

# on the Cultural Revolution

## Line of March — Mouthpiece of Soviet Revisionism

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*"The Historical Necessity of the Cultural Revolution" which appeared in the last issue of WV was excerpted and edited from a comprehensive sumup of the history of the Chinese Communist Party written by Cynthia Lai. It will be published in The 80's — the theoretical journal of the Communist Workers Party. This article is Part Two of that excerpt and deals specifically with the Line of March's opportunist line on this question. —ed.*

The one-sided reversal of the Cultural Revolution and Mao's contribution by the present leadership of the Communist Party of China (CPC) has given revisionists around the world a new lease on life. Dancing in glee at this event is the Line of March (LM) who has gone even further by trying to polarize the U.S. communist movement into Maoism and anti-Maoism. In doing this, LM has not only become the mouthpiece of the Soviet revisionists; they also reveal their utmost ignorance of the Chinese reality, as well as their chauvinist contempt towards third world countries' struggles to build a better society.

Proceeding from the fact that the present CPC leadership lumped the trial of the "Gang of Four" with Lin Piao's associates, LM concludes that there was a line difference between Mao and the Deng group, meaning Liu Shaoqi's faction. ("The Trial of the Gang of Four and the Crisis of Maoism"—May-June issue, 1981) Asserting that the trial was carried out in such a manner mainly to avoid a question of Mao's line which Deng continued to carry out, LM said that the historic struggle between Mao and Liu Shaoqi and others "was not a struggle between a revolutionary proletariat line and counterrevolutionary bourgeois line. . . . Rather, it was a struggle in the context of steady degeneration of an opportunist line, one characterized by a fierce battle between voluntarism on the one hand and pragmatism on the other." This line, according to the Line of March, is the "nationalist policy of attempting to develop China at the expense of the world revolution and in collaboration with imperialism."

With this idealist conception, they portray the history of the CPC since 1956 as merely a history of power struggles, factional fights and concessions and counterconcessions from the two factions. And since the LM's conclusion is so at odds with reality, they have to resort to the opportunist and idealist method of consciously ignoring any of the concrete content of this "factional fight" in their analysis of the Cultural Revolution (CR). By ignoring all facts, they conclude that the Cultural Revolution was incorrect because it was based on Mao's incorrect theoretical assumption that capitalism could be restored easily, that the Cultural Revolution was an ideological and political campaign aimed at the capitalist roaders to prevent the restoration of capitalism. Since there is no such thing as capitalist roaders, the LM argues, the Cultural Revolution unfolded on that basis was unnecessary, and the method antagonistic. To people in LM, class struggle, especially one on the scale of the Cultural Revolution, was merely an experiment to prove the correctness of one theoretical assumption or another, rather than a concrete result of real issues regardless of what was the line guiding it.

To idealists like the LM, unless workers have a correct line of the theory of capitalism, the correct line on strategy and tactics, the main enemy or secondary enemy, and so on, their struggle against their immediate boss has to be wrong because the action is not based on a correct line. This is turning reality upside down. Though LM's assertion that it is not that easy to restore capitalism in socialist societies is correct in general, they are wrong in their conclusion that there are no capitalist roaders in China. Reality refutes them. By stretching their argument to its limit, LM's method of analysis becomes metaphysical, idealist and opportunist.

Furthermore, even the theoretical basis (incorrectness of Mao's capitalist restoration thesis) LM uses to support their reversal of the Cultural Revolution is full of holes. First of all, at the time of the Cultural Revolution, the restoration thesis was still not that developed. The arguments used in the ninth polemic on Khrushchev's Phoney Communism were mainly common sense arguments with little theoretical justification. The two quotes LM uses to substantiate their claim that Mao was wrong were not even from Mao's writings, and they appeared years after the Cultural Revolution had already subsided, in 1973 and 1978 respectively. Using a later, incorrect line to prove that a previous action was incorrect doesn't even pass as bourgeois logic. It is rationalism through and through. To draw an analogy, it is tantamount to calling someone who lied once in his old age a liar all his life. This rationalist methodology bypasses the process of development of things.

However, LM's gravest mistake and the biggest flaw in their argument lies in not seeing that the Cultural Revolution was a concrete struggle unfolding around a set of concrete circumstances, as the existence of the two-line struggle between Mao and Liu on almost every question testifies to. It was not a game to prove the correctness or incorrectness of a particular view. The Cultural Revolution was a struggle unleashed to resolve real problems in China. To ignore these circumstances and get hung up on one or two ideas that might be incorrect in order to prove a point only shows the depth of LM's idealism. Thus with the stroke of a pen, LM not only reduces the struggle between Mao and Liu as nothing but factional fights, they also write off the struggle between

by quoting Lenin's teachings on the three sources for the danger of capitalist restoration: the old bourgeoisie, petty commodity producers and international capital. But, LM fails to mention under what kind of leadership and lines will these three social sources prosper. These three sources for the restoration of capitalism gain life only when revisionist lines dominate the party and society. If the Polish Workers Party (PWP) had taken up head-on the task of consolidating and mobilizing the peasants to collectivize agriculture, one major source of capitalist restoration would have been cut or tremendously weakened. If the PWP's lines were correct, Poland would not be so indebted to western imperialists, thus increasing the danger of western penetration and domination.

As a logical conclusion of LM's line on revisionism to prevent the restoration of capitalism, the masses under socialism should focus on the old bourgeoisie (which is insignificant since they no longer own the means of production), the imperialists (which are not directly present in most socialist countries) or the peasants (the most likely and immediate target since they are visible and the most numerous) as their target of attack. What would be the consequences if LM's line were put into practice? Politically, it would disintegrate the worker-peasant alliance, which is the social basis for the dictatorship of the proletariat in most socialist countries. Secondly, it puts the blame where it doesn't belong, and totally liquidates the role and responsibility of the party leadership in correctly tackling problems with a set of correct lines and policies that correspond to the concrete conditions of their countries. In addition LM's position denies the absolute need to cleanse the party's ranks when leaders fail to work in the long-term interest of the masses.

There is nothing original about LM's charge that the Cultural Revolution was a voluntarist attempt aiming at the wrong target. The Soviet revisionists made that accusation a long time ago. They said, "The 'great proletarian cultural revolution' in China was in no sense directed against the national bourgeoisie and the remnants of the other exploiting classes. None of those who have been 'exposed' as being opponents of the 'thought of Mao Tse-tung' were capitalists or received unearned incomes." (A Critique of Mao Tse-tung's Theoretical Conception, 1972, Progress Publishers, Printed in USSR). If Moscow is where they get their line from, then LM should at least have the courtesy, if not the guts, to say so, and not take the credit for themselves.

LM's view on how to prevent capitalist restoration is a concentrated expression of mechanical materialism. While pretending to disagree with the revisionist view that "the development of the productive forces will automatically lead towards communism in an economically determined fashion," LM actually champions that line themselves. Here's what they say about inequality under socialism:

Today, there is no international event of any importance to which the Chinese leaders have not openly taken a Great-Han chauvinistic approach. Take the unity of the countries within the socialist community in the fight against imperialism, the international communist movement, the national liberation struggle, Afro-Asian solidarity, the movement of the peoples for peace, etc.—to each of these the Chinese leaders have not taken a class, internationalist approach, but a narrowly nationalistic, Sinocentric approach, in the light of their chauvinistic and hegemonistic interests.

This abandonment of proletarian internationalism theoretically and practically rested ultimately on a strong anti-Soviet Chinese nationalism, a deviation principally centered, we believe, with Mao himself. The entire thrust of the Cultural Revolution's international line was to advance the interests of China in opposition to the Soviet Union. If this

**There is no difference in substance between these reprint statements, one from the Line of March article (left) and the other from a Soviet publication (right), A Critique of Mao Tse-tung's Theoretical Conceptions. The LM is merely parroting the line of the latter.**

the CPC and Khrushchev as unfounded. And by attributing all the success of Chinese economic construction and the first eight polemics to Liu Shaoqi, LM has not only distorted history, but actually bent over backwards to give the revisionists a good image.

As a result of their capitulation to revisionism, even though they said "revisionists leave the door open to capitalists to penetrate and threaten socialism," LM opposes the very movement, the Cultural Revolution, that attempted to deal with revisionism and its concrete representatives. In essence, LM doesn't believe in the danger of revisionism. This is why they accused the Polish workers struggle against the Polish Workers Party as "false consciousness."

LM justifies their sympathy towards revisionism

"Social relations between town and country, administrative and executive, manual and mental work, hierarchy of the job, etc., are secondary relations of production, framed of course by the underlying property (class relations), but stemming more directly from social division of labor, which is determined by the prevailing level of productive force." According to LM, since under socialism there is public ownership of the means of production (and therefore no classes), differences in society are only a question of division of labor, and everybody should be content with their social status and inequalities that exist. According to LM, all prejudices, unequal distribution allocated to people in different divisions of labor will automatically vanish as soon as the productive forces develop enough (perhaps because there will be

no division of labor then?).

With this invention, LM totally rejects Engels' teaching that socialism is a transitional society built on the basis of the old, and is inevitably stamped with remnants of capitalism in all spheres of life, including the production area. While we recognize and uphold the necessity for unequal distribution and the inevitability of social differences under socialism, it isn't only a question of division of labor, which, by the way, Liu Shaoqi saw it as. To resolve this problem, we not only have to step up the development of the productive forces. It must be combined with ideological and political campaigns to raise people's socialist consciousness to resolve these differences. This combination of economical/practical, theoretical and political measures is what Engels called "concentric attack" under socialism.

Instead, LM's line justifies stratification between

Cultural Revolution and confuse the situation. By branding the millions of Red Guards as all reactionary, LM reveals their deep disdain towards the masses' participation in this earthshaking event. However, this isn't LM's main example of how "undemocratic" the Cultural Revolution was.

They cite the abandonment of parliamentary procedure, ignoring majority vote as other examples of no democracy. This did happen, and we would be surprised if they hadn't. One of the big objectives of the Cultural Revolution was to get rid of obsolete forms and organizations as well as rules and structures that legitimized stratification in society. Even if this was not the goal, one cannot expect orderly parliamentary procedure to function business-as-usual during war time, a case of great social upheaval as the Cultural Revolution was. This is how much LM is infatuated with "legitimate" channels of for-

however, held that democracy be extended by rebelling against the party." While we agree with LM on the essential need for raising the consciousness of the masses and the essential role of the party in this respect, we want to pose this question: What if the party itself has so degenerated that it can't even raise its own consciousness anymore, what are the masses supposed to do as far as democracy is concerned? It doesn't take too much effort to think of parties like that — the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Polish Workers Party are good examples. Do the workers in these situations have the right to rebel against the leadership to force changes, or should they just sit and wait for the leaders' eventual transformation at some future time?

By talking about some idealist principles about what the party should be, LM liquidates the need for a concrete analysis of concrete conditions, that is, what was the state of affairs in the CPC prior to the Cultural Revolution? The situation was that the revisionists in the party refused to raise the ideological and political consciousness of the masses, and took the revolutionary soul out of the party, thus rendering the party impotent. Therefore, it was totally legitimate for the Chinese masses to rebel against these "leaders" and to remove these obstacles to future progress so that the party could once again assume its leading role.

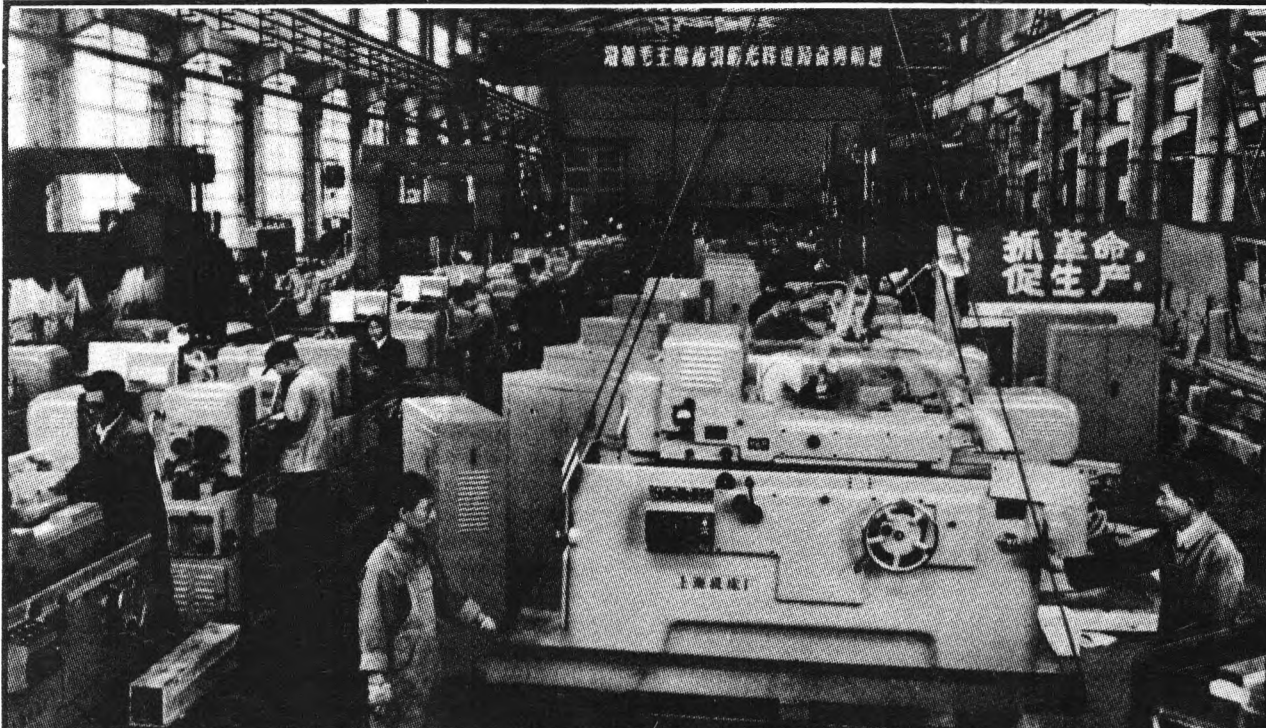
Again, this view is not LM's own invention. They picked up wholesale the line of the Soviet revisionists who say, "Mao and his followers paid lip-service to the Communist Party's leading role, but their practical activity testifies to the contrary. Mao does not regard the party as the leading and directing force of society but as an instrument of the regime of personal power, as the most important means for carrying out his adventurist and chauvinist policy." "That is why one of the basic tasks of the 'cultural revolution' was to change the composition and ideological-political face of the Communist Party of China and also its function within the system of society's political superstructure." (*Ibid.*, pp. 160-61)

By echoing the CPSU's line, LM makes a serious theoretical error. They equate the leading role of the party in exercising the dictatorship of the proletariat with the full content of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

On this question, Stalin said, in his article, "Concerning Questions of Leninism," "The directing force is the advanced detachment of the proletariat, its vanguard, which is the main guiding force of the dictatorship of the proletariat." "Without the Party as the main guiding force, it is impossible for the dictatorship of the proletariat to be at all durable and firm." However, Stalin also warns against the tendency to equate the leading role of the party with the whole content of the dictatorship of the proletariat. "Although the Party carries out the dictatorship of the proletariat, and *in essence* (original emphasis) the 'dictatorship of the Party,' this does not mean that the 'dictatorship of the Party (its leading role) is *identical* (original emphasis) with the dictatorship of the proletariat, that the former is *equal* in scope to the latter." The dictatorship of the proletariat includes not just the party but all kinds of mass organizations under socialism. Talking about the experience in Russia, Lenin said, "Taken as a whole, we have a formally non-Communist, flexible and relatively wide, and very powerful proletarian apparatus, by means of which the Party is closely linked with the *class* and with the *masses*, and by means of which, under the leadership of the Party, the *dictatorship of the class* is exercised." (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XXV, p. 192, quoted by Stalin, *Problems of Leninism*, Printed in the People's Republic of China, 1976, pp. 178-206.)

So the relationship between the Party and the masses is both one of unity as well as contradiction. When the party's lines and policies are correct, reflect the interest of the masses, the leading role of the party coincides with the dictatorship of the proletariat. When the party leadership turns revisionist, it contradicts the interest of the masses. Under this condition, the masses have the right to rebel and struggle to supervise their leaders. Mistakes, excesses and other problems can arise due to the lack of leadership from the party, but these acts are justified and have to be supported. The pressure from below can bring about qualitative changes in the lines and policies of the leadership who, if still genuine, will take the initiative to cleanse itself. And consistent with this principle, Lenin supported the masses' participation in cleansing the party ranks.

He said in 1921, "In appraising persons, on the negative attitude to those who have attached themselves to us for selfish motives, to those who have become 'puffed-up commissars' and 'bureaucrats,' the suggestions of the non-party proletarian masses and, in many cases, of the non-party peasant masses, are extremely valuable. The working masses have a fine intuition, which enables them to distinguish honest and devoted communists from those who arouse the disgust of people earning their bread by the sweat of their brow, enjoying no privileges, and have no 'pull.'" "In some places the



The fundamental way to eliminate inequality under socialism is to develop the productive forces. China under Mao's leadership had made tremendous progress in this sphere. The Shanghai Machine Tools Plant which designed and manufactured about 60 kinds of grinding machines per year without any foreign help is one good example of this accomplishment.

masses and leaders, bureaucratism and all other social injustice under socialism. This is why they oppose all measures to transform the mass consciousness and any measure that brings about more equality within a given level of productive forces. To the LM, the productive forces will automatically bring about these changes. In the course of the U.S. revolution, they would simply liquidate struggles for all minimum programs of the fight against national oppression because there is no material basis for these programs under capitalism, and when socialism comes, all problems of national oppression and other ideological problems will automatically vanish. This is the only logical conclusion that can be drawn from LM's reasoning.

With this mechanical materialist view, LM pits the need for structural reforms (that is organizational measures) against the need for ideological/political campaigns, charging that "Mao displayed little faith in any (structural) solution, however democratic or based on the masses..." LM is wrong even on this. Prior to and after the Cultural Revolution, Mao did try various structural reforms, such as workers' participation in management and vice versa, the three-in-one combination, the revolutionary committees. There probably were tremendous weaknesses in these reforms, and many even fell apart. Anyone has the right to disagree with these reforms, but one can't just ignore these attempts. In order to substantiate their claim that Mao is voluntarist, LM has to screen out the facts and line that don't fit into their argument. This only shows the depth of LM's opportunism.

#### LM Pits the Party Against the People

The thread woven through LM's justification for stratification, is their theoretically bankrupt line on the role of the party under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and its relationship to the masses. This is also the basis for LM's slander against the Cultural Revolution being too anarchistic and "one of the most undemocratic and arbitrary episodes in the history of the international communist movement." It was anarchistic, LM claims, because it was based on Mao's anarchistic line of "the right to rebel." It was undemocratic because workers and cadres were attacked by Red Guards led by "sons and daughters of the recently expropriated Chinese bourgeoisie." Factually, this is false. All major works on the Cultural Revolution reported that the only Red Guards of that background were the Peking United Action Committee, formed after they were refused membership in other groups. The United Action Committee was consciously promoted and egged on by the revisionist party leaders trying to sabotage the

mal democracy under the bourgeois system. It is no wonder they consider Reagan's election a real mandate from the American people. To LM, the fact that a minority participated in the formal electoral process to vote for Reagan far outweighs the sentiment of the majority who didn't vote at all and the fact that even those who did vote for Reagan did so out of a desire for change.

Again, the accusation that the Cultural Revolution was anarchistic is nothing new. The Soviet revisionists say the same thing.

"The methods used in the 'cultural revolution' show that its organizers intended not only to defeat their opponents, who held Party and government office in accordance with the CPC rules and the Constitution of the CPR (People's Republic of China—ed.), but also to create a totally different machinery of political power, which would make the apparatus of power and the broad masses of the population absolutely subservient in their activity to the implementation of Mao's political line." (*Ibid.*, p. 156)

"With the barrack-room as their ideal, the leaders of the 'cultural revolution' have no need for normally functioning democratic organs or socialist legality. No wonder then that in the course of the 'cultural revolution,' central and local organs of power were disbanded, trade unions and young communist organizations were broken up and a massive purge of Party bodies carried out." (*Ibid.*, p. 119)

However, what was wrong with the Cultural Revolution was not that it overthrew the old organizations, legal systems, rules and regulations. Many of these were revisionist in content and needed to be overthrown. What went wrong was Mao's inability and lack of consciousness to establish new institutions and rules to replace the old. To charge that the Cultural Revolution was undemocratic because it dared to overthrow the existing order only reveals LM's faith in the old order and fear of mass movements. This unreserved faith in the established order also underlines LM's incorrect line on the party and its relationship with the masses.

They say, "the key to proletariat democracy is to raise the political and ideological level of the masses..." which "requires first and foremost, leadership by a revolutionary party based on the science of Marxism-Leninism, systematically striving to bring revolutionary theory to the masses. For Marxism and Leninism, there is no antagonism between the existence of a disciplined vanguard and the broadest workers' democracy, in fact, the one is diametrically linked to the other." To the LM, the Cultural Revolution violated this cardinal principle because "the guiding line of the Cultural Revolution,

Party is being purged mainly with the aid of the experience and suggestions of non-party workers. . . . "If we really succeed in purging our party from top to bottom in this way (Lenin's emphasis), without exception, it will indeed be an enormous achievement for the revolution." (Lenin, "Purging the Party," *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 39)

Having full confidence in the masses and the majority of the party membership, Mao unleashed the Cultural Revolution to cleanse the revisionists from the party ranks. LM's line on the relationship between the party and the masses is bureaucratic and fascistic, having nothing in common with Marxism and Leninism. In practice, their line leads to repression against the masses that have grievances under the pretext of safeguarding the dictatorship of the proletariat. That's exactly what the LM advocates in regards to the Polish workers struggle, and in regards to the Cultural Revolution.

To prove that Mao was only interested in manipulating the masses, LM charges that, "While the party was locked in bitter factional struggle over the nature of revisionism's relations with the CPSU and the USSR, the masses were manipulated into struggle and shallow debate over such questions as whether the party work teams were under the control of 'capitalist roaders.'" This is LM's proof that the CPC "largely ignored" the task of "systematically raising the scientific and cultural level of the masses." There were problems in this sphere caused by the limitations of both the subjective and objective factors we presented earlier. But these debates and struggles in workplaces and campuses were definitely attempts to do that. And typical of intellectual idealists, LM can't see any value in these campaigns, because to the LM, the struggle against revisionism is only a debate of ideas with no meaning to actual class struggle and socialist construction. They slander struggles by the masses against immediate effects of revisionism on their work — the only correct way to train Marxists — as "shallow." To the LM all theories and lines are not for class struggle, but only for self-cultivational academic debate to satisfy one's prejudices. This is why they take no interest in responsible theoretical work.

Blinded by their idealism, mechanism and chauvinism, LM claims that "Maoism . . . is a proven failure at constructing socialism where it has state power, at leading revolution to victory where it does not, and at directing the struggle of the world's workers and oppressed people against their real common enemy — U.S. Imperialism," and that Maoism is the same as Trotskyism. This assertion parrots the

Chinese Revolution, objectively a great blow to imperialism, succeed?" Of course, LM can't give any reason. If anyone still has doubts about LM's idealism, this question should shatter them all.

#### Chauvinism on the Sino-Soviet Split

The Nine Polemics and the Sino-Soviet split in the 60's was the biggest event in the international communist movement. Now that the Chinese leaders have unofficially reversed the verdict on the correctness of this big event, Line of March has taken this line to its logical, chauvinist conclusion that China should never have fought the Soviet Union, and that all that Mao did during that period and afterwards were all nationalist deviations. Before we point out the fallacy of LM's line, we will let history speak for itself. Facts speak louder than words.

In 1953, Stalin died. He was succeeded by Khrushchev, who was proven by history to be a coward and a loyal descendant of Bernstein and Kautsky, an unworthy leader of the party started by Lenin. Threatened by the seeming might of U.S. nuclear weapons and motivated by careerism, Khrushchev called the infamous 20th Congress during which he dismissed all of Stalin's contributions to socialist construction in the Soviet Union, leadership in the international communist movement, and Stalin's struggle against fascism. Stalin was denounced as a dictator. This denunciation was to serve Khrushchev's sinister objective of pushing out his revisionist program of the three peacefuls — peaceful transition to socialism, peaceful competition and peaceful coexistence between socialism and capitalism. Alleging that the international situation had developed favorably to the socialist countries, and that U.S. imperialism had grown reasonable in the face of the strength of the socialist camp, the thrust of Khrushchev's program called for unconditional support for world peace. The price for this unconditional support was to give up armed struggle against the bourgeoisie in capitalist countries. It meant giving up struggle for national liberation by third world countries, for a single spark could provoke the imperialists into starting a nuclear war bringing destruction to the whole human race. And it meant giving up political struggles under socialism in order to engage in production to compete with capitalism, and so on. The logical conclusion of this program was for a communist party to stop supporting national liberation struggles and other revolutionary struggles as they all encouraged the possibility of world war.

The thrust of Khrushchev's revisionist program

make sure that the Moscow Declaration that came out of the conference did not reflect only the Soviet programme. Though some elements of the Soviet programme were there, China was able to force through the thesis upholding the necessity for armed struggle, that "U.S. imperialism is the center of world reaction." The Moscow Declaration also established the principles for equality between fraternal parties, that they should resolve their differences through mutual consultation. There was also agreement that socialist countries should mutually support one another.

Then came the Quemoy incident in 1958. Chiang Kai Shek, with the support of the United States, transferred approximately 200,000 troops to Quemoy Island, within a stone's throw of the Chinese mainland. China asked for support from the Soviet Union against this threat. Khrushchev arrived in Peking in July, and laid out that the condition for support was to let Soviet naval and air bases be established at the principal Chinese port cities. Mao flatly rejected this extortion attempt to infringe on China's territorial sovereignty.

But Khrushchev told Hubert Humphrey in a public interview that the Chinese commune system was "old-fashioned and reactionary." This was an open violation of the Moscow Declaration and open interference in China's domestic affairs. It showed that Khrushchev would not hesitate to do anything to appease the U.S. imperialists whom he considered as the partner for world peace.

Then in September 1959, egged on by the U.S. imperialists, India attacked China's border. The Tass news agency put out an open statement condemning China in support of Nehru. In the following month, during the 10th anniversary of China's liberation, Khrushchev openly attacked China's platform, and in his private meeting with Peng Teh hai, he complimented Peng as the most courageous person. This was after Peng had already been purged from CPC's leadership due to his attack on the Great Leap Forward. In the Bucharest meeting of representatives from Fraternal Communist Parties, held in 1960, Khrushchev once again lashed out at the Chinese delegates, calling them "madmen" who wanted to unleash a new world war. He labelled the Chinese as nationalists in the Sino-Indian dispute and characterized the Chinese Communist leaders as "left-adventurists, pseudo-revolutionaries and sectarian." It was during this same year that Khrushchev extended the party-to-party conflict over ideological questions to the state-to-state level by abruptly withdrawing 10,000 Soviet scientific personnel, tearing up the contracts for over 200 industrial projects in China, and terminating all economic trade, and military/nuclear assistance. This caused tremendous hardship to the Chinese economy.

China took all these incidents more or less quietly, resorting mainly to private negotiations with the Soviet Union to resolve the problems. The open Nine Polemics started only when Khrushchev began circulating a letter to his party organizations and party members openly attacking China, on July 14, 1963.

Khrushchev's hostility towards socialist China continued even after the Sino-Indian clash in 1962 by supplying military aid to India in conjunction with the United States. Last but not least, the Soviet Union signed a treaty with the United States to ban nuclear tests, trying to deprive China of the opportunity to develop its own nuclear weapons to defend herself. Thus, the open Nine Polemics from the summer of 1963 to the summer of 1964 were an inevitable response to Khrushchev's revisionism, which had already been put into practice in the Soviet Union's relationship with China.

*The Proposal Concerning the General Line in the International Communist Movement* was considered one of the most important theoretical works against modern revisionism. The General Line and the Nine Polemics affirmed the Marxist-Leninist doctrine on proletarian internationalism; on the correct outlook towards war and peace, towards imperialism, the dictatorship of the proletariat. The General Line, which calls for "workers of all countries unite; workers of the world, unite with the oppressed peoples and oppressed nations; oppose imperialism and reaction in all countries; strive for world peace, national liberation, people's democracy and socialism; consolidate and expand the socialist camp; bring the proletarian world revolution step by step to complete victory; and establish a new world without imperialism, without capitalism and without the exploitation of man by man," has been considered by all genuine revolutionaries as the hallmark of a proletarian internationalist program.

China in 1964 was a country surrounded by hostile forces. Describing the intense situation, David Milton and Nancy Dall Milton wrote, "China in the fall of 1964 was a nation under the gun. The American Seventh Fleet lay in wait off the coast as the United States actively engaged in the aerial and naval bombardment of China's neighbor and socialist ally, North Vietnam. To the Southwest, India was once again building up her shattered forces with the help of the United States and the Soviet



**The development of productive forces alone will not take the human race to communism. It has to be complemented by high socialist consciousness. Under Mao's correct line, the Chinese people systematically studied Marxism and criticized revisionist manifestations in their workplace as a concrete way to raise their political consciousness. Today, the revisionists consider this practice a waste of time.**

line of the Soviet revisionists that "The Trotskyists and Maoists have also much in common in the methods they advocate for socialist construction, for these are based on subjectivism and voluntarism and lack of any scientific understanding of the laws governing the development of the socialist economy." (p. 283).

Clearly this lie cannot explain how China under Mao's leadership developed from a tremendously backward country into a country with a self-sufficient economy and a developed infrastructure. Nor can it explain how "Maoism" has inspired many third world countries to wage victorious struggles for national liberation (while Trotskyism has done none of that) and why China even succeeded in its own liberation to begin with. Sensing that they can't get by on these questions, LM, at the end of their mumbo-jumbo article full of countless self-contradictory facts and analysis, asks a seemingly naive question, "If Maoism constituted a backward ideological and political viewpoint, how did the

opposed every Leninist doctrine on war and peace, on proletarian internationalism, on the nature of imperialism and class struggle.

It was a sad thing that the party that made the first socialist revolution in the world turned revisionist. Worse still was Khrushchev's attempt to use this prestige to force other communist parties to adopt his programme as the general line for the international communist movement. When the CPC, and particularly Mao, resisted this corrupt programme and Khrushchev's high-handedness, Khrushchev embarked on the most ugly and chauvinist policy towards China.

On Nov. 17, 1957, in order to gain China's support for his programme, Khrushchev made a friendly gesture by signing an agreement with China to develop her own nuclear weapon system. But this did not mean that the two parties' differences were resolved. During that year, when representatives from socialist bloc nations and other communist parties met in Moscow, China had to struggle hard to

Union." But because of China's correct foreign policy of relying on the small friends who were fighting imperialism, China gained many friends. These friends proved to be real allies who helped China gain back its legitimate seat in the United Nations in 1971. The extent of the friendship China had with third world countries and friends in capitalist countries was described again by the Miltons on the occasion of China's national day in 1964. Talking about the 2,600 guests representing countries from all over the world, they said, "China was welcoming to her revolutionary celebrations a heterogeneous group of nations and individuals, allied in no formal way, sharing, however, the elusive but compelling interest in standing up to one of the two superpowers. There came together in Peking the fraternal parties of Vietnam, Korea, Japan, and Indonesia, drawn together in their varying degrees of anti-revisionism by the American superpower's Southeast Asian war; Rumania and Albania, the small resistors to the Eastern European policies of the other superpower, and the tiny pro-Chinese splinter parties which had appeared in Ceylon, Belgium, Australia, and New Zealand." "Prince Sihanouk, still successful in his long struggle to maintain Cambodia's tenuous neutrality, turned comfortably and confidently towards his giant neighbor." "His presence was a triumphant component of China's policy of uniting all those threatened by U.S. imperialism. So, too, was the presence of the brilliantly robed representatives from the hopeful nations of Africa. Chou Enlai's trip to fourteen African nations earlier in the year had carried with it the hope for a second Bandung Conference, and increasing Sino-African solidarity seemed a not unreasonable expectation." So, it was no coincidence that China objectively became the center of support for national liberation struggles and other people's struggles, and that many parties especially in Southeast Asia called themselves Maoist parties. It was not just what the CPC said, but what it did in support of their struggles that earned their respect. Only the revisionists, trying to cover up their increasing isolation in the world for their chauvinist policies would shamelessly charge China's policies as nationalist policies.

Line of March's opportunism and revisionism is blatantly seen in the article, "The Trial of the Gang of Four and the Crisis of Maoism," May-June, 1981. Trying to substantiate the idealist scheme that China — from Mao to Deng — had always been reactionary nationalist, they pay lip service to the General Line and the first eight polemics, but do not for a moment address the correct lines in these documents. Nor do they acknowledge any chauvinist action Khrushchev took towards China during that period. As if denying the existence of these internationalist lines isn't enough to fit LM's scheme, they try to credit the first eight polemics to Liu Shaoqi and his followers. This is in spite of the fact that LM is unable to explain why these so-called "authors" are today practicing exactly the same policies which they allegedly criticized the Soviet Union for before.

LM's opportunism can be seen in the totally different methods they use in analyzing China's Cultural Revolution and China's foreign policies. On the Cultural Revolution, they ignore all the real struggles Mao had against the revisionists and the concrete problems of stratification, polarization, and bureaucracy which brought about the Cultural Revolution. Instead they repudiate the Cultural Revolution based only on Mao's incorrect "restoration of capitalism thesis" which was systematically developed only after the Cultural Revolution.

On the other hand, since LM cannot find anything wrong with China's clearly stated foreign policy, they ignore all the correct lines that were written, as well as the countless other examples of support for national liberation struggles. Instead, they pick out a few isolated examples just to prove their point.

First of all, the validity of the facts is questionable. Even if they were all correct, LM still could not use them to generalize that Mao's policies have always been nationalistic. The facts cited by LM can at most only be considered a mistaken response to the pressure of a much more powerful, chauvinist Soviet Union. For the same reason, we cannot put Stalin on the same level as Khrushchev, even though Stalin made chauvinist mistakes, like trying to force the CPC to unite with Chiang Kai Shek, instead of risking a civil war prior to China's victory. LM flip-flopping and changing their methodology 180 degrees in analyzing different events, even in the same article only shows their opportunism. Since they are only interested in their idealist preconceptions of what the CPC and Mao are (ideas Khrushchev originated), they resort to any method, isolated facts or partial arguments just to prove their points.

Blind to reality, LM claims that "In 1965, China refused to join a united front (with the Soviet Union—C.Lai) in defense of Vietnam." They hope that his lie will once again "prove" Mao's reactionary nationalism. Afraid that people won't believe them, they even use Edgar Snow's writings as one source to support their assertion. But what did Edgar



Chairman Mao in the midst of friends from Asia, Africa, and Latin America in 1959.



Khrushchev presents a gift to President Eisenhower during a meeting at the White House on Sept. 15, 1959.

Snow really say in the book LM mentions? He said, "By 1965 the U.S.'s bombing attacks on Vietnam, close upon China's border, threatened China with invasion. Liu wanted to send a Chinese delegation to the Soviet Twenty-third Party Congress to reactivate the Sino-Soviet alliance. Mao resolutely refused to be drawn into a position of dependence, as in Korea, and a possible double cross. Instead he insisted upon a posture of complete self-reliance on a people's war of defense — while continuing to build the Bomb — and heavy support for, but not intervention in Vietnam." (*The Long Revolution*, Vintage Books, 1972, p. 19) Does this quote prove Mao's nationalism? Only the revisionists would think so. And China gave a total of 200 RMB (Chinese currency) to aid Vietnam during the Vietnamese struggle, not a small sum for such a poor country.

We may criticize Mao for tactical inflexibility for not wanting to join the Soviet Union in any united front, but his criticism of the Soviet Union was valid: the Soviet Union had then already sold out the national liberation movements of the world; it had pressured Vietnam to conciliate to U.S. imperialism; and its objective in the little aid it gave (incommensurate with its strength) was mainly to gain a foothold to influence the direction of the Vietnamese struggle. If anybody should be criticized for lack of proletarian internationalism then, it is the Soviet Union, not China. Nor can proletarian internationalism be reduced to an absolute united front with the Soviet Union.

Obviously, LM also knows that using China's refusal to form a United Front as proof that China abandoned internationalism for nationalism is a shaky argument. So while slandering and lying about China's role towards Vietnam during the Vietnam War, they are also forced to admit that "Whatever the theoretical positions being articulated in CPC leadership, and despite some serious political errors, China did not break the ranks of those combatting imperialism during the height of the Vietnam War. Instead the fierceness of the confrontation in Vietnam served to highlight the vacillating character of the modern revisionists, as the Soviets were constantly cautioning the Vietnamese and stressing moderation and compromise..." Then, why does LM make such a big fuss about China's refusal to unite with the Soviet Union if the Soviet Union played such a destructive role as far as the anti-imperialist struggle is concerned? To the LM, keeping a formal united front in words is more important than actual support for liberation. Thus, they defend the Soviet Union by qualifying at the end of the above paragraph with the phrase, "though the Soviet Union did not abandon the anti-imperialist forces defending Vietnam." This again is typical of LM's methodology in looking for anything just to prove their prejudice that China is nationalist, regardless if these facts and words are correct or even self-contradictory.

In fact, there is nothing new in LM's lie that "China refused to join a united front in defense of Vietnam, and there were a number of incidents over the next few years of interference with arms being shipped across China to Vietnam." The Soviet revisionists said this in 1972 in the book, *Critique of Mao Tse Tung's Theoretical Conceptions*. "The Maoists have not only failed to give the fighting Vietnamese people adequate military and economic assistance but also in every way hampered the other socialist countries in their efforts to do so." (p. 75). If this is where the LM got their line, they should have said so. Instead, they apparently hope to get credit for their "creativity."

Furthermore, by accusing China of collaboration with the U.S. imperialists against the Soviet Union, LM is objectively echoing the theme of the CPSU revisionists who charge China with responsibility for the U.S. attack on Vietnam. The CPSU said, "The U.S.A. would never have dared to launch its aggression had the CPC leadership not pursued its anti-Soviet line and not attacked the unity of the socialist countries. When escalating their aggression in Vietnam, the U.S. imperialists undoubtedly reckoned with the Great-Han chauvinism of the Chinese leaders and stubborn refusal to accept any proposals on concerted action by China, the U.S.S.R. and the other socialist countries in helping the Vietnamese people beat back the U.S. aggression." (*Ibid.*, p. 75)

A fundamental question at stake here is does a socialist country have the right to political and economic independence from a more powerful socialist country, or should all socialist countries give up their national distinction since they all have the same economic base? Or does any country have the right to utilize the contradiction between the imperialists and a hostile chauvinist country even though the latter may be socialist?

Modern revisionism uses the pretext that the principal contradiction in the world is between socialism and capitalism, to liquidate support for national liberation struggles. Using the same theoretical basis, modern revisionism ignores the contradiction between big nations and small nations, and denies individual countries' national particularities through big nation chauvinism. Consequently, this view sees all moves to build up one's economy through self-reliance and political independence from other socialist countries as reactionary nationalism. This is LM's line of thinking, nothing new in the history of modern revisionism.

To the chauvinists in LM, the answer to both questions is a resounding NO. To them, all national contradictions don't exist and it is one big happy family. So, the international division of labor among the socialist camp is correct. Why should one country have to worry about building machines since the Soviet Union will give these to them? Because all socialist countries are one happy family without antagonistic contradictions in their fundamental interest, the Soviet Army has the right to go into every country if the situation there needs to be straightened out. So the invasion of Czechoslovakia was revolutionary, because it was to preserve its socialist course. Likewise, the invasion of Afghanistan was a victory for the Red Army, and Soviet tanks should roll into Poland when the PWP can't deal, or into China because China's reactionary. To the LM chauvinists, the powerful Soviets should be the policemen of the socialist countries to make sure they fall into line, just as the U.S. imperialists police their allies and puppets. The same threat underlies LM's line to liquidate all national questions and national oppression under the banner of class struggle. What they fail to see is that these chauvinist moves not only have nothing to do with class struggle, but they actually hinder class struggle. The 1968 invasion of Czechoslovakia, the 1979 invasion of Afghanistan and the possible invasion of Poland not only antagonize people in those countries and raise fear among all people struggling against foreign domination, but also give the imperialists the biggest ammunition in their fight against communism and socialism. This is exactly what the LM is aiding in their support of revisionist, chauvinist policies wholesale, as evidence in their article, "The Trial of the Gang of Four and the Crisis of Maoism." □