

DOWN WITH LIU SHAO-CH'I'S SEDUCTION OF THE YOUTH

- Criticism of Liu Shao-Ch'i's speech to the 1957 graduates of our Institute -

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The speech given to the representatives of the graduates of our Institute by the Party's No. 1 follower of capitalism in power in May, 1957, is a great and most criminal capitalist poisonous weed. This black speech is another iron proof of Liu Shao-Ch'i's open and hysterical opposition to Mao Tse-tung's idea, made scarcely two months after Chairman Mao had published his "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People" and the "Speech at the CCP National Propaganda Conference."

The appearance of this black speech was not accidental. It was definitely a naked exposition of Liu's capitalist world outlook and an important constituent part of his energetic spreading of poison in the five provinces (Hopei, Honan, Hupei, Hunan, and Canton) and the two cities (Shanghai and Peking) between March and May, 1957.

The Party's small clique of followers of capitalism in power has over the last ten years honored this great poisonous weed as their Bible, and as the criterion for admissions at our Institute and as an imperial ordinance on student work and the activities of the Young Communist League. Its poisonous effect upon the youth and workers, especially those on the geological front, has been far-reaching. We must therefore thoroughly criticize and eliminate this poisonous effect and purge Liu's gravest crime of poisoning the youth.

Promoting "The Class Struggle is Finished" theory, advocating the establishment of a "guerrilla force for the era of peaceful construction."

"Be a guerrilla in the era of peaceful construction" is a preliminary slogan of Liu's thorough revisionism. The theoretical foundation of this slogan is the "class struggle is finished" theory.

The "era of peaceful construction" as outlined by Liu is in essence an era of anti-socialist revolution and of capitalist restoration. Why, in this black speech Liu even dared to shout out openly: "There are now neither landlords nor capitalists, nor petty producers; there are only three kinds of men- workers, farmers, and intellectuals"; "In my opinion, after you have graduated you could have contact only with two kinds of people- workers and farmers; you will meet no landlords or capitalists." In fact, only one month prior to this speech, he spoke plainly in Shanghai: "Henceforth there will be neither revolutionary struggle nor land reform nor socialist reform." According to him, the Chinese have already "succeeded" in their socialist revolution. They have entered "The era of peaceful construction." This is Liu's naked, counter-revolutionary declaration.

History has taught us that whenever the revolution reaches a turning point, revisionism would go rampant for a while to meet the needs of imperialism and the capitalist class, to frustrate and destroy the revolution and to distort and attack Marxism. Having basically completed the socialist reform of the ownership system in 1956, socialist revolution in our nation reached a new turning point. A deeper and more penetrating socialist revolution began on political and thought battle fronts. Such a revolution was bound to confront opposition from the capitalist class and its intellectuals. It was not accidental that at this point, Liu, being a loyal agent of the capitalist class, threw out his theories of "The class struggle is finished" and "The era of peaceful construction." He was fulfilling the needs of the capitalist class, acting in concert with the capitalist right clique's counter-revolutionary attack, and dreaming of usurping the Party, the State and its power, and realizing capitalist restoration by attacking the Party simultaneously from within and without. How wicked was his intention!

That class distinction had "disappeared" was thoroughly a rebel's theory. For only two months before Liu made his speech, our beloved leader, Chairman Mao, had most articulately pointed out: "The remnants of the overthrown landlord and compradore classes still exist, the capitalist class still exists, and the petty capitalist class has just begun to remold itself. The class struggle is not yet finished. The class struggle between the proletariat and the capitalist, among various political forces,

and the struggle between the forms of class consciousness of the proletariat and the capitalist are still of a long-lasting, complicated, and at times even violent nature. The proletariat seeks to transform the world according to its own world outlook. The capitalist seeks to do the same. In this respect, the question of whether socialism or capitalism will win is still not really settled." But Liu dared to oppose this scientific conclusion of Chairman Mao and energetically promoted the theory of the "class struggle is finished." The big rightist Chang Nai-ch'i (4545 0035 0892) said: "Workers and capitalists are all people when they stand together." Therefore there is no longer a capitalist class. The big traitor Khrushchev said that the Soviet Union has not only eliminated classes, but also the source that gives birth to classes etc. What is the difference between Liu and Chang and Khrushchev's counter-revolutionary theses? It does not matter whether the words were said by Liu, by Chang, or by Khrushchev. They are worms in one privy and they stink the same.

At that time, while the rightists initiated their relentless attacks at the Party, and madly called upon the Party to resign from power, Khrushchev breathlessly advocated the revisionist lines of "three peace" (san ho) and "both-complete" (Liang ch'uan), and the American Secretary of State Dulles claimed, "It seems possible not to transform the nature of the Communist world;" Liu, on his part shouted his theory of "The class struggle is finished" and of "the era of peaceful construction." What a skillful co-ordination! These devils in this anti-Communist, anti people, and anti-socialist chorus were just mad! One month prior to this talk, in another speech given in Shanghai, Liu advocated even more explicitly the removal of the proletarian dictatorship. He said that our state machinery of dictatorship "has less and less, not more and more, functions to perform. Since class struggle is basically finished, and there are fewer counter-revolutionaries and criminals to suppress, the state machinery of dictatorship may be reduced. Henceforth the most important task will be the organization of social life." The testimony is so self-evident and the purpose so vicious! Chairman Mao has taught us that the fundamental question of revolution is that of the political power. Every revolutionary struggle on this earth is aimed at forceful takeover and consolidation of political power. The counter-revolutionaries fight to the bitter end to preserve their political power. Liu's wicked intention was clearly shown as he advertised his theory of "The class struggle is finished" and "The era of peaceful construction" at a time when our internal and external class enemies were madly pushing high the anti-Communist, anti-people tide and when the anti-Chinese chorus of internal and external reactionaries was loud.

As proven by a great many facts, the hidden intention of Liu's complete omission in his speech of the consolidation of proletarian dictatorship and of socialist revolution was precisely to attack the Party and

socialism in concert with our internal and external class enemies: one was in the open, the other in the dark; one was within the Party, the other without; one was shouted at the top of his voice, the other was infatuating the people by painting a rosy picture of "peace." What a careful co-ordination!

A great many facts have proven that behind Liu's loudly proclaimed masks of the class struggle "is finished" and of "peaceful construction" was the unholy truth of his attack on the Party and the people, in concert with internal and external enemies, and of his demands for the retreat of the socialist revolution and the restoration of capitalism, and of his weakening and removal of the proletariat dictatorship and usurpation of the Party and the State. The real intention of Liu Shao-ch'i was to act in concert with devils both within and without China, to change her color and pull her into capitalism.

✓ Caring for spiritual elites for the capitalist restoration, opposing Chairman Mao's thought on educating the youth

This black speech by Liu, especially his proposal of "be a guerrilla in the era of construction," expressed in naked form his admiration for the way of the capitalist intellectuals, his opposition to the association of intellectuals with workers and farmers and to thought reform, and his dream of bringing up the younger generation as the spiritual elites ruling over the working people and successors to those devoted to capitalist restoration.

Liu too pretended to ask the young intellectuals "to be close to workers and farmers" to avoid "political backwardness." The youth should "join physical laboring and help the workers and farmers," for "only by helping them could there be good relations between them." Thus to Liu, association with workers and farmers was merely "good public relations." His thinking is completely incompatible with Chairman Mao's long-championed idea of association between intellectuals and workers and farmers.

Chairman Mao has taught us: "What should be the test for us to judge whether a youth is revolutionary? There is only one standard; namely, whether he is willing to and in practice does associate himself with the general masses of workers and farmers. If he is willing and does so, then he is a revolutionary; otherwise he is not, or he might be counter-revolutionary. If he associates himself with the masses of workers and farmers today, he is a revolutionary today; but should he not do so tomorrow, or even reverse himself to suppress the people, then he is not revolutionary, but might be counter-revolutionary."

Apparently, the question of a young intellectual's association with the workers and farmers which Chairman Mao has brought up is definitely not a question of political forwardness or backwardness, nor is it a matter of success within a few days, but is a most fundamental question concerning a youth- that is whether he is revolutionary, non-revolutionary, or even counter-revolutionary. To reduce this fundamental question of being revolutionary or non-revolutionary to a common question of being forward or backward is to remove the entire direction of the necessity for the young intellectual's association with workers and farmers.

The aim of the association between young intellectuals and workers and farmers which Chairman Mao has spoken about is the transformation and thorough reform of the intellectuals. It is not at all Liu's so called "be close to the workers and farmers." Chairman Mao has called upon the intellectuals to go into the masses of workers, farmers, and soldiers wholeheartedly and unconditionally and into the burning struggle to change and reform their thought and sentiments. Without such a change and reform, nothing can be done well and right. But such a reform could succeed only "through long and even painstaking practice and tests." Moreover, just why should one have good relations with workers and farmers? Liu's reply fully exposed himself as a one hundred per cent political opportunist: Because if you have good relations with the masses, the farmers would elect you a commune chief or a township magistrate. Several years on the farm and as a commune chief and several years of being a township magistrate would qualify you as a hsien magistrate."

The kind of "workers and farmers" Liu had in mind did not exist in reality. They were in his imagination and somewhere beyond class struggle. Of course his advice could not guide one into the life of workers and farmers nor into mass struggle, not to mention reforming one's class feelings. Naturally, there could be no question of being revolutionary or non-revolutionary. It would be unnecessary for a young intellectual to have association with workers and farmers as his objective. Thus we know Liu's "be close to workers and farmers" was a thoroughly anti-Mao Tse-tung's idea and deceptive talk.

Since Liu has easily dismissed the direction of the association between intellectuals and workers and farmers, what then were his great expectations of these young men? "We will die sooner or later. This Minister of yours too will die. (ed. note: Minister Ho Chang-kung) Who will succeed him? You young people will. His successors need to be: 1) able to work; 2) in good relations with the masses; and 3) politically advanced." Unfortunately this declaration of being "politically advanced" could not make his successors red and shining, for he had dismissed the direction of association with the workers and the farmers, and made no mention of studying Chairman Mao's idea or Marxism. The youth were told that they even did not need to read a newspaper "for several months." What kind of "political

forwardness" could this be? Could it serve other than the capitalist class? Could it serve more than the selfish desires of being promoted from a commune chief to a township magistrate...?

To boast of one's good work and good relations with the masses apart from proletarian politics and the soul- Mao Tse-tung's idea could mean no more than encouraging the youth to follow in the footsteps of the capitalist intellectuals. It could only mean purchasing support for, and recruiting successors to this Khrushchev type person- Liu Shao-ch'i- and a small clique of usurpers and conspirators in the Party, government, and military hierarchies.

This 1957 speech by Liu certainly did not show his "special concern" for the graduates. It merely expressed his ugly soul and his well planned and systematic opposition to Chairman Mao's concept and policy of education, and his design to restore capitalism in China in concert with foreign reactionaries.

In February of the same year Chairman Mao brought forward the clearly defined directive on education: "Our educational policy should enable the educated to develop themselves morally, intellectually and physically, and become laborers of socialist consciousness with culture." Hardly had three months passed before Liu hastily proposed a completely contradictory educational policy: "An intellectual is complete if he knows how and is able to theorize it. I hope that you will become such an intellectual" and "whatever else do you learn in school if you do not learn the dogmas!"

Liu's educational policy totally omitted the concepts of "socialist consciousness" and of "worker." What kind of men did he hope to bring up with this policy? For the benefit of what class? Generally, the capitalist educators do not oppose the learning of "know how," for it is necessary for administration and exploitation. The successors Liu wanted to raise are precisely the spiritual elites needed by the capitalist class.

Promoting the decadent capitalist philosophy of life, advocating "struggle for a better life"

The Party's No. 1 follower of capitalism in power energetically promoted the decadent philosophy of the capitalist class. He further brought forth an extremely reactionary slogan: "Struggle for a better life."

Liu said: "In the future there will be difficulties in outdoor life, clothing, housing and marriage;" "one is bound to have difficulties in life, and can not have a better life without striving for it." He therefore suggested to the young people "save up your money" and "try to build a little house so as to reduce the problem after you get married." He further said: "for a better life, it is necessary to do so."

What a teaching! This is a grand display of Liu's ugly soul.

What is life? Different classes have different answers.

Chairman Mao has taught us that the proletariat will not liberate only themselves, but also all mankind. The proletariat will not finally liberate themselves if they are unable to liberate all mankind. Thus, to the proletariat, ceaseless and tireless struggle against enemies to liberate the world and all mankind, is the content of life. But the so called "life" of the capitalist class is a corruption based on exploitation. Liu's "struggle for a better life" is for the latter.

Liu has a "famous word" : "For personal fame and wealth... is an ideal everyone possesses; why, what is wrong with having more money?" Here you can see, Liu's "struggle for a better life" simply means struggle for fame and wealth, and for money. This is the capitalist philosophy of "men die for money and birds die for food." To this end, Liu has elaborated the "guidelines" in his speech. He wanted the youth to "go to farm for several years," and "through the process of being a farmer, commune chief, township magistrate and hsien magistrate," climb up to the privileged positions. He even illustrated it with his own career ("the life of a guerrilla was very hard... but after that, we are now taken care of"). By promoting the philosophy of a broker- "making small concessions for a great profit"- Liu has amply illustrated the true nature of his "struggle for a better life." As to those dirty tricks and taking advantage of females which Liu discussed in his speech, they describe his own "life."

More distasteful was his shameless encouragement of the youth to exploit others. He suggested that the young people have their money "saved in the bank in order to collect interest," and "rent out their houses." Such was the extremely shameless face of Liu Shao-ch'i.

The most wicked intention was Liu's advocating "struggle for a better life." Through many years of counter-revolutionary experience, this No. 1 follower of capitalism in power well understood that rather than try to convince the people that class struggle "is finished", it is far better to reach his goal of capitalist restoration by inducing the youth to pursue personal fame and wealth and personal advancement and therefore forget revolution and class struggle. This was a dangerous counter-revolutionary conspiracy. The slogan "struggle for a better life" was Liu's trap for the youth.

It is not difficult to imagine that if our youth believe in Liu's "struggle for a better life," with their heads filled by anxieties for personal fame and wealth, they would have to fall into the mud of individualism. They would have forgotten Chairman Mao's teaching of serving the people, and would have forgotten the ideal of fighting for communism. They would have degenerated into a revisionist pure and simple and finally would have become a tool for capitalist restoration.

What is intolerable is Liu's open resistance to Chairman Mao's instructions and his crime of madly opposing Mao Tse-tung's idea.

Not long before Liu's speech, Chairman Mao had pointed out in his "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People" : "There has lately been the problem of a weakening in ideological work among intellectuals and students. In the eyes of some, it seems unnecessary for them to care for politics, the future of the nation, and of all mankind; as if the stage of the popularity of Marxism has passed. Facing such a problem, we now need to reinforce our work in the ideological realm." What a timely and important instruction to the youth of the time! Yet, not even three months had elapsed before Liu challenged it and called upon the youth "to struggle for a better life" as soon as they were out of school. With only one stroke of the pen, Liu cancelled Chairman Mao's instruction: the youth should care for proletarian politics, China's future and the ideal of constructing communism. See, how violent Liu's defiance to Chairman Mao and the Party was.

It must be pointed out that the slogan "struggle for a better life" is not an invention by Liu Shao-ch'i. Ever since the "Twentieth Congress" of the CPSU in 1956, "to struggle for a higher material living standard for the people" has become the program of those revisionists who sell counter-revolutionary black goods under the guise of Marxist-Leninism. Liu's "struggle for a better life" is in substance Khrushchev's second hand stuff, repainted red to confuse the beholders.

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This black speech by Liu, who pretended to be a teacher of the youth, exposed only the ambitions and schemes of the head representative of the capitalist class in China. The ambitions and schemes are to seize the younger generation from the proletariat and train them to be pious children of the capitalist class, so as to create the conditions for a peaceful and "easy" transition to capitalism. What a wicked intention!

This black speech is the evidence of the crime committed by the fake revolutionary and counter-revolutionary, Liu Shao-ch'i. It is undeniable!

The criminal intentions of this black speech must be totally exposed. Its poisonous effect must be completely eliminated, and its anti-Mao Tse-tung's idea contents must be thoroughly purged!

This black speech is an unusally negative teaching for us. Bad things can become good things. Having killed the germs with the brightest ray of Mao Tse-tung's idea, the spiritual poison may be transformed to politically preventive medicine.

No jerk who dreams of pulling back the wheel of history can avoid total defeat. Those ambitious conspirators who induce the younger generation to be on board the black ship to capitalism, would also be drowned in the ocean of the proletarian cultural revolution among hundreds of millions of people.