

# WHICH THIEVES WILL WIN OUT?

Hua Kuo-feng, nominal head of the Party and government in China, recently delivered a major "Report on the Work of the Government" to a session of the Fifth National People's Congress. As usual, it was both boring and revisionist—another by now familiar attack by the new capitalist rulers of China on the revolutionary legacy of Mao Tsetung and on the working class of China.

What was a bit revealing, however, was the nakedness with which China's new rulers are parading their destruction of socialism, their abandonment of basic revolutionary principles. While they have not yet mustered the courage to attack Mao Tsetung by name, they are systematically attacking everything he stood for. The pace is leaving even some of their most tongue-worn bootlickers behind.

For example, Mao's single greatest pathbreaking achievement was developing the theoretical basis for and practically leading the Cultural Revolution, a revolution carried out under the conditions of socialism to bring forward the masses of people in a gigantic struggle to keep new capitalist rulers from grabbing ultimate power in China. Mao was quite clear on the significance of this revolution. He said that until the Cultural Revolution, "We did not find a form, a method to arouse the broad masses to expose our dark aspect openly, in an all-around way and from below." And he said that "the present Great Cultural Revolution is only the first, there will inevitably be many more in the future."

But what does Hua Kuo-feng's report have to say on this? Hua's attitude toward the Cultural Revolution is like that of a target toward a gun—don't point it at me! The Report says, "First we recognize both that class struggle has not yet come to an end and that at the same time there is no longer any need for large-scale and turbulent class struggle waged by the masses, and therefore we should not try to wage

such a struggle in the future."

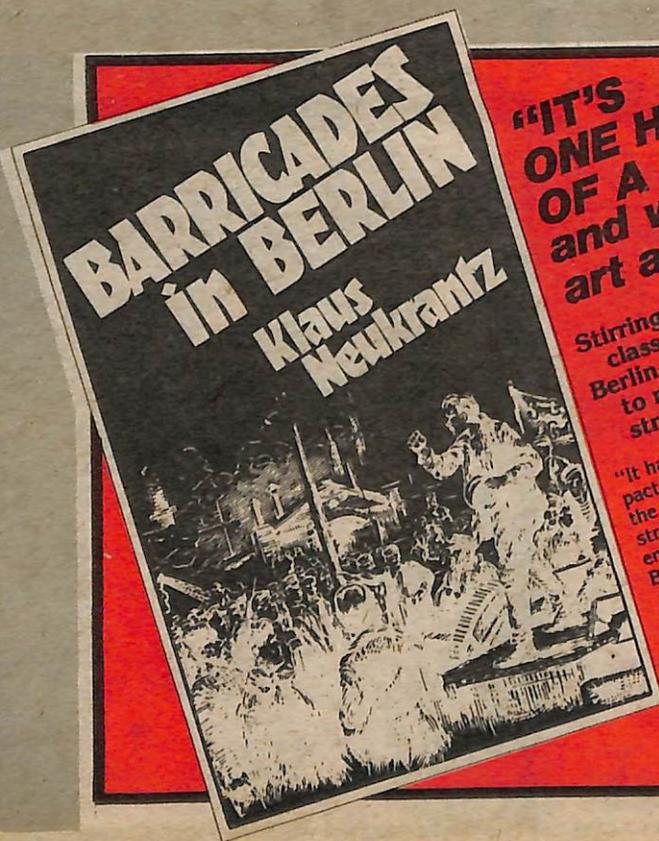
Just for fun it is interesting to put this statement up against one made a year and a half ago by the "Revolutionary Workers Headquarters"—better known as the Mensheviks—loyal defenders of revisionism in China at the time they split from our Party.

When they were polemicizing against the report of the RCP Central Committee which blasted and analyzed the revisionist coup in China and Hua's revisionist leadership, these Mensheviks wrote, "The argument that the 11th Constitution denies the necessity for another Cultural Revolution is equally laughable... who would not agree that 'Political revolutions of this nature will be carried out many times in the future'? This is the line of Mao Tsetung. And it is the line of the current Chinese leadership headed by Hua Kuo-feng.

Who would not agree? The current Chinese leadership "headed" by Hua Kuo-feng—that's who. Of course such "little problems and adjustments" would not bother the Menshevik leaders today, who were—and are—firmly sunk in the quicksand of unprincipled opportunism and revisionism. The fact that this hatred and denial of the Cultural Revolution was in fact the line of China's leaders even two years back was apparent at that time to genuine revolutionaries, and was exposed in the documents of the Revolutionary Communist Party. Now it's just become openly confessed.

In another part of Hua's report, these revisionists once again flagrantly go up against Mao's line. Hua states that "class struggle is no longer the principal contradiction in our society," instead it is the "modernization" of China. Mao, on the other hand, was

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end with that May Day battle in  
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# CPML Gets the Red Out

The Communist Party Marxist-Leninist (CPML) which has earned the disgust of genuine communists and revolutionary minded people over the years has recently made some interesting changes in their newspaper *The Call*. They have taken some economy measures, reducing the size of their paper and removing the red ink from their newspaper. We warmly hail this

move and, though we understand it is merely a symbolic gesture, we think that these phony reds should have done this long ago. We have one further suggestion to offer: a qualitative improvement in *The Call* and a not altogether insignificant service to humanity would be made if they also removed the black ink from their paper. ■

## CPML

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clear: "Class struggle is the key link, everything else hinges on it." (Of course it should be pointed out that Hua and the rest of them *are* interested in class struggle—struggle *against* the remnants of socialism and working-class power—as he puts it, against "present relations of production and superstructure which hamper modernization.")

Just in case anyone wants to bend over backwards far enough to think that Hua is only talking about a changed situation since Mao's time, he makes it clear that this is not so: "Once the proletariat and the other working people have seized state power and established their political rule," he says, "economic construction must be given top priority." In other words Mao screwed up all the way back at the time of nationwide victory in 1949 by making such a "big deal" out of class struggle. How disruptive—making sure that the capitalist class did not seize power and that the rule of the working class and its mastery of all aspects of society went ahead. Disruptive indeed, if you are a capitalist rat with backstabbing plans, like Hua or Teng.

### Something Startling

Of course, disgusting and revisionist as all this is, it is really just old-hat routine by now. For two and a half years, since the coup in China, not a single week has passed without some new outrage being committed against revolution. But something else quite interesting has happened in connection with this Chinese Congress that merits comment and continuing attention: in

*The Call* (newspaper of the Communist Party Marxist-Leninist or CPML), long famous for advanced world levels of shameless flunkeyism toward *everything* said by the Chinese revisionists, direct criticism of Hua's report has appeared! A signed article in the center-fold of the July 16 *Call* raises, as the author puts it, "some important questions." After quoting Hua, the article asks, "...how can 'large-scale, turbulent class struggle' be ruled out in the future? What if another group of capitalist roaders should make inroads in the Party?" It even raises a "question" about the Report's line on the relation of modernization and class struggle: "How can such changes take place except through class struggle?"

Then the article lets it all hang out there: "It appears that there are still some questions stemming from this important meeting that have not yet fully been resolved, some compromises made for the sake of unity. Perhaps the future will shed more light on these points."

What has happened here? Is the report delivered by Hua just *too* openly revisionist even for *The Call* to swallow? Can it be, to paraphrase the words of the poet e.e. cummings, that "there is some shit they will not eat"?

To put it mildly, that seems quite an unlikely possibility. Anyone familiar in the slightest degree with the history of the CPML knows that principle and politics in command never even dawned on this group's leaders. And as far as eating revisionist shit, these people have proven themselves eminently capable of wolfing it down by the shovelful and then regularly regurgitating it for all to see right on the pages of *The Call*. They showed this, for instance, when they

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loudly praised the return to leadership of Teng Hsiao-ping after having earlier loudly denounced him, when they even praised the posthumous rehabilitation of Mao's long-denounced enemy (and a collaborator with Khrushchev), Peng Teh-huai. One recent high point in fecal consumption came in the May 14 *Call* when they printed a picture caption saying "Controversial opera, *Hai Jui Dismissed From Office*, is now being shown again. Chinese are debating many previously banned cultural works." Not another word of explanation about this "controversial" opera which they well knew was itself a vicious attack on Mao and the subject of a counterattack by Mao, initiating the Cultural Revolution.

No, political principle has never been the strong suit of the CPML. But they are not entirely without strong points. Take opportunist political speculation, for instance. Here the CPML has long shown a certain limited talent. And perhaps here we can find some *real* clues to the meaning of this very unique recent article. The CPML is almost certainly sniffing around and smelling a mounting struggle among the thieves now in China's leadership, and is trying to maneuver itself into a position to be backing a winner—whoever it turns out to be.

There is some earlier precedent for this kind of political speculation in *The Call*, though never in such open form as in the July 16 article. Back in the fall of 1977, in an interview in the CPML journal "Class Struggle," CPML Chairman Michael Klonsky dropped an interesting (and unexplained) passing phrase in an interview about a trip to China, "the majority of the Politburo (in 1976—RW) was controlled by the 'gang' group." (The "gang" was Mao's four close revolutionary comrades later overthrown in Hua and Teng's coup.)

This was quite an interesting statement because it implicated a number of post-coup Politburo leaders as having been aligned with the "gang" against Teng. Though a bit more subtle than the current article, such a statement clearly gave voice to an attack by Teng on his current opponents. (In passing it must be said that this remark also accidentally puts the lie to the current revisionist fable that the gang of 4 had no support and was completely isolated.)

Why did Klonsky do this? There are two possible explanations. Some people believe that Klonsky is simply an ignorant hack who didn't even digest what he was regurgitating. True, this is one aspect of Klonsky. But it must also be said that in bourgeois politicking within a relatively narrow circle, Klonsky does have certain skills. Much more likely is that he was actually speculating

on Teng's rise relative to his opponents.

It is in this light that we should examine the current article. Klonsky appears to once again have his nose to some shifting political winds. Only a few months ago, the CPML was blasting anyone who said there were divisions in the Chinese leadership, carrying on about how the leadership had never been so united. Now we see sentences like "What if another group of capitalist roaders should make inroads in the Party?... Perhaps the future will shed more light on these points."

It is clear that all the references to "class struggle" in the article are given no political substance, unlike in the days of Mao; they amount to venturing into the pure power politics between various groups of thieves. The article (which is signed so it can always be blamed on the author—or alias) is also so vaguely but carefully worded that it could be interpreted to be backing literally any winner in a possible power struggle.

While this *Call* article could be based on no special information from China, it could also be based on the fact that Klonsky's nose is always carefully planted near the rear end of these revisionists and is occasionally the early beneficiary of one of their "leaks." And besides this article there are other, more substantial, indications that, despite all their claims about creating "stability and unity," the Chinese revisionists are engaged in infighting over a number of questions.

There is the question of their current alignment with the United States versus the pull toward coming under the wing of the Soviet Union. There are surely those in China who are today arguing for a switch of sides. Beyond this, there are arguments arising from the pressures that are coming along with their current capitalist "modernization" drive—both the internal pressures of the failures it is already encountering, and the external pressures coming from their imperialist creditors.

Then there is the struggle over whether to come out openly and criticize Mao by name, or to continue to simply attack his teachings while "honoring" his name. And, of course, there are the various factional power disputes, linked with political questions like those above.

In the past, under the revolutionary political line of Mao, there were also political struggles in China. But they were waged by politically relying on the masses of people and by making the political questions clear. Now, under revisionist reign, intrigue is the rule and things are left to political speculators like the CPML.

The CPML appears to believe that things are soon to break out into some open struggle in China and is sure to be speculating on it still more. In the light of this, a unique situation has now arisen. *The Call* might actually be interesting to read for the next few weeks.