FROM THE VANGUARD OF THE WORKING CLASS TO THE VANGUARD OF THE MARKET REFORMS: TRANSFORMATION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA IN POST-MAO ERA

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ONURCAN ÜLKER

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Prof. Dr. Meliha Altunışık
Director

I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Master of Science.

Prof. Dr. Ayşe Ayata
Head of Department

This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Science.

Assist. Prof. Dr. Ceren Ergenç
Supervisor

Examining Committee Members (first name belongs to the chairperson of the jury and the second name belongs to supervisor)

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Galip Yalman	(METU, ADM)	
Assist. Prof. Dr. Ceren Ergenç	(METU, IR)	
Prof. Dr. Seriye Sezen	(TODAİE)	

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

Name, Last name : Onurcan Ülker

Signature :

ABSTRACT

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Ülker, Onurcan

M.Sc., Department of Political Science and Public Administration

Supervisor : Assist. Prof. Dr. Ceren Ergenç

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Transformation of the Communist Party of China (CPC) during China's gradual but strong-willed marketization in post-Mao era has long been attracting attention of social scientists. Today, two popular approaches to this transformation in mainstream literature are liberal-individualist and state-centric/institutionalist ones. While the former of these approaches mainly argues that market-oriented transformation in China will sooner or later end up with the collapse of the 'authoritarian' CPC rule by creating individuals as bearers of liberal-democratic values, the latter mainly focuses on whether the CPC as a self-seeking social actor could succeed in 'adapting' itself to the changing social environment by also leading a political transformation alongside of the economic one. The aim of this study is to offer an alternative approach to post-Mao transformation of the CPC on the basis of Mao Zedong's contributions to Marxist theory in terms of the analysis of the relationship between bureaucratic degeneration of the communist parties in power and capitalist restoration. Through an analysis from this point of view, it is argued in this study that the CPC has transformed from a party of communist militants to party of 'experts' and bureaucrats, from a Marxist-Leninist party to a pragmatic one, and from party of workers and peasants to party of higher social classes and segments including 'new capitalists' of China in post-Mao era.

Keywords: Communist Party of China, Socialist Transition, Bureaucratic Degeneration, Capitalist Restoration, Post-Mao China.

ÖZ

İŞÇİ SINIFININ ÖNCÜSÜNDEN PİYASA REFORMLARININ ÖNCÜSÜNE: MAO SONRASI ÇİN'DE ÇİN KOMÜNİST PARTİSİ'NİN DÖNÜŞÜMÜ

Ülker, Onurcan

Yüksek Lisans, Siyaset Bilimi ve Kamu Yönetimi Bölümü

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Çin Komünist Partisi'nin (ÇKP) Çin'in Mao sonrası aşamalı fakat kararlı piyasalaşma sürecindeki dönüşümü uzun süredir sosyal bilimcilerin ilgisini çekmektedir. Günümüzde, anaakım yazın içerisinde söz konusu dönüşüme yönelik liberal-bireyci ve devlet-merkezli/kurumsalcı olmak üzere iki popüler yaklaşım bulunmaktadır. Bu yaklaşımlardan ilki, esas olarak Çin'deki piyasa yönelimli dönüşümün liberal-demokratik değerlerin taşıyıcısı bireyler yaratarak eninde sonunda 'otoriter' ÇKP yönetimine son vereceğini savunurken, ikincisi kendi çıkarlarını gözeten bir toplumsal aktör olan ÇKP'nin, ekonomik dönüşümün yanı sıra siyasal bir dönüşüme de önderlik ederek değişen toplumsal çevreye 'uyum' sağlayıp sağlayamayacağı üzerinde durmaktadır. Bu çalışmanın amacı, Mao Zedung'un iktidardaki komünist partilerin bürokratik yozlaşması ile kapitalist restorasyon arasındaki ilişki tahlili bağlamında Marksist teoriye yaptığı katkı temelinde, ÇKP'nin Mao sonrası dönüşümüne yönelik alternatif bir yaklaşım sunmaktır. Çalışmada, bu bakış açısı temelinde yapılan tahlil doğrultusunda, ÇKP'nin Mao sonrası dönemde bir komünist militanlar partisinden bir 'uzmanlar' ve bürokratlar partisine, Marksist-Leninist bir partiden pragmatik bir partiye, ve işçilerin ve köylülerin partisinden Çin'in 'yeni kapitalistleri' de dahil olmak üzere üst toplumsal sınıf ve kesimlerin partisine dönüştüğü ileri sürülmektedir.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Çin Komünist Partisi, Sosyalist Geçiş, Bürokratik Yozlaşma, Kapitalist Restorasyon, Mao Sonrası Çin.

To my parents,

to my grandmother,

and to my lovely cat, of course…

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Last but not least, I also want to repeat an academic *cliché*, which I actually find quite ridiculous but sounds pretty cool and makes a study look like more seminal than it really is: 'All remaining faults are mine alone!'

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Comintern	Communist International (the Third International)
CPC	Communist Party of China
CPPCC	Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference
CPSU	Communist Party of Soviet Union
EOI	Export Oriented Industrialization
G77	Group of Seventy-Seven
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GNP	Gross National Product
GOSR	Great October Socialist Revolution
GPCR	Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution
IMF	International Monetary Fund
ISI	Import Substitution Industrialization
IWMA	International Working Men's Association (the First International)
KGB	Committee for State Security (of the Soviet Union)
KMT	Kuomintang (Chinese Nationalist Party)
NAM	Non-Aligned Movement
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NEP	New Economic Policy
NPC	National People's Congress
OPEC	Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries
PLA	People's Liberation Army
PRC	People's Republic of China
RSDLP	Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party
SOE	State-Owned Enterprise
SR	Socialist Revolutionary [Party]
SRC (B)	Soviet Revolutionary Communists (Bolsheviks)
UN DESA	United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs
US[A]	United States [of America]
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Even shorter than a century ago, famous British philosopher Bertrand Russell (1922: 251-252) was stating that it was "realizable" for poor China to become an important player at world scale and hence, to give mankind "a whole new hope in the moment of greatest need" in near future. Although this optimistic 'hope' of Russell most probably sounded quite ridiculous to many of his contemporaries particularly since China was a vast 'semi-colonial and semi-feudal' country exhausted by ongoing domestic conflicts at that time; today, there is no doubt that People's Republic of China (PRC) is one of the most prominent economic, political and military actors at international scale. Although Chinese always state that they "believe that the correct development policy for China, or for any other developing country, must take into consideration the conditions of that country" (Zhao, 2010), the so called 'Chinese model' is admired and emulated by leaders of developing countries "[f]rom Vietnam to Syria, from Burma to Venezuela, and all across Africa" (Callick, 2007). Moreover, even some Western opinion-shaping media organs have been publishing articles that portray PRC as a kind of 'life saver' for the capitalist world system (see, e.g., Warner, 2012), which has been in a "structural crisis" since 1970s (Amin, 2011: 22-23), as well.[1] As if confirming Russell's optimistic predictions, today, PRC is not only an important player at international scale, but also 'a whole new hope' for so many actors who even have conflicting interests.

'Rise of China' also triggers scholarly and journalistic interest in PRC in many respects. In debates over China's rapid transformation from a poor agricultural country sacked by imperialists to a leading power in a quite short period of time, the

[1] Some scholars even go further in this sense and assert that PRC may use not only economic, but also military means in order to save capitalism in near future. For example, Collins (2013: 61-62) claims that, "[i]f there were a massive economic crisis in the United States, for instance, or the EU, in the year 2030, resulting in a shift to an anticapitalist regime, possibly some other still-thriving capitalist state (China, perhaps) would intervene to stop it."

role and/or place of the Communist Party of China (CPC) as the party in power in mainland China for more than six decades occupies a major place. As long as the so called 'Chinese miracle' is associated with market-oriented reforms of post-Mao era in mainstream literature, how the CPC has succeeded in preserving its power during the stormy period of the radical transformation of Chinese economy -unlike its counterparts in many formerly socialist countries which adopted 'shock therapies' for transition to 'market economy'- and will it be able to keep this success up in next stages of marketization come to the fore as basic questions that are discussed in scholarly and journalistic publications in this regard.

On the basis of answers given to these 'basic questions,' there mainly exist two broad seemingly contradictory, but actually overlapping categories of approaches to post-Mao transformation of the CPC in the mainstream literature. The first of these is *liberal-individualist* one that attributes an ontological priority to the atomistic individual -and glorifies the market as the realm that individual maximizes his/her benefits, rather than approaching it as a social relation- and takes the CPC as a sort of 'dependent variable' destiny of which will be written by atomistic individuals as 'market actors' whose interests have long been becoming more and more contradictory to the 'party-state's. The second approach is, on the other hand, *state-centric/institutionalist* one that emphasizes the prominent role of the CPC (or 'party-state') in reform process as a self-seeking actor and draws attention to the problem of whether the Party is capable of adapting itself to emerging dynamics of 'market society.' Despite difference in their approaches to state/society relations, both approaches portray the CPC and all other 'Leninist type of party-states' as 'authoritarian' bodies isolated from and/or externally related to society and try to find out whether the CPC will keep hold of power in China's inevitable journey towards 'democracy,' material basis of which has long been developing almost spontaneously since the very beginning of marketization process.

Thesis of this study is that, although literature is mainly dominated by state-centric/institutionalist and liberal-individualist positions, a Marxist framework enriched by Mao Zedong's contributions in terms of class struggle under socialism and potential dynamics of capitalist restoration is more satisfying in explaining post-

Mao transformation of the China in general and the CPC in particular, since it offers a holistic class-based approach in studying social reality contrary to its alternatives, which assume that different (but in fact, strictly interrelated) realms of social reality are not just methodologically, but ontologically separate. In this sense, here, it is offered that, analyses of post-Mao transformation of the CPC should be freed from the futile search for whether the Party will remain in power in the future; rather, how the class nature and ideology of the Party has been changing in reform era should to be focused on.

In order to provide an alternative analysis in this context, first, in the following chapter, what is classified as either 'state-centric/institutionalist' or 'liberal-individualist' will be explained in general terms and some basic arguments of these positions on post-Mao transformation of the CPC will be comparatively discussed. Then, main Marxist approaches to transformation and degeneration of communist parties in power during socialist transition in general, and Mao's approach in this sense in particular will be expounded and superiority of this perspective in analyzing social reality in a holistic way -despite some historical limitations and 'real politics' related problems of it- will be tried to be shown in order to provide a theoretical framework for study. Later on, this theoretical framework will be used in order to analyze post-Mao transformation of the CPC. In this respect, transformation of the post-Mao CPC from the party of communist militants to the party of 'experts' and bureaucrats; from a Marxist-Leninist 'vanguard party' to a pragmatic one; and from the party of laborers to the party of higher social classes and segments will be discussed in connection with social consequences and structural problems of post-Mao developmental path of the PRC. Herein, the aim is to show that, Mao's contribution to Marxism which was primarily developed on the basis of his analyses of bourgeois bureaucratic degeneration in the USSR and dynamics of such potential degeneration in China is verified by post-Mao transformation of the CPC to a great extent.

As last notes, the first-hand sources from Chinese language could not be used because of author's poor Chinese skills and author is also conscious that this is an important deficiency of this study. Throughout the text, Chinese *pinyin*

Romanization is used for most of the Chinese proper names, except in cases when Wade-Giles spelling is far more familiar to the most. Also, the 'Communist Party of China' (CPC) is used as English translation of *Zhongguo gongchandang*, rather than the 'Chinese Communist Party' (CCP) which is more prevalently used in Western scholarly and journalistic publications, in conformity with the official translation used in current publications of the CPC itself. Thereby, all 'CCP's in citations are also replaced by 'CPC' in order to avoid any confusion and provide coherence in the text.

CHAPTER II

TRANSFORMATION OF POST-MAO CPC IN MAINSTREAM LITERATURE: A CRITIQUE

In mainstream literature, there exist a good number of 'theoretical models' for studying modern Chinese politics. To use Guo's (2013: 12-32) categorization, there are currently at least fourteen of them which are quite "popular" among "China scholars."[2] While Guo is partially right to point out that each of these "theories and models" reflects "different methods, assumptions, and emphases on different levels of unit in the analysis of China's political development" (Guo, 2013: 12) in general terms, still, existence of that much 'theoretical models' can also be interpreted as an outcome of the 'over-disciplinization'/'over-categorization' habit -or bad habit- of Western -and above all, Anglo-Saxon- academia. In this sense, on the basis of each of these models approach to state/society relations, it is also possible to 're-categorize' them in a broader way under the concepts of 'liberal-individualism' and 'state-centric/institutionalism,' especially in terms of how they analyze post-Mao transformation of the CPC, which is related to their epistemological positionings and theoretical backgrounds as well.

So, in this chapter, first, a general framework of both liberal-individualist and state-centric/institutionalist perspectives will be drawn. Then, how these perspectives are used in explaining post-Mao transformation of the CPC will be revealed with examples and some errors of these perspectives in general and their application to post-Mao transformation of the CPC in particular will be shown.

Two Sides of a Coin: Liberal-Individualism and State-Centric/Institutionalism

[2] These are "the totalitarian model, modernization theory or developmental model, bureaucratic politics model, system theory model, factional politics model, elite politics model, informal politics model, pluralist politics model, soft authoritarianism or fragmented authoritarianism, theories of state-society relations, corporatism, political culture theories, institutional theories, and the Leninist party-state" (Guo, 2013: 14).

Rise of 'Modernization Theory' in Post-War Era

Comparative politics emerged as a field in social sciences parallel to the rise of so called 'modernization theory' in early 'Cold War' period, particularly related to US foreign policy towards newly established post-colonial and/or post-semi-colonial states in Latin America, Asia and Africa, which were almost an arena for the conflict between capitalist and socialist 'camps' at the time. Therefore, not surprisingly, modernization theory "was constructed by sociologists and political scientists involved in rapidly expanding research and teaching programmes established by the US government to equip the country with the regional expertise it needed to exercise its new role as a superpower" (Leys, 1996: 9).

What classical modernization scholars foresaw for 'developing' countries was a sort of spontaneous, linear evolution (or maturation) from 'traditional' to 'modern' in Weberian terms. In Max Weber's works, 'traditional' (or Oriental) and 'modern' (or Occidental) were taken as broad, solid and incompatible categories. Accordingly, in this framework, while 'modern' was defined as a "[f]ragmented civilisation with a balance of social power between all groups and institutions (i.e. multi-state system or multi-power actor civilisation)" where "public and private realms" were separated; 'traditional' was thought to be composed of "[u]nified civilisations with no social balance of power between groups and institutions (i.e. single-state systems or empires of domination)" where "public and private realms" were fused (Hobson, 2004: 16).

Although some scholars claim that Weberian framework consisted not only hermeneutical but also positivist elements (see, e.g., Freund, 1968; Ringer, 2000), actually, Weber was definitely not seeking for integrating these two opposing epistemological positions. In this sense, a core Weberian concept, 'ideal type,' certainly did not refer to a law-like positivist generalization. According to Weber (1949 [1904]: 90), an 'ideal type' was "formed by the one-sided *accentuation* of one or more points of view and by the synthesis of a great many diffuse, discrete, more or less present and occasionally absent *concrete individual* phenomena, which [were] arranged according to those one-sidedly emphasized viewpoints into a unified *analytical* construct." In its "conceptual purity," it was not possible to find this

"mental construct" in reality, since it was just a "*utopia*." This "conceptual construct" was neither the "historical reality" itself nor "even the 'true' reality" (Weber, 1949 [1904]: 93). So unlike positivists, who believe that the knowledge of social reality is universal/general and totally achievable via 'rational' scientific methods, for Weber, as a critical successor German cultural tradition, there were no such general truths and achievable knowledge of them, and each and every subject might produce different 'ideal types' when interpreting the same phenomena, especially because of having different cultural backgrounds. Hence, in Weberian framework, albeit the 'empirical' and method of observation were not denied at all, certainly, they were not given the same central role in empiricist-positivist framework, due to it was thought that "there [was] no absolute 'objective' scientific analysis of culture (…) of 'social phenomena' independent of special and 'one-sided' viewpoints according to which (…) they [were] selected, analyzed and organized for expository purposes" and for this reason, "[a]ll knowledge of cultural reality (…) [was] always knowledge from *particular points of view*" (Weber, 1949 [1904]: 72, 81).

At this point, it can be claimed that, even Weber's own culturalist categories of 'traditional' and 'modern' were also not more than 'ideal types' confined by his cultural background, in his own terms. However, when modernization theory reinterpreted and reproduced Weberian categories of 'traditional' and 'modern,' these no longer remained even as rationalist 'ideal types' and were converted into allegedly 'scientific' generalizations in line with positivist notion of universalism. For modernization scholars, there were well-defined universal starting and end points for all societies, constitutively independent from 'cultural differences.' Since the industrialized West had already completed its process of transition from 'traditional' to 'modern' social organizations, it could help East as well through "education and technology transfer to 'élites'" of 'traditional' countries in order to diffuse "modern values" there (Leys, 1996: 9-10). According to Daniel Lerner (1965 [1958]: 46), a leading modernization scholar, "the Western model of modernization exhibit[ed] certain components and sequences whose relevance [was] global." In the process of development, it was "the same basic model," which "evolved in West" as an

"historical fact," was reappearing "in virtually all modernizing societies on all continents of the world," regardless of "variations in race, color, [and] creed." Within this scope, the main obstacles in front of development for "societies-in-a-hurry" were their "little patience with the historical *pace* of Western development" and passion for accomplishing "what [had] happened in the West over centuries" only in years. So, for Lerner, non-Western societies had to accept leadership of the West (or the US in particular) and put up their "ethnocentric" ideals -which were "expressed politically in extreme nationalism, [and] psychologically in passionate xenophobia"- such as finding their "own way" for modernization as long as they wanted to become as modernized as Western nations as soon as possible (Lerner, 1965 [1958]: 47).

What Lerner (or modernization scholars in general) labeled as 'extremely nationalist' and 'xenophobic' and appraised as a 'threat' was definitely not those 'nationalist' movements, which were acting as allies of the 'Free World' -in the jargon of that time- against not only socialists/communists but also left-wing nationalists (or in Wallerstein's [2013: 25-26] words, "Marxists" and "political nationalists" who were controlling "the most powerful organizations" in social movements then) of their countries, in 'Cold War' context.[3] Rather, what directly targeted in this regard was right that left-wing or 'political' (not 'cultural'!) nationalist movements in the periphery, some of which even named themselves 'socialist.' Even though Wallerstein (2013: 26) claims that it was "relatively

[3] For instance, Kuomintang (KMT) under the leadership of Chiang Kai-shek -which enforcedly moved to Taiwan after defeated by the People's Liberation Army (PLA) led by the CPC, but never put up the claim of recapturing power in all Chinese territories including the mainland- was right such kind of nationalist party. Chiang leadership had been opposed by not only the CPC, but also left-wing nationalists within and outside of the KMT from the very beginning. Herein, articles, speeches and statements of Soong Qingling, second wife of the Chinese republican revolution's and the KMT's leader Sun Yat-sen, a leading member of the 'Left KMT' after fractionalization of the party following Sun's death, and vice president and honorary president of the PRC respectively, are quite interesting. As a left-wing nationalist, Soong (2004 [1931]: 27) was accusing post-Sun KMT leadership as "liquidating the party" in favour of "personal dictatorship of Chiang Kai-shek." US was militarily aiding the KMT "reactionaries" in order to "crush" the communists and provoking a civil war; and by accepting the US aid, the KMT was acting adversely to Sun's principle of "People's Nationalism" which meant "China is one nation, one people" at that time (Soong, 2004 [1946]). According to her, not the KMT, but the CPC was "the surest guarantee that Sun Yat-sen's Three Principles -People's Nationalism, People's Democracy and People's Livelihood- [would] be carried out" since this party had "the strength of the masses" behind (Soong, 2004 [1949]: 191).

pessimist attitudes of the megacorporations and the hegemonic power" in postwar era that allowed "Old Left movements," including "the nationalist and national liberation movements," to achieve their "historic goal of state power" almost everywhere in the world by mid-1960s, as Amin (1994: 28) points out, actually, it was precisely this "Afro-Asian national liberation movement" which was the "real obstacle to US hegemony" at that time. Though in cases of "weakest national liberation movements surrendering to neocolonial compromise," US as "the hegemonic power of the postwar system" was appearing to support these movements, the same US was leading "imperialist fights" against "the strongest radical movements –those that were led by Communist parties (China, Vietnam, Cuba) or by determined nationalists supported by a radicalized popular movement (Nasserism, Arab and African socialism)" (Amin, 1994: 29).

At all events, the reason behind almost all of these national liberation movements (including those towards socialism) was "potentially revolutionary" objective situation that emerged as a consequence of "polarization caused by capitalist expansion," because of which imperialism had never been "able to make the social and political compromises necessary to install stable powers operating to its advantage in the countries of the capitalist periphery" (Amin, 1994: 28). When considered from this point of view, it is obvious that, prescription of modernization theory for 'developing' nations -that contained a sort of 'cultural' transformation or maturation- was definitely not capable of solving problems which directly stem from the socioeconomic base. This fact started to be recognized as early as mid-1950s in many peripheral countries in which either socialist/communist or left-wing nationalist movements/parties were in power. Bandung Conference of 1955 was an epic event in this regard, not only because of it "made manifest tendencies such as the relatively common social conditions of the colonized states and the nationalist movements that each of these states produced," but also produced "a belief that two-thirds of the world's people had the right to return to their own burned cities, cherish them, and rebuild them in their own image" (Prashad, 2007: 32-33). Thereby, Bandung was forerunner of both political and intellectual opposition of ""non European' (so called 'coloured') nations whose rights had been denied by historical

colonialism/imperialism of Europe, the US and Japan" (Amin, 2015: 1) at international scale, and for this reason, even simply its existence was an early challenge to theses of modernization theory. In the way that was paved by 'Bandung spirit,' influence of which was not limited to only African and Asian participants of the Conference, not only some solidarity groupings of Third World nations such as Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) and the Group of Seventy-Seven (G77) were formed (Geldart, & Lyon, 1980-1981), but also alternative perspectives that emphasize the importance of 'delinking' as prerequisite of development, above all on the basis of critical/radical 'dependency theory,' were developed.

While anti-imperialist critiques of classical modernization theory which particularly arose from dependency approach "was simply ignored" by addressees for a long time (Leys, 1996: 64), starting from 1960s, it also started to be seen clearly by everyone that, "almost uninterrupted expansion of post-war capitalism" was about to come to an end: Economic growth was slowing down, profit rates were falling, and recessions and trade crises were becoming more frequent, and 'developing' countries were affected by these in particular as long as "terms of trade deteriorated for primary products and the import-substituting industrialization process lost its dynamism" (Larrain, 1989: 111). Moreover, "revolutionary instability and increasing reaction in Latin America and South Asia" were also posing a great challenge to "the original optimistic assumption" of classical modernization theory, "that the process of development involved drawing the populations of the Third World out of their traditional isolation into a modern social system that would be participative, pluralistic and democratic" (Leys, 1996: 65).

Huntingtonian Institutionalist Answer to Crisis of Modernization Theory

Huntingtonian line of institutionalism came to the foreground as a sort of 'intrasystem solution' to structural problems of classical modernization theory which were becoming more and more visible in 1960s. In this sense, what Samuel Huntington did was revising and revitalizing pluralistic modernization theory from an institutionalist point of view, rather than totally rejecting it (Leys, 1996: 74). Where these equally culturalist positions differ from each other was, actually, the

'independent variable' role given to the state (and institutions) in Huntingtonian framework. Although according to modernization scholars, there was simultaneity between different components of 'political development' -such as "democratization, political 'mobilization,' the 'building' of nation states, administrative and legal development, secularization, equality, 'sub-system autonomy,' etc."-, for Huntington, 'modernization' was not such harmonious process (Leys, 1996: 66). Rather, rapid 'political development' "as mobilization and participation" in newly established states -where institutionalization lacked- was ultimately ending up with "erosion of democracy," "autocratic military regimes and one-party regimes," "repeated coups and revolts," "repeated ethnic conflicts and civil wars," and "decay of the administrative organizations inherited from the colonial era and a weakening and disruption of political organizations developed during the struggle for independence" (Huntington, 1965: 391-392). In this regard, "institutionalization," which was defined as "the process by which organizations and procedures acquire value and stability" (Huntington, 1965: 394), should come first in order to control the increase in social mobility during the process of development and to prevent 'political decay.'

From Huntingtonian point of view, as long as formation of "adaptable," "complex," "autonomous," and "coherent" institutions was a compulsory condition for development (Huntington, 1965: 394-405), transition period itself might or might not be 'democratic,' since "[p]remature increases in political participation -including things like early elections- could destabilize fragile political systems" (Fukuyama, 2011). Therefore, while for modernization scholars, there was a unique and universal path of development, for institutionalists like Huntington, there could be more than one path -particularly because of having different cultural backgrounds which could not be just removed overnight- in this regard. So much so that, according to Huntington (1965: 408), not only the US, but also the USSR was a "civic polity" that had high level of "both mobilization and institutionalization." Just like Presidency, Senate, House of Representatives and Supreme Court in the US, there were Presidium, Secretariat and Central Committee of the Communist Party in the USSR as institutions that had "specific institutional interests," which coincided with "public

interests" independent from personal (and also class-based) ones; and in this context, the so called "Stalinism" was a parenthesis in Soviet history in which development process had interrupted due to Stalin's "personal interests" had took "precedence over the institutionalized interests" of the Communist Party of Soviet Union (CPSU) (Huntington, 1965: 412-414).

In line with his critique towards Stalin era in the USSR, that particularly stemmed from an obsession with institutionalized 'political order,' Huntington was also quite critical towards encouragement of mass initiative for direct political participation as 'antidote' of bureaucratization in the CPC ranks in Maoist China. Contrary to Mao, bureaucratization was something desirable and necessary for institutionalization according to Huntington. For him, while ideology was "essential" in "bifurcated" societies during "periods of intense, rapid, and violent change and conflict," in "consensual" societies, it was "superfluous." Therefore, "[t]he erosion of ideology" was going "hand in hand with the acceptance, stability, and long-term vitality of the system," which means this erosion was "a sign of not decay but of stability" (Huntington, 1970: 27). Accordingly, "renewed stress on ideology" during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (GPCR) in China was "portent of social tension and political conflict" (Huntington, 1970: 28). In Huntingtonian framework, institutions themselves were attributed a subject role. Hence, for Huntington, while during "the initial struggle for power," interests of the leader and the party were coinciding with each other, still, rise of a divergence between two was inevitable once the leader and the party ensured their power (Huntington, 1970: 29). In this sense, Mao's "resort to the frenzied activities" like the GPCR was a clear expression of the conflict between Mao himself as a leader who had "personal, charismatic authority" and the CPC which had "routinized, bureaucratic authority." Mao was frightened of "the relatively high level of institutionalization achieved" by the CPC, and was trying to "maximize his own power." But his attempt to "revive the enthusiasm, the dynamism, the egalitarianism, and primitive austerity that characterized the movement in its earliest phases" in order to subordinate the CPC would sooner or later end up with weakening or even destruction of the party "internally" (Huntington, 1970: 29-30).

From 'national developmentalism' to 'structural adjustment'

Despite critical/radical approaches also started to rise as early as 1960s, from early post-World War II period to mid-70s and early 1980s, developmental literature was dominated mainly by 'national developmentalist' paradigm, key features of which were "the desire for greater self-sufficiency and early industrialization, the preference for economic planning and public control, and hostility to foreign investment" (Johnson, 1967; cited in Gore, 2000: 791). Although these 'features' sound quite 'radical' today in the so called 'globalizing -or globalized- world', actually, they were just components of Import Substitution Industrialization (ISI) strategy, which was not an alternative to, but a pillar of post-war international economic order, alongside of demand-side Keynesian policies adopted in the center of the capitalist world system. In this sense, ISI based 'national developmentalism' was not a form of "delinking" which can be defined as "the submission of external relations to the logic of internal development, the opposite of structural adjustment of the peripheries to the demands of the polarizing worldwide expansion of the capital" (Amin, 1994: 166). Rather, this project was completely compatible with needs of 'the polarizing worldwide expansion of the capital' at that time and therefore, modernization school and its' 'intrasystem' institutionalist critique were also 'national developmentalist' in this context.

"After the Second World War, globalised capitalism experienced a period of marked growth which lasted for a quarter of a century, from 1945 to 1970" (Amin, 2011: 21). Thus, while it is true that "[h]istory shows us that it is impossible to catch up within the framework of world capitalism" and "[d]elinking can serve only alternative development peculiar to a very long transition beyond capitalism" in the last analysis (Amin, 1994: 167); still, mainstream 'national developmentalist' paradigm became able to provide more or less sustainable development programs to those peripheral states which either voluntarily or forcibly chose to take part in international division of labour in post-war era, at least for a while. But once post-war international economic order went through a crisis both in political (particularly with 1968 movement or "1968 revolution" in Wallerstein and Zukin's [1989] words)

and economic (particularly with cancellation of the gold-dollar standard in 1971 and following OPEC oil crisis in 1973-74) terms, growth rates of most developing countries also started to collapse starting from 1970s. For 'national developmentalist' paradigm, GNP and GNP per capita were "the principal measuring tools of economic growth, which itself had become the principal indicator of economic development" (Wallerstein, 1995: 116). Hence, a dramatic decrease in them also sounded the death knell for dominant post-war approach -or approaches- to development as well.

As a result of this turmoil, a set of policies, which would later be named as "Washington Consensus" by John Williamson (2004) in 1989, started to be raised as an alternative to 'national developmentalist' paradigm. One main pillar of this shift was questionably the so called 'structural adjustment programs' prepared by international financial institutions, role of which were somewhat redefined after the collapse of Bretton Woods system in early 1970s. To express with words of their supporters, the goal of these programs was to provide assistance to 'developing' countries in terms of "establish[ing] conditions that would yield balance of payments viability, price stability, and a growth rate that would support a steady improvement in living standards" (Frenkel, & Khan, 1993: 86). The method that international financial institutions offer in order to achieve this goal was simple: Further liberalizing the economy. In this sense, "basic components" of IMF led programs in late 1970s and early 1980s were, "[a]bolition or liberalization of foreign exchange and import controls," "[d]evaluation of exchange rate," "[d]omestic anti-inflationary programs" including "control of bank credits," "control of the government deficit," "control of wage rises," "dismantling of price control," and "[g]reater hospitality to foreign investment" (Payer, 1974: 32-33; cited in Harris, 1988: 321). By implementing this agenda, developing nations would switch from ISI to Export Oriented Industrialization (EOI). Neoliberal theorists were believing that there was a positive correlation between export performance and economic growth, due to outward orientation was providing higher flexibility in national economy, rather than inward oriented model that narrowed down competition to domestic market, and ISI was making the costs higher, while EOI was far more efficient in allocation of

resources and thus, more successful in achieving higher levels of domestic saving ratios (Balassa, 1982: 25-8).

Liberal-Individualism: Methodological Basis of Neoliberalism

Methodological basis of neoliberalism and new-right policies that replaced the so called "embedded liberalism" of post-war era (Ruggie, 1982) was 'methodological individualism' or "Truistic Social Atomism" as Lukes (1968: 120) calls it, which had a "doctrine" based on the assumption that "facts about society and social phenomena are to be explained solely in terms of facts about individuals." According to this perspective, not social entities or 'collectives' (classes, nations, societies, races, civilizations, social groups, etc.), but atomistic individual was *real*, rather than being *theoretical*. The "ontological claim" here was that "what really exists are not societies, or governments, for example, but the individuals that comprise them" (Stokes, 1997: 62), or to express in Karl Popper's (1945: 91) words, "all social phenomena, and especially functioning of all social institutions, should always be understood as resulting from the decisions, actions, attitudes, etc., of human individuals." In a similar vein, Friedrich Hayek (1958 [1948]: 6), thoughts of whom were one of the most prominent sources of inspiration for new-right politics, was also stating that, "there is no other way toward an understanding of social phenomena but through our understanding of individual actions directed toward other people and guided by their expected behavior" quite contrary to arguments of "properly collectivist theories of society which pretend to be able directly to comprehend social wholes like society, etc., as entities *sui generis* which exist independently of the individuals which compose them."

Strong opposition of liberal-individualist new-right to so called 'state intervention into the market' was also rooted in this ontological priority attributed to individual. According to neoliberals, in period between 1930s and 1980s, the world was place where prices were set not by the inner dynamics of the market -contrary to as it should be-, but rather, through interventions of the state as an external entity. In such an environment, there was no place for atomistic individuals to maximize their benefits via their natural abilities since the functioning of the market was prevented

by outer interventions of the state. Thus, in order to reproduce social order after the fall of Keynesianism, first, the market had to be 'freed' from intervention and provided a safe environment to function by itself. In this sense, idealization and glorification of market also paved the way for "imperialism of economics" (Yalman, 2010: 17-20). As Hall (1979: 14) incisively points out, since liberal-individualist new-right was "predicated on a notion of a social formation as a simple structure in which economic factors will be immediately and transparently translated to the political and ideological levels," it was falling "under the sign of all 'economisms' in supposing that, if you operate on the 'determining level' -the economic front- all the other pieces of the puzzle will fall neatly into place."

"In the prevailing discourse (…) [t]he market is considered a manifest condition of democracy, the latter inexorably bound up with the former" (Amin, 2000: 582). However, from the very beginning, essentially, there was no antagonistic contradiction between neoliberal transformation and the notion of 'strong state,' despite new-right politics was based on a strictly 'anti-statist' discourse. On the one hand, liberal-individualist new-right was fictionalizing the relationship between the state and the market as an external one, and in this sense, rejecting any sort of state intervention into the market since "planning" and "freedom" were seen totally incompatible (Mattik, 1946). From this point of view, the only guarantee of individual freedom was the free functioning of the market itself. On the other hand, this liberal-individualist position was also critical to classical liberal "utopian" doctrine of "harmony of interests" that supposed "[i]n pursuing his own interest, the individual pursues that of the community, and in promoting the interest of the community he promotes his own" (Carr, 1946: 42). Hayek (1958 [1948]: 15) was stating that, "famous presumption of classical liberals that each man knows his interests best" was a "misleading phrase" since "nobody can know *who* knows best and that the only way by which we can find out is through a social process in which everybody is allowed to try and see what he can do." In this framework, individual was drawn as an agent unable to know exact results of his/her rational actions in advance. Moreover, interests of each and every individual and interests of the society did not necessarily have to match up perpetually. "The development of society

depend[ed] on no single will, but [was] the outcome of competition between many wills, the product of many experiments, many mistakes, many failures as well as many successes" (Gamble, 1996: 37). Hayekian concept of 'spontaneous order' was right coined in this regard, in order to denominate "the unintended consequence of all agents using the local knowledge at their disposal to pursue their interests within a framework of general rules that prescribe just conduct" (Gamble, 1996: 37-38). Since spontaneous order, "the most general kind of which" was the market order, arose out of "the individual wills of the participants" and individual human beings were considered as "lazy, improvident, and wasteful" -quite contrary to classical liberals' largely positive 'human nature' conceptualization-, appropriate "general rules and institutions" had to be set in order to assure trouble-free functioning of the market (Gamble, 1996: 38-40).

In this regard, not surprisingly, liberal-individualist new-rightists largely supported repressive regimes and dictatorships in peripheral states in 'structural adjustment' processes, particularly in terms of suppression of popular class movements and organizations that posed a great obstacle to market economy's healthy operation. For instance, related to the case of Pinochet coup, which paved the way for neoliberal restructuring of Chilean economy under the guidance of Milton Friedman's 'Chicago Boys,' Hayek (1981) was honestly stating in an interview that, it was "possible for a dictator to govern in a liberal way" and in this sense, he was in favour of "a liberal dictator to democratic government lacking liberalism" especially in "transitional periods." Underlying idea here was that, "authoritarian regimes [were] more likely to be strongly committed to adjustment and thus to be better performers at it than [were] democratic regimes" (Toye, 1992: 187).

Therefore, fundamentally, what neoliberals advocated was definitely not state's retreat in its entirety vis-à-vis the increasing power of the capital; rather, what they proposed was bringing the state into conformity with demands of the capital through restructuring it, since without state power, 'threats' to functioning of the market from 'inside' and especially 'outside' could not be rigorously suppressed. So, as Panitch (2000: 6) points out, what emerged as an outcome of neoliberal transition

was a "new systemic relation between the state and capital" which was not "one that diminished the role of states."

'Bringing the State Back In': Failure of 'Market Fundamentalism' and the Rise of State-Centric/Institutionalism

Neoliberal 'structural adjustment' project became less enduring than 'national developmentalism' in peripheral states and came up against serious problems in a relatively short period of time. According to Harris (1988: 323), structural adjustment programs were "ill-designed" from the very beginning, due to they were "short term," required "internal changes in response to problems that [were] often externally generated," and required "difficult long-term adjustments." Therefore, they were rather "destabilizing" in terms of social order and politics, since "designed to overturn the existing way of running economy" (Harris, 1988: 324). In this regard, most countries that abandoned ISI-based development strategies after serious debt crises in favour of "a policy package that emphasized macroeconomic discipline and structural reforms, freeing trade and investment flows and aggressively pursuing deregulation and privatization" faced with "weak and volatile" economic growth that would end up with a series of financial crises as well as "disappointing" social outcomes (Fraile, 2009: 215-216). Result was, not surprisingly, evaporation of "early optimism" about 'market economy' (Bedirhanoğlu, & Yalman, 2010: 111-112).

Once structural problems of "market oriented" or "market conforming" paradigm came to light, "institutional" or "market augmenting" paradigm in Amsden's (1989) words, started to gain popularity, particularly related to relative success of the 'East Asian Tigers' in terms of economic growth, thanks to allegedly "developmental states" of them, "central economic mechanism" in which was considered as "the use of state power to raise the economy's investible surplus; insure that a high portion [was] invested in productive capacity within the national territory; guide investment into industries that [were] important for the economy's ability to sustain higher wages in the future; and expose the investment projects to international competitive pressure whether directly or indirectly" (Wade, 1990: 342). Contrary to liberal-individualist approach that promised "industrial expansion if the

state [was] strong enough merely to provide enough political stability for long-term investments, to point prices in right direction, and then to exit," this new state-centric/institutionalist position was asserting that "government intervention to augment supply and demand" was necessary in "late-industrializing countries" for steady economic growth (Amsden, 1989: 146-147).

While new wave of institutionalism especially started to dominate literature in early 1990s -such that even World Bank (1991: 1-2) started to attract notice to "further gain" in "government intervention" into market in cases of "fail" and the necessity of cooperation between "markets and governments" in order to get "spectacular" results in development, during those days-, this position had already been on rise since late 1970s and early 1980s. The term, 'new institutionalism,' was coined by March and Olsen (1984: 738), in order to identify a newly emerging approach that insisted "a more autonomous role for political institutions." According to this description, new institutionalism was an umbrella term that involved three different "schools of thought" -namely, historical institutionalism, rational choice institutionalism, and sociological institutionalism-[4] which mainly "developed in reaction to the behavioral perspectives that were influential during the 1960s and 1970s and all seek to elucidate the role that institutions play in the determination of social and political outcomes" (Hall, & Taylor, 1996: 936). Actually, "institutional" or "market augmenting" approach, in Amsden's (1989) words, was mainly an extension of historical institutionalist wing of new institutionalism that specifically concentrated in the "rise and decline of institutions over time, probing the origins, impact, and stability or instability of specific institutions as well as broader institutional configurations" (Pierson, & Skocpol, 2002: 706).

Like Huntington, who had long before asserted as objection to modernization scholars that copying policy agendas of 'civic societies' does not simply end up with modernization of newly independent states, historical institutionalists also argued

[4] Schmidt (2006: 99) adds yet another "school of thought" to this theoretical framework as "the newest of 'new' institutionalisms," namely, the "discursive" one that "considers the state in terms of the ideas and discourse that actors use to explain, deliberate, and/or legitimize political action in institutional context according to the 'logic of communication'."

that "political events happen within a historical context, which has a direct consequence for the decisions or events" (Steinmo, 2008: 127), and thus, in different historical (or more precisely 'institutional') contexts, even exactly same policies do not necessarily generate same results. Basically, this presumption was the basis of famous historical institutionalist concept of 'path dependency.' From this point of view, it was believed that "[o]nce actors have ventured far down a particular path, (…) they are likely to find it very difficult to reverse course" and "[p]olitical alternatives that were once quite plausible may become irretrievably lost", since "[o]nce established, patterns of political mobilization, the institutional rules of the game, and even citizens' basic ways of thinking about the political world will often generate self-reinforcing dynamics" (Pierson, & Skocpol, 2002: 699-700).

Unlike liberal-individualists, states were taken as autonomous actors which "formulate and pursue their own goals" (Skocpol, 1999 [1985]) in this 'new' state-centric/instutionalist framework. Development of society as a whole, particularly in "less-developed countries" was connected to well-functioning of the state, which was in direct proportion to "state capacity" or state's "institutional capacity required to turn its policy pronouncements into actual achievements" (Chibber, 2003: 19). "State capacity" had mainly two elements: A "well-oiled," rational bureaucracy to prevent individualistic exploitation of state agencies and easy colonization of them by foreigners, and "embeddedness" of the state in the market to allow state managers to get "information about performance and productivity" (Chibber, 2003: 20-21). In Evans' (1995: 248) words, "embedded autonomy" of the state was "not just autonomy" of the state, rather, it also meant state's immersion "in a dense network ties that bind [it] to societal allies with transformational goals" in order to increase "efficiency." Here, states -and institutions- were portrayed as living entities. Among those, which had 'embedded autonomy' were 'developmental' ones that were capable of collecting data from the society and market, producing knowledge through these data, and intervening in social relations and adapting themselves to social needs in the light of this knowledge in order to lead social and economic development as a whole. On the other hand, those which lacked 'embedded

autonomy' were named as 'predatory states,' which were lacking "the ability to prevent individual incumbents from pursuing their own goals" (Evans, 1995: 12).

In this context, the fictional ontological distinction between the state and society (and market) was also reproduced in state-centric/individualist literature, just like in liberal-individualist one. "The desire to counter neoliberalism by strengthening states vis-à-vis markets" was based on a "remarkable idealization of the states as the repository of community values and societal needs" in this framework (Panitch, 2000: 7). However, what state-centric/institutionalists mainly failed to notice was "[a]s long as states exist within the global system of capitalism, no state can become non-capitalist simply by embracing (economic) nationalism; rather, the nationalistic and statist mode of development is one of the forms in which the capitalist mode of production -that is, capitalist exploitation- expresses itself in a seemingly 'class-neutral,' fetishistic form" (Song, 2013: 1271). For instance, as Hart-Landsberg and Burkett (2001: 7) points out, in the case of so called 'miracle economy' of South Korea, which was propounded as a 'success story' by many institutionalists especially before 1997 financial crisis, it was not the 'autonomous' role played by the state and institutions as neutral actors that led extremely high rates of growth and trade surplus; rather, accompaniers of "state direction of economic activity" were "repression of labour; Japanese willingness to sell technology, components and machinery to South Korean exporters; and US willingness to provide political and financial support as well as a market for South Korean exports," which shows that this model was not only highly dependent, but also based on high domestic class-related tensions. In this sense, if there was really an 'autonomy' of the state in this idealized model, this was definitely not an 'embedded' one as some institutionalists claimed. Rather, this was more analogous with "relative autonomy" in Poulantzian sense, which means while the -capitalist- state "maintains its relative autonomy of particular fractions of the power bloc," in the last analysis, it represents "the long-term political interest of the whole bourgeoisie" (Poulantzas, 2000 [1978]: 128), since there exist no state or institution entirely free from particular class interests.

Liberal-Individualist and State-Centric/Institutionalist Approaches to Post-Mao Transformation of the CPC

Mainstream literature in social sciences in general and political science in particular has long been dominated by liberal-individualism and state-centric/institutionalism, general frameworks and historical backgrounds of which are at least roughly addressed above. In this sense, studies on post-Mao transformation of China are also not exceptional. Although it is possible to find some very enlightening works on marketization process of China in general from critical/radical points of view, there are almost no such analyses specifically focus on post-Mao transformation of the CPC parallel to transformation of the Chinese society as a whole. However, liberal-individualist and state-centric/institutionalist scholars and authors are also quite productive in this specific field as well. So, before suggesting a critical analysis of the post-Mao transformation of the CPC, first, it is needed to show how liberal-individualist and state-centric/institutionalist frameworks are used in order to explain this transformation and where analyses from these perspectives lack in explaining social reality.

Liberal-Individualism on the post-Mao CPC: A Party in Its Final Crisis

A plenty of scholars, journalists, 'policy analysts,' and even 'policy makers' -especially from the West (including some Chinese émigrés)- have long been claiming that marketization will force the CPC to step back in one way or another and compel it to permit a sort of Western-type of multi-party liberal democracy in China, sooner or later. Actually, what lies at the very bottom of liberal-individualist analyses of the post-Mao transformation of the CPC is right this argument in broad strokes.

Here, "[t]he market is considered a manifest condition of democracy, the latter inexorably bound up with the former" by liberal-individualists (Amin, 2000: 582). In this sense, while sometimes 'non-democratic' regimes are also found acceptable in sustaining stability during transition processes -towards 'free market' economy-, in the final analysis, it is strongly believed that, steady functioning of the market and a fully-fledged market society -necessarily composed of atomistic

individuals- are inconsistent with any kind of 'authoritarian party-state rule,' especially if the party in question is branded as 'communist' -a name that recalls 'collective ownership' which means absence of minimum conditions for a democratic rule to liberal-individualists. In words with Fenby (2014: 118), "[t]he enormous material achievement of the last 35 years have not been matched by a corresponding development of the country's ruling ethos," which is assumed to be based on "the intense centralization of authority in the party-state." From this point of view, it is believed that while in "industry, science, technology, and military matters, the CPC leadership has made much of a *kuayue*-style (leap forward) progress" in post-Mao era, in "political matters, particularly areas dealing with democratization (…) to go-slow, play-safe mentality has prevailed" (Lam, 2006: 269-270).

Liberal-individualist approach to post-Mao transformation of the CPC *has long been* quite 'optimistic' about the CPC's -and PRC's- collapse in *near* future, particularly since Tiananmen Square demonstrations of 1989, which it describes broadly as a "spontaneous student-led democracy movement" (Tsai, 2007: 1). Although the CPC has already faced so many challenges since 1989 and at least up to the present, it became more or less successful in restoring its power by fair means or foul in each turning point, this expectation remained more or less the same. Condoleezza Rice, professor of political science at Stanford and future US Secretary of State, stated in 1998, even almost a decade after the suppression of Tiananmen uprising, that, "[t]he Chinese Communists [were] living on borrowed time; economic liberalization [was] going to create pressure for political freedom" (Heilbrunn, 1999: 22; cited in Burton, 2008: 152). Rice was neither the first nor the last figure who expressed her trust in Chinese capitalist class as prospective pioneer of China's liberal-democratic transition. Larry Diamond, senior fellow at the Hoover Institution and senior adviser on governance to the Coalition Provisional Authority in post-occupation Baghdad, who was 53 at that time, would also argue that before he dies, "China [would] be a democracy," in 2004 (quoted in, "Analysis: Is China", 2004)! While it has already passed more than ten years since Diamond declared the CPC's fall beforehand and the Party still preserves its power and seems quite stable, he still

stands behind his prediction perseveringly. In a more recent article of him, titled "Xi Jinping Could Be China's Last Communist Ruler," published in the first days of the so called 'Umbrella Movement' in Hong Kong, Diamond (2014) was claiming that, "China's Communist rulers" were then "in a trap of their own making." The main reason behind social unrest especially among youth in today's China was the rise of a "civil society" alongside "a pragmatic and more independent-minded business class" in the wake of "rapid economic growth." According to him, Xi Jinping, General Secretary of the 18th Central Committee of the CPC and PRC's president-in-office, did not appear like a leader who understands "the natural limits of his power" and in case of a possible spread of protest movement, he might make an "awful choice" and try to "repeat the tragic mistake of 1989," which would most probably end "Communist rule" in China, since this was "not the China of 25 years ago" (Diamond, 2014). As seen in these examples, template in minds of liberal-individualists is linear and simple: Expansion of the economy -thanks to marketization- brings higher living standards, higher education levels and "a more complicated socioeconomic structure" which cannot be absorbed by an excessively centralist 'party-state,' and these result in spread of demands of "freedom and democracy" automatically in society (Hu, 2000: 155; cited in Tsai, 2007: 2).

Some key arguments of liberal-individualist position on post-Mao transformation and possible future of the CPC can be found in Bruce Gilley's *China's Democratic Future: How Will It Happen and Where Will It Lead*, dated 2004. According to Gilley (2004: 21-26), from the very beginning of the reform era, it was known by the CPC's 'reformer' leadership that "economic reforms demanded changes in political techniques," although reformers "had no intention of launching a process in which CPC would eventually have to compete for power with other parties," and thus, only some perfunctory steps towards not "democratization," but "institutionalization, liberalization, [and] decompression" were taken in terms of "political reform." And once inadequacy of these steps appeared particularly with "mass demands for democratic political reforms" in 1989, Chinese "new elites" who led CPC gave response to crisis by converting the Party from being foundation of "a dictatorship of the left to a dictatorship of the right," especially after inviting

"leading capitalists" into the Party in early 2000s. Hence, during post-Mao economic reform process, what CPC experienced was a more ideological -and in an extent institutional- transformation rather than a political one which did not address to the structural problems of 'dictatorial rule,' but rather, aimed at preserving dictatorship through restoration of legitimacy in changing Chinese society. On the other hand, Gilley does not believe that CPC could succeed in realizing this aim. First and foremost, while until the beginning of new century, it was usually thought that business interests were compatible with the "authoritarian state" and the CPC rule, from then on, it seems that, "China's new business elite" also started to recognize "[n]ot everyone could be a 'privileged entrepreneur'" and show "signs of following in the well-worn footsteps of its counterparts worldwide" (Gilley, 2004: 65-66). Therefore, he asserts that despite ruling 'elite's' attempts to embrace rising capitalists, "private businessmen" almost intrinsically "demand open and fair policy making" and "[m]arket-driven media introduce new ideas and uncovers political malfeasance" in today's China (Gilley, 2004: 60). Secondly, while it is possible to "fill in some of the 'democracy deficit,' in authoritarian regimes by improving decision making" particularly through building representative institutions, since "the goals and the power of the Party" remain still "nonnegotiable," forces outside of the CPC "can do no more than make the party" just "slightly" more democratic, but not at all (Gilley, 2004: 28). Therefore, China's "deep democracy deficit (…) cannot be remedied without challenging the CPC's dominating role in the political system" (Gilley, 2004: 29). Gilley thinks that such challenge is also essential for the very sake of the future of China's marketization process as well. According to him, "[t]he 'hidden costs' of China's transition to markets without the corresponding transition to limited political power are increasingly apparent" in an environment where "liberalization and institutionalization" gives rise to "a broad and stable middle class and an autonomous civil society armed with more information than ever, coupled with emergent legal, electoral, and parliamentary ideals of constrained state power" (Gilley, 2004: 31). While main aspects of a "sustainable" market economy are "innovation, effective regulation, safety, environmental protection, and financial health," none of these exist in China today. Rather, what marketization without

political transition towards liberal-democracy paved the way for in China seem to be "injustice, inequality, waste, costs, and pure heartbreak" which may no longer seen as "worthwhile" for transition at the stage that democracy is "certainly compelling" (Gilley, 2004: 40-43).

In the light of these arguments, Gilley finds fall of the CPC rule and liberal-democratic transition of China in near future extremely foreseeable. For him, by the very nature of "communist regimes," the CPC is both ideologically and politically "separate from society" since in "dictatorships" like PRC, protecting state's (or 'party-state's) "monopoly of power and privilege" precedes "fostering individual development," quite contrary to liberal-democracies where "society both defines the limits of the states and regulates its power" (Gilley, 2004: 33). Hence, "the very attempts by the CPC to appear and act more democratically while jealously preserving its monopoly of power appear to be sinking, not saving, its rule" (Gilley, 2004: 87). Many newly accepted members do not believe in 'red' ideals of pre-marketization period and this makes the CPC "a market of competing ideas" where "various factions" as representatives of different groups in society that emerged during marketization seeks for spreading their own ideals inside (Gilley, 2004: 87-88). In such a complicated environment that is full of contradictions where the CPC is besieged from both outside and inside, for Gilley, there are only two "exit routes" for the Party at this point: "it can be overthrown by protest leaders riding on the wave of unrest; or it can be 'extricated' from office by reformers within its own ranks" (Gilley, 2004: 118). In either way, Gilley thinks that fall of the CPC rule and PRC's entrance into the process of 'democratization' in Western liberal sense are inevitable in the short run.

A leading scholar who gives voice to similar arguments nowadays is David Shambaugh. Until very recently, Shambaugh was "one of Beijing's favourite China specialists" who had "close ties" to the CPC (Chang, 2015a; Chang, 2015b). At that time, he was arguing that although "the CPC *ha[d] atrophied* over time and its Leninist instruments of control [were] not as sharp as in the past," still, "its tools of rule [were] far from blunt," rather, "*they [were] sharp and restrengthened*" (Shambaugh, 2008: 175). While even before Shambaugh was claiming that "a neo-

Leninist party-state like the CPC, no matter how flexible and adaptive," could face with some challenges that it would be "ill equipped" to handle "in the natural course of the developmental process," still, he appeared like believing that "[j]ust as in its experience with economic reform, the CPC [was] most likely to pursue political reform *incrementally*," and it would benefit from both "foreign and indigenous practices" in this process in order to produce "a new kind of political hybrid" since Chinese 'party-state' was "a new kind of party-state", namely, an "*eclectic*" one (Shambaugh, 2008: 178-181). In an article of him dated 2011, which was published on the occasion of CPC's 90th founding anniversary, symptoms of his transition were existent: Here, he stated that CPC was "increasingly infirm, fearful, experimenting with ways to prolong life, but overwhelmed by the complexities of managing it" (Shambaugh, 2011). But in a very recent article of him, he goes a couple of steps further. In the article titled "The Coming Chinese Crackup," published in March 2015, Shambaugh (2015) claims that "[t]he endgame of Chinese communist rule has now begun (…) and it has progressed further than many think." In this regard, In order to prove this argument, he refers to "five telling indications of the regime's vulnerability and the Party's systemic weaknesses," which are "China's economic elite"s readiness "to flee en masse if the system really begins to crumble," intensification of "political repression" under Xi rule, even "many regime loyalists'" increasing unwillingness and disbelief in Party propaganda, displeasure with corruption which even hasn't been eliminated by Xi's effective anticorruption campaign, and "a series of systemic traps" that capture Chinese economy. As it is clear, while Shambaugh used to seem like a state-centric/institutionalist 'China specialist,' today, he mostly appeals to arguments which are usually appealed by liberal-individualists, in order to justify his new position. Actually, this point is quite important since it clearly shows transitivity between different positions in mainstream literature.

As aforementioned above, liberal-individualist position faithfully argues market's or an idealized ontologically separate 'economic realm's supremacy over social relations as a whole. In this sense, relative slowdown in China's GDP growth in recent years gave a fresh breath to liberal-individualist 'China specialists' who

argue that the CPC is sitting on a powder keg by providing an empirical support for their theses. Undisputedly, one of the 'champions' of this position is Gordon G. Chang (2006), author of much-ballyhooed *The Coming Collapse of China* dated 2001, who has long been claiming that the CPC "has become incapable of reinvigorating itself," and thus, "no matter" PRC is "how institutionalized," current regime is about to face an "insurmountable challenge." According to Chang (2015b), unquestionable slowing of Chinese economy is not an indicator of "a planned transition away from reliance on investment and exports to consumption" contrary to some accounts. For him, because of extremely large debt in relation to economy the growth is constrained in today's China and he doesn't think that this problem can be solved under current regime. "China's communist system, even in the so-called reform era, seemed to defy principles of governance and economics observed around the world" he writes, which is a sort of prophet of doom for an organization like the CPC that is "so crooked it cannot survive for long" (Chang, 2015a).

Under the light of these arguments, some liberal-individualists suggest "the West" to "alter its approach to China" which has long been suppressing "democratic and liberal voices" (Auslin, 2015). For Auslin, while the "endgame in China may not come for years," still, the CPC is facing with insuperable problems today, above all, "economic slowdown" that "may impact the living standards of the middle class," and compel them to challenge with the CPC rule, "credibility" of which had been attempted to be restored "with cynical and disenchanted Chinese" in a constrained way (Auslin, 2015). On the basis of Auslin's article, Mattis (2015) even temps to lead the way to US policy makers and suggests them some policy measures to become "prepared for a political crisis with the potential to bring down the CPC," including identifying "the cohesive and centrifugal forces inside China," maintaining and updating "a database of leadership dossiers (as well as their families)," "determining the capability of China's internal security forces," mapping out "the decisions Beijing will face as individual incidents of unrest begin to cascade into a larger crisis," finding "a way to maintain communication with the Chinese people," and "rethinking about how to build expertise, collect and process information and manage a political crisis inside China needs to occur" if current US intelligence is

"unsuited for these tasks." In this framework, PRC is portrayed as a state that "pursues its own Cold War strategy against" the USA in order to replace its position as "the global superpower" (Pillsbury, 2015), and thus, as a 'threat.'

In any case, making predictions by just taking 'economic' variables into consideration seem very troubled and misleading. A -funny- example in this sense is, Henry S. Rowen's famous article, "The Short March: China's Road to Democracy," dated 1996. In this article, by using economic projections based on mainly GDP per capita growth and taking Seymour M. Lipset's argument of "the richer country the freer" as given, Rowen (1996) was claiming that China would become a democracy "around the year 2015." On this basis, he had two policy proposals to US governments for next 20 years: Firstly, US should let China to become richer since it would also be in the benefit of the USA and more importantly, the richer China would be more democratic. Secondly, US should also continue to defend Taiwan's *de facto* independence against Beijing's military pressures and wait for China's political evolution to ease the problem. Though it is not known that whether US policy makers have really taken this suggestions into consideration, one thing is quite clear: It has already passed almost 20 years after the publication of Rowen's provoking article and still, China hasn't turn into a liberal-democracy in the sense that Rowen expected yet.

State-Centric/Institutionalism on the post-Mao CPC: 'Pessimists' vs. 'Optimists'

Among state-centric/institutionalist analyses of post-Mao transformation of the CPC and predictions on its possible future, there are both "pessimist" and "optimist" accounts in Shambaugh's (2008: 23-40) words. Herein, while 'optimist' wing basically lays emphasis on the CPC's increasing institutional capacity to 'adapt' itself to socioeconomic changes that it leads in post-Mao era, 'pessimist' wing stresses incapability of the CPC in this respect mainly in line with many liberal-individualist scholars and journalists who insist on marketization will pave the way for the CPC's collapse by any means.

One of the most prominent representatives of 'pessimist' wing is Huntingtonian institutionalist Minxin Pei. Just like his 'master,' Huntington, Pei

(1998: 69) also harshly criticizes "mass political campaigns and mob violence" of Maoist era since this sort of political participation damages the "key governmental institutions, especially the legal system and the bureaucracy." For him, because of such Maoist practices, the Chinese political system which was "inherited" by Deng Xiaoping in 1978 resembled "a Hobbesian world" without any norms to govern "elite politics," and hence, what Deng faced with was not only reforming China's "backward economy," but also rebuilding its "wrecked political system" as well. In this sense, he criticizes liberal-individualist views that assert Deng's reforms were only targeting rapid economic transformation. Rather, according to Pei, Deng was also initiator of political reforms in China as well. Under his rule, "a minimum level of personal security" was ensured for "the ruling elite" in order to prevent "massive internal purge[s]" in CPC ranks after "power struggles," "mandatory retirement of party and government officials" was introduced, power passed from the hands of "poorly educated, aging revolutionaries" to the hands of more educated "middle-aged technocrats," and as an outcome of these, almost instantly, competition for party offices was limited and "rise of ideologues" both on the left and right was prevented by homogenization of "ruling elite" (Pei, 1998: 69-73). The rise of National People's Congress (NPC) as "China's supreme lawmaking body" starting from Deng era was yet another important political development for him. In this regard, he seems quite pleased with decrease in proportion of workers, peasants and soldiers "who provided the base of support for the CPC," and increase in proportion of intellectuals and government officials among deputies serving in post-Mao NPC. For him, increasing weight of professionals and technocrats in the NPC and growing independence of it from the CPC give more credibility to this institution as long as these make citizens to think that the NPC is "a channel for expressing their grievances" (Pei, 1998: 74-77).

Nonetheless, Pei also points out shortcomings of China's political reforms and possible negative outcomes of these with regard to the CPC rule. He asserts that, "[d]espite China's notable progress in restoring elite norms, establishing legal institutions, and maintaining a new social contract, its leaders have strongly resisted democratic reforms" particularly due to they know "party's weaknesses" and see

"mass democratic political participation" as "a recipe of chaos" as proved in Soviet experience where "democratic reforms before reinvigorating (…) constitutional institutions" ended up with an exact collapse (Pei, 1998: 78-79). But this anxiety also forces CPC to live on the razor's edge, so to say. Since today, the CPC is "governing a society radically different from the one at the end of the Cultural Revolution –a society much less dependent on the state and the party, more open to new values, and less susceptible to traditional ideological appeals" (Pei, 1998: 79) as an almost unavoidable consequence of market reforms, its "resistance to democratic reforms results in the lack of effective channels for political participation and interest representation, creating an environment in which groups unable to defend their interests are forced to take high-risk options of collective protest to voice their demands and hope for compensatory policies" as well (Pei, 2006: 15). So, for Pei, there exists a disharmony between the levels of institutionalization and development of market economy -and market society- in China today, which he calls "trapped transition." He states that, institutions like "a modern legal system and a constitutional order that can protect private property rights and enforce contracts, as well as a political system that enforces accountability and limits state opportunism" still lacks in China and in this regard, the CPC faces with a set of problems which can no longer be "solved by 'pure economics'" (Pei, 2006: 28-29).

At that point, another important question comes to the foreground: Is the CPC really capable of and willing to find effectual solutions to these problems? Actually, Pei does not think so. Though he accepts that some "important institutional reforms in the political system" were "conceived and implemented in 1980s" as aforementioned above, he also states that these reforms started to slacken dating from 1990s especially after marginalization of "liberal forces" subsequent to Tiananmen events and CPC hasn't launched any "new or significant institutional reform initiatives" since then (Pei, 2006: 11, 208). For him, this failure is something inherent to 'authoritarian' regimes in general and the CPC rule in particular. He claims that, "the build-up of governance deficits" or "erosion of state capacity," which "led to the breakdown of accountability, deterioration of internal norms, and exclusion of large segments of Chinese society from political participation," seems like "an inevitable

product of the transition strategy and policies adopted by the CPC" (Pei, 2006: 18, 204). In this sense, Pei does not evaluate post-Mao reforms as a key to a 'success story.' Rather, what PRC turned into after only "partial" reformation of "economic and political institutions" is a corrupt "predatory state" where institutional rules are "either unclear or politically unenforceable" according to him (Pei, 2006: 12, 16). Once PRC is labeled as a 'predatory state,' fate of the CPC as its builder is also shaped automatically. From this point of view, just like many other authoritarian regimes, it also does not seem so possible for CPC to sustain its self-destructive 'authoritarian' rule under such harsh conditions.

In this context, Pei (2013) sets forth several regime change scenarios for PRC, since he thinks that fall of the CPC is inevitable due to both "the logic of authoritarian decay" and "the effects of socioeconomic change." First and "the most preferable" scenario is "happy ending," which means CPC's peaceful exit from power. For Pei, this scenario hinges on "among other things, whether the ruling elites start reform before the old regime suffers irreparable loss of legitimacy." Second scenario is a "variation" of the first scenario that presumes a Gorbachev's arrival to China. Pei thinks that this would be "the most ironic" way of fall from power for CPC, since it "has tried everything to avert a Soviet-style collapse" for the last 20 years. Third scenario is "Tiananmen redux," which means collapse of CPC rule through a "mass revolt that mobilizes a wide range of social groups nationwide." In this scenario, Pei claims that, this time, military may refuse "to intervene again to save the Party." Fourth scenario is improvement of social unrest in sequel of a "financial meltdown," which doesn't seem impossible for Pei, especially because of Chinese "bank-based financial system"s several chronic characteristics such as "politicization, cronyism, corruption, poor regulation, and weak risk management." In this regard, he asserts that, "even if the Party should survive the immediate aftermath of a financial meltdown, the economic toll exacted on China will most likely damage its economic performance to such an extent as to generate knock-on effects that eventually delegitimize the Party's authority." Lastly, Pei argues that, an "environmental collapse" may also end CPC rule, especially because of possible high economic costs of it "in terms of healthcare, lost productivity, water shortage, and

physical damages" will definitely be "substantial." If such thing happens, he writes, "[g]rowth could stall, undermining the CPC's legitimacy and control."

An important challenge to Pei's arguments from within the institutionalist point of view is Andrew Nathan's (2003) thesis of "authoritarian resilience." In his well-known article, Nathan questions a core claim of "regime theory," roughly speaking, "authoritarian systems are inherently fragile because of legitimacy, overreliance on coercion, overcentralization of decision making, and the predominance of personal power over institutional norms" (Nathan, 2003: 6) -which is applied to Chinese case to an extent by Pei as well. According to Nathan, post-Mao transformation of the CPC is an institutional success in the last analysis, despite PRC remains as an authoritarian party-state. He argues that although "general theories of authoritarian regimes" propound that today's China is a country where official ideology is bankrupt, society is uneasy due to outcomes of "transition from a socialist to a quasimarket economy," and regime "relies heavily on coercion to repress political and religious dissent," direct evidences show the opposite, thanks to not only a set of reasons including rising living standards, CPC's cooptation of elites "by offering Party membership to able persons from all walks of life," provision of "informal protection of property rights to private entrepreneurs," Chinese people's fear from political disorder and chaos, lack of organized alternative to regime as a "success of political repression" and so on, but also CPC's success in developing "a series of input institutions" -that "people can use to apprise the state of their concerns"- which "encourage individual rather than group-based inputs" and "focus complaints against local-level agencies and officials" (Nathan, 2003: 13-15). In this regard, regime led by the CPC is definitely not a 'decaying' one today, rather, it is a regime that has sort of "authoritarian resilience" thanks to its remarkable level of institutionalization which allows it to meet social demands and reproduce its legitimacy substantially.

Richard McGregor, the former Beijing bureau chief of *Financial Times*, also criticizes analyses that argue China is almost doomed to become a kind of liberal-democracy in short term. According to him, though "[t]he idea that China would one day become a democracy was always a Western notion, born of [Western] theories

about how political systems evolve," today, all evidence show that "these theories are wrong," since the CPC "doesn't want China to be a Western democracy -and it seems to have all the tools it needs to ensure that it doesn't become one" (McGregor, 2011). Therefore, for him, while it is true that "Chinese communist system is, in many ways, rotten, costly, corrupt and often dysfunctional," it "has also proved to be flexible and protean enough to absorb everything that has been thrown at it" (McGregor, 2010: 273). An important source of this power of CPC is its way of bringing into connection with rising private sector. McGregor asserts that, "[t]he Party has adapted remarkably to the growth of private sector, learning how to keep enough of a distance from entrepreneurs to allow them to thrive, while ensuring they do not have the chance to organize into a rival center of power." (McGregor, 2010: 228).

In a similar vein, André Laliberté and Marc Lanteigne (2008) take attention to adaptive skills of post-Mao CPC. According to them, although uneasiness of some religious, political and social groups with the "party-state" in China prevails and this uneasiness is shown in various ways, "there exists no credible alternative to the CPC and no signs that the Party is experiencing divisions or indecisiveness from within that could threaten its control of the country" (Laliberté, & Lanteigne, 2008: 1-3). Actually, authors also do not deny the fact that "new ideas and pressures that have appeared in China as a result of economic opening and greater international engagement" poses a sort of challenge to the authority of the CPC. What they argue in this sense as against liberal-individualist or pessimist state-centric/individualist accounts is, there is no only one, but rather three "options" that the CPC may face in the future, namely "retreat," "retrenchment," and "adaptation" (Laliberté, & Lanteigne, 2008: 5). Among these "options" the most expectable one is "adaptation," since the CPC has shown in previous stages of the reform era that, it is highly capable of exploring strategies of adapting itself to the socio-economic change as well as leading it (Laliberté, & Lanteigne, 2008: 5-8). Here, they discuss the case of the transformation of the "base of legitimacy claims" of CPC. According to authors, more or less successful replacement of "disillusions incurred by the policies of Mao" by economic performance, stability and nationalism as sources of legitimacy by post-

Mao leaderships of the CPC is an important example that shows how the CPC adapts itself (Laliberté, & Lanteigne, 2008: 8-13). In this framework, roughly speaking, the CPC as a supreme and competent institution in the 'party-state' of China is considered to be capable of manipulating all realms of society from outside of them. The only *actor* here is the Party itself while all things other than it are almost just like pawns in the society. Even changes occur by initiative of it and it 'adapts' itself according to outcomes of changes.

In this context, Bruce J. Dickson particularly focuses on transformation in recruitment policy of the CPC in reform era as an adaptive mechanism. According to Dickson (2003: 32-33), CPC Central Committee's declaration of "economic modernization" as key task in December 1978 was also a turning point in terms of Party's "priorities for recruiting new members and appointing key personnel." In this sense, primarily, CPC "functionally adapted" itself to new situation and made peace with its former "class enemies" since "better educated" and "more professionally competent" people were needed for performing Party's new tasks. Thus, "recruitment policies changed as a rational response to new goals, and the change was apparent from the very beginning of the reform era." Still, this new recruitment policy "did not become apparent until after the reforms were well underway." Certain rise of "new social and economic elites" as a consequence of market reforms became a signal flare for CPC in this regard. In order to prevent these people to pose a potential threat for its rule, CPC "chose to co-opt some of these emerging elites to take advantage of their popular prestige, accomplishments, and above all their contributions to the Party's preeminent goal of economic growth." For Dickson (2008: 18), this change in recruitment policy was an outcome of the "survival strategy" of CPC, based on "a combination of strategic co-optation and corporatist-style links with private sector," to "adapt" itself to the "changing economic and social environment" and it "has proven to be successful," in the last analysis. Still, CPC's strategy of recruiting "young, well educated, urban men" (Dickson, 2014: 45) also seem to have a shortage, despite it helps CPC to sustain its rule: While "remarkably high level of popular support for the incumbent regime" lasts, among members, number of those who are "motivated by career incentives" increases and

CPC membership does not simply "guarantee political support" for state institutions at all levels as his recent study shows (Dickson, 2003: 60-65).

Like Dickson, Zheng Yongnian, a prominent representative of "bringing the Party back in" approach to transformation of the CPC which takes the Party "at the center" of its analysis as an extension of 'bringing the state back in' paradigm of historical institutionalism in China studies (see, Brødsgaard, & Zheng, 2004), recognizes CPC's increasing capability of 'adapting' itself during reform era while also taking possible threats to its rule into consideration. According to Zheng (1994: 236), "the development of democracy in China cannot be understood by assessing liberalism as a result of economic development alone," rather, "democratic development must be considered in the context of the connections between the state and development." In this regard, he mainly lays emphasis on state and institutional 'traditions' in his analysis since he believes that "CPC is a product of the Chinese culture, even though it has an 'imported' Leninist frame" and China has to be "examined in its own terms" in order to make 'right' predictions on transformation of the CPC (Zheng, 2010: xi-xii). From this point of view, 'path-dependency' of Chinese state is taken as key to understand Chinese politics in general and CPC rule in particular. Here, CPC is evaluated as an "organizational emperorship," which is assumed to be "reprogrammed or transformed product of Chinese imperial political culture" shaped by central authority's intolerance to any other political actors' "challenge to its dominant position" as self-proclaimed "only legitimate ruler in China" (Zheng, 2010: 42). In this sense, for him, post-Mao reforms that also - "conforms with traditional Chinese norms and values"- take an important place in transformation form "individual-based emperorship" to "organization-based emperorship" in China (Zheng, 2010: 51-68). While "ultimate purpose" of the CPC's "engagement in socioeconomic transformation is reproduction of organizational emperorship," during this reproduction process, Party also "has to accommodate capitalism and elements of democracy, if not liberal democracy," since socioeconomic transformation gives "rise to diversified socioeconomic interests" or "social pluralism" (Zheng, 2010: 67-68). Therefore, according to Zheng, "[t]he reproduction of the CPC as the organizational emperorship means that the CPC has

to maintain its domination over social forces by accommodating a changing socioeconomic environment," and to achieve this goal, reproduction takes place in terms of both organization and ideology, or "hard power" and "soft power" (Zheng, 2010: 150).

Herein, Zheng (2010: xv) appeals to a Gramscian concept, 'hegemony,' in conformity with his attempt to synthesize new institutionalist and neo-Marxist "concepts and theories." But quite contrary to Gramsci, Zheng discusses not a social class', but rather, an institution's 'hegemony' as its domination over social forces and legitimation of its rule in society (Zheng, 2010: 131-132). Roughly speaking, while for Gramsci, the term, 'hegemony,' refers to a 'moment' where "an order in which a certain way of life and thought is dominant, in which one concept of reality is diffused throughout society in all its institutions and private manifestations, informing with its spirit all taste, morality, customs, religion and political principles, and all social relations, particularly in their intellectual and moral connotation" (Williams, 1960: 587; cited in Todd, 1974: 151), Zheng almost equalizes this term with a sort of survival or adaptation strategy of a political party which is assumed to seek its own interests. In this sense, he also reformulates another core Gramscian concept, 'civil society,' in the light of state-centric/institutionalism. In Zheng's (2010: 148-149) work, Chinese "Party/state" and "civil society" are portrayed as isolated realms that, at the best, externally influence and transform each other. On the other hand, Gramsci does not make such an *ontological* separation; rather, he just *methodologically* separates state and civil society. Thus, according to him, "the general notion of state includes elements which need to be referred back to the notion of civil society (in the sense that one might say that state = political society + civil society, in other words hegemony protected by the armor of coercion)" (Gramsci, 2000b [1929-1935]: 235).

According to Zheng (2012: 28), "Chinese society today is full of anger, political consciousness, anxiety, and uncertainty." Moreover, he also asserts that while "China's social and economic problems need to be addressed by a strong leadership," the CPC "leadership tends to be divided and fragile" (Zheng, 2012: 40). In this regard, while he thinks that past decades of reform shows "CPC is open to

change" and "transform" itself (Zheng, 2007: 23), he still finds China's future quite "uncertain" (Zheng, 2012: 39). Actually, his argument is clear: "A rigid CPC is not sustainable, but a changing CPC is" (Zheng, 2007: 23). But here, a Gordian knot comes to the foreground: While on the one hand, "[t]o reproduce its domination, the CPC has to accommodate democratic elements," on the other, "it is the capability of the CPC to accommodate democratic elements that enabled it to remain hegemonic and thus non-democratic in Western sense" (Zheng, 2010: 199). So, for him, as long as "China remains a civilizational and cultural state, such a predicament will also continue" (Zheng, 2010: 200).

However, among optimist institutionalists, there are also some scholars who assert that institutional reforms led by CPC may pave the way for China's step-by-step, reformist transition to liberal-democracy. While end-point that they address is similar with what liberal-individualist and pessimist institutionalists suggest, they do not see this transition a process in which CPC will fail because of either it insists on running counter to liberal-democratic demands or inconsistency of its institutional reforms with needs of post-Mao market society. For instance, He Li (2001: 71) points out the rise of "more revolutionary, younger, better educated, and more professionally competent" technocrats subsequent to CPC's abandonment of class struggle "as its core task" in post-Mao era. According to Li, China's success of economic reforms is fundamentally an achievement of this mostly technocratic new "governing elite" who are capable of "control[ling] events and keep[ing] the economic motor running at a high rate," since "[e]conomics is associated with the state's growth and its responsibility for macro-economic policy" (Li, 2001: 72). In this sense, Li's definition of the term, 'technocrat,' is more or less the same with historical institutionalist theoreticians 'well-oiled bureaucracy' as an important indicator of 'state capacity' and 'embedded autonomy.' For him, these technocrats at top leadership posts both in the state and the CPC, and both at central and provincial levels include experts in economics and finance, and usually have "school ties, *taizi* (children of high-ranking official) background, *mishu* (personal secretary) experience, business affiliation, and birthplace ties (such as the Shanghai gang)" (Li, 2001: 69, 72). Unlike revolutionary leaders of Mao era, this new "elite" is more

pragmatic, cosmopolitan, competent and flexible (Li, 2001: 76, 79). While Li (2001: 79-82) thinks that China is still so far from establishing a liberal democratic system since it "has a long way to construct virtually the entire institutional apparatus to build a democracy," "younger technocrats" who "have been acquiring more exposure to the West," may play a vital role in China's political democratization, as long as "market-driven economic reforms and integration with global market" continue. So, "future democratization in China seem bright," he writes, "China's soft authoritarianism will become softer, and more democratic elements are expected to be introduced" in just the same way as former "totalitarian" system's transition into "soft authoritarianism" gradually in reform and opening up era (Li, 2001: 76, 79).

Similarly, Dali L. Yang also claims that, institutional reforms led by post-Mao CPC may also provide a ground for liberal democratic transition in China. According to him, "if and when China does become more democratic (…) there is little doubt that such a democratic policy will need not just competitive elections but also effective institutions for implementing the policies made by democratic institutions, monitoring the effectiveness of such policies, and timely collection and redress of errors and abuses in policy implementation." (Yang, 2004: 314). In this regard, since "reconstruction of Chinese state" really improves "efficiency, transparency and accountability," it can be expected that reforms will foster "expansion of liberty and democracy." He believes that, "contemporary Chinese have started to revive the liberal-democratic alternative in a strong and more prosperous China," and this orientation is also supported by quite favorable domestic and international conditions for "a liberal-democratic alternative," namely rising wealth and developments in governance and rule of law in China, and certain defeat of "fascism and communism" all around the world (Yang, 2007: 63).

Some Problems of Mainstream Literature on Post-Mao Transformation of the CPC

All these explanations reveal an interesting fact: While they seem contradictory, actually, liberal-individualist and state-centric/institutionalist positions coincide with each other to a great extent. Above all, both positions take liberal-democracy as end point or even *telos* of history, in the final analysis, although they

differ in their answers to questions of how and how long it will take to reach that level in China. In this regard, both are somehow against 'authoritarian' rule of Chinese 'party-state,' though some argue that this will gradually tail off as a consequence of market reforms led by post-Mao CPC. Herein, while for liberal-individualists, the main problem with the existence of a 'party-state' is imposition of a political party's agenda to atomistic individuals and the market from above by means of state apparatus, for state-centric-individualists, it is prevention of autonomous institutionalization of state -usually as the guarantee of free functioning of the market- independent from any individual, social or political interests and pressures.

Despite both frameworks involve hardline advocacy and even idealization of it, 'democracy' is usually taken as an abstract concept by liberal-individualists and state-centric/institutionalists. Direct participation of people into policy making processes is not discussed fundamentally in this sense. As Su Changhe (2013: 55) from Fudan University points out in *Qiushi* (Seeking Truth), theoretical journal of the CPC Central Committee, appropriately, "[u]nder the Western-style appraisal mechanisms of democracy, there is only one precondition that needs to be met for a developing country to be considered a 'democracy,' or to 'graduate' from the class of authoritarian countries: that country must show obedience to Western countries, and must give up its independent foreign and domestic policies." Therefore, states like PRC are almost automatically labeled as 'non-democratic' and 'authoritarian' in essence and alternative or unique forms of popular participation into policy making process at local and national levels in such states are either simply neglected or underestimated in these frameworks. Moreover, liberal-individualists and state-centric/institutionalists also tend to overlook problems in functioning of democracy in the 'center' of capitalist world system substantially, while criticizing lack of liberal-democratic development and 'authoritarian one-party rule' in states like PRC. Whereas, there also exist "signs that Western-style democracy is retrogressing" as well, "such as political polarization, the alienation of the social elite from the general public, high levels of national debt, irresponsible promises by politicians, falling over

voter turnout, the monopolization of public opinion, and authoritarian intervention in other countries" (Su, 2013: 57).

In this context, fictional equalization of market and democracy also seem quite debatable. It is true that Enlightenment and early liberal thought was based on an optimist and humanist understanding, since bourgeoisie in opposition had to speak about liberation of all mankind to unite as much people as possible from the ruled majority in its fight against dominant class, source of power of which was portrayed as not the man himself, but rather, as God. As long as fight against aristocracy necessarily involved demystification of its rule as well, anti-religious and emancipative elements were also put into ideological baggage of bourgeoisie as an offensive and oppositional class. In this sense, "modern era began with a philosophical break from that past" and "[o]nce political power was stripped of divine sanction, and the natural world was stripped of magical influences, the way to the free exercise of human reason was opened" (Amin, 2000: 590). Modern concept of democracy shaped in this framework that propounded not a sacred authority, but the man himself makes his own history. In "capitalist social project," subject or "active agent" of this history was the bourgeois, who was "simultaneously the citizen and the entrepreneur" (Amin, 2000: 591-592). Herein, from the very beginning, there existed a tension between property and democracy; and once bourgeoisie consolidated its power, it clearly appeared that the classical triptych of early liberal thought, namely liberty, equality and fraternity, as expressed by French revolutionaries, was nothing but nonsense. Democratic rights for a large proportion of society, above all working class and women, did not simply granted by bourgeoisie in the process of capitalist development, quite on the contrary, "[t]he history of democratic progress continued precisely through the affirmation and conquest of new rights, social rights which challenged the unilateral management of the economy by the market" (Amin, 2000: 593). Therefore, unlike as liberal-individualists and -at least most of- state-centric/institutionalists argue, actually, there has never occurred a parallelism between marketization -that structurally contain inequality on the basis of property of means of production- and democratization, particularly after formation of bourgeois society. As Wallerstein (1999: 3) states, a

historical system "cannot be democratic if it is not egalitarian, since an inegalitarian system means that some have more material means than other and therefore inevitably will have more political power."

What Mao left behind when he passed was one of the most egalitarian societies in the world in spite of its huge size and population. "The PRC had accomplished this, despite large income differences between urban and rural areas and between more and less developed regions, because within each locality differences were minimal" (Andreas, 2008: 136). On the other hand, since the beginning of 'reform and opening up' era, income inequality in China has consistently been rising. As study of Xie and Zhou (2014: 6930) shows, "the Gini coefficient in China was around 0.30 in 1980, but by 2012 it had nearly doubled to 0.55, far surpassing the level of 0.45 in the United States." While Gini coefficient is a much debated measure of inequality particularly when it is used in "international comparisons between systems with different structures" and despite rising Gini coefficient, popular classes in China still live in better conditions than popular classes of many Third World countries who are stuck in poverty generally, it is also quite clear that, "[b]rutal forms of extreme exploitation of workers exist in China" and there is a huge inequality in the distribution of benefits of growth even if the case in China is not "inequality connected a growth that benefits only a minority (…) while the fate of the others remains desperate" (Amin, 2013b).

So, in this context, is it really possible to evaluate post-Mao transformation of the CPC as a willing or unwilling cruise towards democracy? If explanation about dialectic relationship between equality and democracy above is taken as given, it is definitely not. Therefore, in coming chapters, a critical approach to post-Mao transformation of the CPC will be tried to be developed as an alternative to liberal-individualist and state-centric/institutionalist approaches that mainly discuss in which way and when China will turn from an 'authoritarian party-state' to a sort of 'democracy' as a logical endpoint of marketization process, even if CPC rule seems strong enough today.

CHAPTER III

HOW TO STUDY TRANSFORMATION OF COMMUNIST PARTIES IN POWER: ON PROBLEMS OF SOCIALIST TRANSITION AND 'CAPITALIST RESTORATION'

We no longer live in the early 1990s. Short-lived illusion of 'the end of history' decisively collapsed in the first decade of 21st century. NATO's bloody bombing campaign over Yugoslavia, invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq, military intervention in Libya, revival of Latin American left, ongoing popular movements all around the world, foreign-backed civil wars in Syria and Ukraine, strengthening religious fundamentalisms and micro-nationalisms, certain failure of neoliberal restoration program of world capitalism as proved by a series of financial collapses and so on… All of these clearly show that, the history hasn't been ended yet contrary to the widespread 'optimist' myth of the early post-Cold War period.

This huge economic, political and ideological depression, which can be named as a sort of prolonged 'system crisis,' also paves the way for questioning of dominant paradigms and searches for alternative approaches in social sciences. In the absence of lively revolutionary practices or a large and efficient revolutionary center at global scale (like former USSR or Maoist China), one of the hot topics of closed-loop academic debates seem to be 'the return of Marx.' In academia, while 20th century practices of socialist transition are usually evaluated as either a total failure that left nothing positive behind or at best, demoded experiences that what left behind are no longer purposive, pure Marxism of Marx still counts for something. Academia has a problem with taking power, and intervening in production and distribution relations. Anti-Marxist Marxism of academia (which not always, but usually shows up as 'post-Marxism' and/or 'post-structuralist Marxism') prefers a theory without practice, which allows it to show displeasure to attempts of construction of socialism from outside. Amin's (1980: 185) more than three decades old comment on "innumerable readings of *Capital*" in intellectual circles is maybe

more valid today: These are almost nothing but "substitutes for reading of capitalism" and because of them, "dogmatic rigidity" turns into "a basic principle."

Here, in the case of China, it will be argued that these 'ultra-academic' interpretations are nonsense. Pure academic calls for 'the return to Marx' that ignore billions of laborers' organized revolutionary practices in 20th century which in one way or another realized Marx's ideals, actually, more look like calls for spirits than true scientific efforts and hence, they do not provide a real alternative. A trouble-free socialism has never appeared yet and will never appear in any time in any country. 20th century practices were also full of contradictions inherently, but still, they changed billions' lives, to a great extent, in a positive way and left long lists of 'what to do' and 'what not to do.' It is true that the world is no longer in 1917 or 1949; we live in a quite different world than Lenin's or Mao's, theory of which will be mainly developed on the basis of 21st century revolutionary practices. Even so, we still live in capitalist world system at imperialist stage. Not only Marx, but also Lenin, Mao and other prominent Marxists who led revolutionary struggles in the 20th century still have a lot to tell us in our pursuit of understanding and changing social reality. Today, what social sciences need is bringing not only Marx, but also 20th century Marxist classics back in social analysis as well.

In this chapter, development and transformation of major Marxist approaches to problems of socialist transition and potential dynamics of capitalist restoration in transitional society will be discussed in general terms, and in this manner, significance of Mao's contributions to Scientific Socialism in this respect will be demonstrated as a theoretical basis for a complete Marxist analysis of post-Mao transformation of the CPC. While it is true that Mao died about 40 years ago in a quite different world, his approach to transformation of communist parties in power and this transformation's relevance with capitalist restoration still serve as a quite sufficient starting point even if it cannot be totally applied to a social reality different than it was shaped within.

Early Attempts: Marx and Engels

British Marxist historian Eric J. Hobsbawm (1977: 206) once stated that, "[i]t is an elementary observation of Marxism that thinkers do not invent their ideas in the abstract, but can only be understood in the historical and political context of their times." Founding fathers of the Scientific Socialism, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, were also not exceptions in this sense. Above all, neither Marx nor Engels claimed to be a kind of prophet who aimed at providing ahistorical and universal prescriptions to exploited masses of working class for liberation. Rather, they were activists and thinkers of 19th century, and therefore, boundaries of their theoretical framework were also determined by existing historical conditions and socioeconomic relations of the era that they lived in, as they also recognized. To this respect, Engels (1987 [1878]: 338) was firmly asserting in his old preface to *Anti-Dühring* that, "[i]n every epoch, and therefore also in ours, theoretical thought is a historical product, which at different times assumes very different forms and, therewith, very different contents." With these words, Engels was indicating one of the most prominent assertions of Marxist theory of knowledge: Men's knowledge of social reality is always limited by the level of development of the "mode of production"[5] or in Marx's (1987 [1859]: 263) words, "[t]he mode of production of material life conditions the general process of social, political and intellectual life."

For this reason, it is not surprising that Marx and Engels did not discuss the politics of future society, including possibility and potential dynamics of capitalist restoration in the process of socialist transition exhaustively in their works. The only example that Marx and Engels had experienced as a sort of socialist revolution during their lifetimes was the Paris Commune of 1871, which lasted only 72 days and did not leave any serious experience of socialist transition behind. Moreover, even in the case of Paris Commune, the party of Marx and Engels, namely the International Working Men's Association (IWMA) or the First International, was

[5] 'Mode of production,' is one of the most vulgarly caricaturized Marxist concepts. As Dobb (2001 [1947-48]) pointed out properly, "when Marx spoke of the mode of production as the prime determinant, he was not offering a simple technological explanation of society, as some critics and commentators have assumed. According to his use of the term, it included, not only the 'forces of production,' but also the 'relations of production.'" Here, this concept is also used in line with essential Marxist definition that Dobb emphasized, as forces *plus* relations of production.

definitely not the vanguard of rebellious masses or an important component of the uprising.[6] So much so that, three years after the suppression of Communards, Engels would write IWMA "did not lift a finger to produce" the Paris Commune (Nimtz Jr., 2000: 213). Besides, while Marx and Engels "quickly threw themselves into the defense of Commune" right after the "working masses of Paris took the initiative," it is also known that, actually, their counsel to French proletariat on the eve of uprising was "revolutionary restraint", rather than rebellion (Nimtz Jr., 2000: 211). Accordingly, Marx (1986b [1871]: 269) had already written in late September 1870, months before the Commune, that any attempt of French working class "at upsetting the new Government," which was established after Bonaparte's surrender at the Battle of Sedan, "would be a desperate folly," especially when the Prussian army was "almost knocking at the doors of Paris." What French workmen had to do under those circumstances was "to perform their duties as citizens" in order to "calmly and resolutely improve the opportunities of republican liberty, for the work of their own class organization." Despite Marx would claim that "success might have been possible" several times later, founding fathers of Scientific Socialism well knew that, "revolutionary heroism" is necessary and precious, but definitely not enough for a revolutionary change by itself if objective material conditions for a radical transformation are not matured yet (Comninel, 2014: 77). The greatness of Paris

[6] Undoubtedly, IWMA was definitely not a 'vanguard party' of working class (or classes) of a particular country in Leninist sense. Rather, it was a broad international organization that drew all tendencies in working class movement in 19th century together, such as different types of socialism and communism, anarchism, trade unionism (syndicalism) and so on. Thus, it was primarily "founded to afford a central medium of communication and co-operation between workingmen's societies existing in different countries and aiming at the same end: namely, the protection, advancement, and complete emancipation of the working classes" (Stekloff, 1928). This aim was compatible with the revolutionary strategy that founding fathers of Scientific Socialism argued at that time. While not all the components of IWMA were at one with them, according to Marx and Engels, IWMA was tasked with coordinating expectant worldwide (or more precisely continental/European-wide) working class revolution as a kind of umbrella organization or an *international political party* over working class parties, associations and trade unions at national levels. As Collins and Abramsky (1965; cited in Nimtz Jr., 2000: 337) put forward, "Marx proposed that the workers *should organise internationally* [emphasis added] to win political power and use it to change the social system." Such that, in the provisional rules of the IWMA written by Marx (1987 [1864]: 14) himself in October 1864, it was openly stated that, "the emancipation of labor is neither a local nor a national, but a social problem, embracing all countries in which modern society exists, and depending for its solution on the concurrence, practical and theoretical, of the most advanced countries."

Commune lay in its significance as a starter of "a new phase" in "struggle of the working class against the capitalist class and its state," rather than its immediate results for them (Marx, 1989a [1871]: 137).[7]

"As well known, the experience of the Paris Commune suggested important amplifications to Marx's and Engels' thought on the state and the proletarian dictatorship" (Hobsbawm, 2011: 57). Concordantly, it can be said that, as long as the experience of Commune made Marx and Engels to think about a more systematic theory of the state, they also started to think about problems of socialist transition particularly in the context of the role of the state during this process, though by implication. Actually, what they did after Commune in this regard was nothing but enlarging on the approach to the state which Marx had already introduced in *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*. In *The Eighteenth Brumaire*, Marx (1979a [1852]: 186) had criticized previous -bourgeois- revolutions harshly in the case of France, since they "perfected" the machinery of state "instead of breaking it." Observations that they made during Commune helped founding fathers of Scientific Socialism to develop their suggestions on the question of what has to be done with the state after a working class revolution, right on this theoretical basis. First and foremost, it was quite clear for them that, there would be a "period of the revolutionary transformation" between capitalist and communist or classless societies, and during this period, the state could be "nothing but *the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat*" (Marx, 1989b [1875]: 95). This period of transformation, which would start right after revolution, would take a quite long time. According to Marx (1986a [1871]: 491), "superseding of the economical conditions of the slavery of labour by the conditions of free associated labour" - through not only "a change of distribution" but also "a new organization of

[7] Herein, it should be noted that, in a short but path-breaking article, Amin (2013a) points out that Paris Commune was not the only important revolution in 19th century that won out not in the short, but in the long run because of having an "incredible vision." Alongside of Paris Commune, which "made clear what socialism could be," there was also Taiping "Revolution" (1851-1864) of China, which was "the ancestor of 'anti-feudal, anti-imperialist popular revolution' (to use the later expression of the Chinese communists)," as one of the two revolutions that "put an end to the illusions concerning the progressive nature of capitalism" and "initiate[d] the new phase of contemporary history."

production"- could only be "the progressive work of time." In this process, there would be the risk for working class "to lose again its only just conquered supremacy" and in order to prevent this, it should "*safeguard itself against its own deputies and officials* [emphasis added], by declaring them all, without exception, subject to recall at any moment" (Engels, 1990 [1891]: 189). Especially this last quotation clearly shows that, although Marx and Engels did not have a clear perception of potential threats to working class power in the process of socialist transition due to the fact that they had very limited experience in this sense, still, they were able to see a very fundamental problem that all transitional societies between capitalism and socialism would face in the future: Transformation of deputies of working class in power from revolutionaries to reactionaries as long as they break away from the masses that they claim to represent. For them, not only the "surviving *old* state machinery*"*, but "*any* state machinery which [was] allowed to establish autonomous authority, including that of the revolution itself" contained dynamics of reproducing class rule and hence, these dynamics had to be constantly controlled and dealt with by the masses of working class itself (Hobsbawm, 2011: 57).

From 1871 to 1917: Transformation of Capitalism and Changing Revolutionary Dynamics

Marx and Engels (1975 [1932]: 54) had propounded as early as 1845-46 that, "not criticism but revolution is the driving force of history, also of religion, of philosophy and all other types of theory." Therefore, as it is quite comprehensible, the second wave of theoretical debates over problems of socialist transition intensified in Marxist ranks especially aftermath of the Great October Socialist Revolution (GOSR) of 1917 in Russia, more than 45 years after the Paris Commune.

Fundamentally, what Bolsheviks took the lead in Russia was definitely not a kind of working class revolution that founding fathers of Scientific Socialism had predicted. According to Marx and Engels, a future socialist transition would start in the most advanced capitalist countries. From an early Marxist point of view, relative 'underdevelopment' of non-European world would end insofar as capitalist relations spread and pre-capitalist societies' "subjection to European masters" was just "a

transient stage in the formation of a wholly capitalist world economy" (Brewer, 1990: 25). In the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, Marx and Engels (1976 [1848]: 488) were claiming that, "[t]he bourgeoisie, by the rapid improvement of all instruments of production, by the immensely facilitated means of communication, draws all, even the most barbarian, nations into civilization. (…) It compels all nations, on pain of extinction, to adopt the bourgeois mode of production; it compels them to introduce what it calls civilization into their midst, i.e., to become bourgeois themselves. In one word, it creates a world after its own image." Famous and controversial writings of Marx on colonial question that assert 'progressive' role of British colonialism in India or his notes on Russian 'oriental despotism' were written in such perspective. For Marx, although bourgeois society was also a class society, still, capitalist mode of production was more advanced than any pre-capitalist or 'Asiatic' modes of production particularly in terms of development of productive forces. Thus, while he had "an equally significant view of the destructive and stunting effects of capitalist expansion", he also thought that "other things being equal, the expansion of capitalist relations of production had 'progressive' effects" (Turner, 1978: 16). As Marx (1979b [1853]: 132) stated in one of his articles published in *New York Herald Tribune*, the only way to transform and "civilize" passive oriental despotisms was to transform them with intervention *from outside*. So, albeit Britain "was actuated only by the vilest interests, and was stupid in her manner of enforcing them", this was not the essential question. Rather, the essential question was "fulfil[ling] the destiny of mankind," which could not be done without a fundamental revolution that was assumed to be led by Britain even if "unconsciously", in the "social state of Asia." Contrary to the most 20th century successors of him, Marx (1979a [1852]) was using the term, 'imperialism', in his *The Eighteenth Brumaire* almost just as a synonym of 'Bonapartism' rather than a new stage in the development of capitalism, since there was actually no such fact at that time.

This reasoning of Marx and Engels was mainly shaped in the era of premonopolist capitalism, in which reproduction of bourgeois society was (usually not only but) mainly relying on excessive exploitation of working class in advanced

capitalist countries themselves. Therefore, to use Leninist jargon of the coming century, 'the weakest link of capitalism' was really the most advanced capitalist countries in which miserable working and living conditions were forcing working class to engage in revolutionary politics at that time. As Amin (1977: 104-105) points out, the active search for external markets was "a product of the class struggle, and it is in the way that the 'internal' national conditions of accumulation are interrelated with the conditions of the world system of premonopolist and the imperialist capitalist formations." In this context, what paved the way for "commercial expansionism" of premonopolist capitalism was right the savage capitalism of 19th century. Since exploitation of working classes was excessive and rate of surplus value was too high, there existed insufficiency of internal markets for new manufactured products (Amin, 1977: 105). New international division of labor that came to the foreground as an outcome of opening to external markets provided a ground for capitalists of advanced countries to calm down their working classes. Excessive exploitation of not only raw materials, but also the labor of popular classes in periphery allowed capitalists to increase real wages and purchasing power of the proletariat of core capitalist countries, particularly after transformation from "commercial" to "imperialist" expansionism, in other words, with rise of the export of the capital alongside of the export of products, by the end of 19th century (Amin, 1977: 106). Therefore, rise of imperialism also caused a structural change in the nature of class struggle in capitalist system. Parallel to the relative moderation of contradiction between working classes and capitalists of core capitalist countries, "the center of gravity of exploitation of labor by capital (and, in the first place, by monopoly capital which dominates the system as a whole) has been displaced from the center of the system to its periphery" (Amin, 1977: 10). And in time, counterpart of this development in political scene would be spread of reformism among working classes and working class parties in the West. In his famous volume on imperialism, Lenin (1974a [1916]: 284) was also pointing out this transformation -by giving reference to some late writings of Engels- and stating that, as results of "exploitation of the whole world by Britain," this country's "monopolist position in the world market," and "its colonial monopoly," "some sections of British working class" were

becoming "bourgeois" and "a section of the proletariat" was allowing "itself bought by, or at least paid by, the bourgeoisie."

As practical materialists who took life-practice of man as foundation of their theoretical activity (Wang, & Xie, 2011: 102-109), Marx and Engels started to recognize these changing dynamics within capitalist system toward the ends of their lives. Even starting from late 1860s, their attention started to shift towards "margins of developed capitalist society," such as Ireland and Russia (Hobsbawm, 2011: 76). In his letter to Kugelmann on April 9, 1869, Marx was pointing out the possible progressive effects of national liberation of Ireland on British workers (Hobsbawm, 2011: 80). Similarly, in 1882, one year before Marx's death, in their preface to the second Russian edition of the *Manifesto*, Marx and Engels (1989 [1882]: 426) were stating that "[i]f the Russian Revolution becomes the signal for a proletarian revolution in the West, so that both complement each other, the present Russian common ownership of land may serve as the starting point for a communist development." But still, in any case, what Marx and Engels expected from a possible social revolution in countries like Russia was mainly stimulation of proletarian revolution in advanced capitalist ones. In the same year that Marx and Engels wrote the lines right above, in one of his letters to Bernstein, Engels (1992 [1882]: 205) was putting emphasis on subordinating "everything else" to the goal of "setting the West European proletariat free." Popular classes of 'oppressed nations' as potential revolutionary agents were still far from being at the focal point of Scientific Socialists' agenda.

Although a number of important social democrat and/or communist[8] figures - such as Max Beer, Karl Kautsky, Otto Bauer, Alexander Helphand (Parvus), Rudolf Hilferding, Rosa Luxemburg, Karl Radek, Anton Pannekoek, and some leading Russian Marxists including Leon Trotsky, Nikolai Bukharin and the most importantly, Vladimir I. Lenin- had already started to ponder on imperialist-capitalist

[8] Before the great split-up in European working class and socialist movement after the GOSR, there was no difference between these two terms, namely 'social democrat' and 'communist,' and they were usually used interchangeably. For instance, even the name of the processor of CPSU was the Russian *Social-Democratic* Labor Party (Bolsheviks).

accumulation since early 20th century (Day, & Gaido, 2012), even Bolsheviks themselves would not "lay down a policy for what were called 'the colonial and semi-colonial countries'," until the second congress of the Communist International (Comintern) in June 1920 (Carr, 1979: 95). Yet in this congress, "prospect of world revolution" was still seen "so bright and so near" by them (Carr, 1979: 17). Only after "[f]aced with the reality that the long-awaited German revolution was not going to happen, the Bolsheviks turned inward and eastward," with the Congress of the Peoples of the East, which is more widely known as 'Baku Congress,' in 1921 (Wallerstein, 1999: 12). As Jameson (2001: 46-47) rightly expresses, before it was "crucially modified and restructured" in mid-20th century, the focal point of "Marxist approach to imperialism" was not "the relationship of metropolis to colony, but rather the rivalry of the various imperial and metropolitan nation-states among themselves," and Bolshevik/Leninist doctrine was also not an exception in this respect.

Although Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party (RSDLP) was founded as a part of "European Marxist family" in late 19th century, in fact, it "was not European; it signified the shift in the center of gravity of movements to socialism from the imperialist centers to their peripheries" (Amin, 2014b). When Bolsheviks took power in November 1917,[9] Russia was still a semi-peripheral peasant society, rather than being a developed capitalist one that had huge industrial working class. Therefore, in the words of the Italian communist leader and theorist Antonio Gramsci (2000a [1917]) -who was a single-hearted supporter of Bolshevik efforts to construct a path towards socialism in Russia- GOSR was a "revolution against" Marx's *Capital*. According to him, Bolsheviks were not 'Marxists' in terms of using Marx's works in order to "compile a rigid doctrine of dogmatic utterances never to be questioned," rather, they were *living* Marxist thought (Gramsci, 2000a [1917]: 33).

[9] Still, it is called 'October' revolution since when GOSR happened, not Gregorian but Julius calendar was in use in Russia.

Lenin and Stalin on the Problems of Socialist Transition and a Possible Capitalist Restoration

As long as the 'weakest link' of capitalist world system shifted in accordance with the transformation in the nature of capitalism, urgent needs and problems of a socialist transition also changed and became varied since class structure in the *new* center of revolutionary movements towards socialism, periphery and semi-periphery, was quite different than the class structure of the former one. Due to Russia's "economic and political backwardness" as its "specific feature," peasantry was "still confronted, not with capitalist, but with the big *feudal* landowner[s]" even short before GOSR quite contrary to the situation in developed capitalist countries at the time (Lenin, 1977b [1913]: 208). Accordingly, Lenin had already recognized that, in Russian case, a leap towards socialism should necessarily fulfill some bourgeois democratic duties as a first step as well, as early as 1905. According to him, for RSDLP, heading the whole people and particularly peasantry for a "consistent democratic revolution," and heading "all the toilers and the exploited" for socialism were interconnected tasks (Lenin, 1977a [1905]: 114). As he would state on the fourth anniversary of the GOSR, there was no "Chinese Wall" between bourgeois democratic and socialist revolutions, and in this sense, what Bolsheviks had done was consummating the bourgeois democratic revolution "as nobody had done before" in order to "purge Russia" of survivals of medieval "barbarism," and then, they were "*advancing* towards the socialist revolution" (Lenin, 1973 [1921]: 51-52).

Bolsheviks and peasantry

Despite Lenin's recognition of the importance of taking peasants' support for revolutionary struggle of working class, actually, before GOSR, Bolsheviks did not have remarkable influence and organization among Russian peasantry. While Bolsheviks were the majority party of the Russian proletariat in industrial centers on the eve of GOSR indisputably, peasant movement was largely under the influence of Socialist Revolutionaries (SRs), a non-Marxist petty bourgeois socialist party that succeeded populist Narodnik tradition (Bettelheim, 1976: 75-76; Nove, 1992: 31). Actually, what Bolsheviks adopted after GOSR, in autumn 1917, as agricultural and

peasant programme was "a masterly tactical improvisation" of these SRs' programme "on an original Leninist theme," since it was thought that such programme "would represent a most potent bid for mass support among the peasants, and have the further advantage of widening the split in SR party" (Nove, 1992: 33). Lenin (1974e [1919]: 265) would also implicitly accept this, and say who could carry out everything "that was revolutionary and of benefit to the working people" in SRs' land programme was not SRs themselves, but Bolsheviks.

SR-inspired agricultural and peasant programme of Bolsheviks was not a communist one in essence. It definitely did not have an aim of abolishing private property in agriculture as a whole. Rather, the "radical agrarian reform" that was introduced in the light of this programme "finally fulfilled the old dream of the Russian peasants: to become landowners" (Amin, 2006). Reflection of calls for "socialization" of land in real life was peasants' seizure and distribution of "the estates, large and small, of land-owning nobility, and the holdings of well-to-do peasants, commonly dubbed *kulaks*, who had been enabled to accumulate land by Stolypin reforms," among themselves (Carr, 1979: 21). Division of agricultural land among numerous small cultivators and policy of 'War Communism' that involved confiscation of agricultural surplus by central authority further decreased agricultural output. In early 1920s, towards the end of civil war and imperialist occupation, the whole Soviet economy was "grinding to a halt," since peasants, who still accounted more than 80 percent of total population in Russia at that time, "retreated into a subsistence economy, and had no incentive to produce surpluses which would be seized by authorities" (Carr, 1979: 31). Russia's 'backwardness' as an objective constraint once again forced Bolsheviks to step back. Increasing agricultural surplus at any price was vital. In order to realize this, New Economic Policy (NEP) was introduced which based on the idea that "agricultural production could be increased by guaranteeing to the peasant freedom to dispose of his surpluses and freedom and security in the tenure of his land" (Carr, 1952: 283). Actually, NEP succeeded in healing almost messed up Soviet economy in a relatively short period of time and thus, gave fresh breath to Bolshevik power. By 1927, production had already reached 1913 level, and average incomes of workers and peasants were far above 1913 level

(Amin, 1993 [1981]: 79). As Bettelheim (1978a: 22) points out, NEP was "very much more" than both an "economic policy" and "a policy of 'concessions' made to the peasantry and to some Russian and foreign capitalists," rather, it was "an *active alliance between the working class and the peasantry*" as a special form of the dictatorship of proletariat "corresponding to the specific conditions prevailing in Soviet Russia in the 1920s."

Lenin and Stalin on the Class Basis of a Possible Capitalist Restoration

It was clear that socialist transition would take a long period of time and this process would be full of inner contradictions. Under these conditions, Soviet revolutionaries like Lenin and Stalin asserted that the main threat to working class power during this period would come from not only remnants of previous dominant classes, but also existing petty commodity producers that proletariat had to collaborate with at early stages of transition. According to them, petty commodity production essentially tended to reproduce capitalist social relations consistently, even after establishment of 'dictatorship of proletariat.' In this sense, Lenin (1974c [1919]: 115) was arguing that, "class of exploiters, the landowners and capitalists" could not be abolished "all at once under the dictatorship of the proletariat," since they still retained "certain means of production," had money and vast social connections, as well as they knew "[t]he 'art' of state, military and economic administration." But more importantly, peasant farming which continued to be petty commodity production was also providing an "extremely broad and very sound, deep-rooted basis for capitalism, a basis on which capitalism persist[ed] or [arose] anew in a bitter struggle against communism" (Lenin, 1974c [1919]: 109-110). Therefore, proletarian revolutionaries should never forget that while on the one hand, peasants were "a fairly large (and in backward Russia, a vast) mass of working people, united by the common interest of all working people to emancipate themselves from the landowner and the capitalist," on the other, they were "disunited small proprietors, property-owners and traders" (Lenin, 1974c [1919]: 116). For Lenin (1964 [1920]: 45), "to vanquish the centralized big bourgeoisie" was "thousand times" easier than "to 'vanquish' the millions upon millions of petty

proprietors" who were producing "the *very* results which the bourgeoisie need[ed] and tend[ed] to *restore* the bourgeoisie" through "ordinary, everyday, imperceptible, elusive and demoralizing activities."

In this context, it can be argued that, starting from the very beginning, worker-peasant alliance was on the knife-edge in Soviet Russia. While peasantry was given some necessary compromises by Bolsheviks in order to increase agricultural surplus and reproduce worker-peasant alliance under quite unfavorable conditions, still, it was seen as a threat since petty commodity production was considered to be one of the most important sources of a possible counterrevolution and capitalist restoration. Problems related to NEP that started to become apparent dating from mid-1920s strengthened negative opinions on petty commodity production in Party ranks. While NEP was still seen as a success story, as early as late 1924, it started to be recognized that, "return of the free market" was opening scissors "in favour of peasants, and cities were held to ransom" due to increasing grain prices (Carr, 1979: 77). Moreover, "by its own nature," market was fated "to produce a growing differentiation within the peasantry (the well-known phenomenon of 'kulakization')" (Amin, 2006). So not surprisingly, starting from mid-1920s, Party leadership rapidly fragmented on the basis of different approaches to the fate of NEP. While ultra-leftist supporters of Trotsky were accusing Stalin leadership "for betraying the aims of revolution, and compromising with *kulaks* at home and nationalists and social-democrats abroad," right wing (or 'right deviationist' in that time's jargon) opposition of Bukharin were blaming "the haste and ruthlessness which Stalin pursued the aims of the revolution" (Carr, 1979: 165). In this respect, Trotskyists were representatives of urban petty bourgeois radicalism and Bukharin's supporters were representatives of rich peasantry in the Party. According to Stalin (1954c [1930]: 365-366), what Trotskyists denied was any kind of tactical alignment with peasantry in the countryside and hence, they were running counter to objective conditions of 'backward' Russia. On the other hand, what Bukharin supporters denied was pursuing struggle against negative influences of petty commodity production over socialist transition and hence, they were assuming that socialism

could be "built on the quiet, automatically, without class struggle, without an offensive against the capitalist elements" (Stalin, 1954c [1930]: 370).

Contrary to both opposing tendencies, what Stalin leadership had in mind was to wait to benefit as much as possible from NEP, though they knew that this policy couldn't be sustained abidingly. Stalin had already started to mull over "far-reaching projects of industrialization" and attack on the advocates of "keeping the USSR an agrarian country dependent on imports of industrial good from abroad" in mid-1920s (Carr, 1979: 109). Still, if Stalin had chance, most probably he would also prefer a more gradual transition. What forced him to take radical decisions like rapid and harsh collectivization were objective conditions to a great extent. Starting from 1927, "anxieties of international situation, and talk of war and invasion" had started to spread to countryside (Carr, 1979: 123). In state of such uncertainty, for "well-to-do" peasants who "had reserves both of grain and money," "grain was the safest store of value" since industrial goods which they "might want to buy was still meager" (Carr, 1979: 124). By 1928, while 97.3 percent of total sown areas belonged to individual farmers, collective farms (*kolkhoz*) and state farms (*sovkhoz*) relatively possessed only 1.2 percent and 1.5 percent (Nove, 1992: 148). As statistics of 1926-1927 show, 20 percent of the grain that came on to the Soviet market was provided by *kulaks*, and 74 percent was provided by poor and middle peasants while collective and state farms provided only 6 percent (Bettelheim, 1978a: 89).

Under such conditions, once peasants started to stock grain excessively, a famine threat emerged for urban working class. By the end of 1927, a relatively low intensity conflict between Soviet government and peasantry had started. With "extraordinary measures," wholesale requisitions of War Communism days restored (Carr, 1979: 125). But still, stringency in the cities couldn't be ended. Black market expanded, uneasiness of peasantry increased, furthermore, scarce foreign currency of government that was planned to be spent on financing industrialization used in grain import by necessity (Carr, 1979: 125-126). "What was certain was that nobody delivered grain to the official agencies except under some degree of coercion and fear" (Carr, 1979: 127). NEP was no longer working properly.

In the eyes of many Soviet communists, all these developments were confirming that petty commodity producers shouldn't be relied on in transition process. Forced collectivization and strict central planning came to the foreground as a sort of 'shock therapy' under these conditions. On the one hand, "amelioration of popular living standards and defense capacities" on the eve of a new war -footsteps of which had become audible as early as 1920s- "was predicated on industrial growth," on the other hand, industrial growth "was contingent on an improvement in agricultural productivity" in the USSR as a relatively backward. When an important interruption in this circle appeared in the second half of 1920s, government chose to impose a "forced tribute on the peasantry to finance industrialization" through collectivization (Amin, 1993 [1981]: 80). During forced collectivization, not only *kulaks* were "liquidated" almost "as a class," but also "*kulak* supporters" or "sub-*kulaks*" (*podkulachnik*) were targeted by state oppression as well (Nove, 1992: 164-168, 169). Due to harsh measures implemented by government, many peasants turned into enemies of Soviet power. For instance, only in Soviet Central Asia, "[m]illions of head of cattle were slaughtered by the peasants and the nomads" themselves as a reaction to pressures to pool their animals in collective farms and until 1960s, total number of cattle in region remained under 1929 level (Rywkin, 1990: 45-46). Actually, this was the most important outcome of collectivization move: While in short term, Soviet government succeeded in realizing an enormous industrial growth in 1930s, "[f]orced collectivization automatically put an end to the worker and peasant alliance which, from 1917 through 1930, had formed the basis of the Soviet state power" (Amin, 1993 [1981]: 80, 113).

Like his predecessor, Lenin, Stalin (1954c [1928]: 235-236) also believed that "roots of capitalism" were "embedded in commodity production, in small production in the towns and, especially, the countryside," in the USSR. Hence, at theoretical level, collectivization of all means of production and liquidation of petty commodity producers meant destruction of the material basis of a possible a capitalist restoration in the USSR, from the so called Leninist-Stalinist perspective. In 1936, Stalin (1976b [1936]: 808, 819) claimed that, there were "no longer any antagonistic classes" in Soviet society after annihilation of "such classes as the capitalists, the landlords, the

kulaks, etc.," rather, "that society consist[ed] of two friendly classes, of workers and peasants." In the light of this argument, starting from mid-1930s, impossibility of restoration of capitalism after collectivization of means of production without any foreign intervention became one of the cornerstones of official Soviet Marxist discourse. According to this mechanical approach, since there left only laboring classes in Soviet society and sole representative of these was the CPSU, any opposition could only come from somewhere outside of Soviet society which was idealized to a great extent. In a pamphlet published in memory of 50th founding anniversary of the CPSU in 1953, people were warned against "the enemies of the people, the bourgeois degenerates, agents of international imperialism" who "skillfully disguise[ed] themselves as Communists, and [had] tried and would in future try to penetrate into the ranks of the Party for the purpose of conducting subversive activity" (Propaganda and Agitation…, 1953: 35). It was believed that 'true' Party members were almost pure Marxists and degeneration could only be carried to CPSU ranks from outside of it as a part of an anti-communist imperialist/bourgeois conspiracy. Harsh suppressions of all ideas other than Party leadership's were legitimized right on this theoretical ground. As Thomson (1971: 136) states in Maoist terminology, "Stalin did not distinguish between antagonistic and non-antagonistic contradictions, nor did he point out that, according as they are handled, antagonistic contradictions may become non-antagonistic and non-antagonistic contradictions may become antagonistic." Hence, not only true counterrevolutionaries, but also a lot of sincere revolutionaries -including some first generation October revolutionaries and Lenin's comrades- were labeled as 'agents' and faced with severe state oppression when they expressed something contradictory to official discourse in one way or another during Stalin era, particularly aftermath of collectivization move. It was thought that "[w]ith the virtual completion of collectivization and the continuation of industrialization (…) the foundations of socialism had been laid" and it no longer needed to discuss "how to construct socialism" or think about "alternative conceptions" of this "lower phase" (Sandle, 2007: 63-64). So, those who insisted on debating official orientation of the CPSU had to be evil-minded!

Lenin and Stalin on the Problem of Bureaucracy

While their main concern was remnants of former ruling classes and petty commodity producers in existence, actually, Lenin and Stalin were also aware of problems related to bureaucratization in the process of socialist transition. Only few months after GOSR took place, Lenin (1965 [1918]: 272-273) drew attention to "petty bourgeois tendency to transform the members of the Soviets into 'parliamentarians,' or else into bureaucrats," which had to be combated against by "drawing *all* the members of the Soviets into the practical work of administration" and "draw[ing] the whole of the poor into the practical work of administration." According to him, "until the capitalists [had] been expropriated and the bourgeoisie overthrown, *even* proletarian functionaries [would] inevitably be 'bureaucratized' to a certain extent" and turn into "privileged persons divorced from the people and standing *above* the people" (Lenin, 1974b [1917]: 491-492). Stalin also repeated these opinions of Lenin many times. He stated that bureaucracy was "a manifestation of bourgeois influence" in the "Party, government, trade-union, cooperative and all other organizations" in the USSR (Stalin, 1954a [1928]: 137). In this regard, both Lenin and Stalin evaluated bureaucracy mainly as a remnant of previous society which would fade away in time parallel to increase in laboring classes' cultural level and experience of administration during transition process without giving a clear cut answer to the question of how will these really take place. For them, while bureaucracy posed a threat to the working class power indisputably, still, it was dangerous as long as remnants of former ruling classes and petty commodity production existed. Hence, it would no longer pose a threat after suppression of its class basis. Though they spoke of "low cultural level" (Lenin, 1974d [1919]: 183) and need for a 'cultural revolution' in order to "organize control from below, to organize criticism of the bureaucracy in [Soviet] institutions, of their short-comings and their mistakes, by the vast masses of the working class" to "put an end to bureaucracy" (Stalin, 1954b [1928]: 77) in their several speeches and writings, they did not -or could not- lead a lively practice in the USSR in order to realize workers' control 'from below' and laboring classes' participation into policy making at all

levels. And particularly after collectivization, problems related to bureaucratization started to be undermined by the CPSU leadership, above all, Stalin. As even Trotskyist author Deutscher (2003 [1963]: 248) points out, "[a]s in the nineteen-twenties so in the nineteen-thirties, [Stalin] considered the bureaucracy, or a section of it, as the potential agent of a capitalist restoration; but while earlier he saw it as an auxiliary of the *kulaks* and the NEPmen[10], now, after the 'liquidation' of those classes, he regarded it as an independent agent."

A New Exploiting Class: Rise of 'Bureaucratic Bourgeoisie' in the USSR

However, this official theory championed by Stalin was quite inconsistent with social reality of the time. Contrary to Leninist-Stalinist approach, collectivization did not put an end to bureaucratization as an obstacle in the way of socialist transition simply due to it abolished petty commodity producers physically. In reality, classless society was still far from being ascendant in 1930s USSR. As long as Russia 'backwardness' forced the CPSU leadership to give priority to the task of 'catch up' with developed capitalist states through rapidly developing productive forces, system almost created a self-dynamic that permanently reproduced privileges of some people. Early signs of this problem can be clearly seen in Bolsheviks' renouncement of 'workers' control' short after GOSR. Contrary to, for instance, Brinton's (1972) argument that Leninism had always seen in workers' control "just a *slogan* to be used for manipulatory purposes in specific and very limited historical contexts," and Leninist notion of 'vanguard party' was doomed to create a dictatorship of privileged over working class, what forced Bolsheviks to abandon workers' control (and even self-management) was not their secret demonic agenda, but objective conditions themselves. "'Workers' control' over production, exercised in every factory by an elected factory committee, which had been encouraged in the first flush of revolution, and had played a role in the take-over of power, soon became a recipe for anarchy" (Carr, 1979: 25). Fate of the Soviet

[10] Private entrepreneurs (tradesmen, petty commodity producers etc.) who got rich by taking advantage of opportunities provided by NEP in 1920s were called 'NEPmen' in the USSR.

revolution, which was under siege both at international and domestic levels, was up to maintaining production to a certain extent. Even after the victory in civil war, constraints of imperialist-capitalist system over the USSR continued in one way or another. Under these conditions, socialist transition almost necessarily equalized to a sort of national developmentalism practically. This was also compatible with "economism of the Second International" based on the assumption of "social neutrality of the technology" which Leninism "did not break radically" with, even after the split-up in international socialist movement (Amin, 1992: 46). To fulfill national developmental goals, "Red managers" as specialists "acquired a recognized and respected place in the Soviet hierarchy," as well as higher wages and "powerful voice in industrial administration and industrial policy," and even some of them "were admitted to Party membership" (Carr, 1979: 54). What motivated these people was not their ideological loyalty to the Party, but material incentives. Actually, during Stalin era, despite privileges given to these people, process of their rise as a 'new class' was interrupted several times, but through not increasing control of popular masses from below, but again, harsh bureaucratic intervention from above. While it started to be officially voiced that "the dictatorship of the proletariat could be relaxed" particularly after collectivization, in fact, CPSU leadership saw that it actually could not be since Soviet society was still full of inner contradictions, and this gap between theory and reality was tried to be narrowed by "administrative methods as a function of the security police" (Thomson, 1971: 135). On the one hand, this kept "the whole of the bureaucracy in a state of flux, renewing permanently its composition, and not allowing it to grow out of a protoplasmic or amoeboid condition, to form a compact and articulate body with a socio-political identity of its own" and hence, "managerial groups could not become a new possessing class, even if they wanted to -they could not start accumulating capital on their own account while they were hovering between their offices and the concentration camps" (Deutscher, 2003 [1963]: 243). On the other hand, antidote of bureaucratization could not be the bureaucratic means themselves by nature. Apparatus that especially shaped during collectivization campaign that also used in committing systematic violence over managers during Stalin era also merged with its

former victims in time. In this regard, as Amin (1993 [1981]: 113) asserts, "roots" of "revisionism" in the USSR and CPSU can be traced back to collectivization, since this "led to the development of a police apparatus that rapidly gained substantial autonomy from society and even from the Party" and around this apparatus, gradually "crystallized a new class and the transformation of the state into a state oppressing the people." This 'class,' which would transform the character of the Soviet state, was 'new' since neither it was direct successor of previous ruling classes nor it was derived from former bureaucracy. Contrary to predictions of Lenin and Stalin, "the 'remnants' of the old society -the pre-1917 bourgeoisie and the NEPmen and *kulaks* pushed out in the late 1920s and early 1930s- played no leading role in the transformations that [especially] took place after the death of Stalin in 1953;" rather it was "the rise of a *new* [emphasis added] bourgeoisie engendered within socialism under the proletarian dictatorship" that led capitalist restoration (Nicolaus, 1975: 44). Threat to socialist transition came directly from within the Soviet state and the CPSU. To be sure, many post-Stalin leaders of the CPSU -such as Khrushchev, Mikoyan, Kozlov, Gromyko and so on- had working class origins, "no doubt a larger number than in other states in world-system," but once they "became members of ruling class, these persons became 'bourgeoisified' and constituted a notorious *nomenklatura*" (Wallerstein, 1995: 223).

For a Marxist, "function that a social group performs in the production process" determines its class identity (Carlo, 1974: 7-8). In this sense, Soviet bureaucracy's transformation into a new bourgeois *class* "for itself" ('*für sich*') in Marxist terms -which means it was made up of group of subjects who not only had "common interests derived from the function they perform in the productive process (class in itself)," but also were "conscious of their function" and "organize[d] to defend their own interests"- was strictly related to its domination over "production by running it in its own interests and by appropriating the social surplus" (Carlo, 1974: 8-10). "Strengthened by its repressive role towards the peasants," the Soviet state was also able to break "resistance by the working class and impose a policy of wage differentials in industry" and thus, "a ruling class rebuilt itself, a class we will call a 'state bourgeoisie' for want of a better term, and finally stamped its will on the

nature of the state" (Amin, 1993 [1981]: 114). At the end, CPSU became "no different from" numerous nationalist and statist/state-capitalist parties of the Third World (Amin, 1992: 44). In this regard, what happened in 1991 in the USSR was not a social revolution (or counterrevolution), but "a political overthrow" like the so called "Sadatian counterrevolution" of Egypt in 1971 (Amin, 1992: 49). Therefore, it is not surprising that, after the collapse of the CPSU, majority of people who had appropriated the means of production during Soviet rule smoothly transited from "the positions in *nomenklatura* into the positions of wealth and power" and even started to enjoy "wealthier and safer life in underdeveloped Russia than they had a decade earlier in the still seemingly powerful USSR" (Lazarev, 2001: 3-6). As early as 1991, majority of the more than 10 thousand "multi-billionaires" in Moscow were former senior Party cadres and state officials, as if proving results of a survey conducted in July of the same year that showed 76.7 percent of high-ranking officials preferred transition to capitalism rather than socialism (S. Li, 2013: 80).

Bureaucratic degeneration of the Soviet power and the CPSU went hand-in-hand with restructuring of politics in the USSR. Laboring classes were driven out of policy making and implementation processes. According to official theory, since CPSU in power was vanguard and representative of all laborers in Soviet society where no exploiters remained, they did not need any independent bodies (such as free trade-unions) to protect their interests. On the other hand, despite the objective of transition to classless society had never removed from official discourse until decisive fall in 1991, neither new bourgeoisie nor the great majority of Soviet people really believed that Soviet society was free from exploiters, and CPSU represented majority of people's interests. Rather, while the ruling class "saw itself in the mirror of a West that it aspired to emulate," popular classes "considered the Party to be the representative of their class enemy" (Amin, 1992: 44). Gap between intellectual and manual labor was so broad and tended to become broader. By 1970, "Soviet ministers earn[ed] a nominal stipend which [was] a hundred times greater than the wage of a manual worker" (Carlo, 1974: 5). Flamboyant lives of senior Party cadres and state officials which started to become more visible under especially Brezhnev rule, and spreading nepotism and corruption also created hatred against CPSU. For

instance, Brezhnev's son-in-law's unbelievably rapid promotion from an ordinary police officer to First Deputy Minister of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and his embezzlement of 650.000 rubles, Brezhnev's "playboy" and talentless son's appointment to First Deputy Minister of the Ministry of Foreign Trade, and KGB's efforts to cover revealed foreign exchange and jewelry smuggling activities of Brezhnev family were shocking scandals that weakened confidence in Party all across the country (S. Li, 2013: 75). In a survey conducted short before the collapse of the CPSU, while only 7 and 4 percent of participants from ordinary people stated that the Party represented laboring people and industrial workers respectively, 85 percent stated that it represented "high bureaucrats" (S. Li, 2013: 81). So indeed, participants of survey were not wrong as statistics about changes in the social composition of the CPSU's highest body, Central Committee, in time shows quite clearly. From the famous 20th Congress of the CPSU dated 1956, during which 'de-Stalinization' policy was announced by Khrushchev for the first time, to the 28th Congress of the CPSU dated 1990, i.e. the last Party congress before the collapse, percentage of workers in the Central Committee consistently decreased from more than 30 percent to about 5 percent. Similarly, percentage of peasants in the Central Committee also consistently decreased between 22nd Congress of the CPSU dated 1961 and the last Party congress from more than 40 percent to less than 10 percent (Vladimirov, 2014: 292). On the other hand, between 1961 and 1990, number of Central Committee members "without identified social origins," overwhelming majority of whom belonged to new bourgeoisie as might be expected, steadily increased from slightly higher than 10 percent to 80 percent (Vladimirov, 2014: 293)!

These led to two practical political outcomes: Firstly, large masses of people were depoliticized due to Soviet "form of exercising power, which enervate[d] the popular classes by means of clientelism," and at last, depoliticization in the USSR became so "pervasive that the popular classes believe[d] that the regime they [had] lately overthrown was socialist, and by this fact accept[ed] that capitalism [was] better" (Amin, 1992: 44-45). Hence, it was not surprising that, except from an overdue military coup attempt from above, no significant popular opposition was

organized in order to run counter to dissolution of the USSR from below on the eve of drastic collapse. Secondly, many faithful communists and working class leaders turned into hardcore opponents of CPSU leaderships in time and because of dominant 'monolithic party' understanding inherited from Stalin era in the USSR (that was also prevalent in Soviet 'satellites,' and anti-revisionist but excessively dogmatic Stalinist Albania), they were not allowed to express their opinions in the Party organs and pushed into establishing underground organizations to challenge new bourgeoisie. For example, in its illegally published *Programmatic Proclamation*, the group called the Soviet Revolutionary Communists (Bolsheviks) (SRC [B]) (1964?: 36) claimed that, in Stalin's death, the "major part" of self-seeking bureaucrats had seen "the possibility to liberate itself from the proletarian control in general, from the communist leadership from above." In this sense, SRC (B) classified Khrushchev and other "opportunist chiefs" of the CPSU as representatives of these bureaucrats. According to militants of this underground organization, "[t]he working class of the Soviet Union, after having taken the power into its own hands, [would have to] show the bureaucrats their place and compel them to pay back through work all what they [had] taken away from the people" (SRC [B], 1964?: 78). For sure, SRC (B) was not the only organized left-wing opposition to the post-Stalin CPSU. Although "pro-Western sector" of Soviet dissident movement has long been getting "the bulk of attention" and there is almost nothing about challenges from left to the CPSU rule in mainstream literature; actually, from early 1960s to early 1980s, numerous anti-revisionist and Maoist illegal groupings, that gave KGB a great headache, emerged all over the USSR, some of which even organized successful strikes that workers in public workplaces massively participated in and remarkable student demonstrations as well (Volynets, 2013).

Mao Zedong's Contribution to Scientific Socialism: "Bourgeoisie is Right in the Communist Party!"

Widespread Misconceptions About 'Maoism'

Not only in mainstream, but also in left-wing literature, 'Maoism' has been associated with two different tendencies for a long time: First one of these is a revolutionary strategy which does not neglect 'ideological leadership' of the proletariat at least discursively but mainly suggests taking power through a struggle that leans on great majority of peasantry, that has been advocated predominantly by some revolutionary groups of rural countries where development level of productive forces are intensely low. Second one, on the other hand, is a perspective, that began to develop in the second part of 1960s especially within student movements of Western countries, which equalized Maoism almost with a sort of vulgar anti-statism or even something like anarcho-communism. While the source of inspiration of the former has especially been the role played by the CPC in China's anti-imperialist and anti-feudal struggle from 1930s (when Mao's ideas became dominant in Party ranks) to late 1940s, the latter was an outcome of revolutionary youth's admiration to GPCR as the opposite of Soviet-led bureaucratic style of constructing socialism which started to be discredited by a huge part of left-wing movements in the West at that time. Today, though the perspective that takes Maoism simply as a guide for a peasant revolution still exists, it is notably weakened, such that except some Asian countries like Nepal, India and Philippines, movements that advocate this understanding are no longer active as a result of not only decreasing -at least ideological- support of the CPC, but also and particularly due to internal migration towards cities and crooked urbanization in many Third World countries that turned great majority of these societies into waged laborers.[11] Ultra-leftist evaluation of Maoism in Western countries lived even shorter on the other hand. This trend faded as early as mid-1970s parallel to deceleration and decline of GPCR and while some

[11] For sure, this definitely does not mean that broad segments of peasantry are no longer potentially revolutionary subjects especially in the periphery of the capitalist world system. Rather, what is meant here is, while it is true that peasantry in Third World is still quite populated, as data provided by UN DESA (2014) shows, number of rural population has been declining at global scale, both in the 'center' and the 'periphery.' According to these data, local urban population increased rapidly from 746 million in 1950 (about 30% of total population) to 3.9 billion in 2014 (about 54% of total population). Today, while only Africa and Asia still remain predominantly rural with 40% and 48% of their populations living in urban areas respectively, these two continents have also been urbanizing even faster than others, and despite its relatively lower level of urbanization, Asia is already home to 53% of global urban population.

former advocates of this position moved away from politics, many of them either tended towards intra-system social-democratic 'leftism' or brought their understanding to its logical end and became post-Marxist/post-structuralist Marxists or autonomists by neglecting Maoist notion of Marxism to a great extent in time. In his study on influence of GPCR over French intellectual circles, Wolin (2010: 15) points out that, "[t]oday, many ex-Maoists, having undergone the 'long march through the institutions,' have become luminaries of French cultural and political life: philosophers, architects, scholars, and advisers of the Socialist Party."

If these two evaluations of Maoism which actually are taken as given, it can really be argued that Mao did not make a worthwhile contribution to Marxist thought and imbedded in history as a kind of utopian communist leader whose ideas are no longer influential even in his own country. However, Mao's *real* contribution to Scientific Socialism was something different than these two dogmatic and/or ultra-leftist deviations from Maoism, both of which can be called not 'Maoist' but rather 'Lin Biaoist.' First and foremost, contrary to widespread (mis)belief, Mao's theses on great majority of peasantry's role in a revolution towards socialism, framework of which was comprehensively drawn in his famous article, 'Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society,' dated 1926, were not universally applicable and also he did not have such claim; rather these theses were developed on the basis of his observations made and experiences gained in a particular country and in a specific period of time, i.e. 'semi-colonial and semi-feudal China' of early 20th century. Mao was a bright and creative communist leader who caught on the essence of Marxist theory of knowledge, and integrated Marxist and traditional Chinese dialectic thought (Wang, 2011). Thus, quite contrary to pre-Mao leaderships of the CPC who had taken CPSU's revolutionary strategy as a universal one that could be copied one-to-one everywhere and hence put forward organizing urban working class in order to come into power rather than peasant masses who had already been revolted against landlords at Chinese countryside, Maoists always kept themselves away from the anti-historical materialist/positivist-like perspective which suggested that communists of each country had to find a path towards power by themselves by analyzing objective material conditions of their own society. According to Mao

(1965d [1941]: 37), Marxism-Leninism was a theory created "on the basis of practice," and hence, Chinese communists should not just "merely read" the works of leading Marxist theorists like Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin without "proceed[ing] to study the realities of China's history and revolution" in the light of these works or "mak[ing] any effort to think through China's revolutionary practice carefully in terms of theory." In this sense, for him, while "[c]lass struggle, social revolution, the transition from capitalism to socialism [had] the same fundamental principles in all countries, (…) when it [came] to some of the minor principles and manifestations which [were] dependent on the major principles, then each country [was] different," and therefore, revolutionary vanguard of each "nation" had to take "its own history and its own strengths and weaknesses" into consideration and combine "general truth" (Marxism) with "the concrete practice" of its "nation's revolution" in order to become successful (Mao, 1956). Accordingly, Mao's ideas on the role of peasantry in the revolution were direct outcomes of his attempt to combine 'general truth' with knowledge deducted from China's material conditions for a practical revolutionary purpose, rather than being positivistic generalizations. Hence, movements which have been aiming at copying Chinese revolutionary strategy in one way or another in different countries and under historically different conditions without analyzing objective material conditions that they struggle within cannot be considered simply as Mao's successors mainly, despite their own claims.

Secondly, Mao had never propounded that 'superstructure' -including the state- could be gotten rid of overnight. Contrary to evaluation of many Maoism-inspired especially student-led leftist movements appeared in Western countries in late 1960s, what Mao predicted was a more gradual and slower transition to classless society. For instance, unlike Badiou (2010: 13) who asserts that GPCR symbolized a certain break from socialist politics *with* party and State (with capital 'S') just like May '68 in France, according to Mao, socialist society would cover "a fairly long historical stage" in which "classes, class contradictions and class struggle" would continue (quoted in, Editorial Departments…, 1967: 14), and until the end of this stage with gradual disappearance of classes, "all instruments of class struggle -parties and the state machinery-" would continue to exist by necessity (Mao, 1961b [1949]:

411). Therefore, GPCR was definitely not precursor of the end of class society with its all 'instruments,' rather, for Mao, there would "of necessity be several of these [kind of] revolutions in the future" (quoted in, Bettelheim, 1974: 102-103), since the 'politics *with* party and State' had not ended yet and could not be ended voluntarily.

The Essence of Mao's Contribution

Actually, Mao's main contribution to Scientific Socialism -or in Mao's own words, to 'general truth'- which still maintains its importance was exactly had to do with his vision of socialist transition as a long, conflictual and gradual process. When they started socialist construction, Soviet revolutionaries had no serious experiences behind to learn from. Paris Commune was a very short lived attempt which could not be able to pave the way for socialist transition in France. Mao was 'luckier' in this respect. As a Marxist theorist and revolutionary who led socialist transition in his country, Mao analyzed not only China's, but also the USSR's experience of socialist transition. In this sense, what he recognized was even after collectivization of means of production, class struggle would continue particularly in ideological field, quite contrary to Soviet-centric economist understanding. According to him, complement of socialist transformation "as regards the system of ownership" did not mean that class struggle was "over," rather, "[t]he class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the class struggle between the various political forces, and the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the ideological field [would] still be protracted and tortuous and at times even very sharp" (Mao, 1977b [1957]: 409). Ravages of thousands of years of class society in people's minds could not be removed in a short span of time. During socialist transition, it would "take a fairly long period of time to decide the issue in the ideological struggle between socialism and capitalism" and if this was not "understood at all" or was "insufficiently understood, the gravest of mistakes" like using method of "crude coercion" -as Stalin did- instead of "painstaking reasoning" would be made and "the necessity of waging struggle in the ideological field" would be "ignored" (Mao, 1977b [1957]: 409-410). Unlike Soviet theorists who believed that the system that they founded was an "ideal" one and "every problem" in front of construction of classless society "had

been solved" in the USSR, for Mao, existence of bourgeois ideas both among the people and even in the Party in socialist society was a concrete fact and due to this, "[i]t was still capable of a return, even *through* [emphasis added] 'socialist' structures" at this stage (Han, 1976: 82-83). Thus, all members of the Party and especially people always had to be "on the alert and never relax their vigilance," and keep in their minds that "disequilibrium [was] normal and absolute whereas equilibrium [was] temporary and relative" (quoted in, Snow, 1973: 65-66).

In this regard, what provided a suitable ground for 'a return' was privileges of Party cadres that stemmed from their control over and management of production process on behalf of working class. Since socialist transition started in relatively 'backward' countries -as Lenin called them-, 'catch up' with developed capitalist countries occupied an important place in the agenda of such countries' revolutionaries by necessity. As Stalin (1976a [1931]: 529) once stated, there was no other choice before Soviet revolutionaries than either making up "50 to 100 years" difference between "advanced [capitalist] countries" and the USSR in a very short period of time or going under, and definitely the same thing was valid for other 'backward' countries' communists in power as well. While on the one hand, they had to "develop the productive forces and in order to do so, to 'copy' and reproduce capitalist forms of organizing production;" on the other hand, they had "to do something else," i.e., "to build socialism" simultaneously (Amin, 2014b). They found the answer in "state socialism," which differed from "state capitalism" just slightly, mainly in terms of "its obligation to pose as equivalent to worker-power at least by legitimating itself through bold social policies" and "its independent posture in relations with the world capitalist system" (Amin, 2014b). On the other hand, just like 'state capitalism' as applied in peripheral (or semi-peripheral) societies, 'state socialism' also relied on extraction of surplus product "from the workers and peasants" and concentration of this "in the hands of the state" for the very sake of mobilizing "resources for capital accumulation," and hence, "created opportunities for the bureaucratic and technocratic elites to make use of their control over the surplus product to advance their individual power and interests rather than the collective interest of the working people" (Li, 2008b: 50-51). At this point, as

distinct from Soviet leaders, Mao wisely recognized that *nationalization* was a necessary step towards but definitely not one and the same with *socialization* of means of production. Since the extreme power gathered in the hands of senior party cadres and state officials was a material source of rejuvenation of bourgeois ideology and reproduction of inequalities in society, it might turn revolutionary cadres into ordinary bourgeois bureaucrats in time. Rise of bourgeois ideology and spread of bourgeois bureaucratization would sooner or later end up with removal of the target of building classless society from the agenda of the communist party in power, and without this long term goal, the boundary line between 'state socialism' and 'state capitalism' would evaporate and system would turn into a "normal" capitalism[12] -as Amin (2014a) calls- step by step, since for Mao, bourgeoisie (including bureaucratic one) always wanted capitalism, not socialism (quoted in, Amin, 1992: 44).

Mao convinced that while party and state power were "important revolutionary instruments," at the same time, they were "sources of serious problems that hamper[ed] revolutionary objectives" and due to this, "degeneration of socialism would not necessarily occur through violent counterrevolution by its former enemies, but more likely through the infiltration of bourgeois figures and ideology into the revolutionary ranks" (Wu, 2013b: 204). According to him, bureaucratic way of organization that was necessarily applied in transition period to an extent reproduced "the reactionary style of work (an anti-populist style of work, a KMT style of work) of reactionary ruling classes in dealing with the people" in the CPC ranks and revolutionary government due to its "social origins" at any moment (Mao, 1977a [1953]: 85). In his short list titled *Twenty Manifestations of Bureaucracy*, he accused especially high-level bureaucrats of being divorced from reality, from the masses, and from the leadership of the Party; conceited; complacent; subjective and one-sided; careless; ignorant; negligent about things; stupid; lazy; formalist; wasteful; egoistical; money grubber; factionist; sectarian; degenerated; anti-democratic and so

[12] Despite some apparent problems of such conceptualization particularly in terms of suggesting clear-cut criteria to distinguish 'state socialism,' 'state capitalism' and 'normal capitalism,' still, this tripartite methodological distinction remains as a useful tool especially in analyzing socialist transition and capitalist restoration processes.

on (Mao, 1967?). From Mao's point of view, once these "selfish careerists" including even some former revolutionary cadres "had become the majority in the elites and managed to consolidate their material privileges and power, then a new exploiter class in the form of privileged bureaucrats, privileged technocrats, and bureaucratic capitalists, alienated from the worker and peasants, would have emerged" (Li, 2008b: 54). As it is quite clear, this argument was a significant challenge to Soviet-centric "orthodox dogma" that it was "impossible for a new exploiting class to emerge in a society which ha[d] established a system of public ownership of the means of production" (which would be restored in post-Mao China as well ironically) as long as it portrayed the main enemies of popular masses as not "lingering remnants of an old and expropriated capitalist class," but rather, "those who occupied positions of privilege and authority in the postrevolutionary political and economic bureaucracies, and particularly in the higher echelons of the CPC" (Meisner, 1982: 230-231). Mao recognized that "bourgeoisie" was not in somewhere else, but "*right in the Communist Party* [emphasis added] –those in power taking the capitalist road" (quoted in Hai, 1976: 8). Unlike his Soviet counterparts, for him, agents of a potential capitalist restoration were not external to the Communist Party and the socialist state; rather, new bourgeoisie as nucleus of a potential counterrevolution was growing up at the very heart of revolutionary institutions, particularly since leading cadres of these possessed various privileges in production and distribution processes during socialist transition.

Problem of Bureaucratization Before Mao

Indeed, Mao was not the first theorist who reflected on the problem of bureaucratic degeneration and exclusion of the masses from policy making and implementation processes during socialist transition. For instance, although she did not live for a long time after the GOSR, Polish-German communist leader and theorist Rosa Luxemburg (1940 [1918]) had warned Bolsheviks as early as 1918 that, "the whole mass of people" had to take part in socialist construction in order to prevent "corruption," and dictatorship of the proletariat had to be "the work of the *class* and not of a little leading minority in the name of the class." According to her,

while Bolsheviks had "contributed whatever could possibly be contributed under (…) devilishly hard conditions" to "international socialism," they should not present "all the distortions" -above all, lack of democratization on behalf of workers- "prescribed in Russia by necessity and compulsion" as "new discoveries." Similarly, in his *Prison Notebooks*, Gramsci (2000 [1929-1935]: 219) also pointed out that, for a political party, bureaucracy was "the most dangerously hidebound and conservative force" since "if it end[ed] up by constituting a compact body, which [stood] on its own and [felt] itself independent of the mass of members, the party end[ed] up by becoming anachronistic and at moments of acute crisis it [was] voided of its social content and left as though suspended in mid-air."

Luxemburg and Gramsci had never taken part in socialist construction as Marxist leaders personally. However, some pre-Mao critics of bureaucratization had also taken roles in communist parties in power. Leon Trotsky, nemesis of Stalin, was one of the most prominent of such figures. Particularly after his and his supporters' liquidation from the Bolshevik ranks in late 1920s, critique of 'Stalinist bureaucracy' became an important cornerstone of his theory. Here, the ironic thing is, Trotsky himself was also criticized by Lenin due to his bureaucratic excesses when he still held his senior position in the Party and thus, he would be accused of turning into an enemy of the bureaucracy "since he could not be the leading bureaucrat" (Mavrakis, 1976: 56). Actually, such critiques of Trotskyist position on the bureaucracy were not so baseless. Trotsky structured his analysis and critique of bureaucracy around his harsh opposition against Stalin himself and in this respect, instrumentalized 'democracy' as a part of his discourse in order to legitimize his position against 'bureaucratic' rule of the CPSU leadership. According to him, replacement of "bureaucratic centralism" with "democratic centralism" of Lenin era (which was almost idealized by him) was an outcome of the "petty bourgeois outlook" of bureaucratic "new ruling stratum" based on the theory of 'socialism in one country' which assumed that "creating socialism was national and administrative in its nature" (Trotsky, 1965b [1937]: 190-191). He believed that this 'stratum' enjoyed "its privileges under the form of an abuse of power" and in this sense, its "appropriation of a vast share of the national income [had] the character of social parasitism"

(Trotsky, 1965a [1937]: 218). However, while "backslide to capitalism" was "wholly possible" in the USSR under bureaucratic rule, still, it remained as a "contradictory society halfway between capitalism and socialism," in which "a further development of contradictions" could "lead to socialism" as well (Trotsky, 1965a [1937]: 221-222). Above all, "relations" such as "nationalization of the land, the means of industrial production, transport and exchange, together with the monopoly of foreign trade" that were "established by the proletarian revolution" constituted "the basis of the Soviet social structure" and in this sense, despite similarities between "Soviet bureaucracy" and every other bureaucracy, "especially the fascist," it was also "vastly different" since "[i]n no other regime [had] a bureaucracy ever achieved such a degree of independence from the dominating class" (Trotsky, 1965a [1937]: 216-217). While in "bourgeois society," including the fascist one, bureaucracy was "united with" the "big bourgeoisie," Soviet bureaucracy as "the sole privileged and commanding stratum in the Soviet society" had "risen above a class" -working class- which had "no tradition of domination or command" (Trotsky, 1965a [1937]: 217). Therefore, neither Soviet bureaucracy was a 'social class' nor Soviet society was a class society in bourgeois sense. The USSR was a "degenerated workers' state," in which Stalinist bureaucratic 'stratum' that grabbed power had to be thrown "by means of revolutionary uprising of the toilers," in other words through not a social, but a *political* revolution that would preserve "state property" and "planned economy" (Trotsky, 1965c [1939]: 306-307). So, for Trotsky, "anti-socialist degeneration" in the USSR was limited to "political level," and "property relations remained socialist in character" at economic base (Carlo, 1974: 6).

This 'superstructure' based analysis of Trotsky was quite inadequate to show real dynamics of bureaucratic degeneration in the USSR in many respects. Trotsky's criticism of Stalin's violent method of collectivization, for instance, was far from revealing that how this move paved the way for emergence of a new bureaucratic apparatus -which would crystallize as a new class particularly after the end of Stalin era in which bureaucracy was routinely liquidated but through, again, harsh bureaucratic interventions-. Rather, what he wanted was to accelerate process of transition to classless society all over the world at all costs and in this sense, he

asserted that "program for the *nationalization of the land and collectivization of agriculture* should be so drawn that *from its very basis* [emphasis added] it should exclude the possibility of expropriation of small farmers and their compulsory collectivization" (Trotsky, 1938: 14-15). Was such an option realizable? It is quite debatable. Actually, what realist and materialist Stalin was somehow forced to do ahead of time starting from late 1920s at the expense of putting an end to worker-peasant alliance was what adventurous and idealist Trotsky definitely had already had in mind as roughly aforementioned above. According to him, "objective prerequisites" for a "proletarian/socialist revolution" had "begun to get somewhat rotten" as early as 1930s and in order to prevent "a catastrophe" for "the whole culture of mankind," the "turn" was then "to the proletariat, i.e., chiefly to its *revolutionary vanguard* [emphasis added]" (Trotsky, 1938: 2). Since there was no place for class alliances, stages or temporary ceasefires in Trotsky's extremely voluntarist theory of 'permanent revolution' -which was designed as a 'pure' working class revolution-, in reality, Trotskyists would most probably rely on and strengthen bureaucratic apparatus even much more than Stalin did in their hopeless struggle against objective material conditions borders of which were drawn by the fact of uneven development, if they could really succeed in taking power after Lenin's death (for a comprehensive critique of Trotskyism see, Mavrakis, 1976).

Contrary to Trotksy who argued that 'Stalinist bureaucracy' was not a social class but a social stratum, according to Milovan Djilas (1957), a former Central Committee member of Yugoslav League of Communists and then a self-proclaimed "democratic socialist," bureaucrats of the USSR and the other "communist countries" constituted a "new class" peculiar to "Eastern system" characterized by "communist totalitarianism." There was "the party of Bolshevik type" that relied on "professional revolutionaries" at the "core" of this "new class" made up of those "who [had] special privileges and economic preference because of the administrative monopoly they [held]" (Djilas, 1957: 39). Therefore, bureaucracy's emergence as a 'class' took place concurrently with any communist party's rise to power. For him, "new class" obtained "its power, privileges, ideology, and its customs from one specific form of ownership -collective ownership- which the class administer[ed] and distribute[d] in

the name of the all nation and society" (Djilas, 1957: 45). In this sense, "the so called socialist ownership" was nothing but a "disguise for the real ownership by the political bureaucracy" (Djilas, 1957: 47). Djilas' analysis resembled Western 'totalitarianism' theorists' theses to a great extent. According to him, power that "new class" exercised over men was "the most complete" one and its "method of control" was "one of the most shameful pages in human history" (Djilas, 1957: 69). While the "mechanism" that "communist power" relied on was "simple" since "one party alone" was the "backbone of the entire political, economic, and ideological activity," it also led to "the most refined tyranny and the most brutal exploitation" (Djilas, 1957: 70). At this point, actually, his critique towards 'exploitation' did not target class society as a whole. According to him, the main problem was about exploitation of society by communist "totalitarianism" which was -regrettably- the only system that succeeded in incorporating power, ownership and ideology as "three basic factors for controlling people" simultaneously (Djilas, 1957: 166-167). Unlike his harsh critique of 'communist countries' from almost a vulgar anti-communist point of view, Djilas also seemed sympathetic towards Western capitalist states. He claimed that due to Keynesianism had been on rise in West, state's role in economy could no longer be evaluated as a separating line between "Eastern" and "Western" systems (Djilas, 1957: 206-207). Rather, "the essential difference" between two was, while Western governments were "neither the owner of nationalized property nor the owner of funds which it [had] collected through taxes," in "communist countries," the "new class" was both acted as the owner and was the owner of these (Djilas, 1957: 207). Herein, he also openly underestimated the relationship between capitalist states and monopolies by arguing that communists were just wrong in pointing out this in order to discredit Western system (Djilas, 1957: 213).

Actually, Djilas' analysis was not a profound one. Despite he appealed to some core Marxist concepts like 'class,' his much-ballyhooed work, *The New Class: An Analysis of the Communist System*, was full of ordinary anti-communist and pro-Western arguments which were in line with famous 'totalitarianism' theorists' of the time, and in this sense, his approach seemed quite eclectic. He became famous especially in Western capitalist countries in 'Cold War' environment mainly not

because he voiced the unheard, but rather, thanks to his former senior position in a communist party in power. As Carlo (1974: 17, 45) points out, Djilas' work was not "sophisticated" in terms of providing a sufficient analysis of "structural problems" that paved the way for bureaucratization and his 'new class' conceptualization resembled Bruno Rizzi's thesis -which had been propounded as early as late 1930s as a response to Trotsky's analysis - that, there existed a "new type of ownership" in the USSR in terms of which "the whole productive apparatus (…) belonged to a *class* [emphasis added] as a whole and not to its individual members."

Significance and Uniqueness of Mao's Vision of Socialist Transition

Unlike Luxemburg and Gramsci, Mao had experienced construction of socialism personally in his country when he put forward his analysis of bureaucratic degeneration. Unlike Trotsky and Djilas, on the other hand, who "developed their critiques only after they had been removed from power" as defeated politicians, Mao "was perhaps the first communist leader *in power* [emphasis added] to concern himself so deeply with" problems of "degeneration of a revolutionary group, its estrangement from the masses, its usurpation of privilege and advocacy of non-egalitarian policies" (Kraus, 1977: 63). Before Mao, no communist leader had "refashioned the concept of class into a tool with which to contest the accretion of privilege by a new class of dominant bureaucrats," rather than just "observ[ing] the transfiguration of Marxist class theory into a device for legitimizing the new socialist order" (Kraus, 1981: 17).

While Mao recognized that transition to classless society in one step with 'a permanent revolution' led by 'vanguard' of the working class, i.e. an international communist party, was not possible in contrast to Trotsky who thought that voluntarism could solve all problems in front of and abolish all contradictions in the socialist transition, he could also see that an organized 'vanguard' was needed in order to "lead the working class and the broad masses of people in defeating imperialism and its running dogs" (Mao, 1961a [1948]: 284), and defend gains achieved in each revolutionary stage against attacks of organized enemy, i.e. imperialist capitalism, contrary to Djilas who highlighted only negative side of

'vanguardism.' For Mao, there was no escape from a long transition period which would necessarily be full of contradictions. Contradiction was not something to be avoided or something negative by its nature; rather, it was the guarantee of progress. Mao had never been in pursuit of a 'peaceful' socialism; he thought that stagnation and stability simply meant death. As early as 1937, Mao (1965a [1937]: 345) wrote that "[t]he law of contradiction in things, that [was], the law of the unity of opposites, [was] the fundamental law of nature and of society and therefore also the fundamental law of thought." Therefore, "the struggle of opposites [was] ceaseless, it [went] on both when the opposites [were] coexisting and when they [were] transforming themselves into each other, and [became] especially conspicuous when they [were] transforming themselves into one another" (Mao, 1965a [1937]: 346).

In this regard, establishment of a people's republic in China was an important, but not the last step towards classless society. While "[t]he coming to power of the CPC marked the beginning of the dictatorship of proletariat," it definitely did "not mean the end of the revolution;" rather "it merely marked the beginning of its socialist phase" (Chan, 2003: 118). As Hinton (1972: 21) points out from a Maoist point of view, "the question of capitalist road versus socialist road was not settled in China in 1949, nor it was settled in 1956," when private property in means of production was done away with to great extend and PRC turned from a 'new democratic'[13] to a 'socialist' country after all. Mao knew that distinction

[13] According to Mao (1965c [1939]: 326-327), new democratic revolution was "a new special type" of revolution different than not only bourgeois revolution of "old general type," but also "proletarian-socialist" one which was developing in all "colonial and semi-colonial countries as well as in China." It meant "an anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution of the broad masses of the people under the leadership of the proletariat," and hence, though it was a "part of the world proletarian-socialist revolution, for it resolutely oppose[d] imperialism, i.e., international capitalism," at the same time, it aimed at "the nationalization of all the big enterprises and capital of the imperialists, traitors and reactionaries, and the distribution among the peasants of the land held by the landlords, while preserving private capitalist enterprise in general and not eliminating the rich-peasant economy." Accordingly, even after 1949, "relatively friendly relationship" between the CPC and capitalists lasted some more years, and furthermore, "China's capitalists enjoyed the highest status they could have hoped for during the initial years of the People's Republic" particularly until the beginning of nationalization of capitalist businesses in 1953 which would be completed in 1956 only in three years (Yang, 2013: 8). Similarly, in terms of agricultural transformation, especially thanks to its large peasant base and lack of capitalist development in Chinese countryside, the CPC could also lead a far smoother transition from small peasant property to collectives -in accordance with class alliance strategy prescribed by 'new democracy' approach- than the Soviet revolutionaries whose

between urban and rural areas, distinction between intellectual and manual labor, and distinction between the rulers and the ruled could not be removed suddenly, because of not only socioeconomic limitation but also limits in people's minds. Class struggle should be maintained under socialism. For Mao, denial of contradictions in socialism meant denial of a concrete fact and would inevitably end up with decrease in popular classes' reflexes of defending revolution and erosion of their confidence in carrying the revolution through to the end, i.e., classless society. Quite contrary to Soviet leaders, he argued that as well as "the struggle for production and scientific experiment," class struggle was also and primarily "a sure guarantee that communists [would] be free from bureaucracy and immune against revisionism and dogmatism, and [would] forever remain invincible" (Mao, 1963; cited in, Editorial Department…, 1964: 105-106). Interruption in continuous class struggle and masses' direct control over the Party and bureaucracy would inevitably end up with "a counter-revolutionary restoration on a national scale" and transformation of "the Marxist-Leninist party" into "a revisionist party or fascist party" (Mao, 1963; cited in, Editorial Department…, 1964: 106). According to him, this was right what had happened in the USSR. In the Ninth National Congress of the CPC that held in April 1969 during highly charged days of Sino-Soviet border clashes, this interpretation carried too far and in his report to Congress, Lin Biao (1969: 10-11), ultra-leftist Vice Chairman of the CPC then who would die in 1971 in a plane crash when he tried to escape to the USSR after an unsuccessful coup attempt against Mao quite ironically, declared that "the world's first state under the dictatorship of the proletariat," the Soviet state, had turned into "a dark fascist state under the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie."

While 'Lin Biao clique' was liquidated in early 1970s and this liquidation was reinforced with 'Anti-Lin, Anti-Confucius Campaign' (*pi Lin pi Kong yundong*) that lasted from 1973 to the end of GPCR in 1976, anti-Soviet rhetoric continued to gain strength in China and such that the "Soviet social-imperialism" was announced

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collectivization policy had directed against both the rich and the middle peasantry (Amin, 1993 [1981]: 70; Chossudovsky, 1986: 31-32).

by the CPC as "the most dangerous source of war" in the world in mid-1970s (Soviet social-imperialism…, 1976). Here, one thing has to be stated clearly: Though class-based Maoist critique of bureaucratic bourgeois transformation in the USSR was stimulating and very explanatory in numerous respects, still, late Maoist interpretations on the nature of the USSR were somewhat exaggerated most probably due to high tension between two countries and Soviet aggression against China -that even contained Red Army's preparation of plans to attack China with its Warsaw Pact allies (Lüthi, 2008: 342)!- at that time, even if not, they were "empty talks" largely as Deng (1994b [1989]: 284) would argue later in a talk with Gorbachev shortly before the USSR's collapse. Chinese communists were definitely corrfect that ruling class in the USSR was a bureaucratic bourgeoisie as explained above and the CPSU had replaced 'proletarian internationalism' with 'big state chauvinism' in its international relations particularly with its 'sister parties' that were forced to participate in Moscow-centered 'socialist division of labor.' These were concrete facts. On the other hand, while Soviet system was seen almost doomed to transform into 'normal' capitalism as early as 1960s, yet it had not been transformed into so then. As Amin (1994: 173-174) recalled, the system in the USSR was "Soviet mode of production" since though 'normal' capitalism is based on "dispersal of the property of capital as the basis of competition," "state centralization of property commands a different logic of accumulation" as in the former USSR. Moreover, "the USSR was a superpower only in military terms without being able to compete with Western imperialists in their capacity for economic intervention" (Amin, 1994: 187). In this sense, "[t]he real issue was whether the Soviet bourgeoisie did or did not want to embark on ['social-imperialism' as Chinese called it] but whether it was capable of it" (Amin, 1994: 188-189). If all these are taken into consideration, it can be seen that the USSR was neither 'the most dangerous imperialist' nor a 'dark fascist state' (since material basis of fascism is imperialist capitalism) starting from 1960s despite it was definitely not a socialist one as rightly revealed by Mao as well. Regime in the USSR was a bourgeois/authoritarian one where state power was used to suppress working class and peasant demands in favor of a privileged bureaucratic bourgeois class which would also lead capitalist restoration in the USSR. Extremeness of

Chinese communist discourse, however, mainly stemmed from tense atmosphere in real politics which was particularly an outcome of Soviet aggressiveness against China that was ruled by a prestigious communist party which was influential in international communist movement, and quite critical towards bureaucratic degeneration in the USSR and the CPSU's 'revisionist' official discourse at the same time.

'Maoist' Solution to the Problem of Bureaucratic Degeneration and Capitalist Restoration: The Principle of 'Politics in Command'

Alongside of his analysis of the ongoing contradictions and struggles in the CPC and China, his analysis of dynamics of transformation in the CPSU and the USSR -despite some aforementioned problems of it- also made Mao to think about which methods should be used to prevent a possible capitalist restoration. In this sense, he found answer in appealing to masses and rejuvenating early Leninist dream of 'direct democracy.' Unlike Bolsheviks, Chinese communists had a long experience of working among popular and especially peasant masses. What brought the CPC into power after three decades of anti-imperialist resistance and civil war was a huge peasant-based army. Chinese communists' 'mass line' (*qun zhong lu xian*) principle[14] emerged in stormy days, during the Jiangxi Soviet Republic period (1931-1934) that lasted until the 'Long March,' for the obvious reason that without close links with popular masses, fragile bases under the control of the CPC "could not possibly have survived" (Schram, 1989: 97-98). In Chinese case, revolutionary vanguard and popular masses were intertwined far more than in any other revolution towards socialism. Therefore, according to Mao, 'wisdom and creativity of ordinary working people' was more than just rhetoric for propaganda. He had sufficient reasons to believe that ordinary people could do anything, change both the world and

[14] Mao (1965e [1943]: 119) explained 'mass line' principle ("from the masses, to the masses") as "tak[ing] the ideas of the masses (scattered and unsystematic ideas) and concentrat[ing] them (through study turn them into concentrated and systematic ideas), then go[ing] to the masses and propagat[ing] and explain[ing] these ideas until the masses embrace them as their own, hold[ing] fast to them and translat[ing] them into action, and test[ing] the correctness of these ideas in such action."

themselves simultaneously in revolutionary practice. In his concluding speech at the Seventh National Congress of the CPC, Mao (1965f [1948]: 322) told to his comrades that, "God" of Chinese communists was "no other than the masses of the Chinese people." He truly believed that "[h]uman knowledge and the capability to transform nature [had] no limits" (Mao, 1977c [1958]: 137).

In this sense, he formulated 'politics in command' approach contrary to 'economics in command' approach of the CPSU -which gave priority to developing productive forces over doing this differently than capitalist states- as antidote of bureaucratization and capitalist restoration. Though this approach was by no means a 'magic wand' that was capable of solving all problems stemmed from "the tension between a vision of socialist future projected by the leadership in the form of theory and policy directives, and the commitment to the principle that working people, particularly the peasants and industrial workers, must shape that future" in Selden and Lippit's (1982: 12) words. This was implicit to socialist transition, still, it paved the way of sweeping idealist theoretical equations of the working class and the party in power, and allowed popular masses to control and in some instances even to manage policy making, production and distribution processes at various levels. Mao (1977d [1961-1962]: 79) clearly stated that "[u]nder no circumstances [could] history be regarded as something the planners rather than the masses create." In this regard, the system the USSR was malformed since they "believe[d] that technology decide[d] everything, that cadres decide[d] everything, [were] speaking only of 'expert,' never of 'red,' only of the cadres, never of the masses" (Mao, 1977c [1958]: 135). Chinese communists should not fall into the same error. Mao argued that, at every step, the final goal of classless society had to be remembered (Amin, 1994: 175). This was the very essence of the 'politics in command' approach. It was "only in the sense of deepening control by working people and the shaping of economic activity to conform to their interests and those of entire population" that it was possible to talk of a step by step transition to classless society in countries where the means of production had already been nationalized (Lippit, 1982: 123). The guarantee of the socialist transition was not senior cadres and bureaucrats a notable

number of whom were motivated by 'material incentives' principally, but rather, the popular masses as real masters of revolution.

In accordance with this approach, various mass campaigns were encouraged during Maoist era to combat with 'capitalist roaders' in the party and bureaucracy, on the contrary with Stalin's violent method of crushing bureaucracy and all different opinions in the party (including even non-counterrevolutionary ones) by again using bureaucracy and the party. While the GPCR was not the first one of these campaigns -such that even before the founding of the People's Republic, the CPC had organized some campaigns to cope with gradual alienation of revolutionary cadres and militiamen from popular masses in some liberated areas (for an example, see, Hinton, 1966: 238-239)-, it was definitely the most influential and far-reaching one. Indeed, as mainstream scholars usually argue, GPCR was an expression of "a struggle for power, a struggle over the control of state power in China," but still, this was definitely not "a struggle over power for power's sake; rather a struggle between individuals representing conflicting *class interests* [emphasis added]," in other words, between "working class" who defended "socialist road" and "individuals representing the [bureaucratic] bourgeoisie" who defended "capitalist road" (Hinton, 1972: 16-17).

As Meisner (1999a: 301) points out, "[a]s social inequality grew in the early 1960s, collectivist values declined and Marxian socialist goals, although still proclaimed, became increasingly divorced from social and political practice." Short-term destructive outcomes of the Great Leap Forward, which emerged particularly because of bad weather conditions that produced several consecutive poor harvests and withdrawal of Soviet technical aid almost overnight right after huge disagreements between the CPC and the CPSU became apparent,[15] provided a

[15] Though these 'destructive outcomes' were non-negligible, they were really short-term in the last analysis. As famous British Keynesian economist Joan Robinson (1969: 35-37, cited in Chossudovsky, 1986: 37) stated, starting from 1962, harvests began to increase consistently and the harvest of 1967 became "the greatest in the historty of China." For Robinson, this success was the "fruit" of "the huge effort of investment made in 1958" and therefore, "Great Leap was not a failure after all" while "the Rightists were reluctant to admit it" (1969: 35-37, cited in Chossudovsky, 1986: 38). Accordinly, Ball (2006), who questions exaggerated numbers given in both post-Mao Chinese and mainstream Western literatures about how many people died in scarcity in 1960, also points out that measures taken during Great Leap Forward "such as water conservancy and irrigation allowed for

suitable ground for 'Rightists' in the CPC, some of whom including even Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping had vehemently supported 'exaggeration/communist wind' during Great Leap Forward, to attack Maoist line harshly (Chossudovsky, 1986: 36-38; Amin, 1993 [1981]: 73; Li, 2008b: 38-50). In 'two lines struggle' in the CPC, 'Rightists' were claiming that which "had led the Chinese economy to the brink of collapse" was "the loss of 'material incentive' and 'individual initiative' which resulted from 'a hasty process of collectivization'" (Chossudovsky, 1986: 37). Liu, who had replaced Mao as China's president in 1959, and Deng claimed that since old exploiting classes had already been eliminated, there was left no antagonistic social groups in Chinese society similar to their Soviet counterparts (Meisner, 1999a: 303). Thus, for Liu (1991 [1962]: 345), "politics in command" meant "putting the Party's line and policies in command" rather than allowing popular masses to monitor Party officials permanently in terms of their loyalty to the communist ideal of classless society and to replace them if necessary.

However, quite contrary to Liu and Deng's unrealistic remarks, early signs of emergence of a new bureaucratic bourgeois class were clear in Chinese society by the 1960s and the Party organization was at the center of it. While "[b]efore 1949 the Party attracted and recruited revolutionaries," after this date, it started to attract "people who saw Party membership as the avenue for a career in government" (Meisner, 1999a: 119). Mao could see that "Party cadres were becoming hedonistic and corrupt, seeking only power, status, and luxuries" and he feared that the next generation "would only perpetuate the errors of its parents" (Meisner, 1999a: 305). To give an end to bureaucratic degeneration which was the potential source of capitalist restoration, mass initiative had to be revived and youth had to be revolutionized. GPCR came to the fore as a response to this need. If the monopoly of the Communist Party was crucible of the "new bourgeoisie," its "headquarters" had to be "bombarded" by masses then (Amin, 1994: 176)! In a 'big character poster'

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sustained increases in agricultural production, once the period of bad harvests was over" and "helped the countryside to deal with the problem of drought." Again in the same period, "[f]lood defenses were also developed" and "[t]erracing helped gradually increase the amount of cultivated area."

(*dazibao*) put up in Beijing by Red Guards of the Middle School attached to Tsinghua University shortly after the beginning of GPCR, it was stated with a reference to Mao that "to rebel" was "the tradition" of "proletarian revolutionaries" and "revolutionary rebel spirit" would be needed "for a hundred years, a thousand years, ten thousand years, and 100 million years to come" since it was assumed that classes, class struggles and contradictions would continue to exist that long under socialism (Schram, 1968: 332).

Three main goals of the GPCR were, "(1) to redistribute political power within work units, by undermining the authority of cadres and enhancing the power of rank-and-file work unit members; (2) to weaken patterns of political tutelage and patronage; and (3) to prevent cadres from obtaining privileged access for their children to Party membership, education, and employment" (Andreas, 2009: 271). In accordance with these goals, though 'material incentives' were never abandoned at all even at the "height" of the GPCR (Chossudovsky, 1986: 37), they were separated from work as much as possible. A 'bourgeois' professor, Barry M. Richman (1967: 65, cited in Huberman and Sweezy, 1967: 13), who had visited China between April and June 1966, stated that, while he had observed huge "differences in the salary and wage scales, working and living conditions, dress, appearance, education, work patterns, and even interpersonal contacts" between workers, lower-level managers and top managers in his visits to Soviet enterprises, it was not so possible to guess "who was who" in Chinese ones even on the eve of the GPCR. With the GPCR, this egalitarian tendency became even stronger and working people's role in workplaces increased in terms of managing production process as well, since a new approach to the relationship between manual and intellectual labor was introduced in order to eliminate reproduction of class differences ineradicably, according to which "[w]orking people were to master knowledge (*laodong renmin yao zhishihua*), while intellectuals were to become accustomed to doing manual labor (*zhishifenzi yao laodonghua*)" (Andreas, 2009: 162). A factory manager, Hong Chengqian, who was overthrown at the beginning of the GPCR, told to Andreas (2009: 149) in an interview that, "Before the Cultural Revolution, the workers were supervised by others (*bei guangli*); then, at the beginning of the Cultural Revolution, the workers

became the masters." Interesting point is, despite the GPCR would be labeled as "catastrophe" that interrupted development process of China, in reality, industrial production continued to increase an average of 10% per year during this campaign" (Ball, 2006). During the GPCR, rural healthcare system was also improved considerably, especially thanks to 'barefoot doctors' (*chijiao yisheng*) system which allowed "important transfer of medical personnel from the cities to countryside" (Chossudovsky, 1986: 39). While today, "young, energetic, and idealistic" generation who "were placed in one political campaign after another and sent down to the countryside" is often called "lost generation" (Hou, 2013: ix), their efforts unbelievably transformed Chinese countryside. As World Bank statistics show, life expectancy at birth in China increased from 36.3 to 66.8 only within 20 years, from 1960 to 1980 (Li, 2008b: 34).

Despite its successes in tackling bureaucracy "with a genuinely democratic impulse for realizing the creativity self-organization of masses," still, the GPCR "was in truth an era of profound contradictions" (Lin, 2013: 55). Actually, Mao was also aware of some structural problems of this movement from the very beginning. In a letter dated 8 July 1966, he implicitly expressed his discomfort with ultra-leftist tendencies led by Lin Biao in the CPC that hid behind 'Mao cult' and benefited from large-scale struggle against 'Rightists' (Mao, 2000 [1966]). As he stated in an interview with American journalist Edgar Snow (1973: 169), personality cult was an outcome of "the habits of 3000 years of emperor-worshiping tradition." This was an important potential danger for the movement. Although the GPCR "met Mao's expectations during the first two years of its existence, it subsequently deviated into anarchy, linked to the loss of control by Mao and the left in the Party over the sequence of events" (Amin, 2013: 81), and from this stage onwards, a sort of 'sectarian war' began between different factions at different levels each of which were trying to prove its loyalty to 'holy doctrine' of divinized Mao. Chinese communists' long tradition of 'correctly handling the contradictions among the people' was in a bad way due to "wrong people" started to be persecuted "for wrong reasons" (Lin, 2013: 54). While for Mao (1970), even Chiang Kai-shek supporters in mainland should be persuaded by *ideological* struggle, violence had already turned

into a workaday tool to suppress different views both in the Party and the society. In launching personal attacks, the so called "biographical method" that "consisted in accumulating particulars concerning every Party member's life history" was used extensively (Bettelheim, 1974: 108). This was partly an outcome of uncertainties in Maoist notion of 'class' which referred to "stratified layers in a hierarchical structure" rather than "a structure of objectively defined social relations" (Wu, 2013b: 212). This problem constrained Cultural Revolutionaries from realistically determining their target and clearly distinguishing their friend and foes. Since the concepts of "class" and "class struggle" was spectacularly vulgarized, they started to be deployed by various factions for their own particular uses (Wu, 2013a: 149), and as a result, these concepts became instruments to legitimize attacks to "the bureaucrats, their ideological affiliations, and the remnant classes much more than *the system of bureaucratic domination*" (Wu, 2005). At this point, "Mao was forced to choose between Leninism [or more precisely, restoring Leninist party] and anarchy," and quite understandably, he showed "no hesitation in preferring the former" (Schram, 1989: 173). In the end, while the GPCR "began with a Maoist-inspired attack on the Party apparatus, it [necessarily] concluded with a zigzag drive to reestablish party and state authorities" (Wu, 2013b: 216). As Amin (2013: 81) points out, "[t]his deviation led to the state and party taking things in hand again, which gave the right its opportunity" and since then, "the right remains a strong part of all leadership bodies," though "left is still present on the ground." Today, it is quite clear that, "the reaction to cultural revolutionary excesses had allowed or perhaps even accelerated the emergence of an evermore monstrous bureaucratic capitalist class" ironically (Lin, 2013: 54).

Mao's Theoretical Legacy: Theory of Capitalist Restoration

'The father of Russian Marxism,' Georgi Plekhanov (1898), once stated that, "[i]n order that a man who possesses a particular kind of talent may, by means of it, greatly influence the course of events, two conditions are needed:" First, "this talent must make him more conformable to the social needs of the given epoch than anyone else," and second, "the existing social order must not bar the road to the person

possessing the talent which is needed and useful precisely at the given time." Both of these 'conditions' were existent for Mao, as a man who possessed a particular kind of talent. He was born in a decaying semi-feudal state under the pressure of not only imperialists but also spontaneous peasant rebellions. He participated in republican revolution of 1911, witnessed Bolshevik's rise to power at an early age, accepted Marxism, creatively applied it to the objective conditions of China, developed a revolutionary program that responded needs of the great majority of Chinese people and carried the CPC to the power through a massive people's war. In this sense, as Han (1972: 377) calls, he was "a nation man" whose life was "not only his life but also the representation of a period in China" and who was made by the revolution as much as he made the revolution.

However, it would be misleading to portray Mao just as a national leader. As briefly explained above, he also made a unique theoretical contribution to Marxist literature and international communist movement by examining bureaucratic degeneration in the USSR and problems of socialist transition in China. Despite it had some weak points Mao's thesis that portrayed the communist party in power as the nucleus of a 'new bureaucratic bourgeois class' was essentially correct. When it is compared to other Marxist interpretations on capitalist restoration and/or bureaucratic degeneration, it is clearly seen that Mao's was the most compatible one to objective reality. In Mao's framework, socioeconomic and ideological dynamics of a possible capitalist restoration were not separated from each other. The reason for senior Party cadres' and bureaucrats' openness to bourgeois ideology was explained on the basis of their control over the production and distribution processes during socialist transition which provided a material basis for these people to transform themselves into a social class in Marxist sense, i.e. a bureaucratic bourgeoisie.

In this sense, despite 'Maoism' or 'Mao Zedong Thought' started to lose favor not only in China, but also everywhere parallel to the rise of Deng's 'economist' approach and it almost passed into oblivion with the general crisis of socialist/communist and working class movement triggered by the collapse of the USSR and its 'satellite states,' actually, all these developments did not falsify Mao's analyses. Rather, later developments in China, the USSR and other state socialisms

(or ‘red coated’ state capitalisms) proved Mao’s predictions to a great extent. Therefore, ‘Maoist’ framework still remains as a rich theoretical tool to explain transformation of communist parties in power particularly.

CHAPTER IV

TRANSFORMATION OF THE POST-MAO CPC: GENERAL FRAMEWORK FOR AN ALTERNATIVE CRITICAL APPROACH

In previous two chapters, first, two mainstream approaches to post-Mao transformation of the CPC, i.e. liberal-individualist and state-centric/institutionalist ones, were explained in general terms and criticized, and then, theoretical framework for an alternative critical/radical approach was drawn on the basis of Mao Zedong's unique contribution to Marxism in terms of analyzing dynamics of possible capitalist restoration during the socialist transition. In this chapter, by using theoretical framework drawn in previous chapter, an alternative approach to the post-Mao transformation of the CPC is tried to be formulated. In this respect, post-Mao transformation of the CPC is evaluated in terms of simultaneous transformations in recruitment and promotion criteria, ideology, and class composition of membership. Accordingly, two things as against liberal-individualist and state-centric/institutionalist positions are shown: Firstly and broadly, distinction between realms of social reality is actually not ontological, but just methodological. Secondly, transformation of the CPC takes place simultaneously with transformation of other social forces in China during the marketization process, rather than simply falling behind or paving the way for them.

From the Party of Communist Militants to the Party of 'Experts' and Bureaucrats

As stated above, while the reasoning behind the GPCR was *essentially* right and this movement interrupted senior Party cadres and bureaucracy's transformation into an exploiting class at least for a short time, it also led to so many ultra-left errors in practice and produced a sort of chaotic environment which ended up with intervention from above and thus, reproduced the power of bureaucracy and the 'Rightists' in the CPC ironically. 'Reform and Opening Up' did not show up suddenly in 1978. 'Rightists' or 'capitalist roaders,' including Deng, started to be

rehabilitated even before Mao's death, especially in pursuit of 10th National Congress of the CPC, as a part of restoration after suppression of chaotic environment created by armed factions and prevention of the coup attempt of ultra-leftist Lin Biao clique, while at least rhetorically GPCR was still in place (Chossudovsky, 1986: 8). Although Mao continued to warn both 'Rightists' to not to lead a "right deviationist wind" in education and in economy (Chossudovsky, 1986: 9) and 'Leftists' led by his wife Jiang Qing, Zhang Chunqiao, Yao Wenyuan and Wang Hongwen to avoid from behaving like 'Gang of Four' and forming a "faction" in the CPC (MacFarquhar, & Schoenhals, 2006: 397) until his death, he could not be successful relocating the struggle between 'two lines' in the Party into ideological sphere and subjecting it to 'mass initiative' in accordance with the approach of 'correctly handling the contradictions among the people.' Successive deaths of Premier Zhou Enlai, "who was viewed as an intermediary between the 'Left' and 'Right'" in January and Mao in October 1976, triggered close combat between two lines. While winners of the battle, 'Rightists,' would soon blame their rivals of factionalization and they were most probably not wrong, they were not innocent in this sense as well. Deng also organized a clique in the CPC and the state and "[f]rom April 1976 to Mao's death in September, secret meetings were held between Deng Xiaoping, provincial Communist Party leaders from Guangdong, Sichuan and Fujian and senior military cadres of the PLA" (Chossudovsky, 1986: 9). Thanks to this connections, Deng first helped 'moderate Maoist,' 'centrist' Hua Guofeng, successor of Mao, to suppress 'Gang of Four' shortly after Mao's death with a military coup in October 1976, and then put an end to political power and influence of Hua in the Party to a great extent as well by late 1978, though he remained Chairman of the CPC until mid-1981 (Chossudovsky, 1986: 9-12). Starting from mid-December 1977, rehabilitation of Party and government officials including various 'Rightists,' 'capitalist roaders,' and 'anti-socialist elements' took a new turn and a great number of such people started to be brought back to the work, such that, by 1982, more than 3 million people had been rehabilitated (Coase, & Wang, 2012: 24). This turn was supported by purges targeted supporters of the 'Gang of Four,' who were labeled as "counterrevolutionaries" and "saboteurs" in the Party and the state: Dissidents were

arrested, demonstrations and *dazibao*s critical to the CPC leadership was banned, unofficial journals were crushed and most importantly, starting from early 1980s, in order to prevent 'Leftists' promotion to higher posts through political patronage, networks of authority at different levels began to be reshuffled and restructured massively (Chossudovsky, 1986: 11-18). During this process, political line of 'Leftists' was "mindlessly associated to the Lin Biao current" and "people's accumulated grievances against certain of the practices with which the Maoists were identified" were used to legitimize campaigns "to uproot Maoism and liquidate its defenders" (Amin, 1993 [1981]: 95, 105). By manipulating ultra-leftist errors of the GPCR, 'Rightists' succeeded in molding public opinion, such that, when 'Reform and Opening Up' (*Gaige kaifang*) was announced after the 3rd Plenum of the 11th Central Committee of the CPC in late 1978, this policy appealed not only to "Party cadres and officials as a means of reconstituting on new foundations their power and privileges," but also "to the citizenry at large as a means of consolidating the achievements of the Chinese Revolution which the GPCR had jeopardized" (Arrighi, 2007: 368).

Changes in leadership of the CPC and 'Reform and Opening Up' policy represented a rooted shift from 'politics in command' to 'economics in command' approach. New orientation of the CPC was based on the fetishization of the rapid development of productive forces for any price. Contrary to Mao, according to whom creating the 'new man' of future's classless society was the main task, for Deng, Marxism was about almost nothing but developing productive forces. In one of his speeches, Deng (1994a [1984]: 73) was exclusively asserting that, "Marxism attache[d] utmost importance to developing the productive forces" and thus, "the fundamental task for the socialist stage [was] to develop" them. This idea, was the "essence" of the thought of Deng Xiaoping Theory as a "one-sided theory of 'developmentalism' to which all other goals [were] to be sacrificed, and through which all other difficulties, even including exploitative or polarizing tendencies, [could] be resolved, if growth [was] just fast enough" (Weil, 1996: 224).

In line with the dominant 'developmentalist' reasoning of the reform era, cadre profile and promotion criteria of the CPC dramatically changed in time. In

Maoist period, the main criterion for the promotion in the Party was adherence to communist ideal of the classless society. According to Mao (1965b [1938]: 198), members of the CPC should subordinate their personal interests "to the interests of the nation and of the masses," should avoid from "selfishness, slacking, corruption, seeking the limelight," and should be selfless, work with his/her all energy, whole-heartedly devote himself/herself to public duty and work hard quietly. He thought that, logical endpoint of reading "too many books" without analyzing the social reality and taking part in practice was turning into "bookworms, dogmatists, revisionists" with absolutely petrified minds (Mao, 1964). Therefore, in Maoist era, formal education was not a prerequisite for promotion in the Party. Learning from the masses in revolutionary practice and in production process was more important to keep the revolutionary spirit alive. Particularly during the GPCR, many young Party cadres became Red Guards and took part in campaigns like 'Down to the Countryside' and 'learned from the masses' in the practice, rather than formally graduating from an educational institution. Between 1966 and 1970, during the most heated years of the GPCR, "total enrollment in colleges and universities dropped dramatically from 533,766 to 48,000" (Guo, 2005: 373-374). Being 'red' and 'expert' at the same time was even harder. What was expected from students who took 'red and expert' road was not to become intellectual aristocrats, but "to strive to remain part of laboring classes, becoming 'laborers with socialist consciousness and culture'" (Andreas, 2009: 173).

However, during 'Reform and Opening Up,' criteria for recruitment to and promotion in the Party also changed dramatically. In the process of market-oriented reforms and 'opening' to global markets, well-educated technocrats rather than communist militants were needed in order to increase China's economic growth rates and global competitiveness consistently. Parallel to shift from 'politics in command' to 'economics in command' approach, 'expertise' started to surpass 'redness' in the recruitment process to the CPC. In other words, "[i]n the post-Mao era, the political standards have declined and the educational standards have increased to the point where Party membership and college education have traded places as the most important single predictors of the cadre recruitment" (Walder, 2006: 25). At

theoretical level, this new orientation was legitimized by the argument of despite they performed "different roles in the social division of labor," intellectuals were also "working people" by nature in a "socialist society" contrary to intellectuals in "societies under the rule of exploiting classes" (Deng, 1995 [1978]: 101). In reality, however, what started to replace Maoist approach of 'masses as creators of history' was an approach based on the claim of 'experts as creators history,' which sorely resembled the ideology of Soviet bureaucratic bourgeoisie.

Shortly after the announcement of the reform agenda, new Party leadership "decided on 'selective recruitment' to improve the quality of membership over a long period," and hence, planned to increase percentage of "specialists" with "a college or specialized middle school education" in the CPC (Lee, 1990: 304). In this sense, even "[t]he previous practice of looking at family background, social relations, and historical records to ascertain a person's political attitude" was eliminated (Lee, 1990: 306). New recruitment policy started to bring results rapidly: "The percentage of intellectuals among new recruits ha[d] steadily risen: 8 percent in 1979, 19 percent in 1980, 21 percent in 1981, 24 percent in 1982, 37 percent in 1983, and about 40 percent in 1984" (Lee, 1990: 308). As an outcome of the 'selective recruitment' strategy, education level of the CPC members increased as a whole in time. Although in 1984, only 4 percent of all Party members had high school degree and more than 50 percent were either illiterate or had only primary school degree; "[b]y the end of 2007, 32.4 percent of all members had a college education" (Saich, 2011: 127). According to the last statistics, 43 percent of all Party members have college education today (CPC has…, 2015).

The number of prospective 'specialists,' undergraduate and graduate students, in the CPC ranks also notably increased in post-Mao era. As Dickson (2014: 46-47) shows, while less than 1 percent of college students were the CPC members in 1990, this number is "dramatically higher" today; such that, 40.2 percent of new recruitments in 2010 were college students and at an "elite university" like Tsinghua, "28 per cent of all undergraduates, 43 percent of graduating seniors, and up to 55 percent of graduate students were the CPC members" in the same year.

As it is shown in the Figure 1, while before 1977, almost no criteria was needed other than being a Party member, in post-Mao era, being a collage graduate gradually became the major criteria for promotion to the urban cadre posts. And parallel to this, as Figure 2 clearly indicates, the number of leading cadres with university and college education significantly increased at all levels. Changing composition of the highest body of the CPC, National Congress, also gives an idea about how 'experts' rose to leading positions in the Party in time: From 13th National Congress of the CPC in 1987 to 16th National Congress in 2002, delegates with college degree increased from 59.5 percent to 91.9 percent, and Central Committee members with college degree increased from 73.3 percent to 98.6 percent (Guo, 2005: 375). Similarly, at provincial level, the percentage of college educated Party secretaries and governors respectively increased from 28.6 to 80.7 and 37.5 to 83.9 between 1983 and 2002 (Bo, 2002: 129).

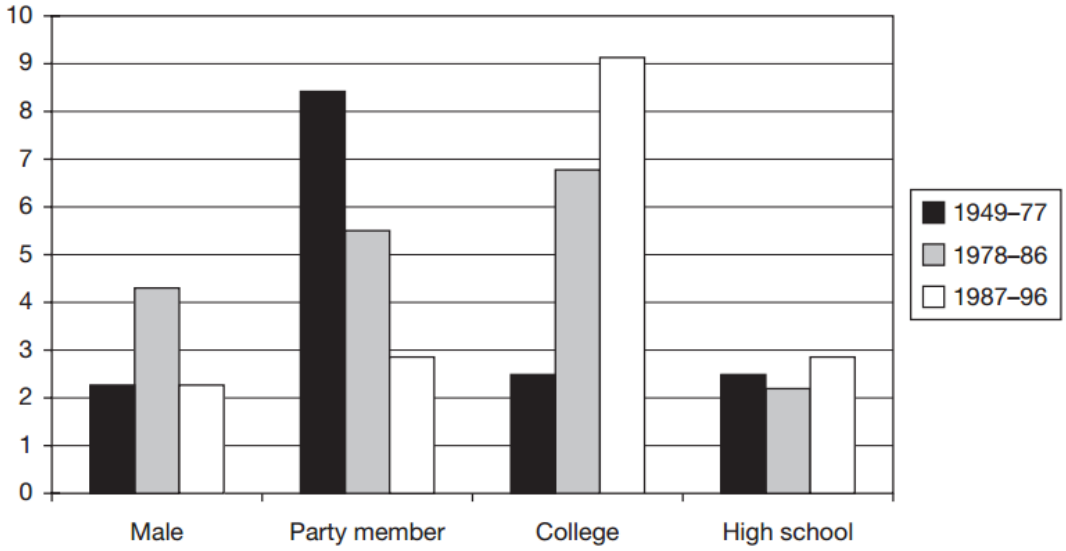

Figure 1. Changing criteria for promotion to urban cadre posts. (1949-1996)

Source: *Walder, 2006: 24.*

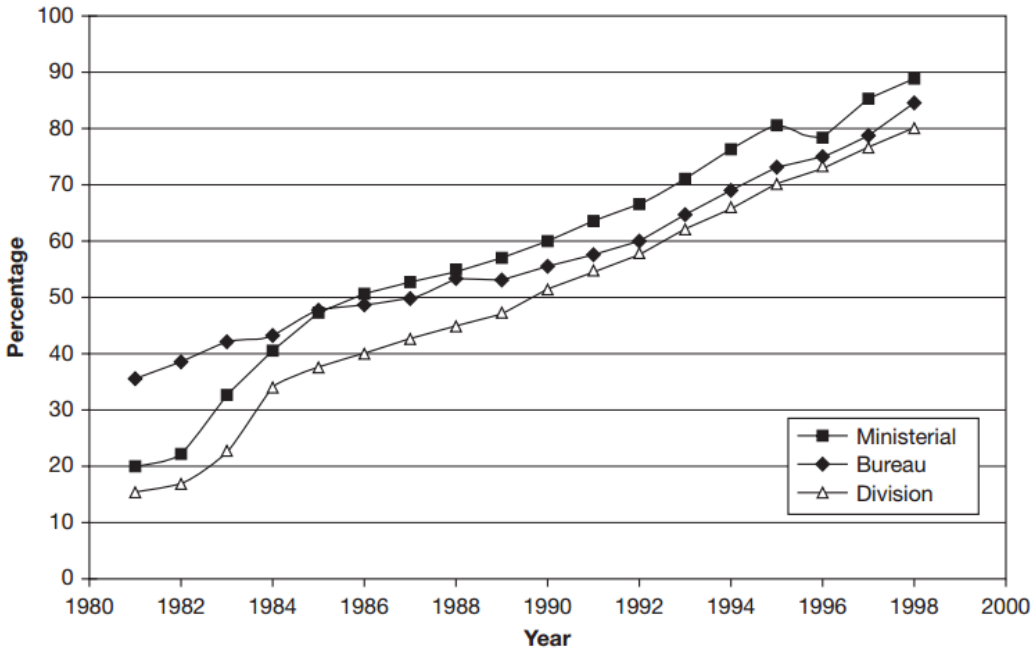

Figure 2. Leading cadres in China with university and college education.

Source: *Burns, 2006: 39.*

Actually, increase in education level in a society and among members of a political party is definitely not something to be criticized negatively. Rather, this can be also counted as a success of the Chinese revolution in the final analysis. While pre-revolutionary Chinese population was largely unschooled, "[b]etween 1950-1980, China made substantial progress in providing basic education to broad sections of the population" and by 1980, "China's performance in basic education was better than the average of low-income countries and comparable to that of middle-income countries" (Li, & Zhu, 2004: 17). In this sense, it can be argued that, foundations of dramatic increase in the number of higher education graduates in China were laid in Maoist era as well.

Herein, the main problem rather lies in the transformation of the education system and change in social classes' access to higher education in accordance with marketization in post-Mao China. In Maoist era, as a part of the policy of narrowing the gap between intellectual and manual labor, production and education were linked to each other strictly. Technicians and engineers were coming straight from production. In GPCR era, after "completing the general course they spend two or three years as workers, peasants, or members of the PLA (soldiers are also directly

involved in production),” their fellow workers were selecting “those who [were] to continue their studies (with their consent, of course); the choice was based on the candidate’s overall practice and not only on intellectual criteria” (Bettelheim, 1974: 79). As well as working people were allowed to supervise training process of students, number of students in higher education from worker and peasant origin was also incredibly increased in Maoist era. As Andreas (2009: 69) shows, for instance, even before the GPCR, only between 1952 and 1964, worker-peasant proportion of student enrollment in prestigious Tsinghua University was increased from 14 percent to 44 percent. Along with the decline of the GPCR and rise of ‘reformists’ in the CPC, “élitist system of education based on key universities” was reinstated and education turned from “a social objective in itself” into “an instrument means for the training of skilled, specialized and professional manpower” (Chossudovsky, 1986: 99-100). Accordingly, in post-Mao era, “two-to-three-year probationary periods that future intellectuals and cadres ha[d] to spend in the country” were abolished, “access by worker and peasant children to higher education” started to be restricted, and in general a new system of education that allowed “largely the *children of cadres,* who ha[d] in many cases been *specially preparing for examinations* by means of cramming,” to enter ‘top’ universities was introduced (Bettelheim, 1978b: 63, 114). Since 1980s, “a rapid growth in urban elite private schools has taken place (…) with foreign investors playing a critical role” (Hart-Landsberg, & Burkett, 2005: 71). Despite “college population” explosively grew in post-Mao era most particularly starting from late 1990s (Gore, 2011: 74), as an outcome of privatization of education, children of worker and peasant families became more and more excluded from higher education in due course. Due to skyrocketing school fees, low income citizens usually cannot afford educational expenses of their children. For instance, “[i]n 2000, the average university annual tuition fee for an undergraduate student jumped from 3000 Yuan in 1999 to 4500 Yuan, amounting to 72 percent of the average annual disposable income of urban residents and 190 percent of the average annual net income of rural residents” (Li, & Zhu, 2004: 18). While 50 to 60 percent of the students of Peking University, one of the two most prestigious universities in China with Tsinghua, were from peasant origin in the 1950s, this percentage

decreased to 16.3 percent in 1999 and approximately as low as 1 percent by 2010, although more than half of the Chinese population was still rural at that time (Fish, 2010). Despite getting into less prestigious colleges and universities number of which have been increasing remains as an option for students from worker and especially peasant origin, such universities give far less opportunities to their graduates in many respects. Such that, in 2002, "the difference in earnings between graduating from a high-quality university and a low-quality university was 28 percent, with the gap being larger for those who graduated later" (World Bank, & Development Research Center of the State Council, the PRC, 2014: 241). Not so surprisingly, the CPC also attaches far more importance to graduates of domestic and foreign 'top universities.' Since the CPC prefers to recruit new members from the more prestigious universities, the numbers of the CPC members in less prestigious universities are lower (Dickson, 2014: 46). Today, the first- and second-ranked members of the 18th Politburo Standing Committee of the CPC, President Xi Jinping and Premier Li Keqiang, are graduates of Tsinghua University and Peking University respectively. Despite it is a concrete fact that the representation of "engineer-turned-technocrats" at the top of the CPC has been on decline in recent years, these people were replaced largely by "economic technocrats" and experts with social science or law background rather than people from worker or peasant origin (C. Li, 2013).

Here, the real problem with the increase in education level of the senior cadres of the CPC comes to the fore: As long as taking education in 'élite' colleges and universities turns into the main criteria for recruitment to and promotion in the Party, and access to such colleges and universities is restricted to children of senior cadres and 'new rich' in various ways at the same time, technocrats and 'experts,' whose 'redness' becomes more and more controversial, replaces "veteran peasant revolutionaries and worker-peasant cadres" at all levels in the CPC (Andreas, 2009: 174).

This trend has brought about important outcomes that erodes the basis for socialist transition in China: Firstly, while for Mao hereditary transmission of bureaucratic privileges was a source of 'new bureaucratic bourgeoisie's crystallization of an exploiting class, a sort of 'dynastic rule' in the Party and state

bureaucracy at various levels started to occur in post-Mao era. For instance, according to a student survey made in Yunnan Party School dated 2005, although only 38.3 percent of cadres' fathers were either worker or villager, respectively, 38,2 percent, 10.4 percent, 6 percent, and 3.2 percent of their father's occupation was civil servant, professional, manager and military officer, and almost 40 percent of respondents' fathers were or had been Party cadres as well (Pieke, 2009: 157). How family networks are used to inherit bureaucratic privileges and/or to get promoted in the Party and the state or to find better jobs (or to establish companies) can be seen more clearly by looking at complicated family relations of the former and present senior cadres at the top of the CPC. Descendants of the so called "Eight Immortals" - Deng Xiaoping, Chen Yun, Yang Shangkun, Wang Zhen, Bo Yibo[16], Li Xiannian, Peng Zheng, and Song Renqiong- are quite active in politics and economy in China today; such that, in 2012, out of 103 'Immortal' descendants, 23 had been educated in the US, 18 worked in American companies and 12 had property there, 43 had their own companies or significant stakes in others, and 26 had a role in major Chinese SOEs (Brown, 2014: 39). Not only descendants of 'Immortals', but also former senior Party cadres such as Jiang Zemin, Li Peng and Zhu Rongji are currently playing "highly active" roles in telecommunication, energy and finance sectors as well as in bureaucracy in China (Brown, 2014: 39-40). It is also known that, there usually exist close links between property companies and children of "high-level officials" such as members of the local political Standing Committees, or deputies of the national or local people's congresses or the local Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC) all across the country (Brown, 2014: 40).

Secondly, spread of technocratic and bureaucratic styles of work and principles of merit in the Party ranks also created its own typology of members and cadres. As against Maoist notion of communist militant who was expected to learn

[16] It has to be noted here that, Bo Yibo's son, Bo Xilai, Secretary of Chongqing Committee of the CPC, Politburo member and the pioneer of the so called 'Chongqing model' which was based on "an enlarged public sector and a focus on social welfare" (Zhou, 2012), and thus assumed to be more 'leftist' than the policies of the CPC headquarters was liquidated from the Party on the eve of 18th National Congress of the CPC in 2012.

"from the masses as well as teach them" in revolutionary practice and avoid from acting like a "boss" or a "bureaucratic politician" (Mao, 1965b [1938]: 198), in post-Mao era, Liu Shaoqi's worldview according to which "ideal cadre was a docile functionary, loyal to the institution and its leaders, who were assumed by definition to be serving the interests of the people" (Weil, 2008) was revived by post-Mao 'reformist' leadership. As long as Liu's approach left the door open for cadres to get divorce themselves from the masses and created a self-enclosed bureaucratic system (or such systems tied to or sometimes contending with each other at different levels), it also provided a basis for rampant corruption. In post-Mao era, "privileged position of Party membership and the access it [brought]" became "a major source of corruption" (Saich, 2011: 128). Due to it was "central to the Party's efforts to mobilize the political system on behalf of economic development," not only "organizational incentives (bonuses, promotions)," but also "personal incentives" even "including possibilities for corruption" were started to be used to promote growth (Fewsmith, 2013: 25). In post-Mao era, "Party cadres and officials eagerly seized upon" the "myriad opportunities for the reorientation of entrepreneurial energies from the political to the economic sphere" created by reforms "to enrich and empower themselves in alliance with government officials and managers of SOEs - often influential Party members themselves" and in time, "various forms of accumulation by dispossession -including appropriations of public property, embezzlement of state funds, and sales of land-use rights- became the basis of huge fortunes" (Arrighi, 2007: 368-369). Moreover, "[s]ince enterprises need the cooperation of officials to carry out their activities" in Chinese so called 'market socialism,' "Party cadres are in a position to extort substantial sums" (Lippit, 1997: 118). Hence, when bureaucratism met marketization in post-Mao era, "a neotraditional officialdom" which "participates both in rank-seeking and rent-seeking" emerged (Lü, 2000: 166).

Since corruption at all levels sorely weakens the Party's legitimacy, struggle with corruption has long been an important element in the official discourse. Especially current General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPC, Xi

Jinping, has long been attaching a great importance to struggle with this problem in his inner-party and public speeches.

Short before he was elected as the General Secretary, in a speech at the Party School of the CPC Central Committee on March 1, 2012, Xi honestly addressed to socioeconomic and ideological dimensions of degeneration in the Party and called for "purifying the CPC." According to Xi (2012: 8), particularly because of "profound changes continue to take place in both the domestic and the international environments," some harmful tendencies including "a lack of conviction in ideals and beliefs, unhealthy styles of work, poor observance of principles, and lack of political integrity" had appeared in the Party. There existed some "Party members and cadres [then] who joined the Party not because of their belief in Marxism, or because of their lifelong devotion to the causes of socialism with Chinese characteristics and communism, but because they believe they can gain something from joining the Party" (Xi, 2012: 10). Therefore, one of the main determinants in the purity and the health of the Party would be the struggle against corruption that had been fed by "money-worshipping, hedonism and extreme individualism" (Xi, 2012: 13).

Under the leadership of Xi, anti-corruption measures are tightened particularly in two terms: First, 'fifth generation' leadership revived wide-ranging ideological studies in the Party ranks in order to clean up "four undesirable work styles," namely, "formalism, bureaucracy, hedonism and extravagance," which are considered as the material bases of corruption (CPC to study…, 2014). Secondly, administrative methods started to be used more frequently to purge corrupt cadres and officials from the CPC and the state. The number of officials punished by the CPC's Central Commission for Discipline Inspection has been dramatically increased and among those who have been targeted in anti-corruption drive there are also some "high-ranking officials" such as Zhou Yongkang, Xu Caihou, Ling Jihua and Su Rong (Oster, 2014; Xi calls for…, 2015). It is reported that, many senior cadres and officials no longer easily spend on luxury goods since they are afraid of being investigated and punished (Oster, 2014).

Although 'fifth generation' leadership seem to make a great effort in order to deal with degeneration in the Party and the corrupt practices, it is quite unrealistic to predict that the CPC could gain a significant success in its struggle in near future, since the leadership abstains from openly recognizing the tripartite structural relationship between marketization, bureaucratization and corrupt practices. Since the growing corruption is "structurally-based" by nature (Lippit, 1997: 118), it does not sound so reasonable to call for both deepening 'reform' and speeding up marketization, and to fight against money-worshipping and individualism at the same time.

From a Marxist-Leninist to a Pragmatic Party

In *The German Ideology*, Marx and Engels incisively pointed out the relationship between ruling ideas and power balance between social classes in a society in every epoch. According to them, "the ruling ideas [were] no more than the ideal expression of the dominant material relations" (Marx, & Engels, 1975 [1932]: 59). Post-Mao ideological transformation of the CPC is a great example for this statement of the founding fathers of Scientific Socialism. In 'Reform and Opening Up' era during which power balance between social classes was reshaped entirely, "Marxism, Mao Zedong Thought and the revolutionary process were redefined" as a legitimacy tool rather than a guide for action by the CPC as well (Chan, 2003: 214).

As Mao (1961b [1949]: 413) stated once, what brought Marxism-Leninism to China was the "salvoes" of the GOSR. The CPC was founded as a Marxist-Leninist party in 1921. At the 7th National Congress of the CPC in 1945, "Mao Zedong Thought" was also adopted as the Party's "guiding theory" (Knight, 2005: 211). Until Mao's death, the CPC was taking Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought "as the theoretical basis guiding its thinking" (Constitution…, 1973). Starting from Deng rule, each 'generation' of leadership added a concept to the official ideology of the CPC, particularly parallel to the needs of marketization process and in due course, the CPC turned from a Marxist-Leninist party into a sort of pragmatic one in accordance with Deng's (in)famous motto of 'it doesn't matter whether a cat is black or white; as long as it catches mice it's a good cat.' Today,

according to the Party Constitution adopted in the 18th National Congress dated November 2012, the CPC takes not only "Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought," but also "Deng Xiaoping Theory, the important thought of Three Represents and the Scientific Outlook on Development as its guide to action" (Constitution…, 2012: 60). It is also expected that, current 'fifth generation' leadership led by Xi Jinping and Li Keqiang will also add a concept -most probably related to either the current popular motto of "Chinese Dream" which is defined as "to make [China] prosperous and strong, revitalize the nation and make the people live better lives" (Xi, 2014 [2013]: 61) or Xi's "strategic blueprint" of "Four Comprehensives" that are described as "comprehensively build[ing] a moderately prosperous society, comprehensively deepen[ing] reform, comprehensively implement[ing] the rule of law, and comprehensively strengthen[ing] Party discipline" (China voice…, 2015)- to the official ideology in near future.

Although the term, 'Deng Xiaoping Theory' was added to the CPC Constitution as late as 1997, it started the guide practices of the Party as early as late 1970s. As it is stated above shortly, adoption of this theory was marking a shift from Maoist notion of permanent class struggle under socialism to an understanding based on primacy of developing productive forces rapidly. In this respect, contrary to Mao Zedong Thought, in Deng Xiaoping Theory social mobilization and practices like GPCR as tools of developing a socialist culture and rejuvenating revolutionary spirit among masses were unfavorable. Accordingly, in 1981, at the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the CPC (1981), the GPCR was declared to be "responsible for the most severe setback and the heaviest losses suffered by the Party, the state and the people since the founding of the People's Republic." Therefore, alongside of the purges targeted 'Leftists' or 'supporters of Gang of Four' in the CPC, "[t]he mass organizations established during the GPCR were dismissed; radical workers were criticized and punished; the four great rights -the right to speak out freely, to air one's views fully, to write big-character posters, and to hold great debates- as well as the right to launch strikes were all eliminated in the 1982 amendment of China's Constitution" by the fresh 'reformist' leadership as well (Qi, 2014).

The main emphasis of Deng Xiaoping Theory was on stability and order, in order to provide a secure environment for investments to the market actors who were assumed to be main dynamic rapidly developing productive forces in the phase of 'market socialism' or 'socialism with Chinese characteristics' as the earliest stage of transition to classless society in China. According to Deng, neither the central planning nor the market were fundamentally socialist or capitalist; rather they were "neutral" tools that can be used in any mode of production (Weil, 1996: 226; Zeng, 2012: 31). Deng also claimed that since the "modern world" was an "open world," China could not develop "without the rest of the world" and thus, "opening to the outside world" had to be "one of China's basic national policies" (Yang, 2001: 11). In this sense, with 'Reform and Opening Up,' China also started to allow foreign direct investments and importation of technology from Western capitalist countries in order to accelerate economic development. This was also signifying an important break between Maoist and post-Mao orientations of the CPC. Aside from the Soviet aid in 1950s, there was no inflow of foreign capital to China before the late 1970s (Hsu, 1991: 134). As Weil (1996: 218) points out, Mao's "insistence on self-reliance for China stands in the sharpest contrast to the dependence of the reforms on foreign investment and technology." To express in Lin's (2006: 69) words, what replaced 'delinking' in post-Mao era was 'relinking' with the world market.

While the new orientation of the Party was legitimized in post-Mao 'reformist' discourse by the argument that the Maoist formulation of 'politics in command' had damaged the process of developing productive forces, which was assumed to be the most important task in 'the first stage' of socialist transition, in China, actually, what Maoism had achieved was "the most impressive success of socialism in our era" in terms of development as well (Amin, 1993 [1981]: 41-94). From 1950 to 1973 "when world capitalism was in its expansionary stage, among 85 developing countries with a population more than one million," only 12 countries including four oil exporters, four US aid receivers and a US colony, "had a growth rate higher than China" and none of those 12 countries had population more than thirty million (Wilber, n.d.: 198; cited in Li, 1996: 20-21). Chinese developmental success in Maoist era was not only better than other developing countries at the time;

but economic growth rates of China were also higher than many core capitalist countries. According to World Bank data, annual growth rate of GNP per capita between 1950 and 1975 was average 4.2 percent in China. This number was more than two times than the US average growth rate which was only 2.0 percent, and even more than the sum of developed countries' which was 3.2 percent in the same period (Amin, 1993 [1981]: 79). In total, "[i]ndustrial output expanded an average 11.2 percent from 1952 to 1978, a very high rate for such a poor country, sustained over a quarter century" (Weil, 1996: 234), and during the same period, total agricultural output also grew by average 3.2 percent, which was not as "excellent" as the rate of the increase in industrial production, but still "creditable" (Selden, & Lippit, 1982: 19-20). Even on the eve of 1980s, contrary to general belief, Chinese economy was still "far from a disaster, especially in industry" (Hart-Landsberg, & Burkett, 2005: 37). Therefore, it has to be acknowledged that, "it [was] not the multinational capital that built the Chinese industrial system and achieved the objectives of urbanization and the construction of infrastructure" (Amin, 2013b: 75), rather, "the considerable extent to which the success of the reforms has been based on prior achievements of the Chinese Revolution" (Arrighi, 2007: 369).

It is important to state that, this economic success of Maoist era was not at the cost of social polarization, contrary to post-Mao experience of China. "The Chinese revolution and resulting state policies succeeded in ending foreign domination of the country and feudal relations in the countryside and achieving full employment, basic social security, and generalized equality for Chinese working people" (Hart-Landsberg, & Burkett, 2005: 35). From 1950s to 1970s, thanks to the "iron rice bowl" system, which was a way of organizing "society in its entirety, including its class relations and degree of egalitarianism" (Weil, 1996: 35), "the urban working class enjoyed a wide range of economic and social rights that included job security, free health care, free education, subsidized housing, and guaranteed pensions," and in "rural areas, with the consolidation of the people's communes, the peasants were provided with a very basic, but wide range of public services including healthcare, education, care for the disabled, and care of elderly childless people" (Li, 2008b: 51). As Meisner states (1999b: 1), "few events in world history have done more to better

the lives of more people than the Maoist victory of 1949 and socio-economic transformations that followed from it."

However, in post-Mao era, efforts for redressing a balance between developing productive forces and ensuring egalitarianism were put aside in favor of accelerating the former as much as possible. 'Reformer' leadership of the CPC "defined national development in terms of economic efficiency and equated it with productive forces" (Wu, 1994: 133). In this regard, development of productive forces became the "*telos*" for them (Wu, 1994: 111). 'Socialism' was redefined in line with this new paradigm as well. Today, for the CPC leadership, the "ultimate criterion of socialism (…) is what is workable in China's socialist development -that is, what will best develop China's 'productive forces'" (Hsu, 1991: 55). To express in Lin's (2013: 66) words, starting from Deng era, "GDPism," which prioritizes growth "at all costs," began to "dominate policy thinking and making in China." An article written by Shen Liguo (2012), a senior CPC cadre and Vice Chairman of the Standing Committee of the People's Congress of Heilongjiang Province, is a nice example that shows how economic growth is taken as an independent variable that determines development in all other realms unilaterally by policy makers of post-Mao China. In this article published in the CPC's official theoretical organ, *Qiushi*, Shen structures his main argument around the claim that nothing but the incredible GDP growth performance of post-Mao China is the *primary* evidence of the development of China's unique "socialist democracy." It can be clearly seen that, today, the CPC leadership no longer associates socialist democracy or democratization with laying the foundation for working people's direct control over and management of production and distribution processes at all levels contrary to Mao era. Rather, just like in mainstream literature, it is supposed that there exist a direct proportion between sustainable economic growth and 'political development.'

In the light of this new 'developmentalist' vision, even many political rights of the Chinese working class were suppressed in early reform era for the very sake of 'development' as stated above and this suppression provided a suitable ground for further anti-labor policies. First and foremost, one main post-Mao policy that ended up with the worsening living and working conditions of especially urban working

class was reduction of the role of public sector in economy in favor of foreign and domestic private firms. In this respect, first, state owned enterprises were forced to compete with other market actors. As central-local ties were also weakened during this process, that started even as early as 1980s, subsidies of many state firms decreased and this triggered decline in their profitability in a competitive environment (Hurst, 2009: 37-38). However, the 1988 "Enterprise Law" created an "opportunity" for state firms' managers in order to restore their firms as competitive ones in the market economy. With this law, the state-owned enterprise managers gained "the full authority to dictate all conditions within an enterprise, including the power to ire or lay off the workers." But due to "iron rice bowl" was still intact, right to fire workers was rarely exercised by managers, rather, they tried to increase productivity through material incentives (Li, 2008b: 60), which were usually seen as "reflection of ignorance of political and ideological work" during Maoist era (Qi, 2014).

On the other hand, from the very beginning, 'reformist' leaders of the CPC had been on the lookout for a suitable opportunity for dealing with the 'iron rice bowl' system. "They ha[d] promoted ideas such as 'Eating from a big pot breeds laziness,' 'The iron rice bowl creates inefficiency,' and 'Let a few get rich first'" (Ching, & Hsu, 1995: 68). On the other hand, they could barely find chance to launch the last attack on 'iron rice bowl' after the suppression of Tiananmen uprising.

Herein, this subject has to be broached since mainstream literature on the post-Mao transformation of the CPC glorifies Tiananmen uprising as a turning point in China's bourgeois 'democratization' process in Western liberal sense that came to the fore as a logical endpoint of market-oriented economic reforms though it could not succeed in overthrowing 'dictatorial' CPC rule especially because of lacking an organized leadership. Ironically, though it is very likely that if Tiananmen uprising was not suppressed, the CPC would collapse and PRC would turn into a peripheral capitalist state (or maybe break up into more than one such states) full of inner contradiction especially because of the international atmosphere at the time in which 'communism' was seen as a rigorously collapsing ideology by most, still, neither what was targeted by most of the protesters were socialist ideals themselves nor great

majority of protesters were conscious or unconscious supporters of so called liberal-democratic ideals. Actually, as Weil (1996: 82) points out, "uprising of 1989," which "led by students and intellectuals, though joined by many workers as it proceeded" was the "first major clash resulting from the growing resistance to the effects of marketization, and especially rampant corruption." Albeit some protestors were in favor of "even more rapid movement toward the 'market'," and some others were "supporting a return to a more egalitarian and participatory socialism," the "vast majority" was lying "somewhere in between" (Weil, 1996: 14-15). For Minqi Li (2008b: ix-xix), a leading figure of Chinese 'New Left' today, who participated Tiananmen uprising as a student at Peking University and a self-proclaimed "neoliberal 'democrat'," who would turn into "a leftist, a socialist, a Marxist, and eventually, a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist" after pondering on "underlying causes" of the failure of 1989 uprising, while at beginning, 1989 protests had started under the leadership of liberal intellectuals and student leaders according to whom working class was "passive, obedient, ignorant, lazy and stupid," once students from "workers' and peasants' backgrounds" and especially workers themselves attended, "student movement became rapidly radicalized and liberal intellectuals and student leaders lost control of events." At the heyday of demonstrations on May 17 and 18 "more than 1 million people out in the streets of Beijing, including large numbers of worker and [urban] citizen participants" who mainly "felt that they had been bypassed by the benefits of reform and injured by the backlash of inflation, corruption, and declining status that were its byproducts" (Selden, 1993: 120-121). As Wang Hui (2009: 33), another leading Chinese 'New Leftist' scholar, states, 1989 uprising was not only "a farewell to the old era" since it was "a cry for democracy" particularly "for students and intellectuals," but also "a protest against the internal social contradictions of the new era" since it was "a kind of plea for social equality and justice" particularly "for workers and other urbanities."

In any case, in spite of the fact that 1989 uprising was labeled as a "right deviationist" challenge to the CPC rule by Deng, particularly in order to delegitimize any sort of popular objection to official "developmentalist" vision -quite understandably-, fundamentally, struggle was not just between the 'authoritarian

party-state' and 'civil society' at that time; rather, both protest movement and the Party were far from being homogeneous politically (Weil, 1996: 15, 225-226). Thus, neither all protestors were 'bourgeois liberals' nor all the CPC cadres and leaders were 'true socialists.' In conformity with Mao's analysis, 1989 uprising was really a blasting point, but not in terms of China's transition to liberal-democracy, but in terms of continuous struggle between 'socialist' and 'capitalist roaders' at all levels of the Chinese society. Here, the dramatic thing was that, at that moment, as a consequence of unique international and domestic conditions, these two opposing camps were all mixed up. On the one hand, "the Chinese working class was not able to act as an independent political force fighting for its own class interests" and was "coerced into participating in a political movement the ultimate objective of which was diametrically opposed to their own class interests" (Li, 2008b: xii). On the other hand, liberal intelligentsia and "bureaucratic capitalists" had so many common features, above all, the "fear of the democratic potentials of working class" which would prevent liberal intellectuals to "lead the 'democratic movement' to victory" (Li, 2008b: xvi). Therefore, while students were those "on whom most Western attention has focused" during 1989 uprising, for reformers, "Leftism" remained "the greater threat is nevertheless demonstrated by the brutal suppression of the workers took part in the Tiananmen movement," such that, majority of protestors who died during suppression were workers (Weil, 1996: 227-228). Though 'Leftists' in the CPC also supported this suppression almost compulsorily in order to prevent China's transformation into a post-socialist peripheral capitalist state and it is true that 'ultra-Rightists' who felt into the error of promoting 'bourgeois liberalization' implicitly or explicitly were expelled from the central leadership after 1989 uprising at least for a while, in the long run, once the first shock of the fall of communist parties in 'Soviet bloc' was recovered and social unrest calmed down, 'Rightists' clamped together to a great extent again and went a step further in China's marketization process, especially after the famous (or infamous) 'Southern Tour' of Deng to special economic zones in Guangdong province, during which he claimed anything that developed the productive forces "was ipso facto socialist" and thus, "Leftist adversaries" who did not support 'reform' had to "step down" (Fewsmith, 2012: 50),

in 1992. As a result, 1990s in China were characterized "by an increasing accumulation of wealth in private hands" (Wang, & Lu, 2012: ix). Once they were released from the prison, even a good number of liberal Tiananmen activists chose to join their forces with "the offspring of the Party elite" to take the "commercial road" (Arrighi, 2007: 15).

The 'iron rice bowl' was officially broken in this context and in the sequel, many public sector workers faced with extensive layoffs. One main reason of this was state's voluntary retreat from its traditional task of matching supply and demand for labor. "In the 1990s, the planning quota for recruitment by state enterprises was abolished, and enterprises were allowed to choose their own employees" (Knight, & Song, 2005: 23). Moreover, while newly recruited state workers had already been not given entitlement of life-time employment since 1985, in 1994, "[w]orkers on the permanent payroll were to be re-categorized as fixed-term contract workers" (Knight, & Song, 2005: 29). Hence, the process of commodification of labor, as an indicator of the spread of capitalist relations, also started and thus, a labor market started to be shaped.

With the massive privatization move of Jiang leadership started in mid-1990s, layoffs became even more widespread. As it is shown in the Figure 3, though public sector share of urban employment had already been decreasing before 1990s, decrease gained a significant speed especially after privatizations that came to the scene with the agenda of excessive marketization under Jiang rule. As Andreas (2008: 130) states, "[b]etween 1991 and 2005, the proportion of the urban workforce employed in the public sector fell from about 82 percent to about 27 percent." And as a result, 30 million to 36 million public sector workers were laid off after massive privatizations from mid-1990s to early 2000s (Qi, 2014; Hart-Landsberg, & Burkett, 2006: 65-66).

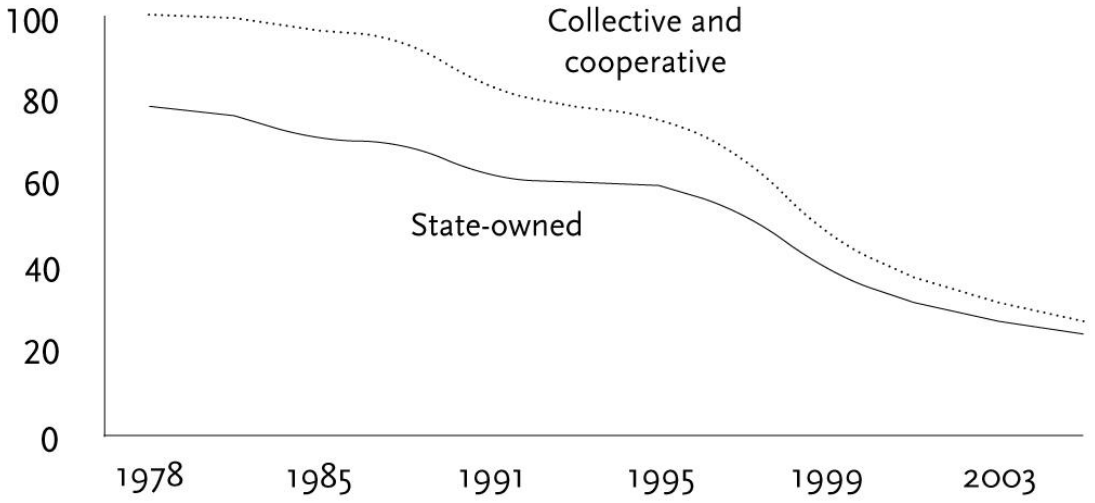

Figure 3. Public sector share of urban employment, 1978-2005 (%)

Source: *Andreas, 2008: 130*

Another important byproduct of the commodification of labor and occurrence of labor market in China is internal migration. Since barriers before integral migration were also reduced in early 1990s (Qi, 2014), 'migrant workers' from rural areas as one of the main dynamics of the 'Chinese miracle' started to migrate into big industrial centers temporarily. Migrant worker question has two dimensions: First, migrant workers became an 'industrial reserve army' in Marxist terms. As Marx (1996 [1867]: 626) pointed out appropriately in the first volume of *Capital*, these people exactly constitute "a mass of human material always ready for exploitation by capital in the interests of capital's own changing valorization requirements." In this respect, existence of cheap migrant labor acts as a 'stick' in employers' hands which is quite useful in threatening and controlling urban working class. As Weil (2006) points out, "those who are laid off from the state-owned enterprises in China cannot even get service jobs, as it is peasants who are used for that, since they are cheap and easy to control." Secondly, these migrant workers are also subjects of an excessive exploitation. "A 2009 survey from the National Bureau of Statistics has shown that on average migrants work 58.4 hours per week, much more than the 44 hours stipulated in China's Labor Law" and "[n]early 60 percent of migrant workers did

not sign any labor contract, and 87 percent of them did not have access to health insurance" (Qi, 2014).

The contribution of the 'third generation' leadership led by Jiang Zemin, namely, 'The Important Thought of Three Represents' came to the fore right in this sense, as a response to the rise of new rich on the basis of excessive exploitation of some segments of working class. This 'contribution' was first presented in February 2000 and the campaign on it was consolidated in Jiang's speech at the CPC's 80th anniversary on July 1st, 2001 (Bakken, 2004: 31). Jiang (2001) formulated "Three Represents" as representation of "the requirements of the development of China's advanced productive forces, the orientation of the development of China's advanced culture, and the fundamental interests of the overwhelming majority of the people in China." With this principles, the aim was to eliminate the barriers in front of new capitalists membership to party and to transform the CPC from "the party of workers, peasants and soldiers" (*gongnongbing)* into "party for all the people" (*quanmindang*) by reformulating it as the representative of the common interest of the whole Chinese people (Holbig, 2006: 21; Lam, 2006: 65). In this sense, Jiang's 'important thought' had a symbolic importance as well: An important point of issue in Sino-Soviet split in late 1950s and early 1960s was Khrushchev's formulations of 'state of the whole people' and 'party of the whole people.' Herein, for the Central Committee of the CPC (1963) at the time, adoption of an approach of "non-class or supra-class" party and state was one of the most important indicators of "revisionism" and "anti-Leninism" of Soviet ruling class since there were "classes and class struggles in all socialist countries without exception" and the claim of "power belongs to all the people" was nothing but a bourgeois illusion. Ironically, about four decades later, this time, the CPC itself was adopting a similar approach to the party and the state.

Not surprisingly, this move of the leadership escalated the struggle between 'two lines' in the Party once again. In Summer 2000, Zhang Dejiang, then the CPC secretary of Zhejiang province[17] "accused the Party leadership of 'muddle-headed

[17] Zhang Dejiang is currently a member of Politburo Standing Committee of the CPC and chairman of the NPC Standing Committee. Despite his opposition to capitalists' allowance to the Party in early 2000s, he had been known for his quite positive attitude towards private entrepreneurs and hence, he

thinking' which overlooked the fact that private entrepreneurs were indeed private owners of the means of production" (Holbig, 2006: 21-22). Zhang was followed by the CPC theorist Lin Yanzhi on June 2001. Lin harshly criticized Jiang as "wasting the important historical experiences and lessons of the party" (Holbig, 2006: 22). During the same days, a veteran Party member, Zhang Laushi, from Shandong province, resigned from the CPC with a vitriolic letter. In his resignation letter, Zhang (2001) claimed that the road the Party was traveling was "pure capitalism" and accused Jiang and "revisionists" of labeling communism as an "impractical fantasy." In 2002, left-wing intra-party criticisms became even louder. "[L]eftists such as former head of the Propaganda Department Deng Liqun were at the forefront of the campaign to denigrate what they call the adulteration of Marxism –and to block the red capitalists' entry into the CPC." And in the same year, at anniversary of the CPC's birthday, about 1000 party veterans "held a rally in Beijing (…) to protest against Jiang's alleged revisionism of classic Marxism and Mao Thought" (Lam, 2006: 66). However, despite harsh criticisms and flaming debates, 'The Important Thought of Three Represents' was also added to the Party Constitution in 2002, in the 16th National Congress of the CPC. For the Party leadership, those who were allowed to join the CPC were not 'capitalists' as belonging to a social class, but blameless entrepreneurs who had long been contributing to development of productive forces in China. Actually, the CPC leadership relied on Deng's (1993: 123-124, cited in Yang, 2013: 51) distinction between capitalists and private entrepreneurs, and argument that no "new capitalist class" would emerge in China. The term, "class," had already been abandoned "in Chinese political vocabulary precisely at the time of the rebirth of a capitalist class and the making of a new working class," paradoxically (Lin, 2013: 70).

'Reformers' had argued that, the problem with mass movements in Maoist era was mainly about overpoliticization of people. However, as Wang (2009: 11) points out, the tragedy of movements like the GPCR was "not a product" of their

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was appointed as the Chongqing Committee Secretary of the CPC after the liquidation of Bo Xilai in 2012 (Choi, 2012).

"politicization –signified by debate, theoretical investigation, autonomous social organization, as well as the spontaneity and vitality of political and discursive space;" rather, this tragedy was a result of "depoliticization –polarized factional struggles that eliminated the possibility for autonomous social spheres, transforming political debate into a mere means of power struggle, and class into an essentialized identitarian concept." In the light of their troubled analysis of mass movements, post-Mao leaderships of the CPC aimed to depoliticize popular masses to a great extent. However, increasing gap between 'new rich' and poor, and exclusion of working class from 'formal' policy making and implementation processes at all levels also triggered 'informal' ways of political participation in China, though rebel was no longer 'justified.' According to Ministry of Public Security records, while the number of mass incidents in China in 1993 was just 8700, this number increased to 11.000, 15.000, 32.000, 58.000, 74.000 and 87.000 in 1995, 1997, 1999, 2003, 2004 and 2005, respectively, participants of which were particularly workers (laid-off, active and retired), peasants, teachers and students (Lee, 2007: 5). Symbols and catchwords adopted from Maoist period usually dominated this protests, particularly due to their enduring legitimacy among popular classes. As Hurst (2009: 113) observed, during the same days that the CPC leadership was discussing about turning the Party into a 'party for whole people,' steel workers in Benxi carried signs with slogans like "The CPC is the Vanguard of the Working Class" and "Socialism is Good" in a demonstration. Similarly, in an electric equipment plant in a working class district, Zhengzhou, workers put up a banner saying "Continually Uphold Mao Zedong Thought" in their struggle against privatization in 2000. In the same city, two worker activists would be arrested by police in 2004 due to they wrote a leaflet charging the CPC and government "with deserting the interests of the working classes and taking part in widespread corruption," and calling for a return to "socialist road" taken by Mao (Weil, 2006).

Alongside of this politicized form of working class struggle, another forms of displaying displeasure with rising inequality came to the fore particularly starting from 1990s as well. Social problems which were "largely absent during the pre-reform Maoist era" and "mushroomed with the emergence of the market economy"

increased the crime rate in China dramatically (Lippit, 1997: 118-119). One spontaneous way of reacting to social problems became direct physical attack on people who were seen as blameworthy of increasing inequalities and low living standards. As an outcome of the spread of "hatred of wealth" (*jiufu xinli*) among masses, not only bosses, but also some senior CPC cadres and government bureaucrats, who were seen as a part of "heartless rich" (*weifu buren*), started to be targeted by angry poor (Rocca, 2011: 75).

Parallel to the rise of working class resistance and other forms of opposition to social inequalities all over the country, the so called Chinese 'New Left' as a critique of official line of the CPC also started to be popularized especially among intellectual circles. As Li (2008a) states, in today's China, the term, 'New Left' is used to "refer to a very broad category that ranges from social democrats, nationalists, left nationalists, to Marxists," who "have in common is that all to different degrees are critical of market-oriented reforms, to different degrees are critical of neoliberalism, and to different degrees have generally a positive view of the Maoist period, with different emphases."

'Third generation' leadership of the CPC had little hesitation in increasing class polarizations by deepening marketization and annoying 'conservative' Maoists by Jiang's market-oriented 'contributions' to official ideology. On the other hand, the 'contribution' of the 'fourth generation' leadership of the CPC, namely, 'The Scientific Outlook on Development' that was added to the Party Constitution in the 17th National Congress of the CPC in 2007, was actually a response to the excessive rise of social inequality as a consequence of uncontrolled marketization in Jiang era and spread of displeasure among popular masses that paved the way for rejuvenation of 'Leftism' in the Party in particular and in the Chinese society in general. When it came to power in 2003, the new leadership led by Hu Jintao and Wen Jiabao distinguished itself "from the previous regime of Jiang Zemin and Zhu Rongji by expressing concern about the growing polarization of income in China" carefully (Andreas, 2008: 137). From the very beginning, inequality had been "one of the great challenges of the Hu Jintao era, and one of the core targets of ideological campaigns" (Brown, 2012: 57). In line with the goal of founding a 'socialist harmonious society,'

new leadership implemented "a number of practical measures," such as "tax relief for peasants and welfare benefits for retired and unemployed city residents" or "a new trade union law includes provisions to protect workers from layoffs" (Andreas, 2008: 137-138). According to Hu (2007), Scientific Outlook on Development took "development as its essence, putting people first as its core, comprehensive, balanced and sustainable development as its basic requirement, and overall consideration as its fundamental approach." In this sense, actually, this 'outlook' did not present a break from post-Mao 'developmentalist' paradigm. Rather, as Hu himself also said, there was continuity between the Scientific Outlook on Development and previously added elements of the CPC's official ideology. Therefore, while in reality, "the considerable costs of the pro-market transition" such as "rising unemployment, economic insecurity, inequality intensified exploitation, declining health and education conditions, exploding government debt, and unstable prices" were not just "transitional side effects but rather basic preconditions of economic growth *cum* rapid capital accumulation under Chinese conditions" (Hart-Landsberg, & Burkett, 2005: 19), for Hu, the existent social problems were not structural elements of market economy, but rather, spontaneous outcomes of 'the primary stage of socialism.' Hence, as long as the 'fourth generation' leadership also did not step back from 'Reform and Opening Up' policy, it could not find an effective solution to the problem of increasing social inequality. As a recent study shows, "China's income inequality since 2005 has reached very high levels" (Xie, & Zhou, 2014: 6930). However, in his report to 18th National Congress of the CPC in 2012, Hu (2012) was still talking about "releasing and developing the productive forces," calling for further reforms in financial sector (particularly in terms of promoting RMB's convertibility) and recommending transition from passive to active labor market policies.

Alongside of taking measures in order to deal with increasing social inequality, Hu-Wen government also developed a dual approach towards rise of the left: On the one hand, it continued to use a wide range of tools including suppressive ones in order to eliminate this 'threat' to marketization process. For instance, CPC member, interim coordinator of Mao Zedong Thought Study Group in Xian, Shaanxi,

and labor activist Zhao Dongmin who had been helping workers of privatized workplaces to resolve issues such as unpaid pensions and loss of other benefits and whose 76-year-old father had also been a CPC member for 60 years was illegally and secretly arrested in 2009 (Ching, 2011: 34). Concurrently, an underground radical left organization named 'Maoist Communist Party of China' which argued that "traitorous revisionist ruling bloc of the CPC" was "the top enemy of the peoples of China" and called for a "second socialist revolution" in order to defeat "bureaucratic-capitalist class" was crushed by authorities and these two incidents triggered "further conflicts and clashes between Maoist masses and the police in places such as Shaanxi and Henan provinces where a larger number of SOEs locate" (MCPC, 2009; Cheng, 2012: 15). In Beijing, a support group for Zhao was formed "including several elder Party members and the heads of two well-known Leftist websites," namely, *Utopia* and *Worker's Research* (Ching, 2011: 35). Soon afterwards, in late March and early April 2012, as a key part of the campaign against Bo Xilai, founder of the so called 'Chongqing model' who somehow involuntarily gathered "various 'New Left' and neo-Maoist groups, featuring self-proclaimed 'left' economists or retired Mao-era officials" around himself (Chan, 2013), the CPC would also close *Utopia* and other leftist websites in order to control communication about the case (Zhao, 2012). On the other hand, starting from Hu-Wen era, the CPC leadership also began to increase the dose of 'Maoist' elements in the Party discourse and rituals in order to monopolize Marxist left in China again. According to the 'fourth generation' leaders, if Mao's teachings could be reinterpreted to consolidate CPC rule and to boost their legitimacy and popularity, then, there was "no harm breathing new life into some of the Great Helmsman's teachings" (Lam, 2006: 69).

The 'fifth generation' leadership led by Xi Jinping and Li Keqiang that came to power in the 18th National Congress of the CPC held in November 2012 carried this opportunistic attitude towards Maoism one step further. Decidedly, Xi "has been using Mao's legacy like no other since the death of the 'Great Chairman' in 1976" (Hein, 2013). He orders PLA "to intensify its 'real combat' awareness" while wearing an army-green Mao suit (Xi orders PLA…, 2012), recalls "older generations of leaders such as late Chairman Mao Zedong and late Premier Zhou Enlai" in his

foreign trips (Xi's foreign tour…, 2013), launches "mass line" campaign that includes republication of works of leading Marxist theorists such as Marx, Engels, Lenin and Mao in order to train CPC cadres and strengthen ties between CPC officials and ordinary people (Books on "mass line"…, 2013), announces the Party's resolution of "holding high banner of Mao forever" (Xi: Holding…, 2013), points out the importance of fostering socialist values among new generations (Xi urges socialist…, 2014), calls for a Bandung-like South-South cooperation between developing countries (Xi raises three-point…, 2015), and so on. According to German 'China expert' Sebastian Heilmann from Trier University, this shift towards Maoist rhetoric mainly has to do with the CPC leadership's aim to "win the support among population's leftists", influence of whom has been on rise and hence, who "could not be ignored" (Hein, 2013). Despite increasing left-wing elements in Xi's speeches and statements, in real politics, what shapes policies of the CPC is still post-Mao motto of 'deepening the reform.' Starting from the Communiqué of the 3rd Plenary Session of the 18th Central Committee of the CPC (2014 [2013]) -in which the need for "deepening economic system reform by centering on the decisive role of the market in allocating resources" was openly emphasized-, the 'fifth generation' leadership has published many policy documents and reports in which they declared their decisiveness in promoting further marketization. In reports on the work of the government delivered by Premier Li (2014; 2015) at NPC in 2014 and 2015, for instance, "making economic structural adjustment" and "deepening reform" in banking, oil, electricity, railway, telecommunications, resources development and public utilities were mentioned as indispensable preconditions for sustaining steady and sound economic development in China. At this point, tragedy of the post-Mao CPC becomes apparent: As long as marketization triggers social inequalities and contradictions, it is not possible to fill the gap between the social reality and theory even by reformulating the Party's ideology at each step in a pragmatic way.

From the Party of Workers and Peasants to the Party of Higher Classes

When the founding congress of the CPC gathered in a back room of a small store in the French concession of Shanghai in 1921, only 13 young Chinese delegates

representing 57 members scattered across the whole country and a senior Comintern advisor, Dutch communist Hans Sneevliet ('Maring'), were present (Meisner, 2007: 29-31). Today, according to the most recent data, with its more than 87 million members, the CPC is questionably the largest political party in the world (CPC has…, 2015).

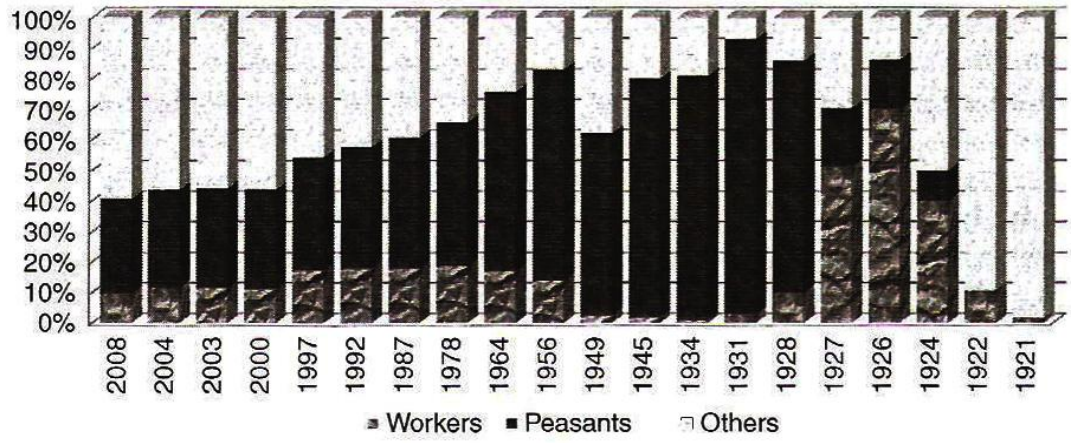

Figure 4. Percentage of peasants and workers in the CPC membership.

Source: *Gore, 2011: 19.*

Before 1935, Mao was in opposition to the line taken by the CPC leadership, who followed the line of the Comintern (Rue, 1966: 1-2). Particularly before 1927, Soviet-inspired strategy applied by dogmatic pre-Mao leaders was based on organizing urban working class for a proletarian socialist revolution. As it can be seen in the Figure 4, between 1924 and 1927, proportion of workers in the CPC incredibly increased. However, this-Soviet inspired line ended up with a catastrophe for the Party. In the violent suppression campaign against communists led by post-Sun KMT of Chiang, which was more or less able to control main city centers though its power in countryside was quite weak at that time, in 1927, the CPC lost many of its working class cadres and members in cities. Though "[t]owards the end of 1926 at least 66% of the membership of the CPC were workers, another 22% intellectuals, and 5% peasants (…) [b]y November 1928, the percentage of workers had fallen by more than four-fifths, and an official report admitted that the Party 'did not have a single healthy Party nucleus among the industrial workers'" (Todd, 1974:

150). Actually, it was this failure of Soviet-wannabe leaders that increased supporters of Mao's peasantry-based, 'Sinified' revolutionary Marxist strategy in the CPC ranks dramatically and led up Mao's road to power in the Party in medium term. Again, as it is seen in the Figure 4, during the people's war period of Chinese Revolution, the number of peasants, who were the backbone of the revolutionary army, increased in the CPC ranks. After the founding of the People's Republic in 1949, proportion of workers started to increase once again. On the eve of 'Reform and Opening Up' era, more than 60 percent of all CPC members were either workers or peasants, in conformity with the Party's Marxist character.

Table 1. Growth of the CPC in the reform era (1978-2008) (Unit: 1,000 persons)

Year	*Total membership*	*Rate of growth (%)*	*Share of population (%)*	*Total new recruits*	*Applicant pool*	*Base-level organizations*
2008 December	75,931	2.40	5.718	2,807	19,449	3,718
2007 December	74,153	2.43	5.623	2,782	19,506	3,663
2006 December	72,391	2.25	5.500	2,635	19,073	3,564
2005 December	70,800	1.72	5.419	2,470	17,670	3,520
2004 December	69,603	2.01	5.354	2,419	17,380	3,477
2003 December	68,232	2.83	5.280	2,335	16,023	3,451
2002 June, 16th PC[1]	66,355	0.92	5.165	—	15,128	3,487
2001	65,749	1.91	5.015	2,196	14,447	
2000 December	64,517	2.05	5.090	2,068	13,954	3,518
1999	63,221	3.64	5.009	2,189		
1998	61,000	0.96	4.889	2,268		
1997 November, 15th PC	60,417	5.99	4.887	2,359		3,514
1996 June	57,000	3.64	4.657	2,348		
1995 June	55,000	−0.73	4.541	2,197		
1994	55,407	4.54	4.506	1,869		3,405
1993 (estimated)	53,000	0.39	4.303	1,757		
1992 October, 14th PC	52,793	2.48	4.506	1,762		3,290
1991	51,517	2.38	4.448			
1990	50,321	5.37	4.286			3,148
1988 July	47,755	0.00	4.301			2,968
1987 October, 13th PC	47,755	7.90	4.209			2,874
1985 September	44,258	10.65	3.968			
1983 October	40,000	0.88	3.880			
1982 September, 12th PC	39,650	−0.02	3.900			2,440
1981	39,657	4.36	3.889			2,380
1980	38,000	2.76	3.850			
1978	36,981		3.842			

The months indicate the time of the year the statistics were taken.

[1]PC: party congress.

Source: *Gore, 2011: 6-7.*

In post-Mao era, the proportion of the CPC members in the Chinese society incredibly increased, from about 3.8 percent in 1978, the year that 'Reform and Opening Up' policy was announced for the first time, to 5.7 percent by the end of 2008, as it is shown in the Table 1. Today, though the number of new recruits has been declining due to Party's decision to control growth rate of the Party membership at all levels in order to increase member "quality," still, the proportion of the CPC members in the Chinese society is about 6.4 percent (CPC has..., 2015; World Bank, 2015). On the other hand, as Figure 4 shows, the proportion of the workers and peasants in the CPC has long been on decline. In this sense, as various studies reveal, the reason behind the membership 'boom' in post-Mao era is not spread of working class ideology among other classes and segments in Chinese society. Rather, total membership to the CPC 'boomed' particularly due to one main reason: Parallel to the development of market relations, membership to the ruling party without serious challenges became very advantageous and desirable for many people who want to benefit from the 'blessings' of marketization process. According to a survey dated 2010, while motivations of revolutionary generation (1949-1965) and GPCR generation (1966-1978) for joining the CPC were largely ideological and political (such as serving the people, working for communism and confidence in the CPC ability to lead China to prosperity and power), motivations of early reform generation (1979-1991) and post-1992 generation (1992-2010) were largely self-interest-based (such as to have a better career, to have opportunity to advance politically, and so on) as seen in the Figure 5. Today, 45.9 percent of the CPC members belong to young generations (45 years old or younger), among whom 'bourgeois liberal' deviation and individualism seem more widespread as survey shows (CPC has…, 2015).

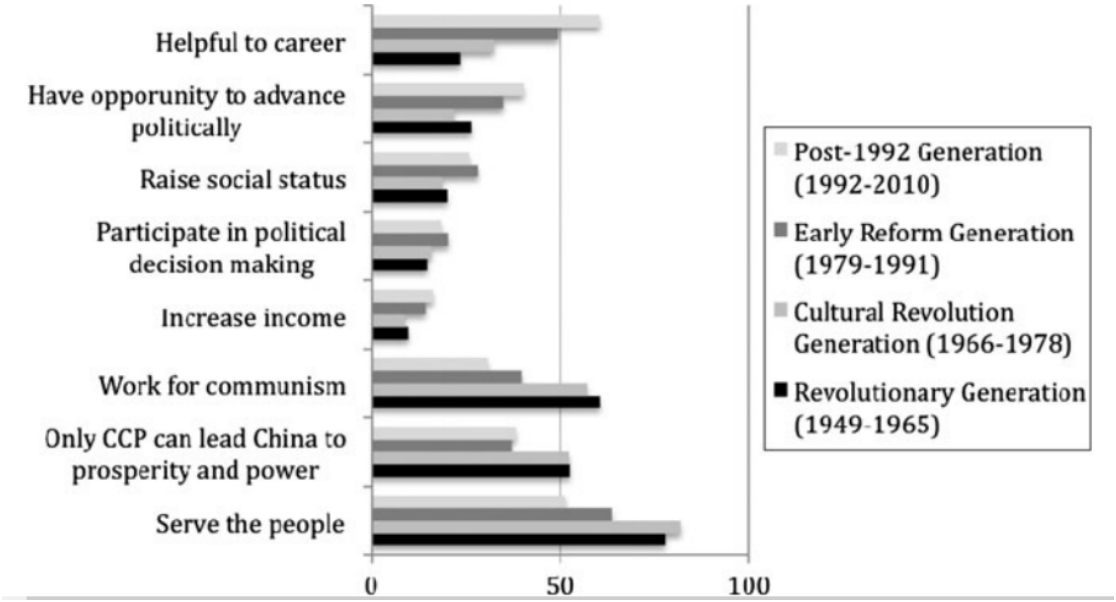

Figure 5. Motivations for joining the CPC by generation.

***Source**: Dickson, 2014: 50.*

As it can be predicted, the material basis of degeneration of the ideological loyalty to the Party and to the Marxist ideals among the CPC members is the increase in the number of beneficiaries of marketization in the Party ranks. In this sense, it can be argued that, workers and peasants have long been replaced by bureaucrats and the so called 'red capitalists' in the CPC. In 'Reform and Opening Up' period, presence of the Party and state personnel as well as 'white collar' public or private employees significantly increased in the CPC. According to the latest official statistics, while only 8 percent of the CPC members are classified as "worker," total 18 percent are either "functionaries in Party and state organs" or "administrative staff." When "professionals" are also added, this proportion increases to 32 percent, which is more than the number of "farmers, herdsmen and fishermen" who are 30 percent of all the CPC members in the aggregate as Figure 6 shows.

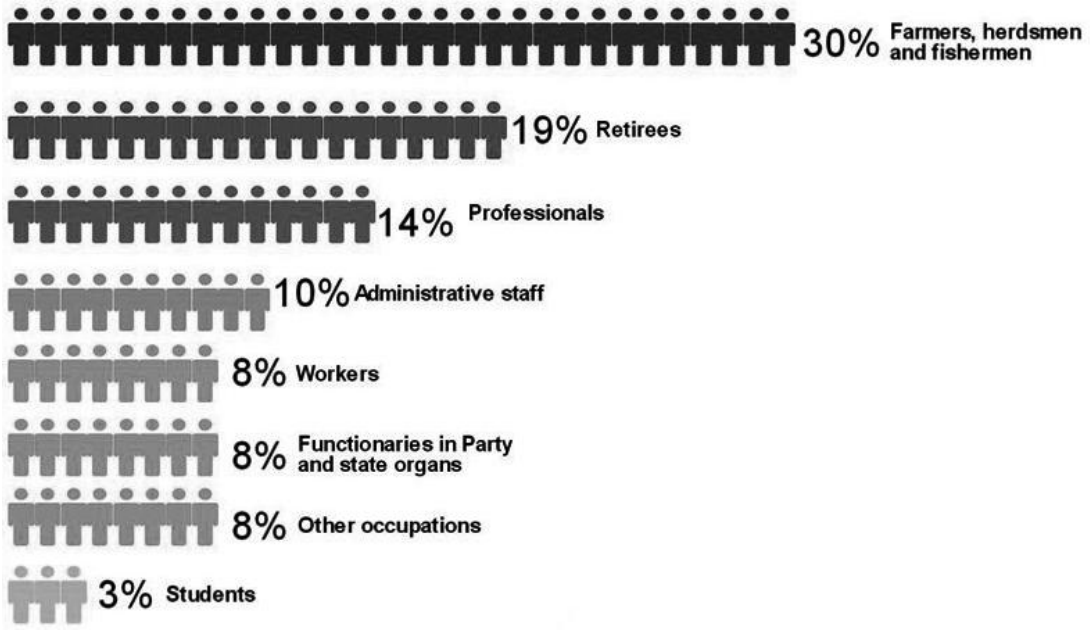

Figure 6. The CPC membership by occupation.

***Source**: CPC has…, 2015.*

The number 'red capitalists' have also been rising in the CPC. Once they were allowed to become the Party members in 2002 with Jiang's 'The Important Thought of Three Represents,' these people started to become members of the CPC almost massively. Shortly after they were allowed to be members of the CPC, by 2004, 35 percent of private business owners became members of the Party (Yang, 2013: 15). This number further increased in due course. According to the official Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS), by 2013, "one-third of China's quasi-capitalists [were] formally 'communists'," 53 percent of those who owned more than 100 million Yuan (about $16 million) were Party members and many of these people "also assume[d] the position of Party branch secretary in their own companies" (Lin, 2013: 68). In 17th National Congress of the CPC dated 2007, there were 17 'entrepreneurs' among delegates. This number rose to 30 -including 7 of "the nation's richest men," each was a multimillionaire- in 18th National Congress of the CPC held in 2012 (Lin, 2013: 68; Entrepreneurs'…, 2012). Quite ironically, in the same Congress, only 26 delegates were present in order to represent total 262,61 million migrant workers (CPC elects…, 2012; NBSC, 2013). During Congress, one

of the ultra-rich delegates, Liang Wengen, board chairman of the famous Sany Group and "the richest man in mainland China" according to BBC, met reporters from around the world and told them that "as a communist," he would "unswervingly put the Party's interests at first when it [was] in conflict with that of [him]self' and his property, "even" his life belonged to the Party (China's richest…, 2011; Entrepreneurs'…, 2012).

In 2012, "[a]mong China's super rich, with a collective family net worth of $221 billion, 160 [were] identified as Party representatives, NPC deputies, or members of CPPCC" (Lin, 2013: 68). As Yang (2013: 58) puts forward, these people are "new capitalists" of China who "have little to do with the old generation" of capitalists who disappeared in Maoist era after nationalization of the means of production. New capitalists "could only emerge from the existing social groups," namely, "workers, technicians, and managers of state-owned enterprises, peasants, school and university graduates, youth returning from countryside, and so on." In this respect, according to National Surveys of Private Business Owners dated 1993, 1995 and 1997, "[t]he most common family background (measured by father's occupation)" of Chinese new capitalists is rural household (Yang, 2013: 61). Actually, it is not so surprising since the post-Mao 'reform' started first in the Chinese countryside and "restoration of the rich peasant economy" allowed some - who had "skills and technology" as described in official discourse of the time- to turn into "rich peasant-entrepreneurs" rapidly (Chossudovsky, 1986: 42-76). As surveys show, again not surprisingly, the second common group of new capitalists is those whose fathers are cadres of various institutions such as government, state enterprises and public sector institutions, professionals, technicians, specialists and military personnel. These two large groups are followed by children of workers or staff members and unemployed respectively (Yang, 2013: 61-62). As it is clear, these data corresponds to Mao's analysis on the source of a possible return from socialism. New capitalists of China who have been becoming members of the CPC and taking part in policy making processes increasingly, predominantly come from either families which largely benefited from post-Mao reforms led by 'reformists' or directly families of the CPC cadres and bureaucrats.

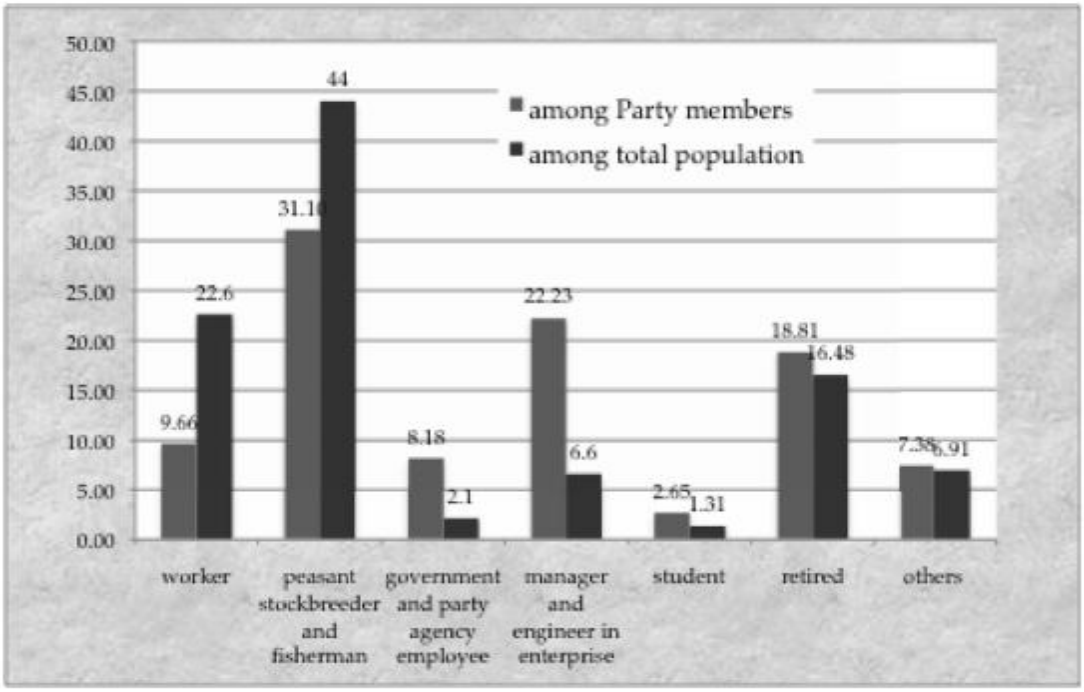

Figure 7. Comparison of occupational distribution of the CPC and the society.

***Source**: Hishida, 2012: 35.*

Today, despite it has already passed almost 40 years since the beginning of market-oriented reforms in China and the social composition of the CPC has changed to a great extent in this process, still, though their proportions have been declining, number of workers and peasants in the CPC exceeds number of new capitalists. However, this statistic is profoundly misleading particularly due to two reasons: Firstly, as roughly pointed out above, new rich and/or new capitalists are represented much more than laboring classes in higher Party and state organs since post-Mao 'developmentalist' paradigm regards them as the motor of the development of productive forces. Secondly, all exploitative social systems are based upon an exploiter minority and an exploited majority (including 'state capitalisms' and 'state socialisms' as well, though in 'state socialism,' there exists the long-term goal of removing the gap between two gradually). In other words, the exploited are always far more crowded than the exploiters. Therefore, as it can be seen in the Figure 7, while the workers and peasants in total still constitutes the largest group in the CPC,

working class and peasantry are underrepresented in the Party since they remain the most crowded social groups in Chinese society. On the other hand all other groups including the bureaucrats, managers and 'red capitalists' are currently overrepresented in the Party.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

General crisis of movements toward socialism also created a crisis in Marxist thought all over the world. Particularly since the end of the 'Cold War' with decisive collapse of the socialism in the USSR, contributions of 20th century revolutionary theorists like Lenin and Mao to Marxist theory have been largely underestimated especially in academia. Those who thought that the crisis of Marxism could be solved with a 'cultural turn' and denial of socialist transition practices of 20th century as a whole not only failed in solving the crisis, but also deepened it and consciously or unconsciously provided a suitable ground for undisputed domination of mainstream approaches over social sciences in general.

Today, like most other fields of social sciences, 'China studies' is also mainly dominated by either liberal-individualist or state-centric/institutionalist approaches. On the subject of post-Mao transformation of the CPC, while the former of these approaches mainly argues that market-oriented transformation in China will sooner or later end up with the collapse of the 'authoritarian' CPC rule, the latter mainly focuses on whether the CPC could succeed in 'adopting' itself to the changing social environment by also leading a political transformation alongside of the economic one. Despite these two approaches seem in conflict to a great extent, actually, since both argue that different realms of the social reality are ontologically separate and either the atomistic individual as the subject of market or the state (or the 'party-state') that is externally related to society is the independent variable that determines all social relations, their approaches to state/society relations are quite similar. While in the former, 'atomistic individual' is seen as the actor who will carry the China to the *telos* of history, i.e. 'democracy' in Western liberal sense, in the latter, not exactly but more or less the same role is attributed to the state (or the 'party-state').

As it is argued in this study, as against these two mainstream approaches, a holistic approach that recognizes interrelationship between different realms of social reality can also be developed especially by using Mao Zedong's contributions to

Marxist theory in terms of revealing dynamics of transformation and degeneration of the communist parties in power. In this sense, what Mao suggested was a class-based transformation model. In Maoist literature, communist party in power was taken as neither an authoritarian power group consisted of 'rational' (even if 'boundedly') atomistic individuals who suppressed society as a whole for their personal interests, nor a self-seeking organization that unilaterally dominated all social relations. Rather, in this framework, the communist party was formulated as an arena that different class interests ('capitalist' and 'socialist' roads) compete within just like each and every other realm of society during the very long process of transition to classless society where function of the Leninist/vanguard party would also fade parallel to fade of class differences. According to Mao, nationalization of means of production in a society did not simply mean that class struggle had ended, unlike Soviet theorists. Rather, during socialist transition, not only ideas of thousands of years of class society continued to live in people's minds, but also there existed dynamics that allowed for crystallization of a new exploiting class from within the party and the socialist state since roles of senior party cadres and high bureaucrats in production process (as planners, managers, specialists etc.) provided privileges to them. In this sense, for Mao, in order to prevent crystallization of a 'new bureaucratic bourgeois class' that would lead capitalist restoration, popular masses should maintain class struggle under socialism in each and every realm of the society including the party, participate in policy making and implementation processes at all levels, and control and even manage production process.

"If Mao Zedong Thought once served as the hegemonic ideology of China's pursuit of socialism in the twentieth century, two of Deng Xiaoping's slogans, 'letting some people get rich first' and 'development is ironclad truth,' have served as the most powerful ideological justifications for China's post-Mao developmental path" (Zhao, 2012). Deng, the master builder of the official 'developmentalist' understanding of post-Mao CPC, was accused of being one of the leaders of 'capitalist roaders' in the CPC during the stormiest days of the GPCR. In 'Reform and Opening Up' era which was initiated by the 'reformist' post-Mao leadership of the CPC in 1978, 'politics in command' approach of Mao which had been

legitimizing mass movements was abandoned in order to create a safe environment for private investments and to ensure rapid 'development of productive forces' which was defined as the most important task of the CPC at the 'early stage' of socialism. This 'GDPist' understanding still continues to shape each and every policy of the CPC. In this sense, as Dirlik (2012: 5) points out, while current generation of post-Mao CPC leaders still continues to "uphold socialism," this socialism is a "redefined" one which is deprived of "its revolutionary content," right contrary to socialism of Maoist era.

Once Mao's idea of continuous revolution during socialist transition was replaced with concerns of stability to secure the healthy functioning of the market, the CPC itself was also dramatically transformed in conjunction with all other social forces, ironically, right in the direction that Mao had foreseen. In 'Reform and Opening Up' era, the CPC started to transform from party of dedicated communist militants to party of 'experts' and bureaucrats, from a Marxist-Leninist party to a pragmatic party, and from party of workers and peasants to party of higher social classes and segments including 'new capitalists' of China as explained in the Chapter IV in details. After about 40 years of marketization, today, the "hegemonic bloc" of China which consists "[a]llience between the powers of the state, the new class of large private capitalists, the farmers in areas enriched by the opportunities the available urban markets offer them and the already expanding middle class" largely "excludes the vast majority of workers and peasants" who used to be masters of revolution (Amin, 2012).

So under these conditions, is it possible to argue that the capitalist restoration in China has finalized under the guidance of communist party in power as happened in the USSR? Aren't there any differences between China's 'socialist market economy' or 'socialism with Chinese characteristics' and 'normal' capitalism?

Actually, despite it is quite clear that marketization-cum-bureaucratization has proceeded a long way in post-Mao China and the country has long been suffering from structural problems created mainly by market-oriented reforms such as huge income gap and excessive corruption, it is not so easy to label today's China as a 'normal' peripheral or semi-peripheral capitalist state particularly due to two

'specificities' of Chinese system: First and foremost, though 'rich peasant economy' was revived with post-Mao reforms, still, agricultural land has not transformed into a commodity/private property in China yet, thanks to which, for instance, contrary to Brazil, Chinese countryside has not emptied and a great number of population do not struggle for life in slums in big cities (Amin, 2013b: 68, 71). Unlike settled urban poor in many Third World countries, a great number of migrant workers continuously circulate between cities and countryside in China (Wan, 2014: 60). Secondly, despite government's calls for deepening financial and banking reform has long been becoming louder and louder, still, China's 'relinking' to capitalist world system is only "partial and controlled" since it remains outside of the so called "financial globalization," and thanks to this, China still has a "national" banking system and "management of the Yuan is still a matter for China's sovereign decision making" (Amin, 2013b: 75).

As stated in the Chapter III, while Chinese communists under the leadership of Mao were extremely right when they declared that the ruling class in the USSR was 'new bureaucratic bourgeoisie' in 1960s, they were largely mistaken in their claim of the USSR had already turned into a 'normal' capitalist and even a 'fascist' state. Rather, after the crystallization of the bureaucratic bourgeoisie as a class and the CPSU's loss of socialist vision, what the USSR turned into was a sort of 'state capitalism' and more than two more decades would pass before decisive collapse of the USSR and integration of Russia and other post-Soviet states with the capitalist world system entirely.

In this regard, by looking at its similarities (above all, existence of brutal forms of extreme exploitation) and differences (those mentioned above) with 'normal' capitalist peripheral and semi-peripheral states, the nature of today's China may also be named as neither socialist (or 'state socialist') nor capitalist (or 'normal capitalist' which is 'neoliberalism' today) but "state capitalist" (Amin, 2013b: 71). If Lippit's (1982: 119, 123-124) classification is used, it can be seen that, it is possible to observe features belong to both "capitalist economic development" (such as growing inequality and a hierarchical ordering of the society) and "socialist economic development" (such as rising real wages) in today's China.

While ‘reformer’ leaders and theorists of the CPC has long been carefully distinguishing the so called “socialist market economy” that advocates “a carefully managed liberalization,” “an ownership system composed mainly of public ownership while allowing the existence of other kinds of ownership,” and “positive governmental intervention” from “neoliberal” capitalism that advocates absolute liberalization that weakens “the economic sovereignty of countries that are already in disadvantageous positions,” “comprehensive privatization,” and “comprehensive marketization without governmental intervention” (Zhuang, 2007: 357), there are enough reasons to believe that this unique system may really turn into a neoliberal capitalism -as ‘normal’ capitalism of today- in short or medium term. Actually, post-Mao leaders of the CPC are not wrong in arguing that the ‘market’ is not one and the same with ‘capitalism.’ There are dozens of -particularly Braudelian- works that show ‘markets’ had existed even before the rise of the capitalist mode of production whether pre-capitalist markets were immature or not. Indeed there were and will be “markets under socialism too” (Deng, 1994c [1992]: 361), since ‘socialism’ does not refer to a particular mode of production, but rather, to a transitional society in which elements of former class and future classless societies coexist. However, the problem with post-Mao ideology of the CPC is mainly about its presupposition that subjective goals of policy implementers in each particular case determine class nature of ‘market’ as a “mean of controlling economic activity” (Deng, 1994c [1992]: 361). As Ticktin (1998: 58) points out from an anti-market socialist point of view, “[f]or a market to exist, there must be money, exchange value, and value.” In this sense, despite it is a fact that “[s]ocialist development does not require the immediate elimination of all forms of private ownership or of the market” (Selden, & Lippit, 1982: 9), in the last analysis, market is not just an ahistorical ‘neutral’ mean as well which can be used smoothly and excessively in achieving any goal including the classless society. Therefore, it remains quite debatable that what has been rising in China after about forty years of marketization is whether a sort of revived “non-capitalist market society” based on “accumulation without dispossession” as Arrighi (2007) argues in his stimulating volume or “accumulation of capital, exploitation, alienation, and class struggle” as organic components of “market under capitalism”

(Ollman, 1998: 109). Contrary to arguments of post-Mao leaderships of the CPC, all negative outcomes of marketization cannot be just glossed over as inevitable side effects of rapid development of productive forces and could be overcame in due course of time. As shown in previous chapters of this study, not only a 'bureaucratic bourgeoisie' but also a 'new capitalist' class is present in China today and interests of these social groups, which has been benefiting from marketization process more than any other social group in China, determine policies of the CPC to a great extent. Here, Mao's analysis has to be recalled once again: Bourgeoisie always wants capitalism, not socialism. Hence, it is not so surprising that despite recent rise of left-wing discourse, further 'liberalization' of economy still remains as a core element in the CPC's policy agenda as touched upon above.

Moreover, as long as post-Mao doctrine of the 'early stage of socialism' -that continuously reproduces a sort of productive forces fetishism- postpones the long term goal of classless society to an ambiguous future, socialist vision also evaporates in the CPC ranks. In the Constitution of the CPC adopted in the 10th National Congress dated August 1973, the last national congress of the CPC which Mao attended, it was stated at the very beginning that the CPC was "the political party of the proletariat, the vanguard of the proletariat." In this sense, "the basic program" of the CPC was defined as "the complete overthrow of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in place of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the triumph of socialism over capitalism" (Constitution…, 1973). However, in the existing Constitution of the CPC adopted in the 18th National Congress dated November 2012, it is stated that the CPC is the vanguard of not only "Chinese working class," but also "the Chinese people and the Chinese nation" as a whole, above the social classes. In this document, there is no statement on 'the overthrow of the bourgeoisie.' Rather, it is stated that, the CPC is "the core of leadership for the cause of socialism with Chinese characteristics and represents the development trend of China's advanced productive forces, the orientation of China's advanced culture and the fundamental interests of the overwhelming majority of the Chinese people" (Constitution…, 2012: 60). Today, the CPC leaders clearly abstain from openly announcing what communism really

means and what is the Party's end goal. This ideological ambiguousness also gets new generation of communists confused considerably. As Robert Ware (2013: 139), who taught an undergraduate course on analytical Marxism in Peking University in the fall of 2011, observed, most of the students in his class who called themselves 'socialist' or 'communist' and suggested that capitalism was "not a viable alternative" for China were 'socialists' or 'communists' "because of parents or grandparents who were members of the CPC or had fought in Korea or the War of Liberation."

Does Chinese socialism still has a future then? Actually, this is a very hard question to answer. One thing seems clear: At this point and under the weight of mistakes of past, a new cultural revolution "is a sheer impossibility or already lost" (Lin, 2013: 54). On the other hand, "Chinese 1949 revolution and Maoist legacy have become part of Chinese environment and cannot be simply discarded" at the same time (Gao, 2008: 201). Therefore, it can be argued that, today, there exists an urgent need for inventing "something new" through "social, political, and ideological struggles," but still, on the basis of Maoist "mass line" formula (Amin, 2013b: 85), which once led to "popular democracy; grassroots participation in management and production; and cheap and locally adopted and traditionally proved healthcare and education" in China (Gao, 2008: 201).

China traditionally has a very dynamic society. The long and magnificent history of Chinese civilization is full of popular movements and resistances, peak point of which was decidedly the Chinese Revolution of previous century. The future of Chinese socialism as well as the future of the CPC will be determined by nothing but struggles of Chinese working class in particular and popular classes in general both inside and outside of the Party. What will these struggles look like? Nobody can know the answer to such question at this stage. Up to the present, no theory has been developed before a social practice takes place.

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APPENDICES

A. TURKISH SUMMARY

Yirminci yüzyılın başlarında 'yarı-sömürge ve yarı-feodal' bir tarım ülkesi olan Çin'in günümüzde pek çok azgelişmiş ülkeye ilham kaynağı olan ekonomik, siyasal ve askeri bir güç haline gelmesi, akademinin ve basının bu ülkeye yönelik ilgisini arttırmıştır. 'Çin'in yükselişi'ne ilişkin akademik yayınlarda ve basında yer alan tartışmaların önde gelen başlıklarından biri, altmış yılı aşkın süredir iktidarda bulunan Çin Komünist Partisi'nin (ÇKP) bu dönüşümdeki yeri ya da üstlendiği roldür.

Özellikle anaakım yazında 'Çin mucizesi,' Mao sonrası dönemde gündeme gelen piyasa yönelimli reformların bir sonucu olarak ele alınmaktadır. Bu bağlamda ÇKP'nin dönüşümüne ilişkin güncel çalışmalar, daha çok Parti'nin Çin'in Mao sonrası aşamalı fakat kararlı piyasalaşma sürecinden nasıl etkinlendiğine ya da bu süreci nasıl etkilediğine ve ekonomik ve siyasal dönüşümün ÇKP'nin geleceğini nasıl şekillendireceğine odaklanmaktadır.

Günümüzde, anaakım yazın içerisinde ÇKP'nin Mao sonrası dönüşüme yönelik liberal-bireyci ve devlet-merkezli/kurumsalcı olmak üzere iki popüler yaklaşım bulunmaktadır.

Liberal-bireyci yaklaşımın ÇKP'nin Mao sonrası dönüşümüne ilişkin temel savı, Çin'in Mao sonrası ekonomik dönüşümü ile siyasal dönüşümü arasında bir uyuşmazlık bulunduğudur. Piyasayı, atomik bireylerin kendi çıkarlarınıençoklaştırdıkları demokratik bir alan olarak idealleştiren bu yaklaşım, Çin'in piyasalaşma sürecinin kaçınılmaz olarak bir 'sivil toplum' ve bireyci, pragmatik, açık fikirli bir işveren sınıfı yarattığını ileri sürmekte, doğası gereği 'liberal-demokratik' eğilimli olduğunu varsaydığı bu aktörlerin 'otoriter'/'komünist' 'parti-devlet' ile uyumsuz çıkar ve taleplere sahip olduğuna dikkat çekmektedir. Dolayısıyla Çin'in Mao sonrası döneme damga vuran piyasa yönelimli dönüşümü, ister istemez ÇKP iktidarının da altını oymaktadır. Liberal-bireyciler, ÇKP'nin yakın dönemde

dağılacağı konusunda bir hayli 'iyimserdir.' ÇKP'nin 'diktatoryal' yönetiminin önünde, piyasalaşmaya koşut olarak toplumsal temeli gelişmekte olan Tiananmen türü 'demokratik' eylemlerle yıkılmak ya da kendi saflarındaki 'reformcular' tarafından içeriden tasfiye edilmek dışında bir seçenek bulunmamaktadır. Bu yaklaşıma göre son dönemde Çin'de ekonomik büyümenin hız kesmesi, ÇKP için de sonun başlangıcı olacaktır. 'Komünist sistem'in ekonomik gelişmenin ihtiyaçlarına yanıt veremediği koşullarda 'ekonomik elitin,' 'sivil toplumun' ve 'siyasal baskı' ile yolsuzluklardan hoşnutsuz olan geniş kesimlerin ÇKP iktidarına karşı hızla cephe alacakları kesindir. İlginç olan, liberal-bireycilerin 1990'lardan bu yana benzer argümanlarla ÇKP'nin çöküşünün 'çok yakın' olduğunu savlayagelmesidir.

Devlet-merkezli/kurumsalcı yazın ise, daha çok ÇKP'nin yine kendi önderlik ettiği piyasa yönelimli reformların dönüştürdüğü toplumsal çevreye uyum sağlayıp sağlayamayacağı üzerinde durmaktadır. Devlet-merkezli/kurumsalcı yazarlar, ÇKP'nin geleceğine ilişkin tahminleri temelinde 'kötümserler' ve 'iyimserler' olarak iki grupta toplanabilir. 'Kötümserler,' esas olarak Çin'deki mevcut kurumsal gelişmenin, reform döneminde hız kazanan ekonomik ve siyasal gelişmenin gerisine kaldığını öne sürmektedir. 'Otoriter' rejimin kendi kendine zarar veren tutucu dinamikleri, özellikle Tiananmen sonrası dönemde 'liberal güçleri' şiddetle bastırarak ekonomik ve siyasal reformların ilerleyişini durdurmuş, bunun sonucunda ise 'devlet kapasitesi' eriyen, geniş toplumsal kesimleri dışlayan, yozlaşmış bir 'talancı devlet/parti-devlet' (predatory state/party-state) ortaya çıkmıştır. 'Kötümser' kanat, bu tahliller ışığında, liberal-bireycilere benzer biçimde ÇKP'nin çöküşe gittiğini, Mao sonrası dönüşümün ancak bir 'kapana kısılmış dönüşüm' olarak adlandırılabileceğini ve Çin'in 'demokratikleşmesinin' ancak ÇKP engeli ortadan kalktıktan sonra söz konusu olabileceğini öne sürmektedir. Buna karşılık 'iyimserler' ise, ÇKP'nin 'çöküşte' olduğu iddiasına karşı çıkmaktadır. Bu kanada göre ÇKP halen 'otoriter', 'baskıcı', pek çok açıdan 'yozlaşmış' vb. bir parti olmakla birlikte, başta 'yatırımcılar' olmak üzere reform döneminde gelişmekte olan toplumsal grupları ideolojik ve örgütsel olarak kapsayarak dönüşen çevreye uyum sağlama esnekliğine de sahiptir. Parti, şu ana dek reform döneminde sisteme muhalefet etme potansiyeli olan güçleri ustalıkla sistemin içine katabilmiştir ve bu kesimlerin siyasal

desteğini kazanabilmiştir. Bu noktada devlet-merkezli/kurumsalcı kimi yazarların, Gramsci'nin 'hegemonya' kavramını sınıfsal bağlamından kopartıp kurumsal bir çerçevede yeniden tanımlayarak, ÇKP-toplum ilişkisine uyguladıkları da görülür. ÇKP'nin kurumsal açıdan 'hegemonik' bir güç olarak varlığını sürdürebilmesi, kendini bir şekilde demokratik unsurlarla yenilemeye devam edebilmesine bağlıdır. Pek çok 'iyimser' kurumsalcı, ÇKP'nin reform dönemindeki geçmiş başarılarının, Parti'nin demokratik dönüşüme önderlik etme kapasitesine sahip olduğunu kanıtladığı kanısındadır. ÇKP artık ideolojik takıntılı komünist militanlarca değil, daha çok paragmatik, kozmopolit, yetkin, esnek davranabilen ve kurumsal çıkarları gözeten bürokratik bir 'elit' tarafından yönetilmektedir. Bu 'elit'in bir yandan piyasalaşmanın Çin'i zenginleştirdiği, öte yandan komünizm gibi radikal ideolojilerin dünya ölçeğinde hükmünün kalmadığı koşullarda, adım adım demokrasi ve özgürlükleri arttırması son derece olasıdır.

Görüldüğü üzere gerek piyasa aktörü olarak atomik bireye ontolojik bir üstünlük atfeden liberal-bireyci yaklaşım, gerekse Parti'yi ya da 'parti-devleti' bütün toplumsal ilişkilerin taşıyıcısı olarak gören ve ÇKP'nin bu rolün gereklerini yerine getirebildiği ölçüde varlığını sürdürebileceğini savunan devlet-merkezli/kurumsalcı yaklaşım, Çin'in piyasa yönelimli reformların sonucunda bir şekilde 'demokratikleşmesi'ni kaçınılmaz bulmaktadır. Anaakım literatürde tarihin *telos*u olarak ele alınan 'demokrasi' ise soyut bir kavram olarak, örneğin, halkın siyasa yapım süreçlerine doğrudan katılımını kapsamamaktadır. Eşitlikçi olmayan bir sistemde siyasal gücün de eşitsiz dağılacağı ve böylesi bir sistemin demokratik olamayacağı göz ardı edilmektedir. Bu bağlamda Çin'in Mao sonrası reform ve dışa açılma dönemi, bu dönemde toplumsal eşitsizlikler artmasına ve halk sınıflarının siyasete doğrudan katılımının kısıtlanmasına karşın 'demokrasiye' gönüllü ya da gönülsüz fakat kaçınılmaz bir geçiş dönemi olarak değerlendirilebilmekte, ÇKP'nin rolü ve yeri tam da bu bağlamda tartışılmaktadır.

Bu çalışmada ise, ÇKP'nin Mao sonrası dönüşümünün, Parti'nin Çin'deki piyasalaşma sürecinde iktidarını koruyup koruyamayacağı hakkındaki gereksiz tartışmadan bağımsız olarak ele alınması önerilmektedir. Bu bağlamda Mao Zedung'un iktidardaki komünist partilerin bürokratik yozlaşması ile kapitalist

restorasyon arasındaki ilişki tahlili bağlamında Marksist teoriye yaptığı katkı temel alınmakta ve ÇKP'nin sınıfsal karakterindeki değişim farklı boyutlarıyla değerlendirilerek dönüşüme ilişkin alternatif bir yaklaşım sunulmaya çalışılmaktadır.

ÇKP'nin Mao sonrası dönüşümünün, Mao'nun kuramsal katkısı temelinde incelenmesi bilinçli bir seçimdir. Mao'nun iktidardaki komünist partilerin dönüşümüne ilişkin tahlili, kendinden önceki Marksist eylemci ve düşünürlerin bu konudaki tahlillerinden pek çok açıdan daha niteliklidir. Marx ve Engels, yaşadıkları dönemde ciddi bir sosyalist geçiş deneyimine şahit olmamış ve doğal olarak bu sürece içkin sorunları kapsamlı bir biçimde tahlil etmemişlerdir. Her ne kadar kısa süreli Paris Komünü deneyiminin ardından, daha çok sistematik bir devlet teorisi geliştirmek amacıyla kaleme aldıkları bazı metinlerin satır aralarında dolaylı da olsa sosyalist geçişin bir takım sorunlarına ve devrim kadrolarının yozlaşması tehdidine değinmiş olsalar da, yalnızca Marx ve Engels'in yazıları temel alınarak iktidardaki komünist partilerin dönüşümüne ilişkin kapsamlı bir tahlil yapmak mümkün görünmemektedir.

Marx ve Engels, tarihin itici gücünün eleştiri değil, devrim olduğunu söylemişlerdi. Bu açıdan sosyalist geçişin sorunlarına ilişkin Marksist tartışmaların Paris Komünü'nden 45 yılı aşkın süre sonra, Ekim Devrimi'yle birlikte yeniden alevlenmesi şaşırtıcı değildir. Ekim Devrimi, Marx'ın ve Engels'in öngördüğü gibi gelişkin işçi sınıfına sahip bir merkez kapitalist ülkede değil, o zamanlar bir yarı-çevre bir köylü toplumu olan Rusya'da gerçekleşmişti. Sosyalist geçişin Lenin deyişiyle 'geri' bir ülkede başlaması, daha karmaşık sorunları da beraberinde getirdi. Her şeyden önce Rusya'da sosyalist geçiş, 'burjuva demokratik devrimin' görevlerini de içerecek biçimde aşamalı bir süreç olarak yeniden tanımlandı. Lenin ve takipçisi Stalin'e göre, sosyalist geçiş sürecinde olası bir kapitalist restorasyonun ülke içindeki esas kaynağı küçük meta üreticileriydi. Lenin'e göre Ekim Devrimi'nin ardından ilk aşamada hedef alınmayan, hatta desteklenen küçük meta üretimi, kapitalist toplumsal ilişkileri anbean yeniden üretmekteydi. Bu yaklaşım, özellikle 1920'lerin sonundan itibaren üretim araçlarının zorla kolektifleştirilmesi sonrasında, Sovyetler Birliği'nde kapitalist restorasyonun sınıfsal/maddi zemininin ortadan kalktığı yönündeki hatalı anlayışın yerleşmesine yol açtı. SBKP'nin ancak dışarıdan müdahale ile

yozlaştırılabileceği öne sürüldü ve Parti merkezininkinden farklı her görüş bu müdahalenin bir parçası olarak görülerek şiddetle basıtırıldı. Gerek Lenin gerekse Stalin'e göre, bürokrasi de ancak sınıflı toplumun kalıntıları hala bulunduğu ölçüde sosyalist geçişe bir tehdit teşkil edebilirdi. Nitekim üretim araçlarının kolektifleştirilmesinin ardından, özellikle 1930'lardan itibaren resmi Sovyet yazınında bürokrasinin 'bağımsız' olduğu ya da sosyalist toplumda zorunlu olarak işçi sınıfının çıkarlarının taşıyıcısı olduğu tezi yaygınlaştı.

Bununla birlikte bu resmi kuram, dönemin toplumsal gerçekliğiyle uyuşmuyordu. 'Geri' bir ülkede sosyalizmi inşa çabası, kaçınılmaz olarak ileri kapitalist ülkeleri 'yakalama' ihtiyacını da gündeme getirmişti. Devrimin erken döneminde uygulanan 'işçi denetimi,' söz konusu ihtiyaç doğrultusunda yerini, daha çok maddi özendiriciyle denetim altında tutulan ve kendilerinden sanayi politikalarını yönlendirmeleri beklenen 'kızıl yöneticilere' taviz vermeye bırakmıştı. Stalin döneminde bu kesimin istikrarlı bir bürokratik yapı oluşturması, üretim araçlarının kolektifleştirilmesinden sonra sınıf mücadelesinin sona erdiği yönündeki hatalı anlayış doğrultusunda halk sınıflarının etkin katılımıyla değil, fakat yine bürokratik aygıtlara dayanılarak engellenmeye çalışılmıştı. Bürokrasinin yanı sıra özellikle kolektifleştirme sırasında köylülüğün geniş kesimlerine de yönelen terör yalnızca işçi-köylü ittifakının temelini ciddi biçimde sarsmakla ve Sovyet tarım ve hayvancılığına ciddi darbe vurmakla kalmamış, aynı zamanda bu süreçte şekillenen polis aygıtı, Amin'in de işaret ettiği üzere, zaman içinde Parti ve devlet içerisindeki diğer ayrıcalıklı kesimlerle de kaynaşarak yeni bir ayrıcalıklı sınıfın çekirdeği haline gelmişti. Sosyalist geçişe yönelik tehdidin esas kaynağı, eski toplumun kalıntılarından çok üretim süreci içerisindeki işlevi itibariyle tam da Marksist anlamda bir toplumsal sınıf, bir tür 'bürokratik burjuvazi' haline gelecek olan SBKP içerisindeki bu ayrıcalıklı kesim olacaktı. SBKP, süreç içerisinde, Üçüncü Dünya'nın devletçi/devlet-kapitalizmini savunan diğer partilarinden farksız bir hale geldi. Çeşitli çalışmalar, SBKP'nin üst temsil organlarında kadro ve bürokrat ağırlığının 1950'lerden SSCB'nin yıkılışına dek istikrarlı olarak ve işçi ve köylülerin aleyhine arttığını ve SSCB'nin yıkılışından sonra 'bürokratik burjuvazi'nin ekonomik ve siyasal ayrıcalıklarını korumaya devam ettiğini göstermektedir.

Her ne kadar ‘Maoizm,’ hem anaakım hem de sol yazında ya bir tür ‘köylü devrimciliği’ ya da bir tür ‘anarko-komünizm’ ile ilişkilendirilegelse de, aslında Mao’nun Marksizme özgün katkısı, tam da kapitalist restorasyonun iktidardaki komünist parti içerisindeki dinamiklerini ortaya koymasında yatmaktadır. Mao, gerek SBKP’nin burjuva bürokratik dönüşümüne, gerekse Çin’de olası bir kapitalist restorasyonun mevcut dinamiklerine ilişkin tahliline dayanarak üretim araçları esas olarak kolektifleştirildikten sonra da, sosyalist toplumda sınıf mücadelesinin ideolojik alanda devam ettiğini ileri sürmüştür. Buna göre bir ülkenin sosyalist geçiş yoluna girmesi, tek başına, o ülkenin sınıfsız topluma yürüdüğünün güvencesi değildir. Parti de dahil olmak üzere bütün toplumsal düzeylerde ‘kapitalist’ ve ‘sosyalist’ yol arasındaki mücadele çok uzun bir süre daha devam edecektir.

Mao’ya göre, kapitalist restorasyonun temel kaynağı, iktidardaki komünist partinin içerisindedir. Sosyalist geçişte, üst düzey Parti kadrolarının ve devlet bürokrasisinin üretim sürecinin denetimi ve yönetiminde ayrıcalıklı bir konumda bulunması, bu kesimin kendisini yeni bir sömürücü sınıf olarak örgütleyebilmesine olanak tanımaktadır. Bu bağlamda üretim araçlarının millileştirilmesi, toplumsallaştırılması anlamına gelmemektedir. Devlet sosyalizmi, sınıfsız toplum hedefi gözden kaçırıldığı ölçüde pekala bir tür devlet kapitalizmine evrilebilmektedir.

Şüphesiz Mao’ya göre Parti ve devlet, sosyalist geçiş sürecinde önemli araçlardır. Bununla birlikte bürokratik örgütlenme, bir dizi sorunu da beraberinde getirmektedir. Mao’ya göre bürokratik çalışma tarzı ve kadroların üretim ve bölüşüm süreçlerindeki ayrıcalıklı konumu, kadroları kitlelerden koparmakta, tek yönlü ve bireyci kılmakta, demokratik çalışma tarzının yolunu kesmekte ve devrimcileri adım adım bencil kariyeristlere dönüştürmektedir. Mao, Sovyet kuramcıların aksiye kapitalist restorasyonu geçmiş toplumun kalıntılarıyla değil, fakat bu yozlaşmayla ilişkilendirir.

Sosyalist geçişte bürokrasinin olumsuz rolünü eleştiren ilk kuramcı elbette Mao değildir. Örneğin sosyalist geçişi bizzat deneyimlememiş Rosa Luxemburg ya da Antonio Gramsci gibi Marksistlerin çeşitli yazılarında da, bürokratik çalışma tarzının kitlelerin yönetime katılmasının önünde engel teşkil ettiğine ve komünist

partiyi tutuculaştırdığına değinilmiştir. SBKP içerisindeki iktidar mücadelesini kaybeden Troçki ise 1930'lardan itibaren SSCB'yi mülkiyet ilişkilerinin sosyalist karakterinin korunduğu ancak -bir 'sınıf' değil, fakat 'katman' olarak nitelendirdiği- Stalinist bürokrasinin siyasal iktidara el koyduğu 'yozlaşmış bir işçi devleti' olarak tanımlamıştır. Eski Yugoslav Komünistler Ligi Merkez Komite üyelerinden 'demokratik sosyalist' Djilas'a göre ise Leninist parti örgütlenmesinden doğan 'komünist totalitarizme' özgü yeni bir sınıf, 'Doğu sistemi'nde bütün toplumsal, düşünsel ve ekonomik yaşama hükmetmektedir.

Mao'nun özgünlüğü, kendinden önceki kuramcıların aksine iktidara gelmeden ya da iktidardan uzaklaştırıldıktan sonra değil, bizzat iktidardayken bürokratik yozlaşmayı hedef alabilmiş olmasıdır. Kaldı ki Mao, sosyalist geçişe içkin bu sorunun ne Troçki'nin önerdiği gibi salt yukarıdan iradi müdahalelerle aşılabileceği kanısındadır, ne de Djilas gibi 'öncücülüğün' yalnızca olumsuz yönlerine dikkat çeker. Mao, sosyalist geçişin çelişkilerle dolu bir süreç olmasını olumsuz bir durum olarak değerlendirmek yerine, bu çelişkilerin yarattığı toplumsal dinamizmi sınıfsız toplum hedefine yönlendirmeye odaklanır. Bu bağlamda yeni bir bürokratik burjuva sınıfın oluşmasını ve kemikleşmesini önlemek için durmaksızın kitle kampanyalarına başvurmak gerektiğini savunur. Halk kitleleri, bütün bir sosyalist geçiş boyunca iktidarı her düzeyde döne döne fethetmelidir. Söz konusu kitle kampanyalarının en büyüğü ve etkilisi, kuşkusuz Kültür Devrimi'dir.

ÇKP'nin Mao sonrası reform ve dışa açılma dönemindeki dönüşümü, Mao'nun Marksizme yaptığı bu katkı ışığında incelendiğinde, Parti'nin bu dönemde bir komünist militanlar partisinden bir 'uzmanlar' ve bürokratlar partisine, Marksist-Leninist bir partiden pragmatik bir partiye, ve işçilerin ve köylülerin partisinden Çin'in 'yeni kapitalistleri' de dahil olmak üzere üst toplumsal sınıf ve kesimlerin partisine dönüştüğü göze çarpmaktadır.

Mao'nun ölümünün ardından patlak veren Parti-içi iktidar savaşımından, Kültür Devrimi'nin en heyecanlı günlerinde 'kapitalist yolcu' olmakla suçlanan Deng Şiaoping'in önderlike ettiği 'reformcu' kanat zaferle çıkmıştır. ÇKP'nin yeni, reformcu yönetimi, Mao döneminde geçerli olan 'siyasetin kumanda etmesi' ilkesi yerine 'ekonominin kumanda etmesi' ilkesini benimsemiş, bu bağlamda Marksizmi

de güncel siyasal ve ekonomik hedefler doğrultusunda yeniden tanımlayarak sadece üretici güçlerin gelişimiyle ilgilenen bir tür ekonomik doktrine indirgemiştir. Deng'in Mao sonrası döneme damga vuran 'kalkınmacı' teorisi, ekonomik büyüme yeterince hızlı olduğu müddetçe sömürücü ve kutuplaştırıcı yönelimler de dahil olmak üzere her sorunun bir şekilde zaman içinde çözülebileceğini vazetmektedir.

ÇKP'nin Mao sonrası yönelimi, Parti'nin üyelik ve kadro atama kriterlerinin de büyük ölçüde değişmesine neden olmuştur. Mao döneminde Parti'nin üye ve kadrolarından temel beklentisi 'halkın hem öğretmeni hem öğrencisi' olan inançlı komünist militanlar olmalarıyken, Mao sonrası dönemde yeni 'kalkınmacı' anlayışa uygun olarak temel üyelik ve atama kriterleri eğitim ve uzmanlık haline gelmiş, iyi eğitimli uzman, teknokrat ve bürokratların Parti'deki ağırlığı istikrarlı bir biçimde artmıştır. 1984 yılında ÇKP üyelerinin sadece yüzde 4'ü lise diplomasına sahip ve yüzde 50'den fazlası ya diplomasız ya da ilkokul diplomalıyken, günümüzde üyelerin yüzde 43'ü üniversite diplomasına sahiptir. Benzer biçimde ÇKP'nin en yüksek organı olan Ulusal Kongre'nin değişen bileşimi de, 'uzmanların' Parti'deki yükselişi hakkında fikir vermektedir. 1987-2002 yılları arasında yüksek okul mezunu kongre delegelerinin oranı yüzde 59.5'ten yüzde 91.9'a, Merkez Komite üyelerinin oranı ise yüzde 73.3'ten yüzde 98.6'ya çıkmıştır. Bölge Parti sekreterlerinin ise 1983'te sadece yüzde 28.6'sı üniversite mezunuyken, 2002'de bu rakam yüzde 80.7'ye çıkmıştır.

Parti saflarında eğitim düzeyinin yükselmesi, elbette başlı başına olumsuz bir duruma işaret etmemektedir. Temel sorun, Mao sonrası dönemde işçi ve köylü kökenli öğrencilerin gittikçe artan oranda özellikle 'seçkin' üniversitelere girişinin kısıtlanmasıdır. Erken reform döneminde değişmeye başlayan ve süreç içerisinde piyasalaşan eğitim sistemi, özellikle iyi üniversitelere giriş konusunda kadroların çocukları da dahil olmak üzere gelir durumu görece iyi yurttaşlara dolaylı olarak ayrıcalık tanımaktadır. Örneğin ülkenin önde gelen üniversitelerinden Peking Üniversitesi'nde köylü kökenli öğrencilerin oranı 1950'li yıllarda toplam öğrenci sayısının yüzde 50 ila 60'ına denk gelirken, Çin kırsal nüfusunun halen kentsel nüfustan yüksek olduğu 2010 yılında bu rakam yüzde 1'in altına düşmüştür. Daha düşük prestijli üniversitelerden mezuniyet ise, kadro atamalarında ciddi bir engel

teşkil etmeye başlamıştır. Nitekim ÇKP, daha çok yerli ve yabancı 'seçkin' üniversitelerin öğrenci ve mezunlarını örgütlemeye yönelmiş bulunmaktadır. Çeşitli araştırmalar, ÇKP'nin öğrenci üyelerinin sayısının düşük prestijli üniversitelerden 'seçkin' üniversitelere doğru gidildikçe arttığına dikkat çekmektedir. Parti saflarında ve yönetiminde 'uzman' artışı, işçi ve köylü kökenli kadroların aleyhine gerçekleşmektedir.

Üst düzey kadroların Parti ve devlet içerisindeki görevlerinden ileri gelen ayrıcalıklarını çocuklarına aktarması da gittikçe yaygınlaşmaktadır. Reform dönemi önderlerinin çocukları ve torunları, bugün kamu sektöründe, özel sektörde ve Parti'de üst düzey görevler almaktadır.

ÇKP'nin bir inançlı komünist militanlar partisinden bir teknokrat ve bürokratlar partisine dönüşmesi, farklı düzeylerde kitlelerden kopuk kapalı devre bürokratik adacıklar oluşması ve temel hedef olarak belirlenen ekonomik büyümeyi gerçekleştirmek adına her türlü aracın kullanılabilmesinin meşru kılınması yolsuzluk vakalarını da dikkate değer biçimde arttırmıştır. Süreç içerisinde pek çok Parti kadrosu ve hükümet yetkilisi, yolsuzluk ve kamu mülküne/kaynağına el koyma yoluyla ciddi servetler elde etmiştir. Bürokratizm ve piyalaşmanın birleşmesi, Lü'nün deyişiyle hem rant, hem de devlet ve Parti'de makam peşinde koşan bir tür 'yeni-geleneksel memur zümresi' yaratmıştır. Özellikle 2012 Kasım ayında yapılan 18. Ulusal Parti Kongresi'nden itibaren yolsuzluğa bulaşan kadrolara karşı sert önlemler alınmaya başlanmakla birlikte, Parti, halen daha yolsuzluk ve piyasalaşma arasındaki bağlantıya ilişkin ciddi bir yorum getirmemiştir. Şi Jinping, yolsuzlukla mücadele konusunda yaptığı açıklamalarda, genellikle yolsuzluğu maddi temelini ortaya koymaksızın ideolojik yozlaşmayla açıklama eğilimindedir.

Mao sonrası dönemde ÇKP, Marksist-Leninist bir partiden pragmatik bir partiye dönüşmüştür. Mao'dan sonra yönetime gelen her 'kuşak' önderlik, piyasalaşmanın toplumsal sonuçlarıyla ilişkili biçimde, Parti ideolojisine yeni bir kavram eklemiştir. Bugün ÇKP Tüzüğü'nde, Parti'nin, 'Marksizm-Leninizm ve Mao Zedung Düşüncesi, Deng Şiaoping Teorisi, Önemli Üç Temsil Düşüncesi ve Kalkınmaya Bilimsel Yaklaşım'ı eylem klavuzu olarak benimsediği vurgulanmaktadır.

Deng Şiaoping Teorisi, her ne kadar Parti tüzüğüne ancak 1997 yılında girmiş olsa da, 1970'lerin sonundan itibaren resmi ideolojinin köşe taşıdır. Deng Şiaoping Teorisi'nin temel vurgusu, düzen ve istikrardır. Zira sosyalizmin erken aşamasında tartışmasız öncelikli görev olarak ele alınması gereken 'üretici güçleri geliştirmek,' ancak yerli ve yabancı piyasa aktörlerine yatırım yapabilecekleri güvenli bir ortam sağlamakla mümkün kılınacaktır. Deng, Mao'nun aksine kalkınma ile eşitlikçi idealleri dengeleme ihtiyacı üzerinde durmaz. Aksine, erken reform ve dışa açılma döneminden itibaren halk sınıflarının her düzeyde siyasa yapım süreçlerine ve üretim sürecinin denetimine doğrudan katılımı ile emekçilerin sahip oldukları sosyal haklar, üretici güçleri hızla geliştirme hedefine zarar verdikleri düşünülerek kısıtlanmıştır. Her ne kadar anaakım yazında Tiananmen saf 'liberal-demokratik' bir hareket sunulsa da, Weil, Wang ve Selden gibi pek çok yazarın da işaret ettiği üzere ayaklanmaya destek veren geniş kentli işçi kitleler açısından bu, esas olarak reform döneminde gündeme gelen emek-karşıtı politikalara yönelik bir başkaldırıdır. Tiananmen sonrası süreçte, Jiang Zemin'in başa gelmesinden itibaren özellikle özelleştirmelerle birlikte piyasalaşma süreci hız kazanacak ve 1990'lar Çin'de, zenginliğin gittikçe özel yatırımcıların elinde toplandığı bir dönem olacaktır.

Jiang Zemin önderliğindeki 'Üçüncü Kuşak' önderliğin kuramsal 'katkı'sı, tam da bu zeminde gerçekleşmiştir. 2002 tarihli 16. Ulusal Parti Kongresi'nde tüzüğe eklenen Jiang'ın 'Önemli Üç Temsil Düşüncesi'ne göre Parti, ülkenin 'gelişkin üretici güçlerini' temsil etmek adına özel yatırımcılara da kapılarını açmalı, bir 'işçi, köylü ve askerler partisi'nden (*gongnongbing*) 'bütün halkın partisi'ne (*quanmindang*) dönüştürülmelidir. 'Sınıf', tam da yeni bir kapitalist sınıfın ve işçi sınıfının şekillendiği koşullarda ÇKP söyleminden çıkartıldığından, Parti'ye kabul edilmesi önerilenler 'kapitalistler' değil, fakat ülkenin ekonomik gelişimine katkı sunan yatırımcılar olarak sunulmuştur. Jiang'ın 'Önemli Üç Temsil Düşüncesi'ni, aynı zamanda, ÇKP'nin Mao dönemini hedef alan ideolojik bir saldırı olarak da okumak mümkündür. Zira 1960'ların başındaki SBKP-ÇKP polemiğinin önemli altbaşlıklarından biri, o dönemde ÇKP'nin, Kruşçev'in SBKP'yi 'bütün halkın partisi' olarak yeniden tanımlamasına, sınıfsız topluma dek bütün parti ve kurumların

zorunlu olarak bütün halkı değil fakat belirli sınıfları temsil edebilecekleri savıyla karşı çıkmasıdır.

Nitekim kapitalistlerin partiye kabul edilmelerinin önünü açan ideolojik dönüşüm, ÇKP içinde ve dışında tepki çekmiştir. Pek çok ileri ve tecrübeli Parti kadrosu Jiang'ın girişimini protesto etmiştir. Şüphesiz bu tepkiler, 1990'lardan itibaren işten çıkarmalara, özelleştirmeye ve büyüyen eşitsizliğe karşı istikrarlı olarak artan işçi sınıfı eylemleriyle birlikte, Çin'de yeni bir sol dalganın yükselmesine de zemin hazırlamıştır.

Hu Jintao önderliğindeki 'Dördüncü Kuşak' önderliğin ortaya koyduğu 'Kalkınmaya Bilimsel Yaklaşım', Jiang dönemindeki kontrolsüz ve hızlı piyasalaşmanın yarattığı toplumsal sorunları hedef almıştır. Hu'ya göre ekonomik kalkınma, kapsamlı, sürdürülebilir ve dengeli olmalı, toplumsal eşitsizlik gibi ciddi sorunlar gözardı edilmemeli, 'uyumlu sosyalist toplum' hedefi gözden kaçırılmamalıdır. Bu dönemde ÇKP önderliği halk sınıflarının ekonomik ve toplumsal refahını arttıracak çeşitli önlemler almış, bununla birlikte reform döneminin 'kalkınmacı' ve piyasacı paradigmasına bağlı kaldığı ölçüde gelir eşitsizliğinin ve dolayısıyla toplumsal muhalefetin büyümesini engelleyememiştir.

Hu döneminde ÇKP, Parti içinde ve dışında yükselen sola karşı ikili bir tutum benimsemiştir. Buna göre bir yandan polisiye tedbirler sıkılaştırılmış, öte yandan Parti söylem ve ritüellerindeki 'Maoist' vurgular arttırılmıştır. Sol söyleme dönüş, Şi Jinping önderliğindeki 'Beşinci Kuşak' önderliğin göreve gelmesiyle bir adım daha ileri taşınmıştır. Şi, Mao'nun ölümünden beri Marksizme ve Mao'ya en çok atıf yapan ÇKP önderi konumundadır. Bununla birlikte reel politikada ÇKP başta finans olmak üzere kilit sektörlerde reformları derinleşme yönünde adımlar atmaya devam etmektedir.

Mao sonrası dönemde ÇKP'nin sınıfsal bileşimi de köklü biçimde dönüşmeye başlamıştır. Mao döneminde üyelerin yüzde 60'tan fazlası işçi ya da köylüyken, günümüzde işçi ve köylü üyelerin oranı toplam üyelerin yüzde 38'ine gerilemiştir. 2012 tarihli bir çalışmaya göre, toplam nüfus içindeki oranlarına göre Parti'de yetersiz temsil edilenler sadece işçi ve köylülerdir. Bununla birlikte bürokrat, uzman ve kapitalistler, Parti'de, nüfus içerisindeki oranlarının üzerinde temsil edilmektedir.

Reform ve dışa açılma sürecinde ÇKP'nin toplam üye sayısı hızla artmıştır. Ne var ki Dickson'ın çalışması, Mao sonrası dönemde üyelik motivasyonunun gittikçe ideolojik olmaktan çıktığını ve bireyselleştiğini göstermektedir. Genç kuşaklar Parti'de komünizme inandıkları ya da halka hizmet etmek istedikleri için değil, fakat daha çok kariyerlerine yardımcı olacağını ya da siyasal olarak yükselebileceklerini düşündükleri için görev almaktadır.

Üye olmalarına izin verildikten sonra Çin'in 'yeni kapitalistlerinin' Parti'deki ağırlığı istikrarlı olarak artmıştır. Çin Sosyal Bilimler Akademisi'ne göre 2013 itibariyle 'yeni kapitalistlerin' üçte biri ÇKP'de görev almaktadır. ÇKP'nin 2012'deki 18. Ulusal Kongresi'nde 262 milyon göçmen işçi sadece 26 delegeyle temsil edilirken, aynı kongrede kapitalistler, 7'si Çin'in en zenginleri olmak üzere toplam 30 delegeyle temsil edilmiştir. Ayrıca bu sınıfın çeşitli yerel ve ulusal Parti organlarındaki, Ulusal Halk Kongresi'ndeki ve Çin Halk Siyasi Danışma Konferansı'ndaki temsil oranı da gün geçtikçe artmaktadır.

Bu çalışmada, ÇKP'nin Mao sonrası dönüşümünün, anaakım yazında öne sürülenin aksine 'demokrasi'ye gönüllü ya da gönülsüz bir geçiş olarak değerlendirilemeyeceği ve bu düzlemde yürütülen bir tartışmanın toplumsal gerçekliği anlamaya yardımcı olmayacağı ileri sürülmüştür. Bu bağlamda Çin'in, devlet sosyalizminden devlet kapitalizmine geçişinin önemli bir parçası olan ÇKP'nin Mao sonrası dönüşümünün, büyük ölçüde Mao'nun iktidardaki komünist partilerin yozlaşması ve kapitalist restorasyon konusundaki tahlilleriyle örtüştüğü gösterilmeye çalışılmıştır. Sunulan çerçeve, özel olarak ÇKP'nin ya da genel olarak Çin sosyalizminin geleceğine dönük kesin tahminlerde bulunmak için uygun bir zemin sunmamaktadır. Zira çalışmada, anaakım yazından farklı olarak atomik bireyler ya da kurumlar toplumu belirli hedeflere taşıyan özneler olarak ele alınmamakta, ancak ÇKP'nin ve Çin sosyalizmin geleceğinin Parti içinde ve dışında devam etmekte olan sınıf mücadelesine bağlı olarak şekilleneceği ileri sürülmektedir.

B. TEZ FOTOKOPİSİ İZİN FORMU

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