

P.O. Box 471 Cooper Station
New York, N.Y. 10003
March 6, 1978

TO ALL ORGANIZERS AND AT-LARGE MEMBERS

Dear Comrades,

A split has taken place in the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade (RCYB), the youth organization of the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP). Two groupings have each held national gatherings to consolidate separate organizations, one calling itself the RCYB and the other calling itself the Revolutionary Student Brigade (RSB). Enclosed are reprints of recent articles from Revolution, the newspaper of the RCP, and the Young Communist, the newspaper of the RSB, which verify these facts. These articles should be made available to members of the YSA.

It is not clear at this time what issues are involved in the split. Nor is it clear whether or not a parallel split has taken place in the RCP. Nevertheless, we can be reasonably sure that one of the underlying political disputes concerns China: what stand to take toward the current regime headed by Hua Kuo-feng and its campaign against the so-called Gang of Four.

The RCYB/RSB split presents an important opportunity for the YSA to discuss political ideas with members of both organizations. We want to explain to members of the RCYB and RSB the views of the YSA on the situation in China, the bankruptcy of Maoism, and other world and national political issues. We can do this through individual discussions and sales of our press. Chapters may also want to organize a forum on the topic of "China After Mao."

To better equip YSA members to talk with members of the RCYB and RSB, many chapters will find it useful to organize educationals on China and Maoism in the United States. The following are some suggested readings:

1. Marxism vs Maoism, by Tony Thomas, Pathfinder Press
2. The Mao Myth, by Tom Kerry, pages 12-69, Pathfinder Press
3. "Mao Tsetung and the 'Gang of four'", by Theodore Edwards, International Socialist Review, August 1977

Chapters should continue to seek out information on the split and forward reports to the national office. The April Young Socialist will include an article on Maoism and the RCYB/RSB split.

Comradely,



Betsy Farley
YSA National Office

The Young Communist, March, 1978

COUNTERFEIT CREW UNMASKED

In the last few years the Revolutionary Student Brigade has emerged as the largest, most important revolutionary organization of the nation's campuses and has begun the process of building chapters in the ghettos and communities. Our purpose for existence has been to mobilize broad numbers of students and youth to stand with the working class, and its Party in the fight for socialism and communism. Until now, the Revolutionary Communist Party was the party of the working class, the party of revolution. On that basis the RSB accepted leadership from and supported the RCP.

IT'S RIGHT TO REBEL AGAINST REACTION

In recent weeks the RCP has begun to consolidate around a counter-revolutionary line that abandons the struggle for socialism in this country and abandons socialism where it has been won - in the People's Republic of China. 40% of the Party has rebelled against this betrayal. Despite physical intimidation and attacks, despite constant claims that the Brigade members are too stupid to deal with the political questions at hand, the overwhelming majority of Brigade members, including 90% of the East coast, and 85% of the western mid-west, the entire national office and 2/3 of its elected political leadership, have chosen to raise their heads and stand with the rebellion. We supported the RCP when it stood for revolution. We are forced to rebel against it when it abandons this task.

The oppression and misery that people throughout this country face, demands revolution and revolutionary leadership. The heroic strike of the coal miners taking place right now demands it. The anger and hatred millions of minorities have for the Bakke decision demands it. The victims of US aggression in southern Africa demands it. We are determined to help provide it. We are determined to help mobilize students in this country to stand with the working people world-wide. For final free-

dom and liberation can only be gained through revolution led by a revolutionary party. We are determined to stand with and contribute to building that party. Right now we are joining with hundreds of communists who have rebelled against the RCP's opportunist turn to do just that.

As we said at the 1977 RSB convention, "We are 700 youths and students from all across America determined to fight the rulers of this country, stronger, smarter and more organized than before. 700 who don't want to see the people being forced to fight one abuse after another year after year. 700 who are sure that we can help move the struggle forward to build a bright new world. 700 determined to be the generation that brings socialism to America."

It would be irresponsible for us to tell students of this country to support ANY party, or support ANY strategy for revolution. It would prove dangerous today, and outright disastrous tomorrow. Every student who has fought the rulers for the smallest concession knows full well that wrong leadership can lead to defeat. In the struggle for revolution, wrong leadership can lead to golden opportunities being blown and millions being condemned to continued but unnecessary oppression. Therefore, at a recent national meeting of the RSB, attended by two thirds of its membership, we made a difficult but necessary decision. The decision to uphold the interests of the people and the goal of revolution above former allegiances and to rebel against the opportunist RCP and its egomaniacal chair, Bob Avakian.

Some members of the RSB, particularly in the South and California have chosen instead to become Avakianites. We hope these wayward comrades will lift their heads up, choose to be communists, not Avakianites, and reboard the train to revolution.

At the same time, it is important to expose their attempts to pimp off the name and experience of the RSB. These former members

of the RSB have chosen to form a cheap and counterfeit imitation of the RSB. This organization, called the "RCYB", has as much in common with the RSB of the last several years as any other phony socialist group running around on the campuses. NONE!

Our organization has grown and earned the respect of students because it has been a fighting organization. When ten thousand students stormed the New York State Capitol, we led the charge. When the KKK showed up in Tallahassee, we helped to run them out. Just this week we helped to force the University of Wisconsin to divest stocks in southern Africa. We have been on the frontlines of the major battles and we've fought like hell in the smaller ones too. From picket-lines and rallies around issues, from fired professors to late financial aid checks, students have known the RSB as the fighters, the radicals on campus.

We have taken this stand in opposition to a variety of grouplets on the campuses who openly call themselves Trotskyites (named after their hero, Leon Trotsky, who did everything to oppose socialism in the Soviet Union and was run out of that country over 45 years ago for being the counter-revolutionary scum of the earth). The RCYB has taken the same stand as these trotskyites but they lack the honesty to admit it. Many students have seen how these groups operate. Refusing to join with the struggle students are waging, they are forced to simply ignore them. Concocting proposals for the fight that are actual diversions, they make themselves objects of contempt. Their attempts to rip off the advanced fighters from every struggle just to build their own organizations has earned them hatred. Their intellectualizing and theorizing have earned them ridicule. These groups call themselves communists but they breed anti-communism. Communists become viewed as preachers and pimps. Mao Tse tung described similar people in China when he said:

"In a very short time several hundred mil-

lion peasants will rise like a mighty storm, like a hurricane, a force so swift and violent that no power, however great, will be able to hold it back. They will smash all the trammels that bind them and rush forward along the road to liberation. They will sweep all the imperialists, warlords, corrupt officials, local tyrants and evil gentry into their graves. Every revolutionary party and comrade will be put to the test, to be accepted or rejected as they decide. There are three alternatives. To march at the head and lead them? To trail behind them, gesticulating and criticizing? Or to stand in the way and oppose them? Every Chinese is free to choose, but events will force you to make the choice quickly."

The Avakianites have chosen to trail, to gesticulate, to criticize, and most importantly to stand in the way of the struggle. That's why Avakian argued that our organization shouldn't join this past summer with the struggle to stop police terror in the Puerto Rican community of Humboldt Park in Chicago. He argued that instead we should mobilize the youth to go to Kent State, because "this was a struggle they could be proud of". This statement is not only racist, it's revealing. It reveals these phonies have no interest in joining with and leading the ACTUAL struggles people are waging but instead choose to promote battles that THEY consider important. And then they lead these incorrectly.

A good example of how this works is Kent State. At one point they argued that the RSB should lead students to block the bulldozers at the Gym site. It is not the particular tactic that is wrong, for at times it might actually be very useful and important. But for Avakian the question was not whether this tactic would advance the struggle, but whether or not it would get us on national news. Such actions can only lead to isolating the advanced from the masses of students, lead to defeatism when it fails and causes actual danger to those who participate.

But despite obstacles thrown in our way, the struggle to move the gym at Kent State was a tremendous victory. Thousands of students rose up to take on the KSTU administrations plans

to destroy the site where four students were murdered and bury along with it the lessons of the war and the movement that swept the country in opposition to it.

Standing together we delivered a powerful message to the rulers of this country, we are not the silent generation, youth unconcerned about injustice. We are a generation ready to stand up for what is right, ready to build a movement powerful enough to sweep them and their system of oppression into the pages of history textbooks forever.

At the 1977 RSB convention some of Avakian's followers in our ranks openly stated the sickness of their position. Avakian's followers, in the course of opposing fighting university investments and the Krugerand, complained, "For too long we have been mired in the struggle for reform, what we really have to do is propagate revolution." And another example, perhaps even clearer, comes from the Bay Area student leader. In characteristic Trotskyite logic he declared, "Who do we want in this organization? Do we want militant fighters? No, we want communists."

In one short statement this representative of the Avakian clique exposed their contempt for the struggles thousands have been waging against the brutal regimes of southern Africa. Claiming to uphold revolution, these creeps oppose fighting to end the sale of the South African coin the Krugerand, sold in the U.S. to help prop up apartheid, as well as the struggle to end university investments in southern Africa.

Brothers and sisters, if communists aren't fighters, what are they? To the Avakianites, communists aren't fighters until the morning of revolution. Then they will hurry to pawn their books, pick up their weapons, march to the front lines and attack the government. Alas, revolution is not that easy. If communists don't fight today, they will not be capable of leading at the time of revolution. Communists who decry fighting are not communists at all. They are intellectual windbags. Many students have seen these kinds of "Marxists" on the campus. They glibly philosophize and are never around when it's time to build the

struggle. Avakian wanted to turn the RSB into a collection of intellectual windbags. But it his RCYB that is quickly cornering the helium market.

But even as intellectuals these RCYBers fail miserably. They are just as incapable of organizing theory as they are the struggle. Instead of concrete plans for the whole organization to take up revolutionary theory, they send everyone home to study on his own. Those familiar with theory study further, those who are not are left to sink or swim.

THEORY SERVES PRACTICE

"This is not simply a question of how to organize study. It runs much deeper. For them, theory is not necessarily something taken up to serve practice - the struggle of the people. Therefore there is no reason why the organization should study together, to integrate theory with practice. They separate theory from the work and promise the idea of "theory in its own right", or theory for its own sake. Instead of contributing to the deepening understanding of revolutionary theory, they contribute only to the trotskyite school of theoretical abstraction.

Intellectual windbags, standing apart from the struggle or merely concocting schemes to make ourselves famous, this is the RSB Avakian had in mind for us. But he wasn't content to leave it at that. For him and his clique, our role was to shock people with our communism. This led to their insistence that "communism" be in the name of our organization. Sometimes it was argued that communism would shock people and they say that is a good thing. Other times they would say that it was no more controversial than wearing a beret, so what's the problem. The first point at least is worth discussing for it does at least touch reality.

These new found Yippies believe that a communist student organization should engage in ideological terrorism - against the people. The first time it was a farce, the second time a tragedy. Maybe the originator of this line is in the need of shock therapy but the masses aren't. The capitalists provide all the shocks the people need. A communists task is not

to shock people. A communist task is to unite with the people, lead them in battle against the problems they face and explain the source of this oppression and how to overcome it.

The name RCYB went hand in hand with their view of what our organization should be. Instead of a mass organization, it should restrict its membership for the sake of ideological purity. Instead of uniting with the people, it should "live in controversy" by shocking people. It should increasingly abandon the struggle in favor of theoretical work. This has already come out as the RCYB has declared that the main aspect of the fight against Bakke is the ideological struggle.

But let's step back for a moment and see how the Avakian shock forces are failing. Anticipating the isolation their revolutionary therapy might cause, they have chosen to bury their organization and their name into mass organizations built around different issues.

This is not an example of political cowardice, but more of the errors the line leads to. Mass organizations that are needed to unite broad numbers of people are fine. But to build a mass organization for every little issue is in fact a mistake. The result is the communist organization sells its paper, holds educational programs, while the mass committee builds the struggle. The result is that the mass committee has trouble fully understanding the nature of the battle, and the communists are viewed as the "idea" peddlers. But most importantly it fails at the most critical moment, when students are engaged in battle to change the world, to offer them the way to do that. It fails to harness the determination of youth to contribute to society to build a bright future. This strategy fails to offer that life with a purpose and once again betrays the struggle and the cause of socialism.

For a short time the Avakianites were able to hide from most of us what their view of our organization was and were able to force the rest of us to temporarily accept it. As a result, while our 77 convention was overwhelmingly a success, it made the serious error of accepting the name RCYB.

At a recent national meeting, it was decided that in order to consolidate our past successes and move to even greater victories we needed to correct this mistake. For that reason we have decided to return to the name Revolutionary Student Brigade.

But why was the convention a success? Because our organization had emerged as a leading force in the battles of students and youth. Not any force, but a revolutionary communist force that combined good practice with open Marxist analysis on a variety of questions. Because it linked the battles on the campus with the broad questions and struggles throughout society. Finally, because it presented a frank and real view of socialism that popularized the tremendous difference it meant for the people. Leading up to the convention, important advances had been made in struggles like Kent State, the youth march on Wall Street, and African Liberation Day.

This is the proud history of the RSB. A history the Avakianites had little to do with, certainly never led, sum up negatively, and will abandon entirely in the future. It is a history the RCYB will try to pimp off of but never succeed. The picture they paint is one students have seen many times before. Its a picture of one of a number of trotskyite sects that clutter the lobbies of the student union. The campuses are plagued with enough trots sects and have no need for the RCYB.

RCYB ATTACKS CHINA

In their head-long rush to abandon the struggles of the people, the inventors of the RCYB have left no stone unturned. Discontent with simply abandoning the struggle here they have chosen to abandon socialism everywhere and in particular in the Peoples Republic of China (PRC).

Our organization has always popularized the PRC as a living example of the future of mankind. China daily proves socialism is a society worth fighting for. It shatters the lie that capitalism is the last and best social system. The

working class in China is daily proving it is capable of ruling in its own name and for its own interests.

Around the world, millions are watching China. They are watching a poor country eliminate poverty, a backward country overcome ignorance, a formerly disease ridden country provide mass quality medical care for the people. These advances are demonstrating the superiority of socialism over capitalism and are a call to imagine what life could be like under socialism in an industrial country like our own.

China has been a dividing line. A dividing line between the capitalists and the people. The capitalists and their agents try to down-play and deny the advances in China, and the people are encouraged by them and popularize them. It is around China that the RCYB once again exposes which class it serves. One of the ways socialism has been attacked is through the capitalist myth that socialism and poverty go hand in hand and that as soon as a socialist country gains wealth it becomes corrupted. The RCYB says the same about China! The rulers say socialism can never last because power corrupts and a new set of exploiters are bound to arise. The RCYB says the same about China! The rulers say socialism is an interesting experiment, but the people are bound to grow tired of it. The RCYB says the same! The rulers divide the Chinese Communist Party into two camps - those who favor revolution and ignore production, they are the revolutionaries, and those who favor production over revolution are the pragmatists, and oppose socialism. The RCYB says the same! They believe capitalism is being restored in China. This position rather than reflecting the position of the RSB since its founding has more in common with the CIA.

RCYB SUPPORTS "GANG OF FOUR"

And it has to. It is built around support not for the Chinese people, but for a small counter revolutionary clique known as the Gang of Four.

These traitors were thrust into the headlines in this country a year and a half ago when they

attempted a coup d'etat following Mao Tse-tung's death. In the sixties these forces had come forward during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. The Cultural Revolution was a mass upsurge that threw back attempts at capitalist restoration in China. But when the Gang were foiled in their chase after the top spots in the consolidation of the Cultural Revolution and were criticized by Mao and hated by the masses for the disruption aimed at trying to enthroned themselves, they continued their trotskyite leftposturing and actual right sabotage. Just like an aging star hates to see the type of movies end that had inspired their careers, the Gang hated to see the Cultural Revolution come to an end. Instead they fought for uninterrupted, turmoil, endless campaigns and non-stop cultural revolution. This went clear against what Mao believed when he said events like the Cultural Revolution could only take place two or three times a century. More importantly it went against the actual tasks confronting the Chinese people necessary to strengthen socialism. The class struggle needs to continue above all, but it required new forms and developed around new questions. This the Gang of Four never chose to understand. As a result they failed to lead the class struggle where it was actually taking place. Secondly, they made class struggle simply over ideas the only task. It was fine for them to say as they lived off and lorded it over the people. But the fact of the matter was that serious problems had arisen in advancing production and technology. These problems meant a lot for the Chinese people. It meant whether the peasants were going to receive sufficient farm equipment from the cities. It meant whether the workers would get food to eat from the countryside. It meant whether sufficient technicians would be trained to build the steel plants, auto plants, military bases and so on - what is needed to make a socialist country strong. These were more complicated and difficult tasks than the Gang had imagined. And they were not simply the mass demonstrations and hardy red banners that had first inspired the Avakiantes to dig China.

The Gang's response was to attempt to seize

power and to turn their backs on the task confronting the Chinese people. The Avakiantes have also chosen to turn their backs on the Chinese people. But as has been proven time and again if you ABANDON SOCIALISM WHERE IT EXISTS YOU WILL NEVER SUCCESSFULLY FIGHT FOR IT WHERE IT DOESN'T EXIST. This is why the RSB along with nearly half of the party's membership chose to rebel against this anti-communist line. To do otherwise would have been irresponsible. It would have rendered our organization incapable of leading struggle in this country. It would have made us incapable of popularizing socialism if we had to deny socialism where it actually exists. It would have been a betrayal of the Chinese people and a betrayal of the people in this country. It had to be done.

WHY THIS SPLIT?

But isn't this split just another example that the left can't get together? There is no denying this split is a setback. It seemed for a while that the ability of our organization to lead the student movement was advancing greatly along with the ability of the party to lead the working class movement. Hundreds deciding to abandon revolution has to be a setback. Whole areas of the country being robbed of a communist party and a revolutionary student organization is a setback. But it would have been a far greater setback for everyone to have accepted a counter-revolutionary line.

These splits reflect the times. They reflect the times in several ways. These are difficult times for the people and communists alike to fight in. The last wave of social rebellion ended with the sixties. The new wave has yet to develop. Since the sixties the people have accumulated new experience and the working class has stepped to the forefront of the peoples' struggle. But until a new wave of social rebellion develops mobilizing people is difficult.

OPPRESSION BREEDS RESISTANCE

This rebellion will develop. As we said at

the 1977 RSB convention "Oppression breeds resistance. If there is one thing we can expect from our rulers that's oppression. Today's fear of the enemy will become tomorrow's hatred. The sacrifices made today will turn into added reason to fight tomorrow. The calm of today will turn into the storms of tomorrow. Our task is to seed the clouds today, fan the breezes of discontent into gusts, the gusts into winds and to continue on to be the eye of the storm." The struggles between Marxists today revolve around how to seed these clouds and how to fan the breezes into winds. Or for that matter whether to do it at all.

These are important struggles that will determine whether there will be a communist eye to the future storm. The RSB is immersed in seeding those clouds with books and picket signs and with theory and activism. The RCYB has decided to hide from the clouds, flee from the winds and simply forecast the arrival of the storm. When the storm comes they will be locked away in their house. Why is this? Because learning how to make revolution isn't easy. There are no simple blueprints. It's a struggle to increasingly root Marxist theory in the actual terms of the class struggle. Some choose to abandon Marxism to merge with the struggle. Others, like the Avakiantes, abandon the struggle and as a result turn their Marxism into wrong and impotent theory. These types of struggles are affecting Marxists around the world. These were important struggles that laid the basis for victory in the Chinese and Russian revolutions. These are struggles that take place and develop out of more firmly applying revolutionary theory to revolutionary practice. In the process some back away like the forlorn comrades of the RCYB, while new and fresh forces come forward.

Overall, the growth and development of the revolutionary forces is by far the greater phenomenon. It has to be. Capitalist to the core, this country needs revolution.

Crisis increasingly begets the rulers of the country. Millions of workers slave in factories only to leave with empty pockets and clenched

fists. Youth just out of high school desperately searching for the key to the future in a society that chains us to the past. Dozens of nationalities who have been turned on by the capitalists in their drive for greater profit wait to eagerly turn against the rulers in full fury. Ruined shopkeepers, alienated professionals add their names to the list with reason to hate the rule of capitalism. In the midst of these social conditions a few hundred Avakianites abandoning the people seem like a grain of sand being washed off the beach.

And that is why the RSB is still convinced as we said at the 1977 convention, "We are the minority to become the majority. We are the first of many more. This young communist league will enable us to forge a whole other future for the youth to take. A life of standing with the oppressed against the oppressor. A life of serving the people today and contributing to liberate mankind entirely." ■

OPEN LETTER TO PIPSQUEAK
AVAKIAN 1/24/78



What You Couldn't Organize, You Can't Steal!

This short person's got no
reason to live

We condemn your attempts to split our organization. We condemn your attempts to hijack our organization for your own purposes. We condemn your cowardly attacks on our members and our national office.

Our membership has recently become aware that a severe crisis has shaken the Revolutionary Communist Party. We are aware that nearly half of the Party, including half the leadership, have rebelled against your decision to support the Gang of Four and to conclude that China is on the revisionist, capitalist road. We are also aware that there are substantial differences on how to apply Marxism-Leninism to the U.S. Out of these two lines and as a product of the rebellion there have emerged two headquarters in the Party (your own and the Revolutionary Workers Headquarters). This line struggle is important. It is a struggle between Marxism and opportunism and between revolution and counter revolution. Those who take the wrong position are on the road to hell. Since we are a communist youth organization that stands with the RCP, that has been developed by the RCP and acknowledges the leadership of the RCP, this struggle has great implications for our organization. We as an organization that openly applies Marxism-Leninism are capable of determining right from wrong. As an organization that has for a number of years stood with the People's Republic of China, we are capable of determining the class nature of the Chinese Party and State. In short, the political differences in the Party could have been brought into the Brigade and struggled out.

This however has not been your approach. Brigade members under your influence attempted to organize secret Brigade meetings. Individuals representing your Central Committee have come to our meetings and declared them "illegal." We had tried to resolve this struggle in a principled way. A national meeting was called in Baltimore the same weekend as the benefits demonstration. A debate was proposed between the two headquarters. Instead you went ahead and organized a scab national Brigade meeting that only a sixth of the Brigade membership attended. Most chapters and areas were excluded. It was not called by our National Political Committee and in fact was in opposition to the decisions of two thirds of our NPC and the meeting it called. You defended this scab meeting from the Brigade membership itself with a paramilitary force of thirty goons in Cincinnati. They came complete with chains, bats, blackjacks and attacked our members - particularly the National Office of the Brigade. Six foot six goons wielding baseball bats clubbed women. Our members had come armed with nothing but Marxism-Leninism. It seems it was this weapon that you feared the most. Since then you have released a pamphlet that claims the majority of the Brigade and the Brigade as an organization supports you. This is an outright lie! There is not one chapter on the East Coast that supports you. In the Midwest the majority of the chapters oppose you. The entire National Office and two thirds of the National Political Committee oppose you.

Bob Avakian - who the fuck do you think you are. You don't own our organization. Nor will you be allowed to steal it. We are the proud inheritors of the traditions of the RSB and the Youth in Actions, not the sixty who met in Cincinnati. Our organization has fought the rulers from Wall St. to Kent State. We have withstood the various political assaults of the bourgeoisie. We have fought the perversion of Marxism-Leninism by opportunists. We will certainly roll over a pipsqueak like you. ■

REVISION, Feb, 1978

Arrogant Clique Suffers Defeat

RCYB Consolidates On Correct Line

Braving severe winter blizzard conditions, nearly 100 youth and students traveled long distances to attend a crucial meeting of the recently formed Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade (RCYB) held in Cincinnati on January 21. The delegates were sent as representatives by a large majority of the RCYB's chapters from all areas of the country—from Boston and New York to California and Hawaii, and everything in between. Although it had only been two short months since the RCYB's founding convention, this Cincinnati conference was critical in determining whether the Brigade would continue under the basic principles unanimously adopted at the convention or whether they would be reversed by a small but arrogant faction. It was the unity and understanding achieved at that convention that forged the RCYB as a vital force in organizing youth to fight shoulder to shoulder alongside the working class for proletarian revolution.

But this was not achieved without struggle—not only mass struggle, but also struggle within the RCP between two sharply opposed lines. This struggle focused on the name of this youth organization, with a number of leading comrades in youth and student work, together with some others, opposing the Party's line of having the word "communist" in the name of the organization. Their opposition to the name "communist" reflected a right-wing, contemptuous view of the masses of youth, as well as the working class in general—an outlook which permeates a paper they wrote and submitted as an appeal to the Party leadership prior to the convention. (This paper, together with the reply by the leadership, has been published as a pamphlet for all to examine.)

As has now become clear, these people had been organized for some time as part of a revisionist headquarters within the RCP which engaged in factional opposition to the central leadership of the Party not

only on the question of the communist youth organization, but many other questions as well. The line put forward by this clique of careerists (which included members of the former National Office [NO] of the Revolutionary Student Brigade) would have led this newly formed youth organization down the swampy low road of reformism and revisionism—eventually to become an obstacle in the path of the workers struggle rather than a weapon in its hand in the fight against the bourgeoisie.

"Too Much Anti-Communism?"

These revisionists claimed that working class youth in particular would be "turned off" by the name "communist," and in essence (and in practice) they felt that the working class youth could not and would not grasp communism in this period. Their rationalization for this rotten stand was that "for the past 20-30 years the bourgeoisie has been beating the s--- out of socialism and communism," and there's too much anti-communism among youth and in society overall.

While paying lip-service to the concept of a communist youth organization, they put forward a totally different formulation—an "advanced mass organization." The main basis on which people would become members of this organization would be their desire to fight against the attacks coming down on youth. This denies in effect that there is a qualitative leap involved between the problems and outlook of the masses of youth and of a communist youth group. It forgets that the main reason the RCYB is involved in battles is not because of the particular problems of youth, but to help make proletarian revolution. They went so far as to say that a good chapter would have as many as 30% of its members being people who didn't consider themselves

communist or aspiring to communism!

This line was defeated within the Party prior to the RCYB founding convention, and on that basis, the RCYB was founded November 22-23 on a fundamentally sound political and ideological line. There was lively discussion describing the miserable conditions youth face under capitalism—the high unemployment, dead-end jobs with lousy wages, as well as discrimination, terrible schools and widespread drug abuse. And beyond all this, youth tend to question the injustices of society, the whole set-up and what it holds for them. In response to all this, many youth rebel and boldly fight back—and any youth organization must join and lead these growing struggles. But the delegates to the convention saw that this was not enough, because merely fighting for partial "solutions" or a few piecemeal reforms never has and never will end these conditions.

Only a total overthrow of the existing system—a revolution—can solve this, not a vague "youth revolution" or a drug-filled "youth culture" or reformism. There was sharp discussion at the convention on the question of whether being openly known as communists would "get in the way" of building mass struggle and deepening the Brigade's ties among the masses. The entire convention firmly united that while being known as communists from the start would not be as "easy," as opposed to being known only as fighters, or even "revolutionaries," that even in the short run, by practicing the mass line, the RCYB could build and lead mass struggles and move forward the overall movement far better. After lengthy discussion the November RCYB convention unanimously voted to openly proclaim the communist nature of the RCYB, determining that in all the fights it waged it would consciously aim to build them as part of the overall struggle for revolution.

As such an organization, it is dedicated to carrying out the three tasks with regard to the masses of youth as laid out by Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the RCP, in his speech at the convention:

- 1) Lead the masses of youth in struggling against the attacks and abuses they face;
- 2) Mobilize the masses of youth to fight at the side of the working class under the leadership of its Party in the overall struggle against the imperialists and for revolution;
- 3) Boldly and boldly propagate communism among the masses, and especially youth, bringing out that the only solution for youth is fighting shoulder to shoulder alongside with workers to overthrow the capitalists and to replace their decadent rule with socialism, the rule

of the working class, where the laboring millions struggle together to transform all of society and bring about communism—the final elimination of all classes and forms of class rule!

Two-Faced Opportunism

At the convention, the RCYB elected its leadership on the basis that they would implement the line and principles that had been adopted. This included a number of these factionalists—who like all opportunists say one thing openly, and do another behind your back. After the convention they stepped up their two-faced opportunism and betrayed the trust of Brigade members by continuing to uphold their defeated line and consciously undermined the principles of the RCYB. Using the RCYB's temporary national office as a headquarters, they factionalized against the correct line of the RCYB and the Party, and in early January they issued a document that essentially called for Brigade members to split away from and attack the RCP and the working class. This they did in collaboration with a group of people who were trying to wreck the RCP from within and use the RCYB as a pawn in their game.

Cincinnati Conference

It was in this context that the Cincinnati conference was held. It was called under the authority of the RCP Central Committee and leading members of the RCYB, and was a severe blow to this arrogant clique's plans. Despite the short notice, over two-thirds of the chapters were represented, including the entire RCYB in the West and South, a solid majority in the Midwest, and about one-fourth of the chapters in the East. (The RCYB in the East is relatively small, but it is a solid, daring, determined and communist RCYB!) This good turnout came despite the fact that the RCYB had been one of the strongholds of the revisionist faction in the RCP, and they had been able to gain more influence there than in the Party as a whole.

Those attending the conference unanimously denounced this small group's plans to seize control of their organization. Many of the youth and students attending the conference rose to criticize the factionalists—not just them as individuals, but their line—and gave many examples of how these swollen-headed "leaders" from the former NO had sabotaged student and youth work in the past.

They pointed out that this had not always been

the case—some of these people had in fact made contributions to the development of work among students in the past. But what had been a secondary aspect in these people—errors in line and growing tendencies reflecting bourgeois ideology—had taken a qualitative leap and consolidated into full-blown revisionist opportunism. Now these formerly leading people had degenerated. Out of this lively discussion emerged a graphic picture of the worst type of Menshevik careerism.

The leading hacks from this clique acted as if the RCYB was their little kingdom, and wanted to use the many successes achieved through the hard work of the Brigade's membership and the overall leadership of the RCP as their own "capital"—claiming credit for the "flashy" successes and spreading rumors and innuendos blaming "the stupid rank-and-file members" and "the Party leadership's left dogmatic line" for any setbacks. The traitorous "national officers," bent on building up their own individual reputations as "mass leaders," wherever they could began substituting this "flashiness" for politics, determining what actions or campaigns to take up on the basis of "How will it spin?" (meaning, will it guarantee quick and easy results?) rather than how it would help advance the cause of proletarian revolution.

A good example was the righteous struggle to stop the gym at Kent State last summer and fall. Initially the leader of this clique in the Party's youth and student work was opposed to the Brigade launching a major effort around this deeply significant and developing issue, claiming they were "too busy" building for a youth demonstration on Wall Street later that summer (this was his pet project at the time). He and others in the clique backed this up by saying that working class youth weren't interested in Kent State anyway, and that students on campus wouldn't move either—they were too young when the killings occurred to be concerned. Only after sharp struggle on the part of RCP leadership was this taken up as a campaign outside of the Brigade in Ohio (a point which these opportunists conveniently fail to remember when they claim credit for the big successes) and even then they wavered at every critical point. First they said the struggle was for "elite" campuses. Then, as they were building for the first big demonstration of the fall semester, they characterized it as "throwing a punch while backing away," exposing the fact that they never intended to build it as part of a militant and protracted fight. They had planned to end the Kent struggle after pulling off a large mass demonstration. They claimed,

"We'll never win anything more now, let's end the struggle here—any future demonstrations would have less people."

Once again the central Party leadership was forced to struggle against their line, which included much more capitulation than this, and on the basis of this struggle the militant confrontation of October 22 was organized, which saw 1500 people militantly stand up to tear gas-wielding pigs, shattering the ruling class' claims that "student unrest is dead."

Consistently they downplayed or opposed the study of the science of revolution within the Brigade, in order to keep people ignorant of the correct way to wage revolutionary struggle. They criticized members who wanted to organize study groups as "dogmatists," and accused people who read Marxism as "burying their heads in the books." A leading member of their faction liked to say, "Have faith that you know some Marxism, in your ability to analyze things," which in essence called for people to substitute bourgeois "common sense" for Marxist theory and promoted narrow empiricism (taking one's own narrow experience as general truth). When over the past year the central leadership of the RCP struggled with members of the RSB NO to develop more study in the Brigade, only a half-hearted attempt was made—for instance, an areawide study session was held in the Midwest, but it turned out to be merely a rambling lecture by one of their so-called "leader-theoreticians," with very little discussion.

Over the past year, the factional activities of these so-called leaders of the RSB took the form of sabotage of the Brigade's work. They published only a few, irregular issues of the newspaper *Fight Back*—a task the Brigade and Party had summed up as extremely important—claiming they were "too busy with other things."

The few issues of *Fight Back* that *did* emerge increasingly reflected their revisionist line. It downplayed the importance of propagating theory among the masses of students and didn't even address many of the political questions facing the students, let alone much on the broader events and questions involving the working class and the rest of society. Even in its summation of different struggles, it paid little attention to line, substituting instead pages of mere descriptions of "what happened." In short, it was as politically "meaty" as pabulum—it was not a communist newspaper, and it couldn't aid the (then) RSB membership in being "tribunes of the people" and doing ideological work among the masses of students.

One chapter revealed it had even sent in a finished draft of a much-needed pamphlet (on the Bakke case) accompanied by all the necessary money for its publication, but nothing was done! (No one knows where they squandered this money.) On the other hand, this "National Office" was never "too busy" to travel from chapter to chapter acting as honchos. Claiming that a number of RSB chapters in the Midwest were "incapable of doing good work" without their "direct leadership," they parcelled out these chapters to various members of the NO, almost as if they were their personal property, and effectively tried to stifle the initiative of the membership.

They didn't want an organization fighting for working class revolution—what they really wanted was an organization they could control from the top while the rank and file membership just blindly carried out their orders. In many ways, they acted just like some of the union hacks that control workers' unions—self-serving and arrogant, ready to crush all members who opposed their dictates. One delegate from the Northwest at the Cincinnati conference recounted how, when she opposed a particularly raunchy line emanating from the NO, she was told, "We can make revolution without your area of the country—in fact, why don't you move to some place that's important, like Chicago or New York!" They told the Hawaii chapters of the Brigade (which had raised the money for the trip), "You won't get the speaking tour [to build for the founding convention] because you're not bringing enough people." But they, unlike the NO, *were* building the RCYB!

Contemptuous Toward Youth

Concerning work among youth, this faction exhibited the worst form of opportunist behavior, picturing themselves as "condescending saviors." They felt that working class youth couldn't understand Marxism. Reflecting the same view toward the oppressed nationalities, they acted as though the reason to take up campaigns around national oppression was because "that would bring Black people around." With this view they carried out the line that the best way to organize youth was through a few flashy demonstrations, plus "getting down" and partying, while hiding the politics of the organization. One Brigade member brought this out sharply by pointing to an example where one of these so-called "mass leaders" had brought a number of youth to a conference to build towards

the RCYB convention without explaining to them that it was communist. Needless to say, these youth felt tricked—in much the same way the bourgeoisie has always slandered communists as "duping people"—and left the conference enraged!

Under the guise of "getting down" and "immersing themselves in the life of the masses," they pushed liberalism and refused to struggle against some of the backward tendencies that are inevitably found among youth growing up in bourgeois society. Male chauvinism was tacitly condoned, with women who brought up criticisms of this behavior being slandered as "feminists." Some of these degenerates even encouraged dope smoking and promiscuity as ways to "get down"—making a mockery of the concept of proletarian morality and revealing even more graphically the low view they held of the masses of youth. This view came out as well in their line that calling the youth organization "communist" might be "o.k." among students, but would be ruinous among working class youth.

This same view came out once again in the content and character of the *Young Red* newspaper which was aimed at working class youth which also appeared about as regularly as the Do Do bird. If *Fight Back* was pabulum, the *Young Red* was watery pabulum plus boogie. Even their view that there must be two newspapers (if newspapers are really necessary at all)—one for students and a separate one for working class youth—is revealing of their line. While some separate forms of agitation must be developed, their line reflected their negation of the *communist* bond that provides the only revolutionary basis for uniting students and working class youth in one organization with one purpose.

Situation Excellent

Even though some of these degenerate anti-Party elements held leading positions in the RSB and RCYB, their rotten line and behavior did not characterize the overall work of the organization. Great advances have been made in work among students and youth, due to the correct line of the RCP which—in spite of the interference from these opportunist "leaders"—has been implemented and deepened by the dedicated revolutionaries in the neighborhoods and on the campuses. The January Cincinnati conference was an inspiring testimonial to this fact, and was a severe blow to the clique's puffed-up plans. Not only did it represent the large majority of the RCYB's membership, but it clearly released the initiative and strengthened the determina-

tion of RCYB members to carry out the revolutionary line and tasks they had united around at the founding convention.

The conference unanimously denounced the attempts to seize control of their organization, and reaffirmed the principle of leadership of the working class and its Party, the RCP. Even though a number of RCYB members (a clear minority) had been swayed by the degenerate hacks, the conference recognized that uncovering and removing the reactionary leadership actually strengthened their organization and signified a big victory. For it was like cutting out a cancerous tumor—removing the sickness strengthens the patient. And this experience helps educate members about what certain people who claim to be revolutionaries "go bad," thinking this to the question of class outlook and class struggle in society as a whole. All told, the situation in the RCYB is truly excellent, and the basis is laid for even further advances in organizing among students and youth.

In the weeks to come, the RCYB plans to develop a Communist Consolidation Campaign to thoroughly study and discuss the questions raised in the struggle with these opportunists, in order to better understand why things like this inevitably occur, how to analyze it and grow stronger in the struggle against it. The RCYB will also study how the struggle between correct and incorrect ideas (and the people who hold them) is an integral part of the struggle for revolution—in fact it's the way that real understanding develops, and that's a good thing. They will study more systematically and deeply the revolutionary science of **Marxist-Leninist Mass Line** thought in order to oppose the revisionist pushed by the clique and in this way the RCYB will become better able to grasp and apply Marxism and to recognize and defeat all forms of opportunism.

Work Ahead

At the close of the one-day Cincinnati conference, the RCYB members briefly mapped out guidelines for the organization's work during the coming months. This includes plans to fight the Bakke decision against affirmative action programs and building nationwide support among youth for the peoples of southern Africa struggling for liberation from imperialism and racist rule. Another emphasis will be building support for the current coal miners' struggle. Local chapters will investigate conditions facing youth in their areas, stressing the application of the mass line and building

struggle around such issues as jobs for youth and police repression. In addition, beginning plans were made for the RCYB's second national convention to be held later in the spring. The convention's purpose will be to repudiate the revisionist garbage pushed by the former misleaders in the Brigade, and to grasp more firmly the correct line on the class struggle in the U.S., the role of the RCYB in that struggle, and other questions. It will build off the fundamentally solid strengths of the first RCYB convention.

In contrast to the revolutionary achievements of the Cincinnati meeting, the Menshevik former Brigaders continue to sink further into the swamp. At a meeting held later, they decided to drop the name "communist" from their organization, dub it the Revolutionary Student Brigade (our emphasis), and de-emphasize the crucial work among working class youth. In a pitiful maneuver, their meeting also decided—based on predictably little study—to take a position on a decisive question for which they had blasted the RCP for an "undemocratic" "rush to judgment." The reason they took this position now? According to leading speakers, they had a pressing necessity for "tactical reasons"—they needed a position to combat the RCP's. And after all, if they were wrong "they could always change the position later!"

CP(ML) Jumps to Defense

Although defeated and exposed in their attempts to seize control of the RCYB, it cannot in all honesty be said that the small clique of former RCP members have had no success with their opportunist line they tried to peddle among youth and students. Not surprisingly, they have attracted the attention and admiration of an equally slimy group of opportunists, the so-called "Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist)." In the February 6 issue of their slander sheet, *The Call*, they show how willing they are to slither and crawl, and twist their already ragged line in order to encourage and accommodate others of their own opportunist ilk. For instance, they do everything but come right out and endorse the clique's opposition to the name "communist" for the Party's youth group—even though they have named their own rump youth group the "Communist Youth Organization." (Of course their chairman Mike Klonsky has always shown his willingness to bend his "principles" when the question of a few more dues-paying warm bodies are at stake.) But more serious and exposing is the overall utility on line concerning the question of youth (and other

things) between the self-styled former RCYB careerists and the CP(ML). For instance, they both "reverse correct verdicts" on the gains of the mass student struggles of the '60s. *The Call*, reprinting a page from Klonsky's social pacifism in SDS days, criticizes the observation made in the RCP's recently published youth polemic on the formation of the RCYB that advanced ideas and actions, like carrying NLF and red flags in the anti-war marches, had a positive "shock" effect—and in much the same way, so would open use of the name "communist." In fact, experience has shown that this "shock" sometimes angered some people, but also spurred many others—especially youth who were already questioning what the hell was going on—to check out further why someone was willing to risk heckling and opposition for such a controversial question.

Of course, this is not (and was not portrayed as) the main way to bring out communism among the masses of youth—but the opportunists' stand on this question clearly betrays their right-wing essence. Bringing communism and working class ideology to the masses is a concrete task of the RCYB, not a "frill" to be added in "stages" or just "drawn out of their experiences" in struggle. Putting it in a name alone, and negating the propagation of the ideology of communism in fact, is not enough (as can be seen by the CP(ML)'s example).

Idealist Notion?

The *Call* article, in a similar rightist vein, goes on to attack as an "idealist notion" the line in the RCP *Programme* that while youth face many problems, "the most basic problem the masses of young people face is the fact that imperialism is unable to offer them a life with a purpose." (p. 157) This attack is in fundamental unity with the outlook of the former NO clique. Particular attacks must of course be fought, but underlying all this is the basic fact that imperialism can offer youth no purpose. All it can offer is a lifetime of exploitation and oppression because of its very nature. This is perceived by youth to a certain degree, but it is a truth that must be brought home to them and raised to a rational level in their understanding.

In the *Call*'s Menshevik search for something palpable and concrete, these rightists narrow down and underplay the great potential for the proletariat to rally and guide youth's "enthusiasm, its innovativeness, its daring and its determination to change the world" (*Programme*,

p. 158) for the revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist system by proletarian revolution. Such a line can in no way grasp why and how Mao Tse-tung could have stated in "Orientation of the Youth Movement" that in a way youth play a vanguard role in the revolutionary struggle—a struggle whose main force and leadership in this country is the working class.

One other way the CP(ML) tries to struggle up to the defeated faction is by worshipping bourgeois democracy to defeat democratic centralism. They quote the RCP document which says that the line put forward there is not for "free debate" as evidence that dictatorship exists within the RCP. This is ironic, because in fact this question had been discussed and debated among comrades doing youth work for many months—the "Appeal" that was written was part of that process, and the RCP document was the summation of the line, as deepened through that process, which was soon to be implemented at the convention. It was precisely because some of the opportunist clique's factional machinations during this period had been uncovered that it was necessary for this document to clearly spell out that comrades must firmly unite to carry out the line, which is merely a restatement of a Leninist principle of democratic centralism.

The working class and its vanguard Party, the RCP, see the gains of the recent Cincinnati conference as a real victory—not only for the youth in the RCYB, but for our class as a whole. Defeating the attempt at an opportunist coup within the Brigade, deepening the criticism of the clique's revisionist line, and grasping and further developing the correct line of the RCP will ensure that the RCYB will continue on the revolutionary path charted at its founding convention.

This is the type of organization that can really serve the interests of our class, the type of organization that sons and daughters of the working class and other youth dedicated to fighting for its revolutionary cause in the neighborhoods and campuses can join with pride. Not only will it fight for better conditions for young people, more than that it will provide a real alternative to the decadence and dog-eat-dog system and outlook the ruling class tries to train and coerce youth, along with the masses of people, to accept as "the only way"—and the "natural order of things." The Revolutionary Communist Party has complete confidence that the RCYB will continue to be the place where youth will truly find a life with a purpose, in helping to accomplish the historic task of the working class—making proletarian revolution, and freeing all of mankind. ■