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

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

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

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

The hypocrisy of the imperialists in all this must be condemned also. As I understand it in his speech today in apparent reference to developments in China, Ronald Reagan is going to say that these are the days of the triumph of freedom. But the only freedom that these imperialists and their spokespeople are interested
in is the freedom to penetrate China and many other countries around the world and to enforce the domination of their system worldwide. The imperialist media and their rulers spent more than a decade praising Deng Xiaoping and his cohorts to the sky as forward-looking men and reformists. They had forged economic and military ties with China's rulers. Yet today they try to distance themselves from the massacre that their friends have unleashed in China.

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

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

Mao Tsetung did not fail, revolution will prevail!

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

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

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

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

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

Moderator: The next speaker will be comrade
Luis Arce Borja, who is editor of the Peruvian large circulation daily El Diario. Borja recently interviewed Chairman Gonzalo of the Peruvian Communist Party and his newspaper is under heavy government attack for “apologizing for terrorism” in its open support for the Peruvian Communist Party.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**Carl Dix:** We think that viewing the recent developments in China the prospect for that looks much better than prior to these developments. As I mentioned in my statement, we are confident in the spreading of the understanding of Mao in the developments there. And we base that not just on some strategic confidence that Mao’s line and especially the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution must have had quite an impact in China and that there are still many people who stand on that, but we have also been able to get indications of that somewhat from the press coverage and also from conversations with people who happened to be traveling at that time. One person in particular who had been there the year
previously was struck by the existence of a left radical tendency somewhat among the students but especially and more strongly among the workers who were openly expressing their support of Mao. They were not anywhere near the majority of opinion leaders — we should point that out — but there were people who were wearing Mao buttons and were expressing that they were not only against the government of Deng Xiaoping but that they trace their opposition to the death of Mao and the overthrow of the people who followed his line. And the way that it was popularly characterised in China is that most people who were protesting were against the government but for the "reforms" while a noticeable minority were against the government and against the "reforms", and these people were referred to as pro-Cultural Revolution.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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