary justification of their continued domination by imperialism. In fact this is the whole thrust and purpose of the "three worlds" strategy which China's new rulers purvey.

Why does the CWP continue to uphold it, despite their supposed recognition of the revisionist nature of these rulers? * Since the "three worlds" theory

* See *Revolution*, January 1979, pp. 8-9, and June 1979, pp. 18ff., for accounts of how WVO tried to publicly pretend that revisionism had not triumphed in China long after they'd summed up that in fact it had, their reason being that they were afraid of demoralizing the masses. This, as well as "RCP ultra-leftism" was the basis on which WVO attacked our Party's 1978 Mao Memorial Meetings, at which our analysis of the Chinese coup was made public. WVO remained silent on these questions until quite recently. An interesting sequel to this performance is the following passage from a recent issue of their paper, speaking of the period after the revisionist coup in China:

"Once again, the leadership of the WVO *immediately* [italics in original] took a clear position defending Mao and the historic lessons of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, and consolidated the whole Party on the correct position. . . . All this was in sharp contrast to. . . those, like the RCP, who sat on the fence for over a year, and even after their organization split in half on the question, did not take a clear stand for months."¹⁸

Yes, an interesting passage, at least for those interested in the pathological symptoms of an apparently total subjectivism. In fact their going-on about "Chairman Mao's theory of the Three Worlds," in perfect harmony with the vile usurpers who now rule China and their sycophants around the world, is an especially vivid demonstration of the hollowness of their pretense of upholding Mao and the Four.

is a Kautskyite theory of ultra-imperialism, it hides the real contradictions which will give rise to a revolutionary situation. The CWP doesn't want to see war coming.

"Indeed without understanding Chairman Mao's theory of Three Worlds, we cannot understand the contemporary situation and how deeply the bourgeoisie is stuck, and how excellent the situation really is. Without understanding Chairman Mao's theory of Three Worlds, we cannot understand our strength and how it *gives us the time* to rally our forces for the revolutionary onslaught." (Italics added.)¹⁷

This is the "three worlds" theory's great merit for these opportunists—it "gives us the time"—i.e., it means that revolutionaries aren't in a race with world war after all, because the development of the objective situation will hold off until the subjective forces are ready. When the wind blows, these head-in-the-sand ostriches are going to break their necks.

But the subjective idealism which gives rise to voluntarism regarding the development of the objective situation also gives rise to determinism in regard to the role of the subjective forces:

"There is an awakening of the working class like never before. . . . This is the historical lever of economic crisis at work." ". . . the economic crisis helps break all the illusions people may have."¹⁹

What is this but the utmost in determinism and economism? Economic crisis is certainly an important part of what creates the possibility of a revolutionary situation; but, first, it is not the only factor in this process (there is also the closely connected spectre of war—that "little fact" which CWP prefers to "forget"); and second, economic crisis does not *automatically* dispel the illusions of the masses and "lever" them into revolutionary motion—if it did, the capitalist system would have been dead and buried some time ago.

Today, only a small minority of the masses are ready to die rather than live this way another day, and even the advanced workers tend to be pulled back by the relative inactivity of the vast majority. As a revolutionary situation develops, even the backward are drawn into political life. (The present Iranian situation gives a glimpse of how, in a crisis, the bourgeoisie is forced to draw the masses into politics. And in this situation, true to their continuing economism, CWP is hard to find in the strug-

gle.) Growing millions then will see *no other way out* but revolution. But how can the advanced put themselves at the head of the masses and transform a situation of turmoil and confusion into a mass, organized, disciplined uprising under the leadership of the proletariat and its party to seize power from the bourgeoisie?

"The Party members and advanced elements of the proletariat must seize the time, actively learning to assume leadership by actually assuming leadership in *all spheres of life without exception*. Kick out the hacks and misleaders of all shades and colors." (Italics added.)²⁰

In other words, communists should work to get *themselves* in those important union offices instead of the hacks (especially given that, as we saw above, "workers are kicking out union hacks," and the bourgeoisie is running out of their supply of "influential social-democrats, revisionists [and] trade union bureaucrats. . . to shackle the rapidly growing anger")!

And what will be the basis on which communists will win the leadership of the trade unions? CWP leaves little room for doubt: "Today, with the collaboration of the trade union bureaucrats, the unions cannot even wage the economic struggle effectively. In the long run, only the Communist Party can rally the workers to build up the trade unions as fighting organizations."²¹

Communists will become leaders of the unions on the basis of being the best fighters in the economic struggle. Now let's see, where have we heard that before?

And lest it be thought that CWP has "moved beyond" any of this, in its "left" flip of the past three months, their official sum-up of their own history makes it clear that they fully uphold every bit of reformism and economism they've practiced in the past:

"For almost two years, the WVO stressed biting into the spontaneous struggles of the masses. . . the WVO focused on systematizing and concentrating our understanding of the different movements of U.S. people, particularly the trade union movement, the movement of oppressed nationalities and national minorities, and youth/student movements."²²

Further, these opportunists make it clear that they continue to adhere to (and to uphold) the same sort of practice today. Recently, for instance, in illustration of how "a glance at the history of our five Party martyrs is like a glance through the encyclopedia of the struggle of the U.S. workers and Afro-American work-

CWP . . .

ers," CWP says:

"For example, comrade Jim Waller was elected president of an Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union local after he led a bitter strike at Cone Granite mill, a strike which strengthened the local tremendously and swelled its ranks from 15 to 200. This is just one example of the CWP 5 which represents the Party's resounding national success in fusing communism with workers and the broad masses."²³

What this does illustrate and represent is the concrete meaning of WVO/CWP's "biting into the spontaneous struggles" and "concentrating our understanding of the trade union movement." It is also a good illustration of how a reformist, economist and trade-unionist line and practice can coexist quite happily with "left" phrasemongering and posturing.

On the one hand voluntarism—an overemphasis on the subjective element and the malleability of the world to the human will, an overestimation of the freedom of conscious revolutionary forces. On the other hand determinism—an over-emphasis on the objective factor and what will happen independently of human will. The first appears to be a "left" error; the second clearly leads to rightism. We have seen how these two contradictory aspects together characterize the CWP's line. In fact it is a rather familiar "left/right" combination. And the rightism in this case takes a very familiar form—economism.

The particular essence of this group lies in its dogmatism and voluntarism. While it is crucial to see how CWP's "leftism" coexists with a very thoroughgoing rightism (and not just rightism in its objective effect, but a rightist political line), it is obvious that this group is not the same as the CPML or the Mensheviks (RWH). As mentioned above, previous articles on CWP's immediate pre-

decessor, WVO, have delineated its dogmatism, which arises out of a particular way of metaphysically separating theory from practice and the universality from the particularity of contradiction. Dogmatists metaphysically separate the aspects of these contradictions and then put their emphasis on theory and universality. At the same time, and this is important to recognize, this very fact means that they do not actually understand the theory. To quote an earlier article, this dogmatism of WVO/CWP's

"... not only has the result that they do not apply *Marxism* to their practice (so that they fall into economism and reformism, as we've seen), but it also means that they cannot reach a correct understanding of the theory of Marxism, either—for Marxist theory is the summation of revolutionary practice. Of course this does not mean that Marxism is the summation of one's own immediate practice; it sums up the revolutionary practice of the proletariat and on

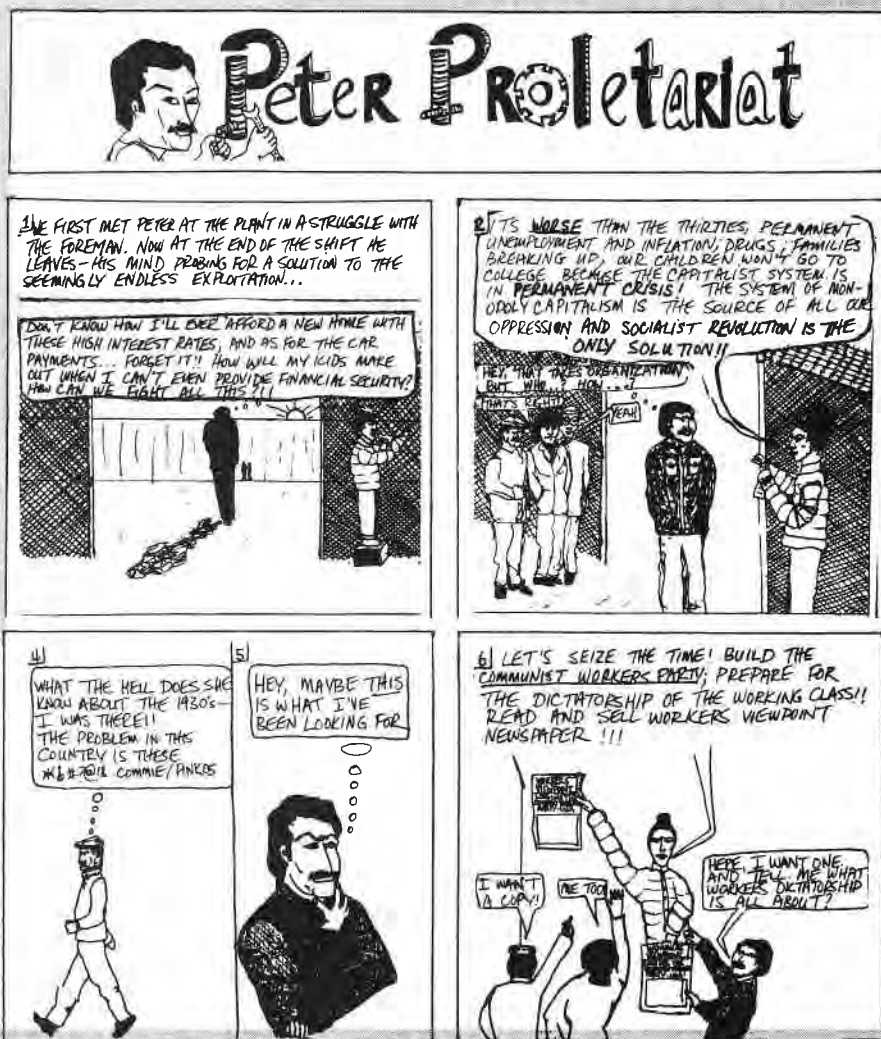
this basis man's historical practice in the struggle for production, scientific experiment and the class struggle, and this theoretical summing-up can (and must) be studied in its own right as well as in connection with particular struggles and events. But the purpose of studying it is in order to apply it, and thereby to change the world—and those who are not engaged overall in revolutionary practice, in changing the world in a revolutionary way, cannot fully understand the theory itself, because of the dialectical link between theory and practice.

"Thus what WVO calls 'theory' is nothing but stale phrases and long quotations, bits and pieces torn out of context and bombastically displayed."²⁴

Marxism is not a dogma, and dogmatists can neither understand nor apply Marxist theory. It is for these reasons that Mao is reputed to have said that dogma is less useful than shit.

The twin errors of dogmatism and empiricism arise out of not dialectically un-

CWP's new cartoon strip may not be proletarian art, but it is a good illustration of how "left" dogmatism and economism can be married and find a happy home.



derstanding and handling the contradiction between theory and practice. A person or organization may be characterized primarily by one or the other of these deviations, but at the same time not dealing with this contradiction correctly will mean vacillating or oscillating between the two errors. And there's no doubt that CWP often swings over into empiricism as well. This is the reason, for instance, that they really do not see an approaching world war. Of course they will dogmatically *mention* it once in a while, but as we've seen above, their line shows that they don't actually *believe* that it's on the horizon, especially not inter-imperialist world war. The reason is at least partly empiricism—it is not obvious at all on the perceptual level.

In talking about voluntarism, however, a different set of contradictions come to the fore, namely the contradictions of subjective and objective and of freedom and necessity. In the case of these contradictions, as well, metaphysically separating the two aspects, then putting all the weight on one, means that in the first place not even the one that's emphasized is correctly understood or acted on; and in the second place those who do not dialectically understand and handle these contradictions are also condemned to oscillate between twin errors—in this case between voluntarism and determinism.

What is the correct and dialectical relationship between freedom and necessity? Engels expressed it by repeating the Hegelian formula: "Freedom is the recognition [or understanding] of necessity." In other words, freedom does not consist in escape from necessity, but in understanding the laws that necessarily govern the material world, the laws whereby things must happen as they do, and then using the knowledge of these laws to gain control over the material world—including both the world of nature and the social world. Mao pointed out that, since this is its meaning, Engels' Hegelian aphorism does not really sum up the relationship:

"This sentence is not complete, it only says one half and leaves the other half unsaid. Does merely understanding it make you free? Freedom is the understanding of necessity *and* the transformation of necessity—one has some work to do too."²⁵

Freedom does not mean abolishing necessity, nor does it lie in freedom from the laws of the material world, but in transforming the material world by means of the knowledge of these necessary laws. Human beings didn't gain the freedom to fly through the air by

abolishing or ignoring the law of gravity and similar laws, but by gaining knowledge of them—recognizing and understanding necessity—and using that knowledge to build airplanes, etc. But voluntarism is an outlook which holds that man can shape reality by mere strength of will—in other words by ignoring necessity, or vaporizing it through will-power. And obviously, by not seeing the dialectical unity of freedom and necessity, and metaphysically emphasizing freedom as a thing in itself, the voluntarist ends up not having the slightest understanding of freedom—and ends up not being free, either, but a pitiful slave to circumstance.

Likewise, for the same reasons as we saw in the case of the dogmatism-empiricism couple, voluntarism has a constant tendency to swing over into determinism, into the attitude that everything is already determined by impersonal forces, "in the cards," and therefore that the active subjective element counts for nothing. It can easily be seen how this is simply the flip side of voluntarism, arising from the same inability to see the dialectical unity of freedom and necessity. And it is also easily apparent how the CWP voluntarists also flip over into determinism, with their ridiculous and puerile vision of the economic crisis automatically making the bourgeoisie helpless and revolutionizing the masses.

All of this, in turn, has everything to do with the contradiction between objective and subjective. The beginning of the 1976 RCP Central Committee Report expresses very well the relationship between the aspects of this contradiction, in relation to revolutionary work, and is worth quoting at some length:

"The objective situation sets the *stage* on which the Party plays its role. There is a dialectical relationship, however, between objective and subjective conditions. What is objective for the Party—for example, the mood of the masses—is *subjective* for those same masses (another way of applying what Mao says in *On Contradiction*, 'what is universal in one context becomes particular in another,' and vice versa). Due to this same fact—the dialectical relationship between objective and subjective—there is an interpenetration between them, they react upon each other and therefore the objective situation *can be changed* by the action of the conscious forces *on the basis of grasping not only the general laws of development, but also the particularity of the conditions (contradictions)* that you are immediately confronted with (in this process the subjective changes, too). Hence Lenin's statement that the 'living soul

of Marxism is the concrete analysis of concrete conditions.'

"It is in this light that the statement by Mao in *Oppose Book Worship* has to be understood. 'Communists should create favorable new situations through struggle.' They cannot create these favorable new conditions out of thin air—or out of the mere subjective desire to see more favorable conditions, or the will to create them—but by concretely analyzing objective conditions, the immediate contradictions that have to be moved on to push everything forward, and *on that basis* developing lines and policies to advance. . .

"The point, then, of analyzing the objective conditions, of making a concrete analysis of concrete conditions, is to be able to determine how to change those conditions in accordance with the laws of development of society (and nature) and the revolutionary interests of the working class—which in turn are determined by and in accordance with these same laws of development."²⁶

The revolutionary subjective factor *can* change the world—it can be the decisive factor—by means of reflecting in thought the objective situation, summing it up correctly through knowledge of the laws of social reality, then acting on that basis. The subjective factor can change the objective situation through voluntary action only through correctly handling the contradiction between freedom and necessity.

The contradiction between subjective and objective is also the contradiction between ideas and matter, and to understand either of these contradictions dialectically and as they really are is to understand how their opposing aspects mutually interpenetrate and transform themselves into each other. Subjective becomes objective and objective becomes subjective; matter becomes ideas and ideas become matter. Marx expresses these relationships, with reference to revolutionary change, in the following sentence:

"The weapon of criticism cannot, of course, replace criticism by weapons, material force must be overthrown by material force; but theory also becomes a material force as soon as it has gripped the masses."²⁷

Ideas in and of themselves cannot change material reality—to think that they can is pure idealism. But because ideas can be dialectically transformed into their opposite, into matter, they can become a material force and change the material world.

Likewise the subjective can be transformed into the objective, and thus become part of the objective situation,

CWP . . .

helping to change it. This mutual interpenetration and mutual transformation of objective and subjective must be concretely grasped and put into practice by communists in order to play their necessary role in making revolution. For instance, what is subjective for the masses or a section of the masses (their own ideas) is objective, part of the objective situation, for conscious revolutionaries. Thus when what is subjective for revolutionaries becomes subjective for the masses (or the advanced) as well—when revolutionary ideas have “gripped the masses”—this is a case of the transformation of subjective into objective and a change in the objective situation. But it also means a change in the subjective factor too, in both quantity and quality. For on the one hand the subjective factor in the revolutionary process—that is, the body of people consciously trying to move history forward on the basis of revolutionary theory—has broadened, encompassing more people, and has thus changed quantitatively. On the other hand the ideas and the theory held by the conscious forces have changed and deepened in this process, thus changing the subjective factor in quality as well.

All this is a closed book to the leaders of the CWP. Here as everywhere they metaphysically separate the aspects of the contradiction and thus end up understanding neither the contradiction nor either of its aspects. In this case their metaphysics means that subjective and objective are seen as quite separate and static, not characterized by mutual interpenetration, nor undergoing mutual transformation. They see the masses and their consciousness as part of the objective situation (which they *are* for the conscious revolutionary forces), but then their metaphysical separation of objective from subjective means that the development of the objective situation automatically revolutionizes the masses. In practice this comes out as the claim that the masses are already (after Vietnam and Watergate!) revolutionary. For example, consider the following description which the CWP makes of one of the spectators of the funeral march following the Greensboro massacre:

“One elderly woman sat on her front porch, sweaterless on that cold, rainy day, and watched without saying a word. But she didn’t have to, because the marchers knew where her heart was. They knew that sitting out front was her way of showing her hatred of capitalist

oppression and defying the bourgeoisie. It was her way of showing her solidarity with the Communist Workers Party fighters who had given their lives fighting the Klan and the Nazis.”²⁴

How little the CWP requires of the masses—merely that they sit and watch as the CWP (the real heroes) march by! More to the point on the present topic, this little vignette illustrates the *a priori* assumption that the masses are already revolutionary. The contradiction between Marxism-Leninism and the ideas of the masses (and this includes the ideas of even the most advanced) is simply glossed over. The role of the conscious forces is not to transform subjective into objective, not to arm the masses with the correct line—which involves *struggling* with them—but merely to hoist a dogmatic flag and “know” that the masses are rallying to that flag “in their own way.”

It should be clear now why this line flips over so completely into rightism at the merest touch of involvement with mass work. For it has a clear consequence: if the masses are revolutionary, then wherever the masses are at in their outlook must *be* revolutionary consciousness. If people spontaneously tend to trade unionism, nationalism, or reformism, then this must be revolutionary—or at least must contain the seeds of revolutionary consciousness, needing only to be nurtured and extended, rather than *diverted* from their spontaneous course. After all, the masses are merely expressing their revolutionary ideas “in their own way.” Here we are on familiar ground—the bowing to spontaneity characteristic of the whole opportunist lot.

Mao spoke sharply to the roots of all this:

“The political tendency of the petty bourgeoisie is apt to manifest itself in vacillation between the ‘Left’ and the Right because of its mode of life and the resulting subjectivism and one-sidedness of its method of thinking. Many representatives of the petty-bourgeois revolutionaries hope for an immediate victory of the revolution in order to bring about a radical change in their present status; therefore, they lack the patience needed for protracted revolutionary endeavour, are fond of ‘Left’ revolutionary phrases and slogans and, in their sentiments and actions are given to closed-doorism or adventurism. . . .

“But the same petty-bourgeois revolutionaries when placed in a different set of circumstances—or another section of the petty-bourgeois revolutionaries—may become pessimistic and despondent and express Rightist sentiments and views. . . . But whether ‘Left’ or Right,

these tendencies benefit not the revolution but only the counter-revolution. Vacillation to the ‘Left’ or to the Right, the fondness for going to extremes, flashiness without substance and slick opportunism, all of which occur under the stress of changing conditions, are features of the bad side of petty-bourgeois ideology. They are all reflections in the ideological sphere of the unstable economic status of the petty bourgeoisie.”²⁹

What all this adds up to is that the CWP does not see the revolutionary elements in today’s non-revolutionary situation. They have some sense that a revolutionary situation may arise in the U.S. in the coming period. But they have no idea of how things get from here to there, and they have very wrong ideas about how revolutionaries should work now to prepare for revolution. Not having a dialectical understanding of the non-revolutionary character of the present situation is bound to lead to errors—either to conservatism and demoralization and retreating from revolutionary work, or to teeth-gritting, eyes-closed attempts at carrying out revolutionary work anyway, which will sooner or later give way to the former tendencies.

This is what we can see all around us in the litter of “communist” groups which sprang into being off the movements of the sixties, most of which have indeed retreated, demoralized, into more or less open conservatism and abandonment of any revolutionary perspective. As mentioned at the beginning of this article, CWP is notable mainly in not falling into this pattern; rather, this group falls into the opposite pole of the same stupidity, into a teeth-gritting voluntarism which oscillates between saying that “we’re going to uphold revolution no matter if *nobody* follows us,” and on the other hand that “this *is* (at least almost) a revolutionary situation no matter what it may look like.”

Thus the wild and boastful fantasizing so characteristic of CWP is mainly just an aspect of this sort of teeth-clenched, eyes-shut-tight voluntarism. The preoccupation with “getting our nerve up” is for the most part an attempt to hype themselves up in the face of an underlying analysis which really doesn’t see the revolutionary aspects of the present (non-revolutionary) situation.

What else is it but hype to talk about “. . . the spirit that puts the third world peoples and the Communist Workers Party beyond defeat,”³⁰ or to say:

“The forging of the Communist Workers Party beyond the possibility of defeat in the coming period is the most crucial part of the preparatory work to seize the country in the bloodbath.”³¹

How can a party be beyond the possibility of defeat? Weren't even the communist parties of the Soviet Union and of China finally defeated, made into instruments of the bourgeoisie for the oppression of the people? The working class and the proletarian revolution is beyond the possibility of defeat in the historical sense—they will eventually triumph. But in any particular battle, defeat is by no means precluded—so when CWP adds “in the coming period” in the second quotation they compound their errors, for it makes it into a tactical matter, saying that their party cannot be defeated even in the short run.

Further (this one little passage, like so many in the CWP literature, is a veritable gold mine of errors), notice how the focus, here as elsewhere, is *entirely* on the CWP; the impression is that these heroes alone will make the revolution. This is another indication of the fact that these metaphysicians are unable to dialectically grasp or handle the contradiction between the conscious forces and masses of people, or between the party and advanced. They oscillate between seeing no distinction at all (as we've seen above), and erecting a rigid barrier between the two aspects (the party alone is the maker of history). In either case they do not see these dialectically as contradictions, with both unity and struggle between the aspects.

On the other hand, although this quotation we've been discussing is quite wrong, it is true that if CWP had been talking about the forming of a party which would nurture and develop the revolutionary aspects which objectively exist within today's situation, a party which neither pretends to *create* the revolutionary situation, nor stands aside cultivating itself and waiting for the revolutionary situation to ripen so that it can intervene and “assume” leadership, but rather a party through whose leadership, in conformity with the laws of society and the development of the objective situation and the class struggle, the masses are concretely trained and prepared ideologically, politically and organizationally for the revolutionary situation, a party which can on this basis then lead the masses in actually making revolution when the time is ripe—if this were the party which the CWP was talking about, then it would be true that the forming, consolidating and tempering of *such* a party would be the crucial step for revolutionaries in preparing for a revolution.

Rather than anything like this, the CWP's political program amounts to a program for the preservation of a little sect.* Lacking any dialectical under-

*It is interesting to note, speaking of pro-

standing of the relation between subjective and objective and between party and masses, they are doomed to oscillate between tailing the masses and isolating themselves—and certainly cannot play a vanguard role. Lacking a Marxist analysis and dialectical understanding of the present non-revolutionary situation, they are incapable of either preparing for, or of actually providing leadership in, a developing revolutionary struggle. What is the CWP talking about with their slogan, “Seize the Time—Build the CWP to Prepare for the Dictatorship of the Proletariat,” and their constant talk about “making immediate and systematic preparations for the dictatorship of the proletariat”? They're not talking about preparing the masses to make revolution; all they're talking about is “preparing” themselves—as though a real vanguard party could prepare itself except in the process of preparing the masses.

CWP has no idea of how to prepare for revolution. Despite their dogmatism (actually because of it) they totally miss the point of *What Is to Be Done?* They have no understanding of the role of broad exposures and revolutionary agitation. They do not see the necessity, the possibility or the way to prepare the masses politically, ideologically and organizationally for revolution, and the crucial role of agitation and a national revolutionary communist newspaper in doing so. Their conception of agitation—wooden, dogmatic and economist—is well illustrated in the “Peter Proletariat” comic strip (reproduced on page 34), which shows CWP's idea of how a supposedly advanced worker is revolutionized by the economic situation (“Don't know how I'll ever afford a new home with these high interest rates”), comes upon a “communist” who provides a “scientific” analysis (“It's worse than the thirties. . . The capitalist system is in *permanent crisis!*”) and who provides a transition from economics to “revolutionary” politics (“Giving up our pension fund to the company can't save our jobs. That's why workers have to smash the capitalist system. . .”).

Such is the CWP's conception. It has nothing in common with real revolutionary agitation and propaganda, which applies Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung

grams, that despite having formed a party (although WVO had already been referring to itself as “the Party” off and on for the previous two years), CWP shows no sign of having put out a party program. Well. . . almost no sign. In the November 5, 1979 copy of *Workers Viewpoint* they feature a drawing showing someone holding a book entitled “Program of the Communist Workers Party USA.” Apparently for a good subjectivist a picture of a program is just as good as an actual program.

Thought to the ever-changing concrete situation, which not only fans every spark of discontent and arouses indignation at every outrage, but knits together all these outrages into a coherent picture, tracing each to its source, and probes beneath the surface, scientifically analyzing the development of events by means of capitalism's inherent laws and arming the masses with an understanding of historical developments in terms of these laws and with a knowledge of the laws themselves. It is only by carrying out this task (along with the secondary task of leading struggles around the most important questions and battles facing the working class), that the masses of people, and not just a handful of revolutionaries, will be ready to seize the time when the revolutionary situation ripens and strike the death-blow to the heart of this murdering monster. This is what it really means today to “prepare for the dictatorship of the proletariat”—in other words, to prepare the masses to seize power.

The possibility of revolution in this country may well exist in the coming period, because of the development of the objective situation. If a revolutionary situation does arise, the crucial factor will be the conscious forces—how well they have done their work both up to and at that point. But this work can only be done well and correctly by basing line and policies on a dialectical materialist understanding of the developing reality, and not through voluntaristic huffing and puffing. ■

Footnotes

1. See the *Revolutionary Worker*, Nov. 9 and 16, 1979.
2. *Revolutionary Worker*, Nov. 9, p. 15.
3. See “Anatomy of a Puerile Leftist Sect: The Religious Disorder of the Workers Viewpoint Organization,” *The Communist*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (May 1, 1977), pp. 73-108; and “Closet ‘Maoists’ Expose Themselves,” *Revolution*, June 1979.
4. “The Prospects for Revolution and the Urgent Tasks in the Decade Ahead,” *Revolution*, October/November 1979, p. 8.
5. *Workers Viewpoint*, Nov. 5, 1979, p. 1.
6. *Workers Viewpoint*, Oct. 15, 1979, p. 8.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. S/1-S/2. In another place CWP puts it like this: “The major factor leading to the stabilization of capitalism in the west was the degeneration of the Communist Party, U.S.A. and the rise of revisionism around the world.” (*Workers Viewpoint*, Sept. 1, 1979, p. 21.)
8. *Workers Viewpoint*, Nov. 5, 1979, p. 8.
9. See “On the Outcome of World War 2 and the Prospects for Revolution in the West,” *The Communist*, Vol. 2, No. 2 (Summer/Fall 1978).
10. See “Some Notes on the Study of *What Is To Be Done?* and its Implications for the Struggle Today,” *The Communist*, (continued on page 54)

Kennedy: Knight of the Living Dead



The Kennedys. For nearly two decades the mystique and the legend have been carefully crafted and cultivated: the champions of the underdog and the oppressed; the torch bearers for the loftiest hopes and aspirations of the people; the proponents of a strong and fearless America, a strength based not just on its military might, but on the purity of its ideals and the justice of its society. Here were men tested in the fire of personal tragedy. Here was a family that has already sacrificed three of its sons in the service of their country, now willing to offer up a fourth and last. Glamorous, athletic, handsome, wealthy and eloquent. They have been painted as America's knights in shining armor. The people of the U.S. and the world have been told to remember that "for one shining, unforgettable moment there was a place called Camelot," where dwelled the best and the brightest, King Arthur at the Round Table with his noble knights.

But the tale of King Arthur was a myth. And so is the legend of the Kennedys. The knights of the middle ages romanticized in the musical Camelot were in reality mercenary soldiers, brutal defenders of the feudal ruling class. The knights of the modern era, these Kennedys, are no less servants and standard bearers of another dying ruling class and their imperialist empire. Their noble and progressive sounding rhetoric has been completely intertwined with bourgeois counter-revolutionary violence. If anything they were characterized by a certain innovativeness in their use of the ruling class weapons of force and deception. From Cuba to Vietnam the older Kennedy brothers unleashed the military might of U.S. imperialism to maintain its domination and neo-colonial rule. From the Green Berets to the Peace Corps they sought new ways to quell the rebellions of the masses in the underdeveloped countries. From the witch-hunt-

ing McCarthy Investigations Committee and the union busting Senate Rackets Committee to the civil rights and Black liberation movements they attacked the masses, and that which they could not stop or destroy they sought to seize and co-opt.

The hollowness of the Kennedy legend does not make it impotent. For while the mystique is now somewhat tattered and thin it still holds appeal for many. And now the last remaining Kennedy knight has ridden forth to save the realm. But what sort of a knight is this? Whose scarf does he carry tucked next to his breast as he rides into battle? And why has he come forward in 1980? Why didn't he do it in 1976? Why not 1984? It is obviously not just his personal political ambitions and those of his family that beckoned him to take on an incumbent President of his own party. That nod came from powerful forces within the U.S. ruling class. Who else would have assured him that secretary-drowning was fully passable this year?

It is important to understand why and to see clearly the role that the Kennedys have played in American politics.

The Kennedys provided a certain kind of leadership on behalf of the bourgeoisie in the 1960s. In a time of mounting turmoil and upheaval throughout the world and in the U.S. they cloaked the mailed fist of capitalist reaction in the velvet glove of bourgeois reformism. Entering the 1980s, with their system wracked by severe crisis and the impending reality of world war, the bourgeoisie is looking for a leadership suitable to the tasks that confront them, leadership for the '80s. They must view the slim pickings of their candidates with some dismay. Carter was clearly not adept enough at the job. He may be a reborn Christian, but his shallow moralisms and uninspiring leadership made him seem much more a reborn Gerald Ford. In recent months he has regained some stature in their eyes by the way he created the hostage situation in Iran and has exercised "statesmanship" by contributing to the bourgeoisie's barrage of jingoist and chauvinist propaganda. But whether he can sustain this performance in the long run is open to serious question. Reagan and Connally have had a certain success aiming their pitch largely to the squeezed petty bourgeoisie in an effort to rally and consolidate them as a reactionary social force against the working class as a whole and the minority nationalities in particular. But Reagan is justly tainted as too much of an open reactionary to get over with most and Connally, while he has an enthusiastic following in corporate boardrooms, is seen by the majority of people as someone you wouldn't want as the dealer in a game of black jack.

In this crew, Kennedy may not seem outstanding, but many among the bourgeoisie must have felt that he offered them their best shot. For what they have in mind for the masses in the

1980s is, to put it bluntly, hell. Uncontrollable inflation, disintegration of the dollar, stagnation of key sections of industry, persistently high unemployment, the "energy crisis"—the laundry list of the symptoms of the capitalist crisis is all too familiar, a familiarity which does not lessen the increasing misery it means for the masses of people, and it's just the beginning. For Blacks and other minorities the paltry gains of decades of struggle, and the constant snatching back of these gains, only serve to highlight continued oppression and exploitation and fuel a simmering rage. Looming over all is the imperialists' need to mobilize the masses of people for war—world war—the only way of dealing with the crisis of their system. "What means other than war," asked Lenin, "could there be *under capitalism* for removing the disparity between the development of productive forces and the accumulation of capital on the one side and the division of colonies and 'spheres of influence' for finance capital on the other?"¹

They've got to sell hell, and get people to believe they're fighting for something noble and beautiful.

Teddy Kennedy will not be able to revive the "glory" of the Camelot created by his brothers and their legion of bourgeois publicists. But he has worked hard to maintain the legend, to hold himself out as the promised savior who can lead the masses in a reactionary cause while appealing to their higher aspirations.

In the early weeks of the 1980 campaign Kennedy created a stir with a statement that would seem to cast doubt on the analysis we have just summarized. Right in the middle of the wave of reaction the bourgeoisie has been working intently to ignite around the Iranian revolution, he declared that the Shah "ran one of the most violent regimes in the history of mankind." He has stolen "umteen billions of dollars from his country." A howl went up from the Carter camp, and criticism of Kennedy's statement was heard from virtually every section of the ruling class and their mouthpieces. The other candidates accused him of breaking the rules by talking about the crimes of the Shah. But Kennedy persisted. America, he proclaimed, has always been a home to the oppressed, an exile for the persecuted, "it has never been a dumping ground for despots and dictators." Was America's Prince Charming giving aid and comfort to the enemy? Had he blundered?

Hardly. Kennedy's statement about Iran is entirely consistent with positions he has taken for almost his entire 17 years in the Senate and with the Kennedy role in U.S. politics. He has repeatedly argued that "the United States

should refuse to provide other than humanitarian aid to countries whose governments are gross violators of human rights and fail to make substantial reforms." He has denounced South Korea as a "veritable police state," accused the Chilean military junta of condoning and perpetrating the most brutal forms of violence, and as early as 1977 called for a cut off of military aid to the Somoza regime in Nicaragua, which he heavily criticized.²

Kennedy also has a nearly unblemished record in opposing the proliferation of nuclear weapons and the expansion of the U.S. nuclear arsenal. He opposed the building of the ABM system, he opposed the Minuteman missile, the cruise missile and the MX. He has been a strong supporter of SALT and a consistent advocate of negotiations with the Soviets.

The question is really not "did Kennedy blunder" with his statement on Iran. The question is why has he been so highly touted by the bourgeoisie at all? Why have they put him up as a candidate at a time when the key item on the imperialists' agenda is tightening up their bloc and preparing for war with the Soviet Union?

I. Why Is This Man Running?

To begin with, anyone who would put so much weight, indeed any at all, on the bourgeoisie's concern with Kennedy's heresies would be quite mistaken. If they were so opposed to Kennedy's "going against the tide" of their line and interests on so many issues, they have certainly had numerous occasions to deep-six him, to pour salt into his own self-inflicted wounds, to destroy the mystique that surrounds him. Quite the opposite. They have gone to great lengths to cover up, gloss over and excuse his numerous "peccadillos."

The logical question is why there should be any aura at all around a fellow known as such a profligate and scoundrel, a boozier and a skirt-chaser, whose most famous act was to abandon his drowning girlfriend at the bottom of a murky pond when his car went off a bridge on the way to a late night tryst on a lonely beach. (And that is the most favorable interpretation of the event.) Not that his life and times are any more degenerate and disgusting than that of any random sampling of the bourgeoisie or its political parrots. His are certainly more notorious, and few have so carelessly left a dead body laying around. But when a Wayne Hayes or a Wilbur Mills let their depravity slip too flagrantly into public view, they were quickly put out to pasture.

The answer is that the bourgeoisie has too much invested in and riding on the

Kennedys, of whom Teddy is the last surviving brother, to let it all go down the tubes just because of the drowning of a young secretary, or a carelessly earned reputation for womanizing and hard drinking.

It is precisely Kennedy's "maverick" positions on so many of the policies and programs of the U.S. imperialists that make him so useful to them. And beyond that his positions are not really so "maverick" as they may seem.

His statements about the Shah were not meant to undercut the chauvinism the U.S. imperialists have been trying to stir up around the seizure of the hostages. He was simply gauging a deeper public sentiment, and a dangerous one for the ruling class. Only a few days before his statement, the press reported that Vice-President Mondale and the President's mother had been shouted down at a campaign rally in New York's Harlem by chants of, among other things, "Send the Shah back to Iran." The ruling class is concerned over the fact that, as the White House correspondent of the *Chicago Tribune* recently admitted, a lopsided majority of the American people believe that the Shah should be "booted out of the United States."³ Kennedy tries to make it seem like the tail is wagging the dog. It's the Shah who worked for his own "dirty interests" while the "clean" U.S. imperialists were tarnished by their association with him. He condemns the Shah in such a way to keep national chauvinism intact. Kennedy's voicing of such sentiments is supposed to take the sting out of it and serve as a pressure release on a steam valve. When the opinion of sections of the people threatens to "go out of bounds" and cut against the purposes and interests of the imperialists, Kennedy jumps out to rope it in. Having raised his objections to the Shah, he quickly moved on to promote exactly what the bourgeoisie as a whole has been trying to achieve with all this. The same unity and sense of purpose that the American people have exemplified in the face of the taking of the hostages, he said, can and must be mobilized to confront the many other serious problems we face: energy, the economy⁴—and he might have added, war with the Soviet Union.

Nor are his other positions so outrageous or unorthodox when examined. Numerous bourgeois politicians, including Carter, are saying bad things about the fascist Chilean junta these days. Now that the U.S.-established junta in Chile has accomplished much of its work of carrying out a bloodbath against the people's movement and the opponents of U.S. interests, and now that exposures of all this have hurt the U.S. imperialists' "image," it has

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become official policy to put some distance between the U.S. bourgeoisie and their puppets in Chile. Kennedy's criticism of Somoza in Nicaragua can only be viewed as "far sighted" for the bourgeoisie. The fellow was obviously going down, the U.S. was not in a position to step in militarily to save his regime, so disengage, brother, disengage, and try to work out relations with his successors so that U.S. interests can continue to operate unhindered.

And about South Korea? Look what's happened. The U.S. ruling class itself decided that General Park Chung Hee had become a liability and agreed to have him knocked off, by the head of the South Korean CIA no less.

Of course Kennedy isn't alone in many of the positions he takes either, his legislative record is not unique in the Congress. But they haven't put up a Frank Church or a Gaylord Nelson for the presidency this year. Kennedy's usefulness for the bourgeoisie and appeal to the masses is much more encompassing than his voting record in the Senate, which is not that well known or of much interest to most. It reinforces, but is secondary to, the Kennedy legend itself.

Of vastly more significance for the bourgeoisie than the Kennedys' proclivity for jumping from bed to bed is their mastery of the fine art of trying to jump to the leadership of progressive sentiments and movements of the American people, to capture and divert them before they can become a serious threat. Their role is that of bourgeois reformism, to soft-sell reaction to the masses, to put the velvet glove on the mailed fist. This has become the essence of their role in American politics, the substance of the Kennedy mystique. They combine the hope of a better day with efforts to rouse the people to fight for a "higher purpose"—the sewer purposes of U.S. imperialism dressed up with the perfume of "noble causes."

If the vaunted Kennedy magic seems to have diminished in potency since that shimmering chimera of Camelot first rose on the horizon more than 20 years ago, the fact that it still exists at all is testimony to the bourgeoisie's need of it. In fact, dead the Kennedys are as good, or better, for the bourgeoisie than alive. And the legend's endurance is in no small measure due to the assassin's bullet ("...to think about what might have been, is to die a little bit all over again," wrote one Kennedy image maker). But it has been stroked and nourished by a veritable army of sycophants, journalists and historians.

"He never had the chance to fulfill his own possibilities, which is why his memory haunts so many of us now," writes Pulitzer prize winning historian Arthur Schlesinger of Bobby Kennedy.

"Because he wanted to get things done, because he was often impatient and combative, because he felt simply and cared deeply, he made his share of mistakes, and enemies. He was a romantic and an idealist, and he was also prudent, expedient, demanding and ambitious. Yet the insights he brought to politics—insights earned in a labor of self-education that only death could stop—led him to see power not as an end in itself, but as the means of redeeming the powerless."⁵

It could be St. John the Evangelist writing of Jesus Christ himself. A Kennedy non-believer recently described Schlesinger more aptly as "Camelot's resident groupie, a master of selective history who for a wink or a smile can justify any action, rationalize any obscenity."⁶

V.I. Lenin, however, much more accurately and profoundly analyzed bourgeois academicians and propagandists like Schlesinger, and by extension, provides the basic standpoint from which to view the Kennedys and their role in American politics:

"Bourgeois scholars and publicists usually come out in defense of imperialism in a somewhat veiled form; they obscure its complete domination and its profound roots, strive to push into the forefront particular and secondary details and do their very best to distract attention from essentials by means of absolutely ridiculous schemes for 'reform' such as police supervision of the trusts or banks, etc. Less frequently, cynical and frank imperialists come forward who are bold enough to admit the absurdity of the idea of reforming the fundamental characteristics of imperialism."⁷

The Kennedys are not quite a unique phenomenon in American bourgeois politics. There have been numerous prototypes for the role they have played, most notably Franklin D. Roosevelt, around whom similar myths have been woven. Not coincidentally, the major Kennedy publicists, Schlesinger and sidekick James McGregor Burns, have made major efforts to immortalize FDR in history as the great hero of the common man, the fellow who saved capitalism from itself, and the man supposedly responsible for everything from industrial unions to social security and unemployment insurance.

They have tried to fashion the Kennedys' image in the same mold that the

bourgeoisie poured for that of FDR. Roosevelt presided over the capitalist state for most of the Great Depression. He was a skillful demagogue, trying to make it seem that the victories won by the struggles of the masses in the midst of the misery caused by the capitalist system itself were really the results of the benevolence of the bourgeois state. The Kennedy founding father, Joe Sr., was himself much enamoured of FDR and looked to him with high hopes to derail the development of any mass struggle that would threaten his millions.

"As the Depression deepened, so did his gloom. In later years, he would write, 'I am not ashamed to record that in those days, I felt and said I would be willing to part with half of what I had if I could be sure of keeping, *under law and order*, the other half. Then it seemed that I should be able to hold nothing for the protection of my family.' In such a state of mind, he looked to Franklin D. Roosevelt for salvation." [Emphasis added]"

II. The Founding Father of A Reactionary Dynasty

The foundation for Kennedy political careers was the millions and millions of dollars that old Joe Kennedy, a rapacious Wall Street huckster and stock manipulator, spent to put his sons into public office. The son of a successful Boston saloonkeeper, Joe Kennedy early on established himself as a member of the bourgeoisie. Serving his apprenticeship in the Boston and New York stockbrokerage offices of Hayden-Stone, he quickly learned the tricks of the trade of parasitism. He became renowned and adept at stock pooling. A group of wealthy investors would pool their funds and invest heavily in a particular stock, driving up its price and sucking in numerous smaller investors. When they felt they had jacked the price of the stock up enough they would quickly sell off, making handsome profits and leaving the rest of the hapless suckers holding the empty bag. Like much of the bourgeoisie, Kennedy escaped unscathed from the Great Depression. In fact, he considerably increased his wealth during these years of mass poverty and ruin through real estate deals and a plunge into Hollywood movie making. In later years, with typical haughtiness, he bragged of his financial acumen, which led him to withdraw completely from the stock market shortly before the crash of 1929:

"He liked to tell an anecdote about a shoeshine boy who had accurately predicted market fluctuations. When the



(Left) While the senior Joe Kennedy raked in millions on the Wall St. of the '20s and '30s, young John Kennedy, one day to grow into the "champion of the poor and exploited," wrote to his father from his exclusive prep school in the midst of the Depression. "Please send me the Litrary [sic] Digest because I did not know about the Market Slump until a long time after, or a paper. Please send me some golf balls."



(Above) Joe shown with pal Neville Chamberlain. Joe was an ardent supporter of Chamberlain's efforts to find common ground with Hitler and push him to war on the Soviet Union. The Ambassador to Britain found it "unproductive to widen divisions between democratic [U.S. Britain] and dictator [Germany] countries."



Jackie Kennedy certainly exemplified the glamour and dignity of the Kennedys. According to her private secretary, Jackie and Joe Sr., with whom she became close friends, enjoyed a camaraderie in playfully seeing who could first hit a fleeing housekeeper with their lamb chop bones.

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time comes that a shoeshine boy knows as much as I do, there's something wrong with either me or the market, and it's time for me to get out."⁹

But despite the fact that Kennedy eventually amassed one of the largest personal family fortunes in America, he was never really admitted to the top echelons of the U.S. bourgeoisie. Coming from a family of Boston Irish politicians (his father-in-law "Honey Fitz" Fitzgerald had been mayor of Boston and his own father was a ward boss of some citywide importance), he saw politics as an avenue to further power and influence. With this in mind he enthusiastically threw himself into the election of FDR in 1932. He fully expected to be rewarded with a big job like Secretary of the Treasury. He had to be satisfied when, to the amazement of virtually everyone, FDR appointed him head of the newly formed Securities and Exchange Commission, the federal agency charged with policing Wall Street and keeping it from engaging in the most outrageous and flagrant swindles. (Remember Lenin's jab, written in 1916, about "ridiculous schemes for 'reform,' such as police supervision of the trusts and banks.") Perhaps FDR cynically felt that a man so in fear of losing his fortune to an uprising of the angry masses would be effective in enforcing the necessary cosmetic changes in Wall Street, which had become, in the depths of the Depression, the hated symbol of capitalism to millions of people.

The senior Kennedy's next advancement in politics and prestige came when FDR appointed him ambassador to Britain in 1937. Here he became most noted for his wholehearted endorsement of British attempts to turn Hitler towards an attack on the Soviet Union. Unfortunately for Kennedy's career, he clung to this strategy too long after it had been countered by Stalin in the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact. He had strongly identified with and supported the efforts of Neville Chamberlain to find some common ground with Hitler. "It has long been a theory of mine," Kennedy said at a speech to the British Navy League, "that it is unproductive for both the democratic and dictator countries to widen the division now existing between them by emphasizing the differences, which are now self-apparent. Instead of hammering away at what are regarded as irreconcilables, they could advantageously bend their energies toward solving their common problems by an attempt to re-establish good relations on a world basis."¹⁰ Son John F. Kennedy,

who had just returned to finish his undergraduate courses at Harvard, wrote his father approvingly about the speech: "While it seemed to be unpopular with the Jews etc. was considered to be very good by everyone who wasn't bitterly anti-fascist."¹¹ When Germany invaded Poland and England was forced to declare war, Kennedy phoned Roosevelt, emotionally overwrought. "It's the end of the world, the end of everything," he repeated over and over. Perhaps it was out of some sympathy for Hitler's ruthless efficiency in guaranteeing the fortunes of the German bourgeoisie "under law and order," but for whatever reason, Kennedy continued association with the "pacifists" in the British ruling circles (who for the most part were Nazi sympathizers), arguing that FDR should keep the U.S. out of the war. At one point he proposed that the President act as intermediary to halt the war.

Out of favor with Roosevelt because he failed to see where U.S. strategic interest lay, Kennedy retired to private life before the 1940 elections, his public career at an end. His service in Britain was given one more accolade by his son Jack, however. Kennedy's senior thesis at Harvard, "Appeasement at Munich," was a defense of Chamberlain's negotiations at Munich and his father's position. Chamberlain had no other choice but to conciliate with Hitler, JFK argued, because England was not prepared for war. The elder Kennedy thought so much of the book that he got journalist Arthur Krock to polish it up, *Time* magazine publisher Henry Luce to write an introduction, and had it published under the title of *Why England Slept?* The book was a mild best seller, over 80,000 copies sold in the U.S. and Britain, and established for young Kennedy something of a reputation of his own.

Although his official career in politics was now terminated, Joe Kennedy was yet to make his greatest contributions to U.S. imperialism. When Joe Jr., by all accounts a real comer, was killed in a bombing raid over the English Channel in 1944, the Kennedy patriarch decreed that the next son, John, pick up the baton. Bushels of Kennedy money and organizational help from Joe's professional political pals sent JFK to Congress in 1947. Six years later he defeated the Boston blue blood Henry Cabot Lodge for a Senate seat. An incident from that 1952 campaign indicates the harmonious relationship between John Kennedy's evolving style and his old man's bank accounts. While the younger Kennedy worked the Irish and Italian working class neighborhoods of Boston for votes and blitzed the outlying towns with a well oiled army of campaigners,

old Joe took care of some of the opposition's heavier guns. After the election it came out that the owner of the conservative Republican *Boston Post* had switched its support from Lodge to John Kennedy shortly after Joe had lent him half a million dollars.¹² Such is the cash nexus to which capitalism reduces every sphere of society—most especially bourgeois politics.

III. The Godfather

A significant episode during Kennedy's Congressional career sheds light on the role the brothers were to play on the American political scene. Joe Kennedy had developed a friendship and affection for Senator Joseph McCarthy, who went on to garner much fame and acclaim from the ruling class for a period of time when he was unleashed as part of their post-war campaign of whipping up Cold War frenzy against the Soviet Union and China, and using this to wage a reactionary political offensive in the U.S., purging progressives and communists from the labor movement and other spheres of society, and launching a witchhunt against the Communist Party USA. McCarthy was a guest at the Kennedy compound in Hyannis Port on numerous occasions and even played shortstop for the Kennedy family baseball team, the *Barefoots*. McCarthy was kind enough not to endorse fellow Republican Lodge in the Senate race, and when Robert Kennedy was looking for something to do after his brother's election, McCarthy hired him as assistant counsel for his witch-hunting Senate Investigations Committee. Robert's first stint with the McCarthy Committee only lasted about six months, during which his most notable accomplishment was to dig up information on British and Japanese trade with China, information McCarthy and the bourgeoisie used to try to force its allies into observing the U.S.-imposed blockade of that country. As McCarthy's job was largely accomplished and his ruthless antics became a political liability tarnishing the image of bourgeois "democracy"—and his own egomania led him to step on some important toes—the bourgeoisie found his services less and less useful and finally moved to discredit him. The senator John Kennedy was reported to "sense the difficulties that his family's connections with McCarthy could cause."¹³ Nonetheless, Kennedy was reluctant to join in the Senate censure vote of McCarthy in 1954 and conveniently had an attack of back problems when the actual vote was taken. Although Bobby left the committee as the tide of bourgeois opinion began to turn against the Wisconsin senator, he maintained close per-

sonal ties. McCarthy was even the godfather of his oldest child.

"Old Joe Kennedy observed some years later with sadness in his eyes, 'I thought he (McCarthy) would be a sensation. He was smart. But he went off the deep end.'"14

One thing the Kennedys didn't do was go off the deep end (not counting Teddy's plunge off the Dykes Bridge in Martha's Vineyard years later). But if they shied away from McCarthy's crude tactics, they did not abandon his cause. After the Senate censure of McCarthy, and the Democrats had wrested control of the Senate in the next election, Robert Kennedy rejoined the witch-hunting committee. He emphasized that while the committee was now toning down its theatrics a bit, that did not mean it was "a whit less interested in rooting Communism out of government than it was when Senator McCarthy ran the show."15 And Schlesinger comments that "Kennedy was in fact more involved in Communist investigations than he had ever been when McCarthy was chairman."16

The Kennedy approach was more ideologically and politically sophisticated and "far sighted" than the general rightist hysteria that spewed forth from ruling class instruments like McCarthy—though it was not an approach antagonistic to that of McCarthy.

Joseph Kennedy Sr., for example, criticized the practice of, as Schlesinger describes it, "smearing all leftists as Communists." There is, said Kennedy, "a strong liberal feeling throughout Europe that is a valuable asset in the fight against communism. By terming this as a communistic movement we are only convincing the people over there that we are driving them into war."17 In the Senate John Kennedy usually voted against issues with the "McCarthyism tag." "He was opposed to liberalized wiretap laws, against the requirement of loyalty oaths for students and union leaders, against a bill to compel waiver of a witness's right under the Fifth Amendment."18 Some of this liberal defense of "individual liberties" was just realism. Why openly flaunt police state measures around "wiretap laws" when the FBI and other government agencies already had free rein to bug and tap whoever and whenever they pleased—legally or "illegally."

But the Kennedys also sought a deeper understanding of the appeal of reformism and to use it more effectively in conjunction with the bourgeoisie's ultimate weapon, the armed force of the state. They even consulted "experts." After rejoining the Investigations Committee, Robert Kennedy went to see Earl

Browder, until 1945 the General Secretary of the CPUSA. "It was of tremendous interest to me to receive your ideas and thoughts on the history of the Communist Party in this country. It is only with an understanding of the past that we can proceed to map out our future with confidence," he wrote Browder afterwards.19

Perhaps more than most bourgeois politicians of the time, the Kennedys recognized the value and role of social democracy, i.e. the role of those who pretend to speak for the interests of the working class in order to promote the interests of the bourgeoisie and the illusions of bourgeois democracy. The U.S. of course, is not Europe. Here the class consciousness of the working class has historically been much lower. Marxism never held sway in the working class in this country as it has in Europe, the illusions of bourgeois democracy have held a stronger grip on the masses. As a result, the ruling class in this country has never really had need of a formal social-democratic party to pose as the party of the working class and the oppressed masses, to feign opposition to the exploitation and repression of capitalist society, to counter the influence of Marxist-Leninist parties with "radical" reformism, and to rally the masses to the bourgeoisie's flag in support of imperialist expansion and war, as has been the case in Europe. There this service was provided by the opportunists and social-chauvinists of the Second International, and after World War 2 by the revisionist parties that trailed Khrushchev & Co.'s restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union. Here, to the extent the bourgeoisie has seen the need for this bourgeois deception it has been effected by the Democratic party. Prior to the Kennedys it took its most conscious form with the administration of Franklin Roosevelt during the unstable and turbulent years of the Depression.

The veiled defense of imperialism, the attempt to obscure its roots and complete domination and to distract attention from essentials by means of absolutely ridiculous schemes for "reforms" that Lenin described fits the Kennedy years in the White House to a "T". It is not a question of the intentions or beliefs of the individuals, although both the older Kennedy brothers showed themselves to be political opportunists of impressive magnitude, but the social role they played in serving the political needs of the bourgeoisie, especially in the particular context of the 1960's.

The Kennedys were great pals with the Joe McCarthys, the Richard Daleys, the Senator Eastlands and other more open symbols of reaction. But while the Kennedys consistently served the inter-

est of the Rockefellers and the bourgeoisie in general, their role was that of champions of reform and promisers of justice. They set about the task of controlling and channeling the struggles of the masses, fogging the real nature of the enemy and the source of their oppression and exploitation in waves of lofty rhetoric and politically expedient, token actions. They were the condescending saviors who held out their hands to calm the troubled waters, to create the illusion that it was they, and not the struggles of the masses of people that are the motive force of history.

IV. Imperialist White Knights Against the Storms

John F. Kennedy became President at the beginning of a decade of tremendous upheaval and the rumblings of revolutionary storms that swept the U.S. and the world. The U.S. imperialists were at the pinnacle of their postwar power in 1960, but the ground beneath their feet was already beginning to quake. In Southeast Asia, in Latin America and Africa, oppressed peoples were rising up to seek liberation from colonialism. In the U.S. the frustration and anger of millions of Black people against generations of servitude and degradation was beginning to erupt in the streets. Kennedy declared his candidacy on January 2, 1960. On February 1, four Black students sat down at a "white only" lunch counter at a Woolworth store in Greensboro, North Carolina. Between then and the elections in November thousands of Blacks, mostly students, assaulted Southern Jim Crow laws. Sit-ins and school boycotts spread like wildfire—to forty-eight cities in eleven states. There were pitched battles with police and racist mobs, foreshadowing what was to come. Police used fire hoses, dogs, intimidation and terror. But four hundred years of slavery and brutal repression had not beaten Blacks into submission and the racist reaction of the Leander Perezes and Bull Connors would prove futile in stemming the growing tide of freedom fighters.

And, more fundamentally, capitalism could not even supply equality of exploitation and oppression. The danger that confronted the ruling class in the early 1960's was that the battle for "civil rights" would get out of control, that this challenge to oppression, running smack into the contradictions of the system itself, would give rise to revolutionary sentiments and leadership. This is, of course, what happened. And when it did the ruling class had no hesitation about dropping the mask of reform and marshalling their instruments of terror, suppression and murder.

The Kennedys understood the impor-

(Right) Why JFK was so "concerned" about civil rights: 1961 sit-in in Chattanooga, Tenn. 500 demonstrators later clashed with cops using tear gas and fire hoses. But the people kept coming. In the space of a few months there were sit-ins in 48 cities in 11 states.

(Below) The Kennedys didn't like the Freedom Riders. "Tell them to call it off, stop them," said JFK. Bobby called for a "cooling-off period." "We've been cooling off for a hundred years," came the reply, "if we got any cooler we'd be in the deep freeze." The Freedom Rides went ahead. Racist goons burn Freedom Riders' bus in Birmingham, under the watchful eye of the FBI—who set up this ambush.



around the administration. Attorney General Robert Kennedy, who was delegated the tactical leadership of the Administration's civil rights activities while his brother the President made the speeches, wrote to the top law schools asking them to send their best Black graduates down to the Justice Department.

The main thrust, however, was around voting rights, the most pernicious of bourgeois deceptions. (Although the struggle waged by the masses of Blacks in the South around voting has to be seen in the overall progressive battle against Jim Crow segregation laws.) "Robert Kennedy argued that voter registration would be far more productive than demonstrations."²² "I said that it wasn't as dramatic; and that perhaps there wasn't going to be as much publicity... But that's where they should go. I had some conversations with Martin Luther King along those lines."²³ King concurred. "The central front... we feel is that of suffrage. The vote would give us the concrete tool with which we ourselves can correct injustice. This is the pattern for changing the old South and with it the nation as a whole."²⁴ King had a dream, all right, more a hallucination, which he tried to foist on the masses of Blacks.

Many Black activists sensed what the Kennedys were up to. "I felt that what

tance of the Black vote in the 1960 election and shrewdly played their "savior" role. A good example was the much publicized incident around the arrest of Martin Luther King, Jr. a month before the 1960 election. King and fifty other demonstrators were arrested when they tried to integrate an Atlanta department store. King was sentenced to four months in the Georgia state prison. At the suggestion of his "civil rights" advisor, Harris Wofford, Kennedy phoned King's wife, expressing his sympathy and support and promising to do all he could to get him out. Robert Kennedy called up the judge who had sentenced him and King was freed on bail.²⁰ The action solidified the Black vote behind Kennedy. In Illinois, for example, where he

won by only 9000 votes, he received a quarter million Black votes.

The depths of Kennedy's concern and commitment to the struggle of Blacks in America was more clearly indicated in a comment to his man Wofford. As he picked him up in his red convertible one morning during the campaign, Kennedy said, "Now in five minutes, tick off the ten things that a President ought to do to clean up this goddamn civil rights mess."²¹ The quick solutions requested by Kennedy for his campaign slogans contrasted sharply with the counsels for delay and patience he urged on Blacks after assuming office.

The first Kennedy response to the mounting civil rights movement was purely cosmetic. Get some Black faces



(Left) "Farce on Washington" Malcolm X called it. The show was organized, orchestrated and funded by the Kennedys. They saw a Black steam roller coming and figured if they couldn't stop it, they'd better lead it.



Teddy with M.L. King and Charles Evers. The Kennedys sought to establish the "reasonable Black leaders"—who would take orders—at the head of the movement.

they were trying to do," said one SNCC leader, "was to kill the Movement, but to kill it by rechanneling its energies." One Black intellectual charged that the Kennedys were merely trying "to get the Niggers off the streets."²⁵ In fact, this is precisely what they were trying to do.

In the next development in the drive to break down Jim Crow laws, Freedom Riders rode into Southern cities. In Birmingham and other cities they were clubbed and beaten by Klan thugs who were egged on by local police while the FBI stood around and took notes.

The Kennedys' activities around the Freedom Rides is a clear example of the role they played for the bourgeoisie and their administration of the dual tactics of liberal reformism and naked force. Their first instinct was to try to put a stop to things. "Tell them to call it off," JFK ordered Harris Wofford. "Stop them." "This undue militancy," explains apologist Schlesinger, "threatened the strategy of suasion."²⁶ But the Kennedys could not keep the people out of the streets. Enter the FBI (who had their own agents in the Klan), who let the KKK know where the Freedom Riders were going, where they were planning to stop, in other words, setting the whole thing up, and then looked sideways while racist goons attacked the buses and beat the Freedom Riders bloody. The FBI, of course, is part of the



Teddy visits George Wallace in Alabama, July 4, 1973. "We cannot write him off," or "those who vote for him, or dismiss the seething resentments he represents"—i.e. whips into reaction. They were the opposite ends of the same club the bourgeoisie uses against the masses. Here Kennedy emphasizes their unity of purpose.

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Justice Department, headed by Attorney General Robert Kennedy. The ruling class demonstrated the coordinated use of its "good guys" and "bad guys." (In this case the "bad guy" J. Edgar Hoover was "good guy" JFK's first appointment.) At this point the Kennedys could, and did, step in with their ringing rhetoric as the situation became more intense and explosive and take some actions that could restrain the momentum of the civil rights actions and put the White House and approved "civil rights leaders" at the head of the march. Their most dramatic action occurred when Kennedy sent in Federal troops to force James Meredith's enrollment at the all-white University of Mississippi.

The Kennedys' concern in controlling these confrontations in the South was more than domestic. The struggle in the South coincided with U.S. efforts to make inroads in the neo-colonial control of the former European colonies, and was a particular problem for the U.S. image in Africa. Schlesinger reports that, "around the world the use of troops [in Mississippi] dramatized as nothing else could have done the commitment of the administration to the 'cause of racial justice.'" He records the statement sent by a U.S. ambassador to Robert Kennedy: "This was a battle which had to be won. . . What might have been a severe setback to our prestige in Asia and Africa was turned into a gain."

Historian Schlesinger is remarkable in his selective candor. He frequently does not shy away from some of the most damning indictments of the Kennedy role. What he does instead is to give them the "correct interpretation." So, for example, he explains Kennedy's appointments to the federal judiciary in the South. A notable example was Harold Cox, a buddy of Mississippi's Senator Eastland. As soon as he mounted the bench Cox began to throw out civil rights suits. At one point he roared at the Black people in his courtroom: "a bunch of niggers. . . acting like a bunch of chimpanzees." Other Kennedy appointees were not much more subtle in their racism. One called the 1954 Supreme Court school desegregation decision "one of the truly regrettable decisions of all time." But after all, argued Schlesinger, Kennedy couldn't just ignore the influence of the Southern Senators in his appointments. "Indeed, the final Kennedy record of Southern judicial appointments was . . . comparable to that of the Eisenhower administration."²⁷ Indeed!

Yet Kennedy was no Eisenhower, and



The righteous trouncing the U.S. received at the Bay of Pigs did not deter JFK's determination to overthrow Castro. Here he waves flag of the defeated invasion force.

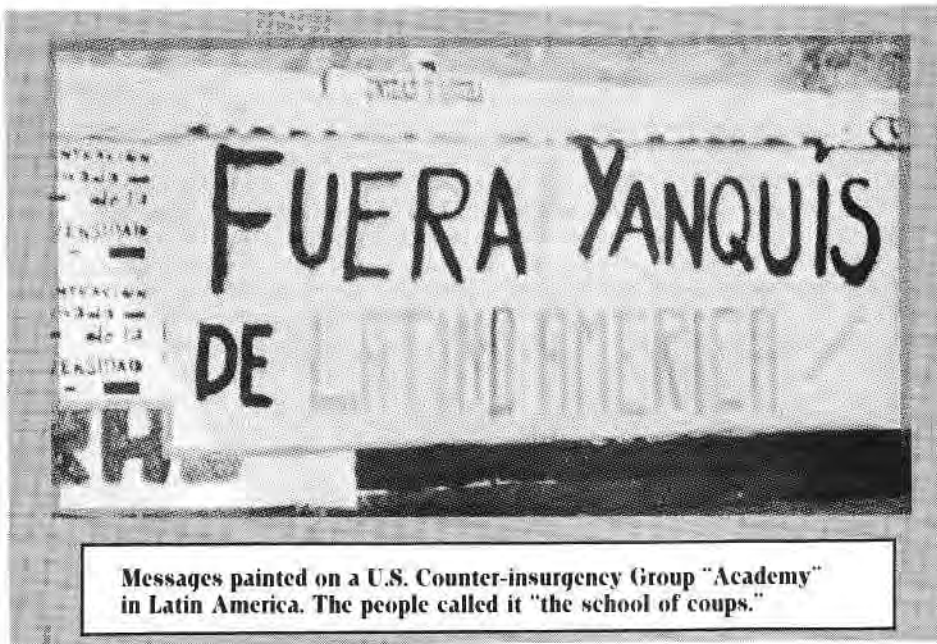
had he been, the bourgeoisie would have been in a lot more trouble. He could speak with some credibility among the masses. He could inspire hope that justice could be achieved in capitalist America. Yet for all the efforts of the Kennedys and people like King, the struggle continued to escalate and constantly burst beyond their control. Each time they scrambled to respond with a new promise, a new action, a new maneuver. After George Wallace made his stand blocking the door to Black students at the University of Alabama, and then backed down in the face of the steamroller pressure of the movement and the government's fear that an explosion might erupt, President Kennedy went on television to try to define the terms of the struggle and propose his solution.

"We are confronted primarily with a moral issue. It is as old as the Scriptures and is as clear as the American Constitution. . . If an American, because his skin is dark, cannot eat lunch in a restaurant open to the public; if he cannot send his children to the best public school available; if he cannot vote for the public officials who represent him; if, in short, he cannot enjoy the full and free life which all of us want, then who among us would be content to have the color of his skin changed and stand in his place? Who among us would then be content

with the counsels of patience and delay. . . We face, therefore, a moral crisis as a country and a people. It cannot be met by repressive police action. It cannot be left to increased demonstrations in the streets. It cannot be quieted by token moves or talk. It is a time to act in Congress, in your state and local legislative body, and above all, in all of our daily lives. . ."²⁸

Never mind that he himself had been a principal advocate of patience and delay since his inauguration. Never mind that Bible Belt segregationists—and Bible thumpers in the North as well—had quoted the scriptures vehemently and extensively in support of racism and national oppression. Never mind that the American Constitution from the beginning had counted Blacks as 3/5 of a person and for almost two centuries had been just as much a prop of Jim Crow and exploitation as the Bible. Never mind that the basis of national oppression is capitalism itself. It is a color question. It is you, the racist white people out there who are holding Blacks down. And most of all, never mind those demonstrations! It can't be left to the people in the streets! And police repression won't work (well enough). Only legislation in Congress can solve the problem and save the nation!

As even Schlesinger admits, "the Blacks were in the streets, moreover,



Messages painted on a U.S. Counter-insurgency Group "Academy" in Latin America. The people called it "the school of coups."

and the President felt he would lose control over an increasingly dangerous situation unless he exerted leadership."²⁹ Robert Kennedy was as candid. It was necessary to get

"... not only the passage of legislation, but what in my judgement was even more important, to obtain the confidence of the Negro population in their government. . . I thought there was a great danger in losing that unless we took a very significant step. . . There's obviously a revolution within a revolution in Negro leadership. We could see the direction of Martin Luther King going away from him to some of these younger people, who had no belief or confidence in the system of government. . . and thought. . . that the way to deal with the problem is to start arming the young Negroes and sending them into the streets, which I didn't think was a very satisfactory solution. . ."³⁰

As Malcolm X said, "the Negroes were out there in the streets. They were talking about how they were going to march on Washington. Right at that time Birmingham had exploded, and the Negroes in Birmingham—remember, they also exploded. They began to stab the crackers in the back and bust them up 'side their head—yes, they did. That's when Kennedy sent in the troops, down in Birmingham. After that, Kennedy got on the television and said 'this is a moral issue.' That's when he said he was going to put out a civil-rights bill. And when he mentioned civil-rights bill and the Southern crackers started talking about how they were going to boycott or filibuster it, then the Negroes started talking—about what? That they were going to march on Washington, march

on the Senate, march on the White House, march on the Congress and tie it up, bring it to a halt, not let the government proceed. . . It was the grassroots out there in the street. It scared the white man to death, scared the white power structure to death."³¹

And Martin Luther King said, the Blacks were already in the streets; better that they march under nonviolent leadership. Kennedy said call the march off, that's not what we want, that's not what we need. But King said that if they called the march off the people might turn to new and desperate leaders.³²

Malcolm called it the "Farce on Washington." Schlesinger admits that "if the march could not be headed off, the Kennedys decided that it would have to be made a success."³³ Malcolm called it for what it was:

"'Call it off,' Kennedy said, 'look, you all are letting this thing go too far.' And Old Tom said, 'Boss, I can't stop it, because I didn't start it.' I'm telling you what they said. They said, 'I'm not even in it, much less at the head of it.' They said, 'These Negroes are doing things on their own. They're running ahead of us.' And that old shrewd fox, he said, 'If you all aren't in it, I'll put you in it. I'll put you at the head of it. I'll endorse it. I'll welcome it. I'll help it. I'll join it.'"³⁴

And that's exactly what the Kennedys did. Robert appointed a man at the Justice Department to set up a team to plan and coordinate every aspect of the March on Washington that August in 1963.

The Kennedys wanted to make sure that King stayed at the head of the civil rights movement, and that they were right there surrounding him. "Bobby,

Martin and John" droned the maudlin song a few years later. And as usual they wanted to be absolutely sure that revolutionaries who could dispute this leadership, who might lead it away from the dead-end street of bourgeois reformism were iced out. When J. Edgar Hoover warned that there was a communist close to King, the Kennedy brothers took the warning seriously. JFK took King aside in the White House rose garden and told him that he had to get rid of Stanley Levinson, a wealthy, liberal East Coast lawyer who had become a King aide and who was by no stretch of the imagination a real communist, and most unlikely even a member of the Communist Party.

King dumped Levinson, but Hoover was still insistent. He wanted to put a tap on King to make sure that he had no "subversive" contacts. The Kennedys seemed at first reluctant to risk such a move, but eventually agreed it was a good idea and on July 24, 1963, Robert Kennedy authorized the tap. They didn't even need the "liberalized" wiretap legislation that JFK had voted against while in the Senate! The fact that Hoover kept the tap on King for the next five years, recording his bedroom adventures and playing them for his own enjoyment and that of the various government officials to whom he circulated the tapes, was "explained" by Schlesinger as something of an oversight. Bobby didn't realize that the tapping went on beyond the time period he had authorized. Oh, okay.

Among many people today, one key thing which the John F. Kennedy administration is remembered for and which contributes to the stuffing of the Kennedy legend is Kennedy's role in going up against the steel companies in the early days of his administration, jawboning them to back down from their price hikes. Among those who hailed Kennedy's action, and contributed to the myth, was the revisionist Communist Party USA. As the Chinese Communist Party analyzed their role: "They described Kennedy's action supporting the Rockefeller group in its attack on the Morgan group during the 1962 incident concerning steel prices as having 'awakened anew the anti-monopoly tradition of Americans' and 'rendered a great service.'"³⁵ The reality was considerably different. Kennedy had worked out a secret deal with Roger Blough, Chairman of U.S. Steel, and the USWA (steel workers union) that the union hacks would not ask for a wage increase in 1962 and U.S. Steel would not significantly raise its prices. A no wage increase deal like this with U.S. Steel would have been tantamount to an agreement with the rest of the steel companies, and would have had the effect of

Kennedy . . .

putting a lid on wage demands in most other industries. But Blough broke the agreement and substantially increased the steel prices. Kennedy got mad, this would blow the deal. So he put the heat on Blough and forced him to rescind, for the time being, the price hike. That was it. That was the basis for Kennedy to become David the giant slayer. It is ridiculous to say Kennedy was anti-monopoly, or anti-big business. Look at the people he gathered around him in government: Secretary of Defense, Robert McNamara, president of Ford Motor Company; at the State Department, Dean Rusk, fresh from the presidency of the Rockefeller Foundation; John McCloy, former chairman of Rockefeller's Chase Manhattan Bank; for the CIA, John McCone, a big stockholder in the Rockefeller Standard Oil Company; Assistant Secretary of Defense, Roswell Gilpatrick, chairman of "Democrats for Rockefeller" in 1958; at Treasury, Douglas Dillon, head of the Rockefeller-tied Dillon, Read & Co.³⁰

V. "New Frontiers"—From Bay of Pigs to Vietnam

The Kennedys were establishing a new style, if not new strategy, for American political leaders. Recognizing the impossibility of ignoring the mounting pressures of the mass movements of the time, they rejected as futile solely relying on the approach of open force and intimidation to quell the movement of the people although they demonstrated time and again the readiness to use force and violence. They moved to declare their sympathy and support for such movements, to put themselves at the head of them in order to determine their pace and direction.

The international situation presented the U.S. imperialists and their bright young spokesmen with new opportunities and grave threats in the early years of the 1960s. Here as well as domestically the Kennedys employed the same pattern, although because of the sharpness of the contradictions it stands out more clearly as a one-two punch: the words of liberation to veil the weapons of war and repression.

In the immediate post-war period conditions seemed extremely favorable for the American Empire. Although they had suffered some reverses in Eastern Europe, the U.S. exercised powerful influence in the war-prostrated countries of Western Europe. And the U.S. imperialists moved quickly to grab for themselves the dominant role in the col-

onies and former colonies of the European powers. In the wake of the war, the liberation movements in these underdeveloped countries signaled an end to the days of free-wheeling European colonialism and promised new possibilities for American neo-colonialism, which would attempt to march into the countries of Asia and Africa under an "anti-colonial" banner. "The world-wide struggle against imperialism—the sweep of nationalism is the most potent factor in foreign affairs today," John Kennedy said in 1960.³⁷ He spoke against continued French efforts to hang onto their colony in Algeria and had opposed John Foster Dulles' arguments for continued U.S. aid to France's failing colonial war in Indochina.

But when that struggle against imperialism, and the sweep of nationalism, threatened to deprive the U.S. of one of its own most cherished colonies, Cuba, Kennedy did not hesitate to use force to keep it. Before his election Kennedy had described Castro as "part of the legacy of Bolivar," and the Cuban revolution as the result "of the frustration of that earlier revolution which won its war against Spain but left largely untouched the indigenous feudal order."³⁸ After his election, Kennedy stepped right into the U.S. government plot to invade Cuba with a rag-tag CIA-trained army of Cuban exiles. Robert Kennedy later tried to justify the plan which ended in disaster for the U.S. imperialists at the Bay of Pigs: the advisors on the plan, he said, "had been trusted by his [JFK's] predecessor, so he thought that he could trust them and when they said it was much more apt to succeed than Guatemala [where the CIA had overthrown the popularly elected government of Arbenz in 1954 and installed a pro-U.S. military dictator], when the military looked it over and said it was a good plan, then he went ahead."³⁹ So much for their appreciation for the "legacy of Bolivar."

But Bobby had an even more amusing rationale for his brother's decision on this attempt to overthrow Castro: "there really wasn't any alternative to accepting it. These men [the exile army of invaders] had to be gotten out of Guatemala and Nicaragua [where they had been trained by the CIA]; and if we brought them back to the United States and turned them loose, it could be a tremendous problem both here in this country and abroad."⁴⁰ So, according to Bobby, the tail wagged the dog—an aberration of nature that was to become a real hallmark of Kennedy zoology.

But if the Kennedys were at all chastened by their defeat at the Bay of Pigs, it did not stop their various harebrained and murderous schemes to

dispatch Castro. Robert Sherrill describes JFK closeting "himself time and again with political cronies to discuss whether, and how, to kill Castro—poisoned candy? Juju. Sabre?"⁴¹ Schlesinger goes to elaborate lengths to deny that the Kennedys knew anything about the CIA's numerous attempts to assassinate Castro after the invasion debacle. But in fact, putting an end to this challenge to U.S. hegemony in the Americas became an obsession. The Kennedy brothers called in General Edward Lansdale, at one point CIA station chief in Vietnam and the operative who had worked with Ramon Magsaysay in the Philippines to develop counter-insurgency plans against the communist-led liberation forces in the 1950s. Said Robert Kennedy:

"My idea is to stir things up on the island with espionage, sabotage, general disorder, run and operated by Cubans themselves with every group but Batistaites and Communists. Do not know if we will be successful in overthrowing Castro but we have nothing to lose in my estimate."⁴²

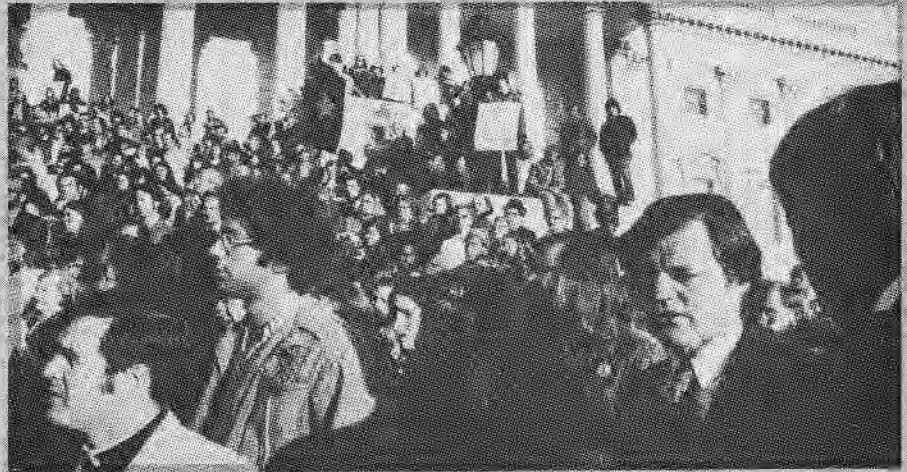
The plan, dubbed Operation Mongoose, was finally aborted with the escalation of events around the Cuban missile crisis in October of 1962.

The U.S. imperialists were faced with two main threats internationally, which they linked together. The first was from the new imperialists of the Soviet Union. Since the seizure of state power by Khrushchev and his fellow revisionists after the death of Stalin, the Soviet Union had been launched on a course of capitalist restoration and imperialist expansion. Despite the fact that the New Czars in the Kremlin were in no position at that point to challenge the U.S. to a head-on confrontation—their policy in that period was accurately characterized by the Chinese as principally one of collusion, although they pointed out that this was also a form of contention—they were definitely pushing out and were having some success as in Cuba, where the revolution that had driven out the U.S. degenerated and became a pawn of the USSR.

The second threat came from the national liberation struggles in Africa, Asia, and Latin America, which posed a danger to the U.S. imperialists' determination to hang on to their own neo-colonies and firmly plant the American flag in the postholes dug by the European colonial powers. The Soviets, despite Khrushchev's cautions, were equally as anxious to make inroads into these countries, and while the U.S. posed as anti-European colonialism, the Soviets, by no means thoroughly exposed yet to the world as revisionists and

(Right) Teddy Kennedy being whisked through the crowd at a D.C. anti-war march. The Kennedys helped start the war in Vietnam—and then they worked to capture and divert the anti-war movement.

(Below) The Green Berets in action. One of JFK's proudest achievements, showing how to "win the hearts and minds" of the people. They failed. And they didn't win the war either.



pseudo-communists, posed as allies of the liberation struggles and opponents of U.S. imperialism. Both were trying to get their meat hooks into the masses in these regions. At the same time, any efforts of these countries to win real economic and political independence were inimical to both imperialist powers.

Kennedy may have been a new breed of Cold Warrior, but he was a Cold Warrior nonetheless. In his election campaign and afterwards he emphasized the importance of negotiations ("we will never fear to negotiate") and spoke in "enlightened" terms of "meeting at the summit rather than at the brink." Since the U.S. had decisive military superior-

ity over the USSR at that time, there was a reason for such "summit conferences"—the Soviets could be bullied. In Laos in 1962, Khrushchev backed down in the face of U.S. threats to intervene militarily and pressured the Pathet Lao, who controlled most of the country, to accept a pro-U.S. "neutralist" government. In Cuba, Khrushchev withdrew Soviet missiles, much to Castro's apparent chagrin. But of course, even winning these confrontations made the U.S. realize it faced a growing rival—and made it all the more bloodthirsty. Kennedy launched a massive arms build-up almost as soon as he took office.

Even Kennedy's much heralded in-

auguration speech, which has been most promoted for its lofty calls to "ask not what your country can do for you, but what you can do for your country," was as fine a piece of Cold Warmongering as had ever been issued—and a tune and bit of demagogery the U.S. imperialists would love to be hearing more from the Presidential rostrum today. It was addressed almost exclusively to foreign affairs. This was the "hour of maximum danger" he declared. "Let every nation know, whether it wishes us well or ill, that we shall pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe, in order to assure the survival and the success of liberty" (read: U.S. imperialism).¹³



The Kennedy family had a close friendship with the reactionary red-baiter Joe McCarthy. He gave Robert a job as counsel for his witch-hunting committee. Family intimate Arthur Krock described Bobby as "passionately devoted to McCarthy's cause."

His main divergence from Eisenhower and John Foster Dulles was that he opposed complete reliance on nuclear weapons. Kennedy and his advisors argued for the necessity of upgraded and expanded U.S. conventional forces that could be used against the Soviets in Europe or in local wars anywhere in the world. In a speech nine months after his inauguration Kennedy had declared that "the United States is neither omnipotent nor omniscient—that we are only 6 percent of the world's population—that we cannot right every wrong or reverse each adversity—and that therefore there cannot be an American solution to every world problem."⁴⁴ But of course, in the imperialist view JFK's rhetoric was completely compatible with the demand made during the campaign that "We must regain the ability to intervene effectively and swiftly in any limited war anywhere in the world."⁴⁵

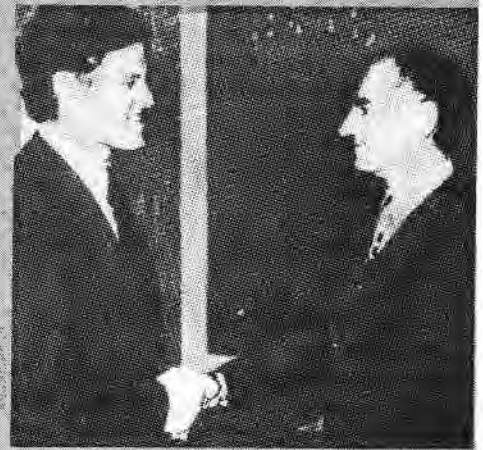
The headlines were given over to the promises. "Africa for the Africans," declared Kennedy's Undersecretary of State Soapy Williams. "Who else should it be for?" the President asked with a straight face. At the UN Kennedy raised hopes when he had Ambassador Adlai Stevenson vote in favor of a resolution introduced by African and Asian states to investigate Portugal's war to beat back the liberation forces in Angola. Why not do a little exposure of those awful *European* imperialists?

Perhaps Kennedy's most famous "in-

novation" in the area of promoting the U.S. good guy image abroad was the Peace Corps. Thousands of idealistic young college students, along with hundreds of CIA agents, were sent abroad to prepare the infrastructure of these underdeveloped countries for the greater penetration of U.S. capital. Perhaps the progressive character of this program is best exemplified by one of its famous participants—Miss Lillian "Hire Me A Hit Man" Carter, whose slave mistress title is no longer expected to be used only by the Black people on their peanut plantation but is now supposedly a term of "endearment" by which the whole country calls her.

In Latin America the Alliance for Progress was given top PR billing. It promised to effect an economic and social revolution in the countries of the southern hemisphere. "If the Alliance for Progress goes into operation fully," said Robert Kennedy in 1963, "if reforms, social, economic and political are put into effect, then Communism and Castroism will collapse in Latin America."⁴⁶ According to the Kennedy scheme of things, the way to blunt the anti-yankee imperialist sentiment among the masses was to promote grandiose promises of reform and economic aid, and to bring about conditions favorable to an even more massive U.S. economic penetration.

Chile was chosen as a pilot country in which to test the Alliance. Chilean



Teddy and the Shah—in better times.

revolutionary leader Jorge Palacios analyzed its objective:

"Two fundamental objectives were pursued through this policy: on the one hand, to contribute to the development of dependent capitalism, putting the most profitable sector of manufacturing industry under the control of U.S. investors; on the other hand, on the basis of this capitalist development subordinated to monopoly capital, to enlarge the market for machinery, technology, raw materials, spare parts, etc. for certain sectors of U.S. industry. On the political level it was a question of using the reforms necessary for this capitalist development (some of which went against the interests of the landed oligarchy and of certain national monopolies) to develop a populist movement through intensive demagogic publicity. This movement would act as a brake on any revolutionary opposition and on the exacerbation of nationalist anti-imperialist tendencies."⁴⁷

Where they could not find suitable parties to act as instruments of their "reforms" the Kennedys created them with the aid of the CIA. In Chile, the Christian Democratic Party of Eduardo Frei was built with CIA funds. "This despite the fact that many of its supporters come from the ranks of the people. Deceived by multi-million dollar propaganda, they must have been the most surprised to learn the origin of the economic resources which their leaders spent to make the CDP the largest party in Chile both in influence and in electoral strength."⁴⁸

But the Alliance did not bring the reform that it promised, nor did it forestall the growth of radicalism in Latin America. It did bring increased profits for many U.S. concerns and its

promise enhanced the Kennedys' personal popularity in the region, at least for a while among some sections of the petty-bourgeoisie.

"Those who make peaceful revolution impossible make violent revolution inevitable," said Robert Kennedy in Brazil. Unfortunately for the Kennedys and all their friends in the ruling class, it is imperialism itself which makes peaceful revolution impossible. All their efforts to "distract attention from essentials by means of absolutely ridiculous schemes for 'reform'" could not change the fact that it was imperialism that needed and propped up the reactionary regimes in Latin America that strangled the masses of people to the point of rebellion.

They also had a plan for dealing with the uprisings and rebellions of the masses, however. They called it "counter-insurgency." In reality it was counter-revolutionary violence. In the words of another of Schlesinger's nauseous apologetics: "Kennedy in 1961 saw counter guerrilla action as the way to plug the great gaping hole in the fabric of peace."⁴⁹ Special forces for guerrilla warfare were added to Kennedy's plan for beefed-up conventional forces for local wars. In March he told Congress that "guerrilla warfare had been since 1945 the most active and constant threat to Free World security."⁵⁰

John Kennedy took two immediate measures to deal with this threat to U.S. imperialism. The first was the formation of a Counterintelligence (CI) Group, in which his brother Robert took a leading role. Its task was to oversee the "prevention" of wars of liberation in key countries and regions. "It wasn't just a case of getting out and shooting guerrillas by any manner or means," said General Maxwell Taylor, another member of the group. "For the first time I, at least, sensed the tremendous political and social aspects to this problem."⁵¹ As part of their social task of "prevention," the CI Group established schools in Washington and Panama to train police from throughout Latin America in "riot control." Another, less publicized course at these schools was in interrogation by torture.

The second measure was the enlargement of the U.S. Special Forces at Fort Bragg. John Kennedy took particular interest in this counterinsurgency unit, traveling to the base to give them pep talks and dressing them in their infamous green berets. "By June 1963 the Special Forces numbered nearly 12,000 men, counterinsurgency training had been given to 114,000 American officers and nearly 7,000 from foreign countries."⁵² The mission of this highly trained batch of social reformers was "to win the hearts and minds" of the masses

of people who had been so mistaken as to rise up in armed struggle against their oppressors. The Green Berets themselves were not terribly taken with the illusions of their "noble" role. Their adaptation of this slogan was much more appropriate for this gang of murderers unleashed by U.S. imperialism: "When you've got 'em by the balls their hearts and minds will follow."

The crucial test of the Kennedys' counterinsurgency theories was Vietnam. They failed miserably.

When John F. Kennedy took office in January 1961 there were 685 "military advisors" in Vietnam. When he left office and this world there were almost 17,000 American troops there. Kennedy put the war in Vietnam squarely in the context of the Cold War, the isolation of China, the blocking of Soviet influence and overall U.S. strategic interests. Schlesinger records that Kennedy was ambivalent and hesitant about a major commitment of U.S. troops to a land war in Asia. And well he might have been! He had been impressed with the toughness and discipline of the French troops upon his visit to Indochina in 1951. He had been even more impressed by the shellacking they took at the hands of the Vietnamese. General Douglas MacArthur, who certainly had plenty of first hand experience to draw from, advised him against it. Any hesitation on his part was whether the war would be worth the price. But Kennedy was determined not to "lose Indochina to the communists" and he thought that he had a plan. If he had any serious vacillations they weren't about the necessity of the U.S. to hang onto Vietnam and they were not expressed in his public statements.

"We are not going to withdraw from [bringing about a stable government there, carrying on a struggle to maintain its national independence]. In my opinion, for us to withdraw from that effort would mean a collapse not only of South Vietnam, but Southeast Asia...We can think of Vietnam as a piece of strategic real estate. It's on the corner of mainland Asia, across the East-West trade routes, and in a position that would make it an excellent base for further Communist aggression against the rest of free Asia."⁵³

And on September 9 he added:

"I believe [the domino theory]. I think that the struggle is close enough. China is so large, looms up high just beyond the frontiers, that if South Vietnam went, it would not only give them an improved geographic position for a guerrilla assault on Malaya, but would also give the impression that the wave of the

future in Southeast Asia was China and the Communists."⁵⁴

Robert Kennedy had added his hurrahs in February 1962:

"We are going to win in Vietnam. We will remain there until we do win...I think the American people understand and fully support this struggle...I think the United States will do what is necessary to help a country that is trying to repel aggression with its own blood, tears and sweat."⁵⁵

The heart of their "special war" in south Vietnam was the "Strategic Hamlet Program," the forerunner of Lyndon Johnson's "pacification program." Step one was to "clear and hold" strategic villages, which were cordoned off and turned into virtual concentration camps, supposedly to keep the NLF out. Meanwhile the tonnage of arms and equipment shipped to the Diem regime increased monthly. But it wasn't working. Kennedy sent delegation after delegation of his top level advisors over to see what the problem was. A consensus began to develop that the problem was Diem, their puppet dictator who was hated by nearly all Vietnamese. But opinion was split in the administration over what to do about him. Most of the military brass seemed to argue that "he is our boy and we have to support him to the hilt." Others, including Henry Cabot Lodge, U.S. Ambassador in Saigon, argued that he had to be dumped. Lodge worked closely with a band of south Vietnamese generals to carry out the deed. Finally on November 1, 1963, Diem and his brother were murdered. To the dismay of the U.S. imperialists it turned out that Diem wasn't the problem after all. Kennedy's strategic hamlet program and the whole counterinsurgency plan collapsed after the death of Diem. The next step was full-scale U.S. military intervention.

By the time of his run for the Presidency in 1968 Robert Kennedy had become a vocal critic of Lyndon Johnson's prosecution of the war. If he was going to ride the mass movement against the war, and corral it, he damn well had to be. The myth has been propagated by Kennedy apologists that JFK before his assassination had decided to pull all U.S. troops out of Vietnam. In fact they discussed all sorts of alternatives as the situation grew more desperate. What he did say to his advisors was that he could not make any move until after the 1964 elections, because he knew that the U.S. ruling class was not about to roll up the flag in Vietnam. What he did do was make a show of restricting an all-out U.S. involvement by shuffling around paper

Kennedy . . .

work to show that a net withdrawal of 1,000 men had been ordered by December. The simple fact of the matter was that the bourgeoisie had not sufficiently prepared public opinion for a full-scale invasion at that point.

But the myth was useful for the role the remaining Kennedys played in the coming years, and became even more useful as the anti-war movement in this country grew. As U.S. imperialism became more and more exposed at home and throughout the world, it was increasingly beneficial for the bourgeoisie to have those among their spokesmen who could pretend to speak for the anger of the masses and say, "It doesn't have to be this way. My brother's legacy has been betrayed. It's all Johnson's (Nixon's) fault." Once again it became vital for the bourgeoisie to have someone to obscure the complete domination and the profound roots of imperialism. Bobby Kennedy played this role with extreme zeal and dedication. He boldly stood up and criticized U.S. imperialist policies in Vietnam, in Latin America and in the U.S.—especially the policies that had already failed. He was put forward as the champion of the oppressed even more so than his older brother had been. Of course he was spared the necessity of having to be in the position of formulating and carrying out those very policies from the Oval Office.

His righteous antics reached new heights as things went on. On a trip through Latin America at the end of 1965 he missed no occasion to traipse through the mud of a slum, visit poor peasants and complain about their miserable living conditions, descend into a coal mine and shake hands with communist-led miners, or debate leftist students in open forums. His technique was straightforward: admit to the "faults" of the U.S., claim that it all would have been different if his brother had lived, that his goals and intentions had been perverted, and challenge people not just to criticize the U.S. but to do something about their own situation themselves.

It would have been interesting if some of those students had known the story of Kennedy's visit to Brazil in 1962 and subsequent developments. Kennedy had met with Brazilian President Julio Goulart in order to enlist his support for the U.S. around the Cuban missile crisis. In passing, Kennedy told Goulart that the U.S. didn't like two of his ministers and told him to get rid of them. He also informed Goulart that the U.S. didn't think highly of his brother-in-law, Brizola, either. They felt these fellows

were too left leaning and found their inclination to nationalize U.S. properties very distasteful. Goulart smiled and later reappointed the ministers to his cabinet. After the CIA, the U.S. military and embassy staff had helped engineer Goulart's overthrow by a military coup in 1964, the U.S. Ambassador Lincoln Gordon ran into Kennedy in Washington. "The Attorney General was still grieving over the murder of his brother, but he found cheer in the events in Brazil. 'Well, Goulart got what was coming to him,' Kennedy told Gordon. 'Too bad he didn't follow the advice we gave him when I was down there.'"⁵⁶

In one particularly ridiculous scene in Lima, Peru, Kennedy met with a group of Peruvian intellectuals who lambasted the domination of U.S. imperialism in their country and expressed bitter complaints about the Rockefeller-owned International Petroleum Company. Kennedy finally said: "Well, why don't you just go ahead and nationalize the damn thing. I mean, nothing is going to happen...The United States government isn't going to send destroyers or anything like that." (In fact several years later the Peruvian government did nationalize, with payment, the IPC, to the relief of Rockefeller, who had wanted to unload it and get his money out anyway, in order to dig his hooks in deeper in other areas of the Peruvian economy.) The Peruvians stared at Kennedy and responded: "The Rockefellers run the U.S. policy; the Rockefellers wouldn't permit it." Oh, come on," said Kennedy, "In our country we eat Rockefellers for breakfast." By the time the story circulated in translation, a journalist in Buenos Aires asked him if it was true that he ate breakfast every morning with Rockefeller.⁵⁷ The garbled translation was more accurate.

Conclusion The Power and the Gory

To brush the Kennedys off as typical "say one thing do another" politicians would be a mistake. It would be to misunderstand the particular role they play for the bourgeoisie and to ignore the dangerous and deadly effect they have in promoting reaction while spreading the illusions of reform. And it would be to underestimate the danger that exists for the bourgeoisie in the stirrings of the masses, a danger they most certainly sense.

In the 1960 presidential campaign John Kennedy spoke about a certain "malaise of spirit" that beset America. This has been a favorite theme of the bourgeoisie in recent years. In his memoirs Henry Kissinger, recounting the difficulties the Nixon administration faced in pursuing their policies in Viet-

nam, bemoaned "the spectacle of a nation tearing at itself in the midst of a difficult war... The public malaise raised in a profound way the question of the responsibility of leaders to the public in a democracy."⁵⁸ Jimmy Carter's most memorable speech to date was when he appealed to the people to "say something nice about America." He spoke of "the true problems of our nation" as being a loss of confidence in this system and its future and again raised this malaise of the spirit that had set upon the land. In his campaign Teddy Kennedy has turned this around on Carter, charging that the "malaise" is due to ineffective and undynamic leadership, which he promises to provide.

For the bourgeoisie and their mouthpieces, this "malaise" is a euphemism for the anger and resentment among the masses of people in this country, a deepening disbelief in and cynicism toward the promises and leadership of the ruling class. Carter in his address went on to declare that "restoring that faith and that confidence to America is now the most important task we [the ruling class] face."

Enter Teddy Kennedy, with trumpets blaring. No wonder Teddy has decided to make his long-awaited run for the green in 1980.

If Kennedy was not what they needed in 1976, when they were casting about for a Mr. Clean, someone who could restore an aura of moral rectitude to the office, 1984 would be too late to try and do what they have to do. Things are heating up too fast. They have got to roll out their most effective gun now. This is not to say that Teddy will be their ultimate choice. They still have almost a year to gauge the performance of their various candidates and their effectiveness in mobilizing the masses behind their bloody banner, in gearing them up to accept what they have in store. And despite all Kennedy's weaknesses, among his competitors he still has impressive credentials.

But the situation which faces Edward Kennedy and the ruling class today is much different than that which they confronted in the time of JFK and Robert Kennedy, or even FDR for that matter.

Despite Roosevelt's demagoguery in claiming as gifts of his administration the advances won by the masses through fierce struggle against the capitalists and the government, still, conditions did not fundamentally improve for the masses. It was only the stimulus of war production that enabled the U.S. economy to pick up a little. Most fundamentally, only the favorable redivision of the world after World War 2 provided the way out of the Depression, and underlay the comparatively long economic "boom"

The 1980 Presidential Try-Outs:



that followed. During JFK's time, the U.S. imperialists were still enjoying the benefits of this revision to some extent, aided in their domination of key areas of the world and by the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, which in its initial capitulationist phase aided the U.S. by working to hold back revolution without being able to challenge the U.S. head-on.

But today this situation has turned into its opposite. The Soviets now oppose U.S. expansion and press in upon the U.S. empire at every turn. And the U.S., exactly because of the present division of the world, will not be able to "sit on the mountaintop and watch the tigers fight" as it did during the First and to some extent the Second World War, because it and its empire are the focus of this coming war. The bourgeoisie does not have the material basis to make the concessions it was able to make, no matter how small they were, during previous periods.

Even though Teddy Kennedy comes wrapped in the legend of his brothers, there is simply not the same basis for

him to be able to carry it off. The Kennedy legend is certainly hollow, but Teddy can only be hollower—the shadow image of reformism. The dead hand of capital that finds it necessary to beckon him forward at this time is in a deeper state of decay than it was when the Kennedy legend was born.

Just the opposite of being able to make concessions and create illusions of reform, the capitalists now need to retrench, intensify the exploitation of the working class, widen the divisions among the masses, preach austerity and sacrifice. So it is that all the current crop of politicians, from Brown to Reagan—and including Kennedy—warn that the days of "big spending" social welfare programs are at an end. Their theme is that "there will be less in the future and you'll pay more for it." The masses are told that too many of them now tend to worship self-indulgence and consumption. The call is for sacrifice, sacrifice and more sacrifice.

Check out what's happening to Kennedy's cradle-to-the-grave medical insurance plan, probably the most New

Deal style piece of legislation on the market today—and the centerpiece of his liberal domestic record. As public hospitals close down in one city after another, as the level of medical care in major metropolitan areas continues to decline, what is this plan but a cruel joke? That's why, in fact, every year when he brings up this ethereal promise in the Senate, he chops off another piece, until now there is practically nothing left to it—and there's still no chance of it becoming law in its present form.

Today there can't and won't be any New Deal, and the only New Frontier will be in the theatres of war. But this doesn't mean that the Kennedy mystique, based on the past, has no use today. Teddy may do very well at making the past serve the present—without being trapped in the past. But this will principally be around the task of arousing patriotism, jingoism and a "gear up for war" mentality among the American people. Here is a square shooter that tells it like it is, his PR men will say. And his support for SALT and the "dovish" deceptions which form an integral part of the bourgeoisie's war preparations put him in an excellent position to say to the American people: "I've tried to walk the last mile with these Soviet warmongers. I've done everything I could to avoid this war, but we have no choice. The Soviets are impervious to reason. We must rally our national pride, our national unity and prepare to fight for truth, justice and the American way."

Whether Kennedy believes any of this or not isn't the point. The fact that he puts it forward is the role he plays for the bourgeoisie, just like Reagan and others play their role in more openly beating the war drums.

And he has another advantage for the bourgeoisie as well. It is no accident that as Chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee he has been charged with the responsibility and has taken special interest in formulating and guiding into law their "reform" of the U.S. Criminal Code, the infamous S-1 (Senate Bill 1, whose name they have changed in order to shield it from the exposure that was initially done of it). Similarly it was no accident that the "liberal Kennedys," those paragons of reformism and concern for the masses, were communist-hunters, union-busters, counter-insurgency enthusiasts, torture chamber academy founders and assassins of troublesome heads of state. Part of the treachery of bourgeois reformism is that it can more effectively mask the brutality and murderous intent of the capitalist class, it can sugar-coat reaction. Who better than Ted Kennedy, the defender of human and civil rights, the nemesis of the right wing, to insure legislation that

(continued from previous page)

provides the bourgeois state with all the "legal" justification it wants to jail revolutionaries, arrest strikers who threaten their national interests, and generally run rampant with repression?

At the funeral of Bobby Kennedy in St. Patrick's Cathedral there was a revolting scene, described by Schlesinger. In one of the front pews was Mayor Richard Daley of Chicago, "his head bowed, the cords of his neck standing out, crying uncontrollably." In a back pew knelt Tom Hayden, "green cap from Havana sticking out of his pocket, weeping silently by himself."⁵⁹ This was a scene that must have delighted the bourgeoisie. It symbolized all too well the role of the Kennedys, for in death as in life they unite open reaction and the illusion of reform.

Footnotes

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21. *Workers Viewpoint*, Sept. 1, 1979, p. 9. For another gem along the same lines, see *Workers Viewpoint*, Aug. 1, 1979, p. 4: "Only the Communist Party, the vanguard force of the working class, can overhaul it and build on the strengths of the elementary organization in the trade unions. It is through studying and struggling together with [advanced workers] one by one, that we will build up the Party, turn the trade unions into fighting organizations, and make every factory our fortress. This is the task before us all."
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