

# Chinese Revisionists Rehab Mao's Greatest Foe Rotting Corpse From Capitalist Boneyard

The Chinese revisionists dropped a bombshell after the recent 5th Plenary of the 11th Party Central Committee. On February 29 the official communique announced the rehabilitation of "Comrade Liu Shao-chi," calling him a "great Marxist-Leninist, and proletarian revolutionary"! This same Liu, the mortal enemy of Mao, was correctly denounced as "renegade, hidden traitor and scab" and "China's Khrushchev," and thrown out of his presidency by millions led by Mao in the Cultural Revolution. The revisionists now call all this "the greatest mistake of our Party's history," and all those who went down fighting for his counter-revolutionary line will also be restored to revisionist-style honor. By direct clear implication all those who fought against Liu, including Mao, are traitors.

You can almost see the revisionist chieftain Teng Hsiao-ping's tongue sticking right through his cheek as the communique cynically states that these decisions show "the Party's determination to restore Mao Tsetung Thought's true nature." This declaration to "restore Mao Tsetung Thought's true nature" can only rival Liu and Teng's efforts in 1966 at the 8th Party Congress when they completely *took out* Mao Tsetung Thought as the Party's theoretical guide. One Hong Kong journal with close ties to the Chinese government even charged that Liu got purged because—get this—he was the true upholder of Mao Tsetung Thought and Mao himself violated Mao Tsetung Thought!

Mao and Liu were mortal enemies, but far from some sort of personal rivalry as the bourgeois press maintains, the struggle between them concentrated the life and death struggles of society between the working class and the bourgeoisie, between the socialist road and the capitalist road. Their differences over every major question in society was like night and day.

Because it is one more step in the process of capitalist restoration that has been going on in China since the coup in 1976, Liu's rehabilitation was in fact very predictable. While two and a half years ago, the freshly-installed revisionists were still publicly calling Liu a "revisionist", the RCP even at that time predicted his restoration by using Marxism to dissect the ideological and political line of the revisionist rulers. And, as Mao put it, "the rise to power

or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything."

For Teng and company, rehabilitating their hero Liu is being dictated by urgent political necessities, both domestic and international. (Of course they'd prefer to have done it sooner if not for the risk of widespread resistance). Consolidating a capitalist China over the past three years required a clearing away of the "ideological confusion"—that is the revolutionary communist line—left by Mao and the Cultural Revolution and now openly replacing it with Liu Shao-chi thought and program. In particular they're unleashing their backers among the strata of technocrats, experts and officials to lord it over the masses. Teng and company feel there's little time to

tion under the dictatorship of the proletariat and eliminate inequalities—Mao saw this as a major struggle. But for capitalist readers like Liu whose outlook was made famous by Teng's favorite saying, "It doesn't matter if it's a black cat or white cat, so long as it catches mice"—capitalism is fine! In 1949, right after the victorious liberation of China, Liu put it bluntly in a talk with some Tientsin capitalists, "exploitation by capitalists today is not only not criminal, it has merit. Today it is not the case that there is too much exploitation, but there is too little. The suffering of the workers and peasants lies in the fact that there is nobody exploiting them. Your ability to exploit is of great use to the state and the people."

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**Mao:** "It's right to rebel against reactionaries."

waste.

## Carrying Out Liu's Line Without Liu

Since the '76 coup, Teng and company's "four modernizations" is clearly nothing more than a xerox of Liu's theory of productive forces which was attacked as revisionist by millions led by Mao in the Cultural Revolution. At the 1956 Eighth Party Congress, Liu in his political report had declared that the principle contradiction in China was "between the productive forces which are backward and the advanced socialist system." All China had to do was produce; forget about socialist revolution!

Together with this was Liu's preaching of the dying out of class struggle. Liu said, "The question of whether socialism or capitalism will win out in our country has already been resolved." Liu's line concentrated a revisionist programme for restoring capitalism in China. It was an open attack on Mao who stressed that "the question of who will win out, socialism or capitalism is not really settled."

Mao said, "Liu Shao-chi advocated the theory of the dying out of class struggle, but he himself never ceased to

## Cloning the Party in Liu's Image

To restore the "merit" of capitalism, Teng and Co. must transform the Party's soul from communism to the "soul of capital." In fact the revisionists' idea of what their Party members should be was nakedly laid out by Teng in an October 4, 1979 interview published in the January 1980 issue of *Wide Angle*, a pro-revisionist mouthpiece in Hong Kong. "Recently, I held a talk with people from [Japan's] Sony Corporation. They say, of their corporation's 30,000 people, a big percentage inside the country are managers, technicians... up to 70%. We can say, they are specialist cadres. *What we lack are precisely these kind of cadre.* There are too few technicians, managers, and too many do-nothings." Teng emphasized in a January speech that "red must mean expert" and the Party must replace cadre who are "political" with experts. The communist party, in Teng's bourgeois view, is nothing but a giant Sony Corporation!

And like a good corporation—Teng is instituting another bourgeois necessity: Everybody, especially the "uppity" workers, must obey the orders of those above him. In line with this, the recent Central Committee meeting took some

stability," cries the recent Central Committee Communique. Liu put it more bluntly once: "Criticism of inferiors by superiors is alright but the other way around things become chaotic." (Page 96 of *Wind in the Tower* written by Han Suyin, a current defender of the Chinese revisionists.) In contrast, Mao insisted, "going against the tide is a Marxist principle."

It's not surprising that, along with Liu, the revisionists are bringing back his infamous book *How to Be a Good Communist*. In 1962 shortly before the Cultural Revolution, 60 million copies were republished and widely distributed as compulsory reading for cadres, compared to only 14 million copies of Mao's four-volume *Selected Works* (Han Suyin, page 187). In Liu's book, he calls for "absolute and unconditional" obedience to the Party like a company manual. The entire text says nothing about the dictatorship of the proletariat or the battle raging against Soviet revisionism. But it did contain veiled attacks on the "impetuosity" and "destructiveness" of some comrades—"the one who considers himself a Marx or a Lenin... who demands veneration... who has not really been selected but considers himself a leader." Liu's "good communist" is nothing but a bureaucrat who deserves special privileges. He stressed, "It is

necessary to secure for members the indispensable conditions of material life, of work and of instruction, that allows them to perform their duties with tranquility." What a difference from Mao's idea of a communist's duty—"It's right to rebel against reactionaries!"

The rehabilitation of Liu indicates the fierce infighting among the Chinese bourgeoisie. The law of the jungle dictates that there will be some internal "bloodletting" as the blasts against Mao take cross-fire casualties. The recent meeting purged four Politburo members, Wang Tung-hsing, Chen Hsilien, Wu Teh and Chi Teng-kuei. Far from being "pro-Maoist" as the bourgeois press widely reports, these four were part of the treacherous backstabbers who helped launch the vicious '76 coup after Mao's death. Wang and Chen in particular were strategic commanders of military forces in Peking who were key in overthrowing working class rule. There were no doubt others who went along at that time, at that critical juncture, just to save their own ass. These were part of the "whatever" faction—accused by the Teng forces (who were the main targets in the Cultural Revolution) as following "whatever Mao said." Their accusation, of course, was absurd. Rather these people had ridden on the back of the Cultural Revolution, and many even at a time supported it to get some of the spoils as many of the Liu-Teng forces got kicked out. Now their past connections with the Cultural Revolution and Mao have become more like the kiss of death than a meal ticket. The fortunes of Chairman Hua Kuo-feng are definitely taking a dive. With his base being knocked away by Teng, Hua is surviving by pretending to go along. It is perhaps fitting that these backstabbing traitors are backstabbed themselves.

This purge points to an overall problem Teng and Co. still must deal with. The legacy of Mao and Cultural Revolution remains a headache. It is not enough that over 1/4 of the Central Committee was purged after the coup and tens of thousands jailed or killed. Over 17 million of the Party's 37 million members were recruited during the Cultural Revolution. In the last month a stream of *People's Daily* articles have been harping on "Party disunity." Teng, in his January 16 speech admitted, "right now, it is still not consolidated, and there are still unstable elements in various aspects... the ideological and organizational remnants of the gang of four still ex-

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**Liu:** "The question of whether socialism or capitalism will win out in our country has already been resolved."

**Mao:** "The bourgeoisie... is right in the Communist Party—those in power taking the capitalist road."

of revisionism means the rise to power of the bourgeoisie"—and this definitely meant Liu.

Various revisionist apologists in this country, including the CPML and the Menshevik "Revolutionary Workers Headquarters" (who split with the RCP over this assessment of China), all labeled predictions like this "outrageous" and "slandering"—"no it can't be true, 'gang of four idealism'!" They faithfully spewed out all the lies, low-life slander and horror stories coming from Peking, insisting that they were the "genuine revolutionaries" fighting revisionism—including the revisionism of Liu! Now, since they have already swallowed the revisionist poison, this reversal will not even bring a peep of protest from them. The whole affair is a great example of the truth stressed by Mao that "the correctness

wage class struggle. He wanted to protect his bunch of renegades and sworn followers... Did class struggle die out?" (Teng, holding the important post of Party General Secretary at the time, was then the "number 2 capitalist roader" in China and he couldn't have agreed with Liu's line more.)

In 1962 Mao pointed out, "Socialist society covers a considerably long historical period. In the historical period of socialism, there are still classes and class contradictions and class struggle; there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, and there is a danger of capitalist restoration." Mao was summing up the bitter lessons of the Soviet reversal. How to prevent a new bourgeoisie from turning China back to capitalism, how to continue the revolu-

more measures.

During the last three years, the revisionists made a big deal out of their "Democracy Wall" and the "undemocratic gang of four"—Mao's followers—and how they stifled the "free expression of ideas." But it's clear just what class—the bourgeoisie—is supposed to get democracy and what class—the proletariat—is supposed to get dictated to. At the recent meeting, in the interests of their greater democracy, they eliminated the famous "four freedoms" (speak out freely, air views fully, write big character posters and hold big debates) to which Mao attached great importance and for which the masses of Chinese people fought. As a result of the Cultural Revolution, they were written into the 1973 Tenth Party Congress as well as the country's Constitution. "It creates too much in-

# Rotting Corpse

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ist... there are still people who hold an antagonistic attitude toward our present ideological, political, and organizational line." Rehabilitating Liu was obviously a clear signal to any opposition that Teng was in charge, but especially as the Chinese rulers run into trouble in delivering the dazzling economic promises, the legacy of Mao will haunt them even more.

## Capitulation

Liu's comeback represents a certain consolidation and leap for the Chinese revisionists in their capitalist transformation of China. No longer do they need to hide the fact that they are successors to Liu's revisionist line. And as Mao pointed out "whoever practices revisionism practices capitulationism." These bourgeois democrats want to build a powerful country under their control. But because they cannot rely on the revolutionary activism of the masses—for it would sweep them away as well—they are overwhelmed by China's economic backwardness and the apparent strength of imperialism. They see the only hope for themselves as caving in to one or the other big imperialist powers. Thus we see Teng and Co. today bending over for the U.S. imperialists in hopes of economic and military aid, but always with a watchful eye towards the Soviets.

Praying to the imperialist gods for the safety of his little revisionist ass, Teng said on January 16 that, "The 80's is a decade of danger. The start of the 80's was not very good—there was the Afghanistan incident on top of the Iran problem, not to mention the earlier Vietnamese and Middle East problems. There will be a lot more problems later." There is none of Mao's vision of self-reliance and proletarian internationalism, none of the revolutionary optimism of looking into the disorder and turmoil for the opportunity of revolution. Instead, these narrow bourgeois democrats see only a weak, backward China and one or the other superpowers who must be relied on and capitulated to.

Once again it's clear why the present rulers must call Liu a "great Marxist," for he was a supreme capitulationist. Even in 1946 right after the victory over Japan and on the eve of nationwide communist victory, Liu stated: "Americans will inevitably seek a compradore in China. We can serve as a compradore for them—a red compradore!" (China's *People's Daily*, July 6, 1967). Later when Khrushchev was in power in the Soviet Union, Liu preached the "Three Reconciliations and One Reduction" which basically called for following Soviet revisionism in reconciliation with U.S. imperialism, and with Western countries as a whole, and reduction of aid for revolution and national liberation.

But it was becoming increasingly clear that Liu, a pro-Soviet element, was setting China up for capitulation to the Russian revisionist rulers. Liu praised the CPSU's Twentieth Party Congress in 1956 where Khrushchev laid out his revisionist line, calling it "A great political event of worldwide significance... it put forward the stand of further promoting peaceful co-existence and international cooperation, made outstanding contributions to relaxing world tensions." In a scarcely veiled attack on Mao, Liu and Teng echoed Khrushchev's denunciations of the "personality cult of Stalin." Mao counter-attacked, "The complete negation of Stalin on the pretext of combating the personality cult and the thesis of peaceful transition to socialism by the parliamentary road... are gross errors of principle."

In 1961 shortly before China led by Mao began open polemics against the Soviet revisionists, Liu said, "We should study the experience of the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries in the building of socialism." It's no wonder Liu's rehabilitation raises the question: is China moving one step closer to reconciliation with the Soviet Union? That this is not an abstract question but a real possibility is shown by Teng's remark in his January 16

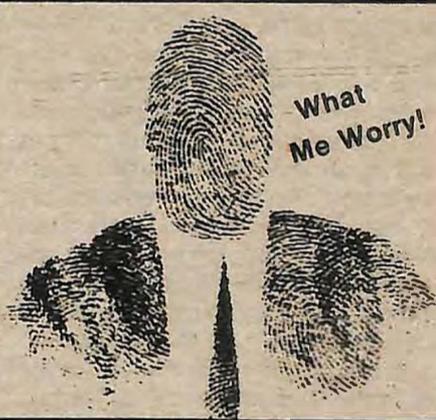
speech: "The Soviet Union has been building socialism for 63 years since the 1917 October Revolution"!! So, there was no revisionist takeover by Khrushchev's clique and the Soviet Union is still a socialist country with a wrong policy of expansionism! (Of course, it would be absurd for Teng and company to continue to criticize Soviet revisionism out of *principle* when they themselves are following right in their footsteps.) The struggle between the Soviet Union and China now is not over any Marxist principles but a dispute between an imperialist and a national bourgeoisie, like the mafia don and his intended, a dispute which may get hot but which they can come to terms on, given the right bargaining conditions.

The rehabilitation of Liu can only help rip away any remaining illusions about the real nature of the present revisionist rulers in China. But as these new capitalist rulers are forced to face a situation where the two superpowers are fiercely contending and preparing for an actual showdown, China's revisionists are panicking over the sand castles they are building. Mao very sarcastically and poetically exposed those like Liu and Teng in his poem, "Two Birds: A Dialogue" written in 1965 against Liu and released in 1976 against Teng:

The roc wings fanwise,  
Soaring ninety thousand li  
And rousing a raging cyclone.  
The blue sky on his back, he  
looks down  
To survey Man's world with its  
towns and cities.  
Gunfire licks the heavens,  
Shells pit the earth.  
A sparrow in his bush is scared stiff.  
"This is one hell of a mess!  
O I want to flit and fly away."

"Where, may I ask?"  
The sparrow replies,  
"To a jewelled palace in elfland's  
hills.  
Don't you know a triple pact was  
signed  
Under the bright autumn moon two  
years ago?  
There'll be plenty to eat,  
Potatoes piping hot,  
Beef-filled goulash."  
"Stop your windy nonsense!  
Look, the world is being turned  
upside down."

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