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## SOCIALISM: THEORY AND PRACTICE

**The policy  
of imperialism  
and hegemonism  
exposed**

**Where does the threat  
come from?**

**Kampuchea:  
the bankruptcy  
of Maoism**

**SUPPLEMENT**

**IV  
1981**

SOCIALISM:  
THEORY  
AND PRACTICE

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## IMPERIALIST POLICY AND PEKING'S HEGEMONISM EXPOSED

(Foreign guests to the 26th CPSU Congress speak)

At the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee 123 delegations of communist, workers', national-democratic and other parties and organizations from 109 countries in all continents attended the 26th Congress. We publish excerpts from their messages of greeting.



Le DUAN,

General Secretary of  
the Central Committee,  
Communist Party of Vietnam

A striking contrast to the bright reality and brilliant prospects of the revolutionary and progressive forces is afforded by the picture in the camp of imperialism and Peking's expansionism and hegemonism. In their bid to retrieve their lost positions they are drawing closer every day, coming to terms and trying to counter-attack revolutionary forces.

This is the chief cause of the tension erupting in the Middle East, in Southwest and Southeast Asia, and many other spots of the globe.

...The Vietnamese people have enthusiastically begun building a new society, transforming and developing the economy. They are bending every effort so that their country might proceed in confident and great strides along the path of socialism. However, the reactionary grouping in Peking's ruling circles looks upon united socialist Vietnam as an obstacle in the way of their expansionist and hegemonist ambitions in South-east Asia. This explains their openly hostile policy regarding Vietnam. Using the butchers of Pol Pot, Ieng Sary and Khieu Samphan in Kampuchea they unleashed a war in the south-western border of Vietnam and then launched an aggression all along our country's northern border.

Guided by comrade Ho Chi Minh's behest that "there is nothing like independence and freedom", the Vietnamese people routed the Peking expansionists in the South, defended the country's national sovereignty, and ensured the peace and stability in this part of the world.



**Erich HONECKER,**  
**General Secretary of**  
**the Central Committee,**  
**Socialist Unity Party of Germany,**  
**Chairman of the Council of State,**  
**German Democratic Republic**

...The 26th Congress of the CPSU proves convincingly that the Soviet Union consistently pursues its truly humane foreign policy based on the Peace Programme adopted by the 24th and 25th Party congresses. It will not be led astray from this course either by the confrontation policy pursued

by definite NATO circles, notably the USA, or by the Peking leaders who, in keeping with their great-power, chauvinistic and hegemonic aims, are dangerously colluding with the most aggressive forces of monopoly capital.



**Gustáv HUSÁK,**  
**General Secretary of**  
**the Central Committee,**  
**Communist Party of Czechoslovakia,**  
**President of the Czechoslovak**  
**Socialist Republic**

Our people know the value of peace, that is why they wholly support the USSR's efforts to strengthen it, as well as comrade Brezhnev's new proposals. Side by side with the Soviet Union, the other socialist states and all progressive, democratic and peace forces we shall actively contribute to this historic struggle. We repudiate the policy of imperialism's reactionary forces, especially that of the USA, which refuse to accept the positive changes in the world, causing the exacerbation of the international situation. Just as resolutely we oppose the Peking rulers' great-power, hegemonic policy hostile to socialism and peace.



**János KÁDÁR,**  
**First Secretary of**  
**the Central Committee,**  
**Hungarian Socialist**  
**Workers' Party**

...As a result of the undisguised strivings of extremist imperialist forces and specific actions of the NATO leaders in the last few years the detente process has been interrupted, the international situation has worsened, the same voices are heard as in the cold war days, the anti-Soviet and anti-communist propaganda has been stepped up. Unfortunately, the present foreign policy of the Chinese leaders plays into the hands of the cold war advocates.



**Todor ZHIVKOV,**  
**First Secretary of**  
**the Central Committee,**  
**Bulgarian Communist Party,**  
**Chairman of the Council of State,**  
**People's Republic of Bulgaria**

...Imperialism, and especially American imperialism, has aggravated the international situation, steering a course for confrontation and greater tension. The present Chinese leaders are particularly zealous in their anti-Soviet and anti-socialist activity. They are all for creating a worldwide counter-revolutionary front spearheaded against the

USSR and the other socialist countries, they hail any action and word that can thwart detente. However, all attempts by the imperialists and their servitors to speak to the USSR and the other socialist countries from the "positions of strength" and obtain unilateral advantages are vain exertions. Such a policy has not, nor can it have, any future or chance of success.



**Kaysone PHOMVIHANE,**  
**General Secretary of**  
**the Central Committee,**  
**Lao People's Revolutionary Party,**  
**Prime Minister of**  
**the Lao People's Democratic**  
**Republic**

In the last five years we have been confronted by the ominous counter-revolutionary alliance of the forces of imperialism, Peking's great-power hegemonism and international reaction, which, shunning no means, have tried to intimidate us and inflict damage on our country. This notwithstanding, our young Republic continues to hold its ground firmly as an advanced post of socialism in Southeast Asia. It can proudly report its initial successes in socialist transformations.



**Yumjaagiyn TSEDENBAL,**  
**First Secretary of**  
**the Central Committee,**  
**Mongolian People's Revolutionary**  
**Party, Chairman of the Presidium**  
**of the Great People's Hural,**  
**Mongolian People's Republic**

In the same boat with international reaction is the present Chinese leadership whose policy and practical actions are aimed at thwarting international detente, splitting the world socialist system, and weakening and subverting the socialist countries' fraternal ties with their main support, the Soviet Union. Peking's continued reactionary Maoist course is a real danger to the cause of peace and tranquillity not in Asia alone, but globally. That is why our Party closely links the struggle against imperialism and reaction, the struggle for socialism and progress with the struggle against reactionary Maoism and the great-power hegemonism of the Chinese leaders.

**Babrak KARMAL,**  
**General Secretary of**  
**the Central Committee,**  
**People's Democratic Party**  
**of Afghanistan, Chairman of**  
**the Revolutionary Council and**  
**Prime Minister, Democratic Republic**  
**of Afghanistan**

The outstanding achievements of the Soviet Union and the rich experience gained by the CPSU are of historic significance



not only for the world socialist system and the international communist and working class movement. They inspire and serve as a support in the struggle of the national liberation and public movements in the new states which, having defeated internal reaction and abolished exploitation by foreign monopolies, started introducing radical social, political, economic and cultural transformations in the interests of the working people. This acquires a new dimension today, when imperialism and world reaction led by the USA, in full accord with their immediate helpmates, the Peking hegemonists, have trodden on the dangerous path of whipping up international tension and launched a fierce struggle against the forces of peace and social progress.



**Rajeswara RAO,**  
**General Secretary of**  
**the National Council, Communist**  
**Party of India**

...It must be stated plainly that the heinous role of the new Chinese leadership in the international arena has got a lot to do with the new aggressive postures of US imperialists and their allies. They attacked the heroic

Vietnamese people who won the admiration of the whole world by humbling the mightiest of imperialisms. They supported the barbaric Pol Pot regime in Kampuchea. They are collaborators of the imperialist, fascist, racist and reactionary regimes the world over. Now they are shamefacedly advocating a world front of imperialists and reaction against the Soviet Union, the

Land of Great Lenin, the first socialist state and the bulwark of world peace, socialism and human progress. Our Party is of firm opinion that no quarter should be given to their dangerous game. They should be fought tooth and nail in the interest of world peace and socialism.

The US imperialists and the Chinese leadership are adopting every device to blackmail peace-loving India into their reactionary global strategy. The Chinese leaders are arming the Zia regime to the teeth in collusion with the US rulers. They are also giving all-out support to the insurgent separatist forces in our sensitive North-Eastern region, endangering the unity of our country. They are also making serious efforts to undermine our country's close friendly ties with the Soviet Union. Our people understand the game of the US imperialists and the Chinese expansionists very well. Hence, no force on earth can succeed in snapping our unbreakable ties of friendship with the great Soviet Union, which has stood by us through thick and thin during the last 30 years since independence.



**Mengistu Haile Mariam,**  
**Chairman of the Commission**  
**to Organize a Workers' Party**  
**of Ethiopia, Chairman of the**  
**Provisional Military Administrative**  
**Council, Socialist Ethiopia**

A vivid testimonial of the fact that the entire activity of the imperialist forces is directed against the forces of peace is their persistent effort to whip up

the arms race by stationing nuclear missiles in Western Europe. They thereby demonstrate their disregard for the cause of peace in Europe, which must be the object of concern on the part of peace-loving forces if the planet is to be saved from ruin. Their attempts to strangle the liberation movements in the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America and the anti-imperialist struggle of the peoples and to re-impose their yoke on the independent developing countries show with utmost clarity that they venture to oppose history itself. Peace-loving forces are forced to fight not only against the policy of greedy imperialism, but also against the policy of the Chinese leaders who have gone over into the camp of international reaction headed by the American imperialists.



**Cheddi JAGAN,**  
**General Secretary,**  
**People's Progressive Party**  
**of Guyana**

We cannot help but comment on the role played by China which actively panders to US imperialism's criminal plans and even shoulders some of the dirty work of its new-found friends.

We do not doubt that just as China's attempt to "punish" heroic Vietnam boomeranged against it, so its current plans, as well as US imperialism's schemes, will be failed by the principled policy of the USSR and the entire socialist community, by the uncompromising struggle of the exploited and oppressed of the world.



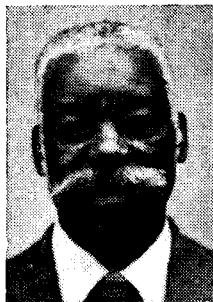


**Ahmed MANIK,**  
**Acting General Secretary of**  
**the Central Committee,**  
**Communist Party of Bangladesh**

The congress of our party voiced its unequivocal approval of the role the Soviet Union had played in the defence of the people's revolution in Afghanistan, the victim of an undeclared war unleashed by the USA, China,

Pakistan and other reactionary regimes.

...In the view of the present, very complicated international situation we deem it necessary to arrange bilateral and multilateral meetings of the fraternal parties that will further strengthen and consolidate the world communist movement, and will plan joint actions. We believe that the concerted efforts of Communists and all people of good will can frustrate intrigues of imperialists, Chinese hegemonists and other reactionary forces who are against peace and the peoples' freedom.



**Mozes MABIDA,**  
**General Secretary,**  
**South African Communist Party**

The mounting aggressiveness of the reactionary forces is evident, among other things, in the intention of the Reagan Administration to produce and deploy neutron bombs, in the aid given to the Salvador oligarchy which

is out to crush the popular uprising in the country; in the continuing aggression against democratic Afghanistan; in inciting the PRC hegemonic circles to continue their counter-revolutionary activity against the world's progressive forces.

**Pen SOVAN,**  
**Vice Chairman of the People's**  
**Revolutionary Council, People's**  
**Republic of Kampuchea**

On January 7, 1981 the Kampuchean people celebrated the second anniversary of victory over the genocide regime of Pol Pot-Ieng Sary-Khieu Samphan, those mercenary lackeys of the Peking great-power expansionists and hegemonists. Over some four years of their rule they completely destroyed the entire structure of Kampuchean society. Three million of our compatriots were murdered in the most ruthless manner, while those living were denied the elementary conditions of life. Such is the barbaric outcome of Maoist "experiments" in Kampuchea.

...When the schemes against the Kampuchean revolution, the schemes in which the main role had been assigned to the remnants of Pol Pot gangs had fallen flat, the reactionaries changed tack. They are now trying to cajole Norodom Ranariddh, and the traitors Son Sann and Khieu Samphan into replacing Pol Pot as leaders of the reactionary regime. However, we are confident that the new machinations of our enemies will fail dismally.

**Member of the Delegation of  
the Philippine Communist Party**

It is the same in South East Asia, where US imperialism, together with the Maoist leaders of China, are trying to destroy the people's republic of Kampuchea under the guise of attacking the fraternal unity of the Soviet Union and Vietnam, which is made to appear as a threat to other countries in the region. The attempts to erect barriers and antagonisms between the states of Indochina and the rest of Southeast Asia, including the Philippines, will inevitably fail, and the people of Southeast Asia in the future will strengthen their friendly ties with the Soviet Union.

**Narciso Iza CONDE,  
General Secretary,  
Dominican Communist Party**

This congress is held at a time when the new US Administration is making every effort to launch an imperialist counter-offensive and a crusade against the forces of democracy, national liberation, socialism and peace.

This is evidenced, among other things, by the closer partnership of the US with the Peking leadership for struggle against the USSR, Cuba, Vietnam, most of the socialist countries and anti-imperialist revolutionary forces of the planet.



**Ezekias PAPAIOANNOU,  
General Secretary,  
Progressive Working People's  
Party of Cyprus**

We realize that imperialism, in its struggle against the USSR and all peoples coming out against imperialism and fascism, for independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, democracy, peace and socialism, has found a new fanatical partner, the Chinese leadership, who take a hostile attitude to the USSR and all progressive mankind.



**Kattorge Pablis SILVA,  
General Secretary of  
the Central Committee,  
Communist Party of Sri Lanka**

We value highly the firm and principled position your party and government have taken in the face of the current attempts of US imperialism, in alliance with the Peking hegemonists and other reactionary forces, to scuttle detente, step up the arms race, and heighten international tensions.

...As a party working in one of the littoral states of the Indian Ocean, we are especially concerned at the attempts of the US imperialism and its NATO allies aided and abetted by the Peking rulers to expand their bases, build up their armed forces and step up military preparations in this region.



Peter SYMON,  
General Secretary,  
Socialist Party of Australia

We believe it is necessary in our country to build a wall of opinion and action against war preparations, and those who have turned Australia into a major imperialist war base and are strengthening ties with the ag-

gressive circles in the US, Japan and China.



Athos FAVA,  
General Secretary,  
Communist Party of Argentina

Marxism-Leninism is a science of society and revolution, a science of socialism and communism; it illumines our way and fortifies our common internationalist positions. We hold ourselves to be a part of the powerful

world communist movement and we state again that we shall not spare the efforts to consolidate it and accomplish the common tasks of the struggle for peace, solidarity and the consistent defence of socialism. That is why we combat right-wing deviation and warn against its danger, and expose Maoist provocateurs and their supporters.



I. BILEN,  
General Secretary of  
the Central Committee,  
Communist Party of Turkey

The 26th CPSU Congress is taking place at a critical juncture in international development. Will detente gain momentum or will the world return to the cold war? This is a very urgent question.

The most aggressive imperialist circles, notably the USA, are promoting the policy of confrontation and are striving to obtain military superiority over the socialist countries. Other factors endangering peace are the Peking leaders' anti-Soviet policy, so harmful to socialism, and the expanding military cooperation between the Chinese hegemonists and imperialists. The latter blacken the Soviet Union's internationalist assistance given at the request of the Afghan government to the people of that country. Along with their reactionary allies, the Chinese hegemonists, they are interfering in Afghanistan's internal affairs, using armed force.

**Representative of the Communist  
Party of Indonesia**

The Southeast Asian countries are withstanding the perfidious activity of imperialism and its accomplice—China's hegemonic leadership which unleashed aggression against socialist Vietnam, are trying to divide the peoples of Southeast Asia and are threatening the Kampuchean people that toppled the blood-stained re-

gime of the Peking puppets. The purpose of Washington, Tokyo and Peking is to provoke mutual distrust among the states of Indochina and members of the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) in order to intensify the latter's military, political and economic dependence on the imperialists and hegemonists.



**Romesh CHANDRA,**  
**President**  
**of the World Peace Council**

The military-industrial complex of the United States seeks to push back the clock of history, reverse the process of detente and bring back the cold war by spreading lies about the so-called "Soviet threat". The military

collaboration between Washington and Peking has become a major factor in increasing war danger.

**Ananias MAIDANA,**  
**Member of the Central Committee**  
**Political Commission, Communist**  
**Party of Paraguay**

Adhering to adventurous and expansionist positions China's leaders have betrayed the principles of proletarian internationalism, the cause of revolution and the peoples' liberation movement. Their actions add grist to the mill of American imperialism and world reaction.

**Dapo FATOGUN,**  
**General Secretary,**  
**Socialist Working People's Party**  
**of Nigeria**

We witness great historic achievements and revolutionary changes in Africa—the victory of MPLA in Angola, FRELIMO in Mozambique, PAIGC in Guinea Bissau, emergence of Socialist Ethiopia, the victory of the Patriotic Front in Zimbabwe. These are the great revolutionary achievements in Africa. In Asia we are happy to mention the victory of the popular forces over the stooges of Peking hegemonism in Kampuchea. We salute the patriots of Afghanistan in their resolute struggle against American imperialism, Chinese intrigues and Pakistani reaction.

**Abdallah ALL,**  
**Member of the Leadership,**  
**People's Front of Bahrain**

The victorious revolutions in Ethiopia, Democratic Yemen, Afghanistan and Iran and the upsurge of the national liberation movement in the region of the Persian Gulf and the Arabian Peninsula have frightened American imperialists. They are attempting to check and stifle the development of the revolutionary process in this area in order to be able to continue plundering its natural riches. With this end in view they are building up their military presence, amassing their war ships in the region, creating military bases in Oman, Bahrain, Egypt, Somalia and Kenya, using the Saudi Arabia air basin for their flying radar aircraft (AWACS) and are conducting military exercises in Egypt and Oman. The Peking leadership approves and, moreover, supports the US policy in this region.

O. BORISOV

## 26th CPSU CONGRESS: CORRECT COURSE, VALID APPRAISALS

The Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 26th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has clearly shown that in the sphere of international relations Soviet Communists are pursuing a principled policy based on fundamental theoretical propositions and conclusions. The Party does not revise its fundamental propositions every time history makes a zigzag, it does not forego its principles for the sake of tactical expediencies; nor is it guided by random events and changes in the political situation. Taking into account the concrete situation, it persistently conducts its theoretically substantiated and practically tested general line.

Proceeding from this the forum of Soviet Communists confirmed the CPSU's consistent, continuous course with respect to China, a course determined at the 24th and 25th congresses. It implies administering of a rebuff to Peking's warmongering policy, defence of the interests of the Soviet state, the socialist community and world communist movement, a struggle against Maoist ideology which is hostile to Marxism-Leninism, and readiness to normalize relations with China on the peaceful coexistence principles.

The Congress pointed out that distortion of Leninist principles in China's socio-economic development in the recent period had led to grave consequences for the country. Even the Peking leaders are compelled to admit this in one form or another. It is worth noting that they are now actually repeating the appraisals the CPSU and other fraternal parties made in connection with the events and processes which occurred in China in the last twenty years or so.

This, among other things, is true of the appraisal of the "cultural revolution". In September 1967 Leonid Brezhnev said: "What Mao Zedong's group styles the 'cultural revolution' should rather be called counter-revolution."

At the time the CPSU consistently exposed from principled positions the arbitrary acts and inhuman repressions that terrorized China. Today Peking characterizes the "cultural revolution" as a "period of ruthless feudal-fascist dictatorship". It has admitted the "errors" of Mao Zedong, although it is trying to ascribe all of his crimes to the "counter-revolutionary grouping of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing". The report on the 30th anniversary of the PRC, which was approved by a plenary meeting of the CPC Central Committee, referred to the "cultural revolution" as "a really staggering monstrous calamity", "bloody terrorism", and an event that had plunged the people into the "abyss of suffering". Deng Xiaoping, Deputy Chairman of the CPC Central Committee, admitted in January 1980 that "during the period of the cultural revolution the whole country was in a state of white terror and unprecedented chaos". Hu Yaobang, the present General Secretary of the CPC Central Committee, characterized the "cultural revolution" as a "tremendous counter-revolutionary devastation".

Other phenomena in the PRC's life were similarly appraised. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union and other Marxist-Leninist parties criticized Mao Zedong's voluntarism, his "three red banners policy" (the people's communes, "big leap" and "general line"), the "politics is a command force" slogan, and warned the CPC about the pernicious consequences that these guidelines might have for the building of socialism. Today China regards the year 1958, when the "big leap" and "people's communes" were introduced, as a "year of serious decline".

Soviet Communists condemned "barracks communism" which Mao Zedong had tried to force onto the PRC, they denounced his effort to "level out" all social life, exposing the Peking leaders' lies about the Chinese people achieving "great revolutionary cohesion" as a result of the "cultural revolution." Today Peking says that in those days "the people split into two factions which slaughtered one another", that "this civil war caused the death of vast numbers of people", that "party organizations suffered grave damage and the popular masses were ruthlessly suppressed".

Thus, life has demonstrated that the CPSU has been pursuing a sound course in relation to China, that the appraisals of Maoist policy and ideology Soviet Communists made were absolutely correct.

The CPSU's conclusion about Peking's course in the last two decades having gravely distorted the principles and essence of socialism in China's home and foreign policy can hardly give rise to objections. The reckless experiments of the Chinese leaders in the socio-economic sphere dealt a shattering blow at the socialist achievements of the Chinese people. At the moment Peking has been forced to abandon a number of precepts, above all those of the "cultural revolution"

period, and is revising some of the earlier political guidelines. However, as the 26th CPSU Congress pointed out, Peking has not discarded the Maoist heritage and its influence persists.

An objective analysis of processes unfolding in the PRC shows that the Peking leaders have been doing all they can to preserve the basic principles of Maoism intact, such as hegemonism, anti-Sovietism, Great-Han chauvinism and militarism. As in the past, "Mao Zedong's ideas" are being palmed off for "Sinicized Marxism".

Nor have there been any changes for the better in China's foreign policy. As in the past, Peking propaganda is maliciously attacking the CPSU, the USSR's policy, its friends and allies. China's activities in the sphere of foreign policy are still intended to worsen the international situation and are merging with the policy of imperialism which hopes to take advantage of Peking's anti-Sovietism in pursuance of its own class interests. The Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 26th Congress points out:

"The simple reason behind the readiness of the United States, Japan, and a number of NATO countries to expand their military and political ties with China is to use its hostility to the Soviet Union and the socialist community in their own, imperialist interests."

As for the Chinese leaders, they are colluding with the imperialists in an attempt to secure their great-power chauvinistic aims. This is evidenced, for instance, by their intrigues against China's neighbours, their hegemonic policy towards the socialist states in Indochina and the criminal aggression against the Socialist Republic of Vietnam in 1979.

Mentioning some of the recent changes in the PRC, the forum of Soviet Communists rightly stated that their actual purpose is not yet clear. The main thing here is the extent to which the present Chinese leaders will manage to overcome the Maoist legacy. At the same time the 26th CPSU Congress pointed out that Peking's alignment with imperialism would not bring China back to the healthy road of development. Addressing the Congress Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, said in this connection: "Imperialists will never be friends of socialism."

At the same time the 26th CPSU Congress stated again that the Soviet Union was prepared to build its relations with China on principles of good-neighbourliness. If Soviet-Chinese relations are still frozen, the reason for this has nothing to do with the stand taken by the Soviet side. The Soviet Union has never sought, nor does it seek, any confrontation with the PRC. It was further stated at the Congress that the USSR's constructive proposals for normalizing relations with China remain valid just as the Soviet people's feelings of friendship and respect for the Chinese people.

The conclusions and appraisals of the 26th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union concerning the Soviet state's home and foreign policy are of intransigent historic importance. They have again shown that, as in the past, there is still the urgent need to strengthen peace and the security of peoples, to continue the efforts to foil the plans of the imperialists and their Peking accomplices for inhibiting the process of detente and forcing the world into the abyss of war. They have also shown that Peking's current policy, the preservation of Maoism and its adaptation to the new conditions constitute a threat to the social-

ist achievements of Chinese working people. As to Peking's policy in the international arena, we have every ground to say that it is a threat to world peace. This conditions the need, as in the past, to expose the true purpose of the latter-day modifications of Maoism which is in the vice of a profound crisis, to lay bare the alliance of Chinese hegemonism with imperialism, the Peking leaders' course for aggravating the international situation, their hostile sallies in relation to the Soviet Union, the socialist community, and the international communist and national liberation movements.

APN

R. ASLANOV  
B. BOLOTIN

### CRUSADE AGAINST THE COMMUNIST PARTIES OF SOUTHEAST ASIA

The present-day policy of the Chinese leadership is an uncanny and unnatural mixture of apostasy and betrayal of the revolutionary and Marxist-Leninist cause with revolutionary, Marxist phraseology—a development predicted by Lenin. “Opportunism,” he wrote, “can be expressed in terms of **any doctrine you like, including Marxism.**”<sup>1</sup> Explaining the nature of such phenomena, Lenin noted that “the theoretical victory of Marxism compelled its enemies to **disguise themselves as Marxists.**”<sup>2</sup>

Maoists, too, have always tried to disguise themselves as Marxists-Leninists. In the past, they made broad use of a revolutionary phrase-mongering in order to worm themselves into the communist movement, to head the world revolutionary process, and with the help of the revolutionary forces to ensure the domination of China over the world. Today, as in the past, Peking is leaning over backwards to embellish its unabashedly pro-imperialist foreign and domestic policy with pseudo-Marxist rhetoric.

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 18, p. 363.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 584.

Soon after the proclamation of the People's Republic of China, its leaders launched a methodical and persistent publicity campaign selling “Mao Zedong's ideas” which, they said, were the result of “merging the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete praxis of the Chinese revolution”. Already at the time, the objective was to falsify history in order to build the image of Mao Zedong as one of the fathers of revolutionary theory, and then to foist “Mao Zedong's ideas” on the liberation movements in Asia and the world over. The official Chinese propaganda machine began to falsify the history of the Chinese revolution, portraying Mao Zedong as a politician who had succeeded in applying the revolutionary theory to a semi-feudal, semi-colonial country, the theory developed by the classics of Marxism on the basis of the experience and conditions in the developed capitalist countries.

According to the Maoists, the revolutionary experience of China appeared as an uninterrupted chain of victories, won exclusively due to the theoretical generalizations and political leadership of Mao Zedong. This falsified version of the Chinese revolution completely ignored the objective conditions in the world and the subjective factors which had directly and decisively contributed to the victory of the Chinese people.

But the truth is that in the broadest possible sense, the 1949 victory of the people of China was a great victory for Marxism-Leninism, which had struck a correct balance between the general and the specific in the development of revolutionary process in semi-feudal and semi-colonial China. Ignoring major contributing factors to the victory of the Chinese revolution such as the changes in the world balance of class forces under



the influence of real socialism's victories, the overall progress in the world revolutionary process, and the internationalist assistance of the world socialist community, the working class and communist movements along with all the progressive forces in the world, the Maoists are not simply trying to aggrandize China, the Chinese revolution and "Mao Zedong's ideas". The negation of the importance of cardinal changes in the world situation and the outstanding role of the internationalist support for the Chinese revolution concealed Peking's early aspiration to promote Maoism as a special and separate revolutionary theory for Asia's developing countries, and to establish China's ideological supremacy there.

The Chinese press shamelessly began to sell the idea of the exceptional and superior nature of everything Chinese, particularly the Chinese revolution which had reputedly won "relying on its own force" thanks to the revolutionary potential inherent in peasantry and special methods of warfare. Having inherited the reactionary idea of China's hegemony over the world, Peking laid claim to a leading role in the socialist community, the world revolutionary-liberation, and communist movements.

China's Maoist leadership was particularly intent on imposing a falsified record of the Chinese revolution on other communist parties, which they presented in the form of "Mao Zedong's ideas" which consisted of the three principal components: (1) armed struggle as the main form of revolutionary struggle, regardless of the objective and subjective conditions in the country; (2) the creation of "revolutionary bases" in inaccessible rural areas; and (3) the encirclement of the towns by the village.

## Treachery

It was this tactical scheme for a revolution which the Maoists thrust on the communist parties of Southeast Asia after the end of the Second World War. Viewing Southeast Asia as its "natural" sphere of interest, in the 1940s China's leaders tried to establish control of the communist parties in the region and to make them toe the Chinese line. Intentionally ignoring the concrete historical situation and the new balance of class and political forces after the war, and regardless of the absence of objective necessity, the Maoists pushed the communist parties in the area towards a "people's war" Chinese style, forcing them to oppose the local national bourgeoisie and revolutionary democrats enjoying the support of a large part of the population.

### **In Indonesia**

Chinese interference had very grave consequences for **the Communist Party of Indonesia**. Inciting it to rash and reckless actions, Peking provoked a crushing blow by the reaction exactly at the moment when the latter had rallied its forces for seizing control of the country. The events of September 30, 1965 in Indonesia were tragic indeed. Hundreds of thousands of communist party members were persecuted, thrown in prison, or executed. In those days of trial for the Communist Party of Indonesia, Peking did nothing in defence of Indonesia's Communists; it did not raise its voice in protest against the mass persecutions. More than that, Peking refused to draw a lesson from the failure of its erroneous policy and continued to impose it on the Indonesian communist movement even after the events of 1965. Unthinkingly copying the policy of

the Communist Party of China dating back to the 1930s and following Mao Zedong's advice about setting up "revolutionary bases", the pro-Maoist elements of the Communist Party of Indonesia created something like "a liberated area" in the vicinity of Blitar in Eastern Java in 1967. The Chinese propaganda machine, which trumpeted the world over about "the sea of people's war in Eastern Java", repeatedly disclosed the locations of guerilla units, and "Renmin ribao" even carried a map with a detailed description of the guerillas' positions. One cannot help wondering whether this publication was specially designed to coincide with the Indonesian Army's operation against the guerillas which began in July 1968. The guerilla forces were routed soon after. Peking's treachery was one of the main causes of this defeat.

The Maoists' adventurist policies provided Indonesia's reactionary military with a pretext for discrediting the country's Communist Party in the eyes of the Indonesian people and for launching a new wave of repressions against Communists. In this situation, the only correct conclusion to be drawn was that there was a need immediately to restore the Communist Party of Indonesia.

In spite of the hardships which befell Indonesia's Communists, the Communist Party of Indonesia has been restored, along with its central leadership. The leaders of the Party have gone on record that the CPI is once again being guided by Marxist-Leninist teaching in all its endeavours.

### In the Philippines

The use of Peking's blueprints has also seriously weakened the **Philippine Communist Party**. Armed

struggle without a revolutionary situation and the isolation of the Party from the main forces of the world communist movement have had dire consequences for it. In the late 1960s, the leadership of the Communist Party of China tried to make the Philippine Communist Party unconditionally espouse "Mao Zedong's thought". Failing in this, it began inciting the Party's pro-Maoist elements to seize control of the Party. When this failed as well, Peking authorized and financed the creation of the so-called "PCP of Mao Zedong's ideas" by dissidents expelled from the PCP for factional activities.

The Philippine Maoists, who chose a machine-gun, a hammer and a sickle as their emblem, steered a course towards a protracted "people's war" which, in effect, amounted to terrorism and individual acts of violence.

According to press reports, on the eve of Chinese Foreign Minister Huang Hua's arrival in the Philippines in March 1980, members of the pro-Peking extremist group and Moro separatists organized several acts of terrorism in which more than 150 were killed or wounded. It has long been known that Maoist gunmen in the Philippines are backed not only by Peking but also by the CIA.

The Philippine Communists are waging an uncompromising struggle against Maoism, which has not found any significant support among the masses. Aware of the dangers of the separatism and sectarianism preached by Peking and conscious of the need to rally around the world's revolutionary and progressive forces, they reject Maoist sermonizing and are looking for their own methods of struggle.

## In Burma

Peking's interference in the affairs of the **Communist Party of Burma** also had negative consequences. Far from all of the Party's leadership approved of the "people's war" tactics imposed upon it by China's leaders. This tactics was all the more unjustified and out of place because it was used against the Revolutionary Council which, when it came into power in 1962, embarked on a programme of progressive social and economic transformations in the country.

In the mid-1960s, a group of the veteran party members demanded that the leftist anti-national line, thrust on the Party from without, be abandoned. The party veterans were supported by a number of local party organizations. A split in the Party was in the offing, but failed to materialize, because in 1967 and 1968 the Party's pro-Peking leadership physically eliminated many prominent party officials who favoured a patriotic and internationalist policy. The "cadre purge" carried out along Chinese lines in the Communist Party of Burma brought such losses as were unheard-of even in times of colonial domination and foreign occupation of the country.

After doing away with its enemies, in the first half of 1968, the Maoist leadership of the CPB ordered the beginning of active operations against the government troops. This was done in spite of the absence of support from the people. This adventurism of Mao's disciples in Burma cost the Party a number of serious defeats.

Peking-inspired armed struggle in Burma is going on to this day, although its unpopularity with the working people has now become particularly evident. Its new features include the Maoist insurgents' alliance

with the right-wing separatists and the coordination of support for both "left" and right anti-government forces between China's authorities and the US secret services.

...The zigzags of China's foreign policy baffle those who have been taken in by Maoist slogans. The communist parties of Southeast Asia which jumped on Peking's bandwagon are now in the grip of disillusionment and disarray. The Communist Party of Malaya has split into three: in addition to the Communist Party of Malaya proper, there are now the CPM (Marxist-Leninist) and the CPM (Revolutionary), with their different interpretations of "Mao's ideas", which are at sword point with one another. There is no unity in the communist party of Thailand.

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The communist parties of Southeast Asia, including those which were under Peking's influence at one time are becoming increasingly aware of the dire consequences of the Maoist policy. They are resolutely rebuffing Maoist rulers' schemes, designed to split and undermine the world revolutionary movement and to jeopardize world peace.

The last few years have shown convincingly that not only has Maoism failed to take root anywhere outside China, but that it is increasingly losing its illusory attractiveness. This bankrupt theory has been shown to be totally unacceptable for the peoples of Asia and other continents.

Crusading against world socialism and the communist movement from ultra-leftist positions, allegedly to defend "veritable Marxism-Leninism", the Maoists have degenerated into vociferous advocates of anti-communism and direct helpers of imperialism and reaction.

*Problemy Dalnego Vostoka, No. 4, 1980 \**

## WASHINGTON PATRONS OF PEKING TERRORISTS

The US press reports that the Soviet Union is behind "international terrorism" are not fortuitous. Their purpose is, first, to divert the fire from Washington, the main centre organizing terrorism against the national liberation movements and, second, to support Washington's fellow-travellers and partners in other countries, including Peking leaders.

It is a fact that Peking is trying to use terrorism, extremism and "leftist" adventurism of various trends to achieve its own aims. This is evident from the practices of the last two decades. Maoist ideology and methodology of the "cultural revolution" were the motive force behind the "new left" movement in the West European countries. Today they are manifest in the gangster raids of the "red brigades" in Italy and the "militants" in Japan. Just like in the 1960s and 1970s, Peking is guided by the concept that China must "look belligerently at the world".

International terrorist acts organized and supported by the Chinese leaders are indeed of a global character.

On the Asian continent—in Burma, Thailand, Indonesia, the Philippines and Malaysia—anti-government groupings have Peking's active support. Very often these groupings equipped with Chinese weapons conduct their operations from Chinese territory. Having committed acts of sabotage and assassinations, they withdraw to the PRC. Even today murderers from the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique who committed genocide against their own people are among the main recipients of Chinese aid. Among Peking's clients are separatist and terroristic mo-

### In a Satirical Vein

*Peking carries on intense subversive activities against independent states. Its aim is to destabilize the situation in Asia and other regions of the world and overthrow lawful governments. Puppets nurtured in China have a role to play in Peking's schemes.*

**Peking's puppets ready for export.**  
*Drawing by Boris Yefimov, "Ogonyok"*



vements in India, in particular members of the Mizo and Naga tribes. Peking issues weapons and instructions to subversive groups in Laos (the Meo tribe) and Vietnam. Peking is one of the chief organizers of gangsterism and terrorism against the people of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

Subversive terroristic groups working for the CIA in Africa have invariably found patrons in Peking. Some cases in point are its support to splitter groups in Namibia, the gangs of Holden Roberto and Jonas Savimbi in Angola. The leaders of the People's Republic of Angola have given the following appraisal of Peking's role in one of their statements: "China's sinister foreign policy is seen in its all-out support of imperia-

list forces, and also in its deliveries of arms to Zaire and Angolan splitters who fight against the people's revolutionary achievements."

Peking's close alliance with Pinochet's terroristic fascist regime has evoked wrathful indignation in Latin America.

Defying its economic difficulties China is stepping up the drive for militarization, spending tremendous sums on the organization and support of terroristic activities and sabotage in other countries. It opens special centres and schools to train mercenaries in terrorist methods for action in countries against which Peking has unleashed undeclared war. What is striking is the identity of concepts and methods used by Washington and Peking, which have launched terror against peoples that have won freedom, be it Afghanistan or Kampuchea, Angola or Ethiopia.

*Prawda*, February 21, 1981 \*

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● DIALOGUE WITH THE READER ●

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## SOVIET-CHINESE CONFLICT: WHO IS TO BLAME?

*In his letter to the STP Editors Abu Dazumih Ebibi (Nigeria) asks about the true reasons behind the deterioration of Soviet-Chinese relations and about chances for their improvement.*

*Georgy SHAKHNAZAROV, D. Sc. (Law), President of the Soviet Association of Political Science, answers the question.*

The complications in Soviet-Chinese relations have come under close examination in numerous studies. Many have to admit that there are no objective grounds for making the enmity between the two nations an inevitable reality. It is not only that the Chinese leaders' claims to a part of Soviet territory are absolutely groundless. China has a vast territory of its own, with sufficient natural resources to provide for the welfare of its huge population.

If there are no reasons for enmity between two states because of territorial claims, then the cause for such enmity might be oppression of one state by the other. Bourgeois political scientists would be willing to use this version if they had any arguments to support it. Alas, they have no such arguments. No one can say that the Soviet Union has ever exploited China. On the contrary, the USSR broke all one-sided, fetter-

ing Russian-Chinese agreements signed by tsarist Russia. It actively supported the struggle of the Chinese people led by the Communist Party against Japanese imperialism, and later helped them stave off the threat of US aggression. The Soviet Union helped China lay down the foundation for the national industry and equip its armed forces; it generously shared its advanced technology, the achievements of science and culture with the people of China that had embarked on the revolutionary transformation of society.

So, since the talk of economic enslavement or oppression is obviously groundless, another motive is readily found: the Soviet Union, it is claimed, is trying to rob China of the right to participate in world politics. To be sure, Professor Odja of Boston University, who ventured this statement, could not produce a single fact to prove it. No wonder! Trying to deprive a country of its independence by strengthening its economic and military capability, which was the case at that time, would indeed be a most absurd thing to do. One should act the other way round in this case, the way colonialist powers used to do for centuries—deliberately holding back the industrial and cultural development of their dependencies so as to deny them a vote in world affairs, let alone the right to be the masters at their own home.

If the true cause of hostility is neither territorial claims nor threats to independence, then the only remaining possibility is ideological and political struggle. And this is what is actually happening. The nationalistic ideology of Maoism has come in glaring conflict with the internationalist ideology of Leninism. Similar to the United States that viewed the USSR as the main obstacle to its control of the world, Mao and his henchmen viewed the Soviet Union, the CPSU, as the main

obstacle to Chinese dominance first in the communist, revolutionary and liberation movements, and later in the world.

Of course, the hostility of the Maoists is not addressed to the USSR alone. It is a well-known fact that for many years China has been just as hostile to India, which it considered to be its major rival both in the national liberation movement and in Asia as a whole. Quite recently, Peking's rage has been turned against Vietnam which, following the victory over imperialist aggressors and national reunification, has become influential in the life of Southeast Asia, and, consequently, a serious obstacle hampering Chinese expansionism in the region.

Evidently, it is Maoist policy and ideology that generate tensions in relations between China and the Soviet Union, and make Peking take a hostile stand with respect to the USSR and other neighbours of China.

At present, the Soviet Union is the principal target of the Chinese leaders' hostility. Nevertheless, many students of Soviet-Chinese relations believe this situation cannot last forever. American sociologist Pollack, for example, shares this opinion, with one reservation, though: any basic changes in Sino-Soviet relations can only become a reality in the future.

One thing is clear: any changes for the better in the Sino-Soviet relations can only be expected if the Chinese leaders dismiss their blind anti-Sovietism underlying all China's current foreign policy. The Soviet Union has always been perfectly willing to normalize relations with China. Even the most outspoken anti-Sovietees never seem to question the sincere quality of this willingness, although, giving way to resentment, they tend to throw the blame for the Soviet-Chinese

split on the Soviet Union. They manufacture and spread lies concerning some imaginary "Soviet threats" to China. In fact, the only "Soviet threats" to China are those invented by Maoists and those anti-Soviet campaigners in the West who sympathize with them.

In his report to the 26th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, said:

"If Soviet-Chinese relations are still frozen, the reason for this has nothing to do with our position. The Soviet Union has never sought, nor does it now seek any confrontation with the People's Republic of China. We follow the course set by the 24th and 25th Congresses of the CPSU, and would like to build our ties with that country on a good-neighbour basis. Our proposals for normalizing relations with China remain open, and our feelings of friendship and respect for the Chinese people have not changed."

This is how, Mr. Abu Dazumih Ebibi, one can briefly answer your question.

Georgy SHAKHNAZAROV

B. GORBACHYOV

## PEKING'S NUCLEAR AMBITIONS

*In the recent period the PRC conducted a series of nuclear and missile tests. Facing a growing threat from China and Peking's warlike course, other countries, the Asian and Pacific states particularly, are troubled by reports about the activization of China's nuclear strategy.*

### Three Stages

In order to achieve their hegemonic aims the Chinese leaders have altered their attitude towards nuclear missiles from complete disregard to concepts conditioning the need for their accelerated development.

The first stage (1945-1953) was characterized by an underestimation of the importance of nuclear weapons. Thus, in an interview Mao Zedong granted to Anna Louise Strong, US journalist, he said: "The atomic bomb is a paper tiger which American reactionaries are using to frighten the people. It looks horrible, but in reality it is not at all like that."

The second stage (which lasted till the early 1960s) was characterized by a change in the Chinese leaders' attitude towards nuclear weapons. Military theorists began to admit that "with the advent of atomic weapons and missiles military science has made another step in its development." The Chinese leaders proceeded with the development of their own nuclear force. In 1953 an Atomic Energy Committee was set up. Two

years later China already had 36 nuclear research laboratories and in 1958 it put a big atomic reactor into operation. China embarked on the road of developing and deploying its own nuclear weapons.

In the early 1960s the third stage of Peking's nuclear strategy began to take shape. Though the economic base was backward and though production was disorganized as a result of the "big leap" policy, the Chinese leaders embarked on the accelerated expansion of their own nuclear missile potential. In 1960 China launched its first missile. Since spring 1962 it started to produce uranium-235 at Lanzhou. Over a thousand Chinese specialists trained in other countries and about 5,000 scientists and engineers of Chinese origin from Western countries were employed in the development of the nuclear weapon.

In 1964 China produced its first atomic explosion. Western researchers say that initially the policy of nuclear armament was meant to serve not so much the military as political purposes of the Peking leaders. These were: enhancement of China's international prestige, realization of their great power ambitions and ability to resort to nuclear blackmail. It should also be mentioned that from the outset the Chinese leaders drew up plans for the practical employment of nuclear weapons against their enemies.

At present China has the facilities for creating a nuclear missile force. The country is rich in atomic raw materials. According to information from the US Mining Bureau uranium ore is being mined in practically every big economic region in China. The total reserve of uranium ore in 40 odd fields exceeds 300 million tons. In addition, there are sizable reserves of lithium which is used for the manufacture of hydrogen weapons.

Foreign press reports reveal that China has 12 atomic reactors, 14 accelerators and 10 or more uranium ore concentration plants and plants for processing atomic raw materials. The atomic industries are capable of producing approximately 70 nuclear warheads a year. **Air Force Magazine** of the USA says that the stockpile of nuclear weapons—both atomic and hydrogen—is rapidly growing. Foreign specialists believe that at present China has over 700 nuclear warheads ranging from 20 kilotons to 4 megatons, including 150 tactical units.

Nuclear weapon tests are being conducted on a proving ground near Lake Loubior in the south-eastern part of Xinjiang. Since October 1964 China has made 25 nuclear weapon tests. Defying world public protests Peking has been performing nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere. As a result of a nuclear explosion in October 1980 a huge radioactive cloud was formed. Air currents picked it up and carried it in the direction of Japan, across the Pacific Ocean, over the western states of the USA contaminating the atmosphere with radioactive fallout on its journey.

### Equipping the Army

The Chinese leaders are paying serious attention to the development of means of delivery of nuclear weapons. According to foreign press reports tactical nuclear bombs can be dropped from fighter bombers or employed as nuclear ground mines. Efforts are being made to develop artillery systems which can fire nuclear shells. To attack remote targets the Chinese air force has bombers with a radius of action of 3,700 kilometres. However, the main means for the delivery



of nuclear warheads are missiles. The Chinese missile programme includes development and manufacture of intercontinental ballistic missiles, intermediate-, medium- and close-range ballistic missiles.

**Times of India** wrote that China has produced and deployed several hundred missiles with an effective range of 700 miles able to carry nuclear or conventional warheads. Recent reports point out that these are gradually being replaced by more advanced models with a range of 1,500-1,700 miles.

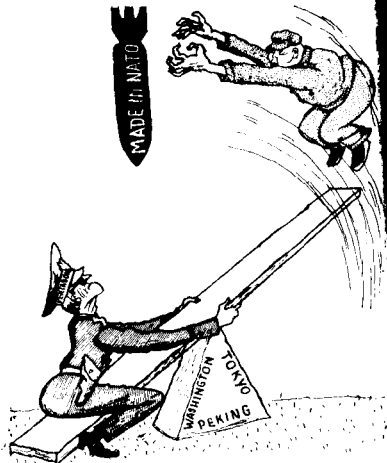
The nuclear force has actually grown into a separate fighting service. It is outfitted with a whole range of weapons, including tactical, operational-tactical and strategic missiles.

#### IN A SATIRICAL VEIN

*The sponsors of the Washington-Peking-Tokyo military triangle intend to deliver NATO weapons to China in order to make her the major striking force aimed at the Soviet Union in the Far East.*

**A dangerous trick.**

*Drawing by Kukryniksy, "Krokodil"*



In its plans China pays serious attention to the development of atom-powered missile carrying submarines.

The space programme is also geared to war preparations. All the artificial earth satellites launched are for promoting the development of strategic missiles. They are being orbited for other military purposes too, including strategic reconnaissance and intelligence.

It should be mentioned that in recent years, foreign experts say, China has ceased to step up its missile programmes that are capable of producing quick, though limited results. It is now engaged in work on programmes that will enable it considerably to build up the strategic potential of its armed forces in the 1980s.

#### With the Support of the Imperialists

Although the expansion of their nuclear missile potential is important to the Chinese leaders' global ambitions, it constitutes only a component of the overall hegemonic policy intended to ensure military support for the aims they are pursuing in the field of foreign relations.

The ever closer alignment with the imperialists on an anti-socialist platform has given Peking access to increasing military aid, including aid in the development of nuclear missiles. Thus, the USA and China are exchanging delegations of aerospace industrial experts on a long-term basis. Practical agreements have been reached on the sale to China of US aerospace equipment and technologies. In October 1980 Xinhua Agency reported that a nuclear energy group had completed its work. The group arrived at the conclusion that China had the equipment necessary for the construc-

tion of nuclear power stations. It is worth noting that a few months before the nuclear research group of the PRC State Committee for Science and Technology completed its work the British press reported on Britain's readiness to assist China in the drafting and realization of its nuclear programme, including the construction of an atomic electric power station. **Sunday Express** wrote that the station could produce the materials needed to manufacture atomic weapons. This would be of great help to China in building up its nuclear stockpiles.

With the obvious connivance and instigation of the imperialists the Chinese leaders have exhibited a mounting desire to employ military force to achieve their great power hegemonic goals. The spending dictated by nuclear ambitions is a heavy burden on the shoulders of the Chinese working people.

*Krasnaya zvezda*, January 25, 1981 \*

## PEKING AND SEOUL NON-PUBLICIZED CONTACTS

"The Wall Street Journal" (Asian edition) of Hong Kong wrote that South Korea is continuing to develop trade cooperation with Peking. Estimates show that in the past year alone the turnover between the two countries reached 300 million dollars. It is worth noting that in the past the transactions were chiefly executed through middlemen in Hong Kong or Singapore. Now the matter has been put on an official footing. The paper writes that Chinese coal, used for payment of imports from South Korea, is delivered to Seoul directly from Chinese ports in ships flying the PRC flag.

The paper's revelation is not a chance one as Peking has been conducting a double-faced, hypocritical policy in relation to the Korean question for a long time.

In covering the visit of Han Nianlung, deputy foreign minister of the PRC, only one year ago the Japanese press pointed out that Peking maintained an "exceptionally cautious position" on the Korean question, and in particular with respect to contacts with Seoul. It would be more exact to say—"a wait and see" position. Already then the South Korean authorities made no secret of their desire to establish trade and even diplomatic relations with China.

It is true that the two countries have not yet officially recognized one another. For all that, Peking's sympathy for Seoul is an obvious fact. Having betrayed the interests of the Korean people the Chinese authorities have actually met with approval the desire of the new US Administration to increase its military presence in the south of the Korean peninsula. Commenting on the visit of the South Korean dictator, Chon Du Hwan, to the USA early in February 1981, the PRC mass media gave a detailed account of the principal clauses laid down in the communique which was signed after the talks. At

the same time the PRC press and radio kept very silent about the response of the world progressive public to the visit, and about the reaction of the Korean people themselves.

And although in words the Chinese leaders from time to time attack the "Seoul puppets" and their overseas patrons, Peking's double-dealing, hypocritical policy on the Korean issue speaks louder than words.

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● IN BRIEF

● IN BRIEF

● IN BRIEF

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## ILLICIT BUSINESS

Contrary to official denials, the volume of trade in gold and other commodities between the Republic of South Africa, on the one hand, and China and Hong Kong, on the other, has sharply increased in the last six months. It is believed that China is dependent on deliveries of South African chrome. According to official information, in eleven months of 1980 the Republic of South Africa delivered to China through Hong Kong 300,000 dollars' worth of chrome. However, it is believed that this figure reflects only a part of the overall deliveries.

Statistical data published in Hong Kong reveal that during the same period China sold to the Republic of South Africa through Hong Kong about 20 million dollars' worth of commodities. One of the reasons why the Chinese are so eager to have business with the RSA is that the latter often pays in gold. The Republic of South Africa imports from China oil, fabrics for army and police uniforms, handcuffs, locks for prison cells in exchange for gold, chrome, uranium, copper, tin, nickel and other strategic raw materials. "The Star" of South Africa writes that China is interested in preserving a stable pro-Western regime in the Republic of South Africa, because a black majority government would not meet China's long-term strategic interests.

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● OBSERVER'S VIEWPOINT ● OBSERVER'S VIEWPOINT ●

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V. KASSIS

## PEKING "CARTOGRAPHERS" AS THEY REALLY ARE

The residents of *Zhunganhai*, the seat of the Peking rulers, have been indulging for some time in a rather dangerous game of cartography. They have produced a wide range of versions of this destructive passion. World public opinion has been duly suspicious of the geographical "researches" of the Chinese leaders. The glossary of press terms even contains a suitable definition for this great-power mania, "cartographical aggression".

If we turn to history, we shall see that the rulers of old China looked down upon other peoples, regarding them as "barbarians". They disdained the independence of these peoples and called for the conquest of foreign lands. Only China, "the Middle State", was in a position to appraise the deeds and actions of other peoples. China alone could punish the unruly and bestow honours on the submissive. In all times the Chinese rulers surrounded themselves with faithful "scholars" who invented "Sinocentric doctrines" to glorify the emperors. Something like this is now taking place in Peking.

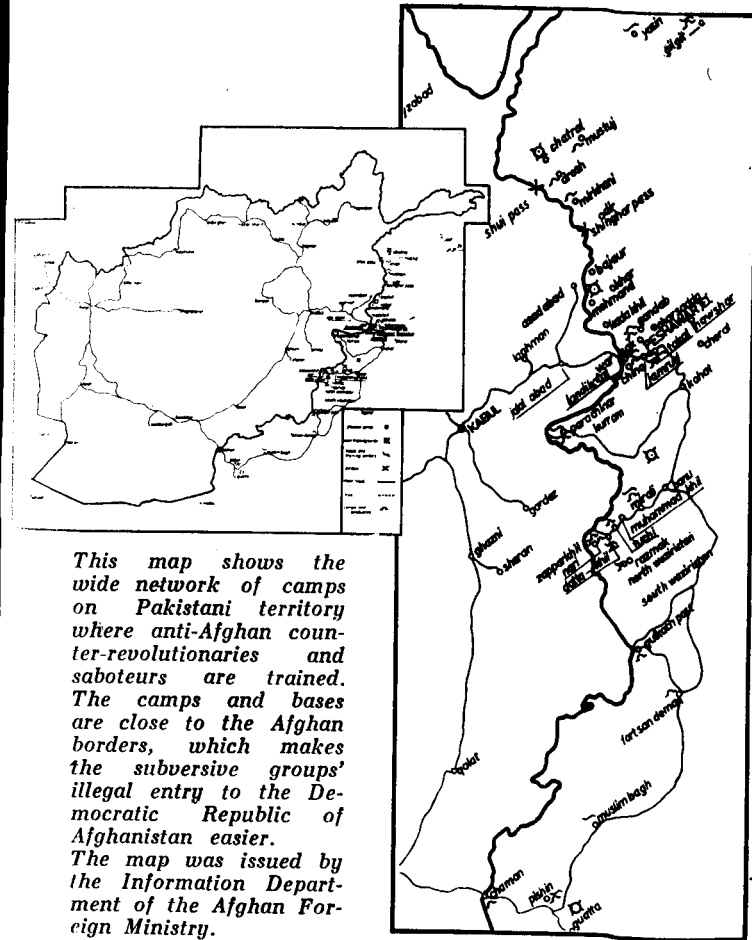
In recent years the Chinese leaders have made repeated territorial claims on the Soviet Union, have

threatened other countries with "sanctions" and, switching over from "cartographical aggression" to overt plunder, have forcefully annexed foreign territories. Suffice it to recall the occupation of the Indian territory of Aksaichin with an area of 36,000 square kilometres in 1962. And now the Chinese "cartographical aggressors" are taking part in the "undeclared war" against Afghanistan, being waged by international reaction led by the USA. They have made absurd assertions about "Afghan lands being China's lost territories."

Since the April Revolution in Afghanistan, Peking has adopted a position hostile to that country. Having entered into collusion with the internal and external enemies of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan (DRA), the Peking rulers have engaged in underhand deals designed to undermine the new system, to destabilize the situation in the country and to hammer together underground gangster-type formations.

A backward feudal Afghanistan was always suitable for Peking, because it could talk to its neighbour from the position of strength. The DRA is located south-west of China, i.e., in one of the main directions of Peking's expansion, which may give China direct access to the Indian Ocean. It is precisely in this region that China has staged armed provocations since the late 1950s. And now it is giving assistance to basmach gangs which are making outrageous sallies against the DRA.

The media report systematically about the defeats of bandit units which attack Afghanistan's eastern regions. The raid of Rahmankul, the imposter "khan of Kirghizes", a descendant of big feudal lords, ended in complete failure.



## WHO IS CLOSER?

As could be expected, after the April Revolution Rahmankul joined the camp of its enemies. This won him favours from Peking. The Zhungnanhai strategists realized that Rahmankul would help them to materialize their long-cherished dream of annexing the Minor Pamirs. This area was also listed as a "China's lost territory."

But the outrages perpetrated by a 500-strong basmach gang in the highlands of the Afghan Pamirs were soon cut short by army units of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. Far from winning over the herdsmen of the Minor Pamirs Rahmankul was forced to flee to Pakistan under cover of darkness.

China is hastening the organization of strategic bases for further provocations. Take, for instance, the construction of the Karakorum Highway which was completed in 1978. As soon as it was put into operation it functioned as a conveyor belt for the delivery of Chinese weapons to arm mercenary gangs.

A short while ago another strategic highway was built. It connects the town of Chinar with the Karakorum Highway. To quote the **National Herald** of India, China uses these highways to supply to Pakistan equipment for military projects being built there with Chinese aid, and weapons for anti-Afghan units.

That is how China and the USA together with its allies and the reactionary forces of several Muslim states are arrogantly interfering in the internal affairs of Afghanistan and are waging "undeclared war" against its people.

*Izvestia*, March 23, 1981 \*

They say that an old friend is better than two new ones. However, the US government is subjecting to doubt the validity of this popular wisdom. The fact is that Taiwan requested that the USA sell it the latest F-16 fighter planes. American commentators believe that Taiwan's request has posed before the Reagan Administration "the delicate problem of balancing between the old friend, Taiwan, and the new friend, China". The views on the expediency of the deal diverged. The Pentagon and a number of high-standing White House officials maintain that it is important for the USA "to maintain friendly relations with Taiwan", whereas the State Department has taken a more cautious stand.

What objections are brought forth under the circumstances? *The Washington Post* provides the answer to this question. Taking into account Peking's sensitive response to any contacts with Taipei, the State Department foresees a possible loss of certain US influence at the time, when Washington is seeking for any partners that would exert pressure on the Soviet Union. A frank statement indeed! This is a pointer to the tactical character of the rapprochement between the USA and China on the basis of anti-Sovietism.

## EACH "PARTNER" IS CHEATING

As developed recently, the secret section of Directive 59 issued by the ex-US President J. Carter which sets forth "a new nuclear strategy" envisages the infliction of nuclear strikes upon 100 targets in China. This is hard to visualize now, with the current "partnership" between Washington and Peking and their mutual high-sounding protestations of friendship. A while ago the Washington Administration agreed to sell Peking some modern electronic and other equipment for Chinese military installations. Well, today the deal has been made, and tomorrow perhaps, having pocketed the money, one partner will aim his nuclear-tipped missiles at the other.

The "leak" of information revealing the real content of Directive 59 which provides for the waging of a so-called limited nuclear war does not alter the idea about the true essence of US-Chinese relations. For it has always been clear that each "partner" is cheating and trying to outwit the other. New facts again confirming this testify that the "Chinese card" being played by Washington in its foreign policy gamble is a sham one, just as the US card in insidious designs of China which has already tested a missile capable of reaching the USA.

## THE FAILURE OF THE "CHINESE ROAD"

*Pursuing their own interests China's "new friends" in the United States are trying to "pretty up" Chinese reality, to present it favourably. More or less impartial observers, however, have to recognize that the real situation is different: the economy is in a sorry state, there is a struggle for power and a crisis of confidence in the country. We publish an extract from the article "China's Identity Crisis" by Melinda Liu and James Pringle published in the American magazine "Newsweek" January 19, 1981.*

*The subtitles are the editor's.*

### Airing Dirty Linen

The scenes alternated between drama and farce. There was the spectacle of Jiang Qing, Mao's widow, screaming defiantly to the crowded courtroom in Peking that she was "prepared to die". There was the somber dignity of her colleague, Zhang Chunqiao, displaying on nationwide television his silent disdain for the entire proceeding. And there was the tragic figure of Wang Hongwen, meekly implicating himself and other radicals in some 35,000 deaths. Chinese leader Deng

Xiaoping had staged the gaudy show trial of the 'Gang of Four' as part of a campaign to root out the last remnants of his Maoist rivals—and to put the blame for today's problems on yesterday's leaders. But as the judges considered their foreordained verdicts last week, one lesson was already clear enough: after four years of Deng's pragmatic revolution, China was still a long way from the promised land of political stability.

The unindicated co-conspirator was Mao Zedong himself. As the trial unfolded, the new-wave leadership brusquely shunted Mao's protégé, Chairman Hua Guofeng, to the sidelines, and prosecutors charged the Great Helmsman himself with serious "mistakes". The climactic effort to topple the mythology of Mao suddenly left China without the ideological force that had guided the nation through the upheavals of a generation. Deng, in effect, has succeeded in tearing down the old regime, but he has yet to define the new. In the vacuum, most Chinese could only wonder in confusion what the rules were. "There is no one to look up to anymore," says a diplomat familiar with the mood of the country. "The sense of discipline gone"...

The trial of the 'Gang of Four' and six other Maoist radicals was the most sensational airing of dirty linen in the history of the People's Republic...

The trial fell far short of the avowed goal of showing that all Chinese are equal before the law. A guilty verdict for all ten radicals was programed long before the case went to court.

### Crimes or Errors?

The trial also served as a way for Deng's regime to issue its harshest verdict yet on Mao's role in the Cultural Revolution. In remarks that could have been sanctioned only at the highest levels in Peking, court pro-

secutor Jiang Wen announced that "the people of all nationalities throughout the country are very clear that Chairman Mao was responsible" for the excesses. At the same time, Deng took care not to go too far to deflate the myth of the late Chairman. "Our party and state leaders have time and again reiterated that throughout his career Chairman Mao's great achievements are primary," Jiang Wen said, "and his mistakes secondary".

Deng and his team are acutely aware that to an entire generation of Chinese—and especially to 38 million Communist Party members—Mao remains the closest thing to a deity. Even while trying to wipe out Mao's legacy, the new leaders have allowed the Great Helmsman's memory to be kept alive at least symbolically. On the anniversary of Mao's birthday last Dec. 26, Peking officials briefly reopened his mausoleum to the public, permitted minor celebrations and published an innocuous 1937 letter from Mao.

At the same time, newspapers reprinted a series of articles written by the late Prime Minister Zhou Enlai, a hero of pragmatists. The texts praised Mao, but pointed out that he was no demigod.

### Struggle in the Top Echelon of Power

The campaign against Mao apparently went far enough to bruise the feelings of his loyal disciple, Chairman Hua. It had long been clear that with Deng in command Hua would eventually be ousted. The late Chairman had plucked Hua from provincial obscurity to head the powerful Ministry of Public Security—in effect China's national police force. In Deng's eyes, the strong-arm tactics of the Cultural Revolution were a more serious blot on Hua's record. While Deng and

other officials were falling, Hua rose steadily through the ranks, becoming Prime Minister in 1976.

After Mao's death Deng patiently and systematically whittled away Hua's authority. Again and again, he stacked China's policy-making bodies with his own people. During the National People's Congress last September, Hua turned over the post of Prime Minister to Deng's ally, Zhao Ziyang, 61. And at the Twelfth Party Congress due this year, Hua had been expected to give up his second major post, Chairman of the Communist Party, to make way for Deng's alter ego, Hu Yaobang. . . But friction between Deng and Hua apparently came to a head during a working conference of the Central Committee last month. At that session the party worked out the stinging critique of Mao that prosecutor Jiang Wen delivered during the Gang of Four trial. Hua doubtless did not like what he heard—and may have protested too much. There are rumors of an even more serious split.

Deng spokesmen have also taken to blaming the missing Chairman for a good share of China's economic missteps. Hua has been faulted most directly for his faithfulness to the repudiated Maoist precept of primitive self-reliance. Hua's pet project, the Dazhai Brigade, a commune run on Mao's principles, came under fire for inflating figures of its harvests between 1973 and 1978 by 136,000 tons. Dazhai was quickly dropped as the national model for agriculture, and Hua himself was criticized for suspected complicity in covering up the scandal. Mao's heir has also been singled out as the scapegoat in some forum or another for just about anything else that has gone awry. "Whenever policies went wrong, Hua got the blame," says a Western diplomat in Peking. "If they went right, Deng got the glory."

## The Economy Is in Shambles

Mao's rigid dogma (self-reliance—Ed.) had shut China off from the rest of the commercial world for nearly three decades before Deng ordered up his modernization drive in 1978. The crash program was aimed at thrusting China into the ranks of industrialized nations by the end of the century. China drew up billions of dollars of foreign contracts within weeks. Banks took undisguised foreign loans for the first time since 1949. Legions of foreign entrepreneurs poured into Peking. Free markets bloomed and factories handed out bonuses on the decidedly non-Maoist basis of "more work, more pay".

China has had a hard time digesting Deng's ambitious schemes. The country had rich natural resources, but not enough roads, electricity and know-how to develop them. The sudden lust of Deng's planners for prestigious imported steel plants and five-star tourist hotels threatened to deplete China's foreign exchange. Many social programs were equally unrealistic. Deng wanted to reverse Mao's highly resented policy of sending urban youth to work down on the farm. But when they started drifting back to China's sprawling cities, there were not enough jobs.

These days, China's leaders seem to realize that their dream amounted to too much, too soon. A recent press campaign railed against the proliferation of costly and sometimes frivolous construction projects. One of the stormiest broadsides, in the theoretical journal, **Red Flag**, declared that "all unnecessary projects must be stopped with a firm hand". Apparently Deng approved the attacks, because the government promptly sacked Gu Mu, the minister in charge of capital construction. But that offered little promise of relief for



China's larger economic ailments. In a New Year's Day editorial, the **People's Daily** studiously avoided mentioning the year 2000 as the target date for making China a world power—suggesting that the goal had quietly been dropped.

With the socialist economy in shambles, many Chinese have fallen back on their considerable talents for private enterprise.

### Lack of Credibility

The splintering of China's economic models has helped exacerbate a steady breakdown of morale. Deng's promise of a better life seems hollow to Chinese who must wait a year for a new bicycle and five years for a coveted urban job. . .

The popular disenchantment has eroded faith in China's ruling Communist Party. . . In a recent poll taken at Shanghai's Fudan University, 78 per cent of the 500 students interviewed chose a "wait and see" stance when asked if China's rulers could succeed in modernizing China by the year 2000. An earlier poll of factory employees pinpointed "bad practices and style of leadership". . . "The party's prestige is not high now. This is a fact," admitted **Red Flag**.

Membership in the Communist Party is no longer a fast track to high status in China. Members play down their party affiliation, and some are so disillusioned that they talk openly of handing in their resignations. . . The **People's Daily** admitted recently that the party had been so wrong so often during the past 30 years that its current lack of credibility is not surprising.

## THE TRUTH ABOUT ONE "EXPERIMENT"

In several provinces of China land is being further distributed among peasant families that are members of production teams of rural communes "in especially difficult conditions". These measures are being effected by the local authorities in pursuance of a special decision of the CPC Central Committee "On Various Forms of Labour Organization to be Used in the Village". It actually proposes splitting the production teams. The process is assuming increasing scope. This form of economic management is now called "allotment of production assignments to separate households".

*Hungqi*, a journal of the CPC Central Committee, reported that in China some 20 per cent of the production teams (approximately 100 million people out of China's able-bodied rural population) were disbanded and that their members resumed individual farming. They are mainly poverty-stricken families who are unable to conduct even simple reproduction and have become a burden both to the communes and the state.

The return to this system is in effect an admission of the failure of the attempt to "communize" the Chinese village.

Such inconsistency in the "economic policy of the CPC in the village" which, as in the past, is still "experimental" in character has caused millions upon millions of peasants to suffer. By introducing individual forms of farming the Chinese leaders actually want to save themselves the trouble of spending money on the solution of the problems confronting the biggest, extremely backward part of the village, compelling them to find a way out of their semi-starvation existence on their own.

The 4th CPC Central Committee plenary meeting held in September 1979 stated that the annual income of every rural inhabitant averaged slightly over 70 yuan. In one production team out of four it was less than 50 yuan. What does the "average figure" conceal? Addressing a meeting of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, Li Renjun, deputy chairman of the State Planning Committee, described the life of the peasants as an "exceptionally wretched" existence.

The "new experiment" which provides for the allotment of assignments among peasant households was conceived as an attempt to encourage the peasants to work better. However, such slogans as "It is good to get rich" evoke response mainly among peasant families with a large number of able-bodied members. As for the numerous peasant households suffering a shortage of able-bodied members, their lot will be even harder.

The fallacious course based on Mao's notorious "instructions" is being followed by another "experiment". Meanwhile the cardinal problems facing the countryside, such as increasing centralized capital investments into farming, developing more incentives for the peasants to expand production in the collective farms, are being ignored. This line is bound to delay for an indefinite time the improvement of the living standards not only of the peasants, but also of the whole of the Chinese people.

## TRAGEDY OF THE TIBETAN PEOPLE

The Chinese leaders are continuing their policy of great-power chauvinism towards national minorities. This is vividly evidenced by the fate of the Tibetan Autonomous Region.

Pema Gyalpo, sister of the dalai-lama who has been living in exile in North India since 1959, returned in February from a three-month visit to Tibet. In an interview she granted to the French *Le Quotidien de Paris* she accused China of "the ruthless extermination of Tibetans and destruction of their culture". I consider it my duty, Pema Gyalpo said, to present in a true light the erroneous ideas and the rose-coloured image of the present-day life of Tibetans spread in the West by some people who have made a tour of Tibet under the strict control of the Chinese authorities.

As she put it, the delegation she headed charted its own itinerary after a thorough study of the reports submitted by preceding delegations. However, the Chinese government declared that visits to most of the places were out of the question. They said that time was too short and that the trip to Tibet coincided with the rainy season, when roads were totally unsuitable for travel.

Pema Gyalpo said that during the 103 days the delegation spent in Tibet the Chinese authorities rigidly controlled its movements. But even in these conditions the delegation managed to learn a lot more than au-

thorities wanted it to know. The delegation toured 41 cities and towns, many villages and nomadic camps. While in Lhasa, Tibet's administrative centre, the members of the delegation talked with representatives of the Tibetan people who complained of their untold suffering under Chinese rule. These talks went on from sunset till two o'clock in the morning.

Pema Gyalpo and other members of her delegation were told of the long list of people who had been tortured, imprisoned or died of hunger. Many Tibetans had to live on grass for years on end. As a result many died. Wherever we went we saw waifs begging on the road or looking for leftovers in tins thrown out by Chinese officials and soldiers, Pema Gyalpo said.

She also reported that, in addition to pursuing their ruthless programme of destroying Tibetan civilization, the Chinese were plundering Tibet of its natural resources. Forests were being relentlessly cut down and timber transported to China's central provinces.

In an article contributed to the *Far Eastern Economic Review*, a Hong Kong weekly, Pema Gyalpo wrote:

"In the whole of my life I have never wept so much as during that trip. Daily contacts with our impoverished and broken-hearted fellow-countrymen produced an impression of a grave tragedy. Many a time we would shed tears when we heard the stories about the Chinese atrocities."

Pema Gyalpo's evidence is complemented by a statement from the dalai-lama, the spiritual head of the Tibetans, that was circulated in New Delhi. It was

*This photo is taken in today's China, in Tibet to be more specific. It shows miserable homeless children, dressed in rags, they have nothing to eat but what they are lucky to find in a dust-bin.*



"Stern" (FRG)

published in connection with the forthcoming 22nd anniversary of the Tibetan national uprising suppressed by the Chinese military. The Peking authorities that are conducting the Great-Han policy of the forced assimilation of the Tibetan population are now trying to persuade the world public that they are allegedly solicitous about the welfare of the Tibetans. This is a lie that has nothing in common with the truth. The Tibetan people are still suffering. They are suffering from hunger, poverty and oppression.

## THE SEAMY SIDE OF "CHINESE ELDORADO"

- Peking cancels commercial contracts with the West
- Big West German and Japanese firms suffer losses amounting to thousands of millions
- Business circles increasingly resent China's promises

**BONN.** Some West German papers are describing as a "hangover" the state of economic ties between a number of capitalist countries and Peking. Experts on China, the newspaper **General-Anzeiger** reports, have repeatedly warned against indulging in excessively large projects and long-term cooperation with China, because very often the desires of the Peking leaders go far beyond their possibilities, and their treasury is empty.

The headquarters of leading Japanese, US and West German concerns have only recently been estimating possible profits. Today they are racking their brains to reduce the losses precipitated on them to the minimum. The fact is that the Chinese leaders have frozen or cancelled a sizable portion of the big contracts they signed with Western firms. The East Asian Society in the FRG has calculated that their losses mount up to thousands of millions of dollars.

Some of the West German companies are experiencing tremendous difficulties. A preliminary estimate has shown that their losses amount to 3,000 million marks. Many West German companies are bitterly disillusioned, the local papers write. Chinese orders worth thousands of millions proved to be a mere soap bubble. And now the parties concerned are bickering about compensation for the incurred losses. The Chinese side has already scrapped a DM 1,300 million contract for the delivery of West German equipment for the Baoshan steel works. The order was being fulfilled by a consortium headed by Schloemann-Siemag-AG of Dusseldorf. It was intended to ship the equipment in 1981. And now the consortium is faced with the crucial problem of keeping the production capacities busy and avoiding mass lockouts.

**TOKYO.** Late in 1980 China informed the Japanese side that it would cancel all work on the second section of the Baoshan steel works and delay the completion of the first section. With time matters continued to get worse. As of today the Chinese authorities have unilaterally cancelled contracts for the construction of 16 big industrial projects at an overall cost of \$ 1,500-\$ 2,000 million. Such practice has no precedent in the history of world trade.

Japan did not expect such a cruel blow. It is not only a matter of the unusually rude form in which the contracts were cancelled, but also a matter of losses, because the Japanese industries had already started to fulfil their commitments. Some of the orders have been already fulfilled, but Peking has refused to pay for them. The trouble is that close to 4,000 Japanese companies belonging to various sectors have been engaged in fulfilling the Chinese orders. As a result the Japanese firms will sustain losses amounting to 700-800 million dollars.

The cancelling of contracts was followed by another notification of the Japanese side about major reductions of Chinese oil and coal deliveries to Japan. At the same time "to save hard currency" and "to protect national industries" Peking decided to stop purchases of durable consumer goods from Japan and several other countries. Therefore, it is clear what has compelled **Yomiuri Shimbun** to write editorially: "The confidence of Japan's business circles in China in the economic sphere has disastrously crumbled."

**NEW YORK.** The rush of US corporations to China has suddenly ceased, **The Wall Street Journal**, the paper of US business circles, writes. The companies are closing down their offices. Costly equipment is being sent back to Hong Kong, US personnel employed at these offices are being reduced in number or recalled altogether.

**Newsday**, quoting US business circles, remarks that the "boom" in trade with China was over before it began. American businessmen say that in the next few years there is no hope for the expansion of economic relations with Peking. The soap bubble of Peking's programme for "modernization" through import of Western technology and manufacturing complexes has burst because the programme was built on sand. **The Washington Post** writes that rapidly soaring inflation and the unprecedented state budget deficit have compelled China to retreat on all sectors.

Izvestia, March 19, 1981 \*

## BOOK REVIEWS

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M. ALTAISKY

### THE KAMPUCHEAN PEOPLE AND PEKING HEGEMONISM

The Kampuchean people waged a prolonged, persistent and heroic struggle against US imperialist aggression and then against the blood-thirsty Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique. With the eager complicity of the Peking hegemonists the clique, taking advantage of the people's victory in the anti-imperialist revolution, resorted to bloody terror to establish a regime of genocide with a view to turning the country into "China's backyard" for growing rice and producing valuable raw materials.

Now that the courageous Kampuchean people are building a new life under the guidance of the United Front for National Salvation, the imperialist and Peking propaganda machines still keep churning. They pour forth slander on a long-suffering country that was bled white by Pol Pot terrorism, on its leaders, describing the internationalist aid of socialist Vietnam as "aggression". The Peking and US press and their mouthpieces in some of the Southeast Asian countries are trying to shift the responsibility for the tragedy of the Kampuchean people onto the patriotic forces and their allies that by waging a self-denying struggle

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V. Skvortsov. *Kampuchea: The Saving of Freedom*. Moscow, Politizdat, 1980 (in Russian).

saved the country and its people from complete destruction.

V. Skvortsov's book gives an unbiased picture of the tragedy suffered by the Kampuchean people and its best representatives—the Communists. On the basis of documents the author reveals not only the monstrous atrocities perpetrated by the Pol Pot clique on direct instructions from Peking and with its whole-hearted support. He also shows the resistance to the blood-thirsty clique, the birth and growth of the movement for the country's salvation. The bright pages of the book are devoted to the description of the people's victory and rebirth of Kampuchea.

#### Main Goal—Indochina

It would be impossible to understand the developments in Kampuchea following the victory of the anti-imperialist revolution which abolished the pro-American Lon Nol regime, if they are examined out of context of Peking's hegemonic policy and its attempts to export the ideas of the "great helmsman".

The tragedy of Kampuchea is largely a corollary of Maoist policy and the notorious "cultural revolution" in China. You can hardly fail to recall the strategic aims of the Peking rulers that Mao proclaimed and the corresponding tactics—to "conquer the world" and create a "mighty power". However, you cannot conquer the world overnight. As Mao used to say, you cannot swallow any dish in one mouthful, you have to eat it "spoon by spoon, piece by piece". And Southeast Asia was to be the "first taste" of this dish to be served at the hegemonic table.

Peking took its time choosing a target. Its ambitions branched out in two directions: Indonesia and Vietnam. Finally, it "gave preference" to Indonesia. As a result, with Peking's active meddling definite events occurred there in September 1965, which ended in the complete destruction of the Communist Party which had adopted Maoist ideology with the intent of accomplishing a "palace revolution" to Peking's recipes. The Maoists' calculations to create a Peking-Jakarta axis and turn Indonesia into a base for establishing China's domination of Southeast and South Asia and of the national liberation movement in general resulted in tremendous senseless losses and proved totally abortive.

After that Peking switched over its attention to the countries of Indochina, above all Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea that were waging a persistent struggle against imperialism. Paradoxical as it may seem, it is a fact that at the time Peking was acting in unison with the USA which had launched direct aggression against Vietnam. Laos and Kampuchea also fell victims to US aggression.

China regarded this as a favourable development. Faking sincere friendship towards the peoples of Indochina who needed support in that hour of trial, Peking decided to harness these countries to the chariot of its hegemonic policy. When the US air bombardment of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea reached its peak Mao in 1965 informed Washington that China would wage only a "paper war" against the USA, i.e., war of "serious warnings", clamorous slogans and anti-American manifestations.

As to the real war, it was waged and won by the peoples of Indochina with all-round support of the Soviet Union, the other countries of the socialist community and all progressive forces of the planet. From

the outset Peking rejected the proposal of the CPSU and other communist parties for unity of action in the fight against imperialism and US aggression in Vietnam. More than that, the Maoists did everything possible to stop the assistance to the fighting peoples of Indochina. This conspicuously exposed their calculations on the exhaustive war unleashed by the USA being fought to the last Vietnamese, Laotian and Kampuchean so that the belligerents would weaken one another to Peking's advantage.

When Peking realized that its hopes to subjugate the heroic Vietnamese people and its vanguard—the Communist Party—were collapsing, it resorted to vicious subversive activity. For this Peking used its influence on the Chinese community in North and South Vietnam and at the same time sought to undermine the fraternal relations between Vietnam and its comrades-in-arms—the Laotian and Kampuchean patriots. It was then that the Peking leaders mainly staked their hopes on Pol Pot and Ieng Sary. The task was made easier not only by the fact that both of them were of Chinese origin, but also by the fact that both wholly shared the chauvinistic ideology of Maoism.

Having completed their ideological and political training in China, Pol Pot and Ieng Sary decided during the "cultural revolution" to build their own "Kampuchean socialism" on the basis of Maoism. When Pol Pot became one of the leaders of the Communist Party, he began to steer a course for its isolation from the international communist and other progressive movements, and prevent further contacts with them. Following the example of his Peking instructors and numerous Chinese advisers Pol Pot introduced the order established by Mao Zedong in the CPC: the personality cult, despotism, clandestineness, mistrust, mutual sur-

veillance, espionage mania in the party and in relations between its leaders, "re-education campaigns", staking on the illiterate section of peasants as the true bearers and keepers of "revolutionary purity" and "immunity to bourgeois corruption".

### Tragedy of Kampuchea

The book gives the details of the struggle in the leadership of the Communist Party of Kampuchea. Under Pol Pot the party even lost its original name, this was replaced by the mystical and sinister title of "Angka", a certain "omnipotent organization" unknown and mysterious both to its members and common citizens of the country.

The Lon Nol puppet regime fell on April 17, 1975, when a brilliant victory was scored by the Vietnamese people in the war against the US imperialists and their henchmen and South Vietnam was fully liberated. It seemed that from then on the Kampuchean people would enjoy a happy and free life. However, this was not to be realized. This course of events did not fit in with the hegemonic plans of Peking and its stooges in Kampuchea. A fearful tragedy fell on the people of Kampuchea. The news of the tragedy shocked all sincere people of the world, just like the whole of mankind was shocked when it learned about the atrocities perpetrated by the German nazis and Japanese militarists.

How was the freedom won by the Kampuchean people stolen? How could it happen? This is the pivotal question that is troubling all sincere fighters for social progress. And V. Skvortsov's book helps understand this.

As was pointed out, back in the mid 1960s the Pol Pot clique adopted Maoist methods of struggle for the establishment of its undivided rule in the party and country. What took Mao and his minions 30-40 years to achieve in the Communist Party of China, the Pol Pot clique managed to do in less than a decade. In a way, the tragedy of Kampuchea and its people repeats, in a concentrated form, the tragedy of the Chinese people and the CPC.

The distinguishing features of the regime established in China during the "cultural revolution" are the crushing of elementary norms of democracy both in the country and the CPC, arbitrary rule and disregard of law, secret informing and sadistic public "trials". The present Peking authorities have officially admitted that during the "cultural revolution" over 50 million people were deported from the towns and cities and over 200 million, i.e., one out of every four people in those days, subjected to repressions and persecution. According to incomplete information, up to 10 million people, mainly members of the CPC, were physically exterminated or put to death in torture chambers.

The Pol Pot butchers perpetrated, in a brief period, a massacre that earned them the title of worthy disciples of their Peking instructors. Pol Pot and his myrmidons wasted no time on "warming themselves up" and, as distinguished from Mao, they did not undertake any diversions. In three and a half years they exterminated more than three million out of the eight million people inhabiting Kampuchea. This was a purposeful campaign to provide "living space" for subsequent Chinese settlers. This was how the task of "acquiring Southeast Asia" formulated by Mao was being carried out.

The Maoist leaders worked along several lines to obtain their aims. On the one hand, the Pol Pot clique started the extermination of the Kampuchean indigenous population. On the other, by encouraging the clique to unleash a fratricidal war against the Vietnamese people, Peking believed that this would seriously weaken them, would interfere with the building of socialism in reunified Vietnam and would destabilize its internal situation.

As the Kampuchean cadres in towns and cities, and local authorities were exterminated, the number of Chinese advisors and all sorts of "experts" quickly increased. At the same time the national wealth of the country, above all the more valuable raw materials, rare metals, were being shipped to China at an increasingly high rate.

The sights the Kampuchean patriots witnessed, when in 1979 they liberated Pnom Penh from the gangs of national traitors and butchers, have been faithfully recorded in the book. Reading these pages makes your flesh creep and your eyes fill with tears. In a city with an area of 50 square kilometres which in 1975 had a population of more than a million the patriots found only six boys and these were children of the gaolers who had fled.

It would not be enough to say that the economic, political and cultural life in the country was disorganized or paralysed. No, it was wiped out completely. There was nothing left. Schools and higher educational establishments were closed, teachers and professors killed. Libraries and museums were closed and ruined. School and hospital buildings were turned into medieval dungeons and torture chambers for systematic annihilation of people.

The mind finds it difficult even to grasp this.



*Kampuchea is confidently striding along the road of revival. New schools, kindergartens and hospitals have been opened. Factories are being restored.*

*Photo: A construction site in Kampuchea.*

*"Kommentar" (Stockholm)*

### "The Village Devours the Town"

Having tiptoed their way to positions of authority in the Communist Party of Kampuchea, Pol Pot and his clique turned it into an instrument for the establishment of their hegemonic sway and for the realization of their hegemonic plans to subjugate the country to Peking's influence. Among the factors which helped Pol Pot gain power were the conditions in which the Communist Party had worked and the methods it employed. Having been driven underground for a long period of time the Communists effected guidance of



the national liberation movement from bases in the countryside, using methods of guerrilla warfare. The party's ties with the working class were extremely weak. It isolated itself from the international communist movement and the world socialist system. Besides, Maoism exercised a negative influence on the party, and the party tended to absolutize Mao's tactics of "the village surrounding the town". The tactics of creating revolutionary bases in the countryside, once proposed by the Communist International, was necessitated by the specific conditions of class struggle in China, after Chang Kai-Shek staged a counter-revolutionary coup in 1927 and the reactionaries suppressed the main foci of the working class movement in the country. Mao elevated these tactics to a pivotal principle of a "new model" of revolution. It is worth noting that the present-day Chinese ideologists are persistently upholding it, too. According to this "model", it is petty bourgeois sections in the countryside, the peasants and various declassed elements, and not the proletariat, that are regarded as bearers of the revolution. Petty-bourgeois egalitarian ideas which boil down to equality of small producers are palmed off for the true ideal of "proletarian" socialism. Lenin wrote that such "ideas" are reactionary, that they are "an attempt to seek in the past and not in the future the solution of the tasks of the socialist revolution."<sup>1</sup>

An inherent feature of this movement which is petty-bourgeois and lumpen by nature is the cult of force and violence, absolutization of armed methods of struggle and voluntarism. In no country did absolutization of guerrilla warfare and extension of its methods and traditions to all spheres of life produce such ne-

<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 12, p. 354.

gative consequences as in China and Kampuchea. They were used to undermine the ideological and organizational foundations of the party, to vulgarize and distort socialist principles.

The stern lessons that have been learnt from Maoist rule in China and from Pol Pot rule in Kampuchea have forcefully reaffirmed the validity of Lenin's instruction that "the party of the proletariat can never regard guerrilla warfare as the only, or even as the chief, method of struggle; it means that this method

*The Kampucheans express their profound gratitude to Vietnam for helping them to get rid of the hated Pol Pot regime and start national revival.*



*Photo: Vietnamese soldiers are welcome guests in any Kampuchean village.*

*"Kommentar" (Stockholm)*

must be subordinated to other methods, that it must be commensurate with the chief methods of warfare, and must be ennobled by the enlightening and organizing influence of socialism.”<sup>2</sup>

The fact that the Maoists and their myrmidons who had entrenched themselves in some parties of Southeast Asia disregarded the historic experience of the international revolutionary working class movement brought about extremely baneful consequences. As far as Kampuchea is concerned, it should be pointed out that a clique of ignorant dogmatic nationalists seized power in the party and the country to declare all modern culture without exception “a fruit of bourgeois corruption”, and the town—an assembly area of “class enemies” to be abolished once and for all “for the benefit of the people”. In this respect Pol Pot went even farther than Mao. Pol Pot “developed” Mao’s thesis about the “village surrounding the town” to read “the village devours the town”.

### Force of Internationalism

The fact that Kampuchea was able to overcome the consequences of the tragedy the Pol Pot clique had plunged it into, to abolish the regime of genocide, to bring the party and the country back to life is convincing evidence of the great vital force of proletarian, socialist internationalism. Enjoying the fraternal support of the peoples of Vietnam, the USSR and other countries of the socialist community the Kampuchean patriots were in a position, at a critical moment, to muster their forces quickly and with direct military aid

<sup>2</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 11, p. 221.

from Vietnam to drive the clique of Pol Pot traitors out of the country.

It was precisely the restoration of true internationalist ties of the Kampuchean patriots that enabled the country to break out of complete isolation and paved the way for national salvation and victory. The author points out that the merit of the Kampuchean revolutionaries, of the internationalist forces of the Kampuchean Communist Party above all, was that they realized the mortal danger of Maoism at the right moment and managed to remain true to progressive socialist aims.

The tremendous force of internationalism is manifesting itself right now, when the USSR, Vietnam and other countries of the socialist community are helping Kampuchea rehabilitate its industry, transport, eliminate hunger and epidemics, restore the electric power stations and hospitals, and defend the interests of the Kampuchean people in the international arena.

Kampuchea’s example has graphically and convincingly reaffirmed that true patriotism and internationalism are inseparable and mutually enrich one another. Narrow, ignorant nationalistic egoism inevitably gives rise to discord in the national liberation movement. It not only leads to conflicts with other peoples and states, it may even degenerate into a policy of genocide against one’s own people.

In appraising the international significance of the events that took place in Kampuchea in the past decade, one cannot but agree with the author that these events have exposed the ignominious failure of Maoism and the danger of Maoists’ attempts to build their “preserves” outside China.

M. YAKOVLEV

## END OF LIN BIAO: ACCIDENT OR ASSASSINATION?

*This is the second installment of Mikhail YAKOVLEV's book "Seventeen Years in China"<sup>1</sup>. It sets forth the circumstances of the death of Lin Biao, ex-Vice Chairman, CPC Central Committee.*

I remember one picture painted before the "cultural revolution" and exhibited in the House of the National People's Congress (NPC). It is a huge canvas depicting the NPC entrance hall flooded with light. The marble columns gleam. The floor is covered with a beautiful rug. The Chinese leaders surrounded by representatives of all classes and nationalities of the country are on their way to the conference hall.

In the midst of the people are two chairmen: Mao Zedong, Chairman of the CPC Central Committee, and Liu Shaoqi, Chairman of the PRC. They are followed by Zhu De, Dong Biwu, Zhou Enlai and others.

I saw this picture again after the "cultural revolution". Only this time it was not Liu Shaoqi, but Lin Biao, Vice Chairman of the CPC Central Committee, "Chairman Mao's closest associate", who was "walking" beside Mao Zedong.

<sup>1</sup> See Supplement No. 3, 1981.

The "September events" of 1971 made an amendment to Chinese history. The painting in the House of the NPC was "readjusted" again. This time the "great helmsman" was alone in it—"a lone monk roaming the world with a holey umbrella", as he described himself in an interview he granted to Edgar Snow, an American author. Lin Biao vanished from the political scene in September 1971. This was bound to happen sooner or later, because two antipodes—Lin Biao and Zhou Enlai—could not coexist for long. One was bound to remove the other.

On September 13 the Chinese authorities prohibited all flights over their territory for two days, without giving any explanation. I was returning to Peking after leave and was, therefore, among the "grounded" passengers. Our plane landed in Irkutsk on schedule, but was delayed there for more than a day. No one could explain why Peking refused to receive the plane, even the Chinese Airways agent. Obviously there was something behind this. What could it be? Another squabble among the leaders? That was the first thing that came to my mind. On September 16 I arrived at Peking.

For quite a few days foreigners "lived on" the news about "grounded planes". The most fantastic rumours spread in the capital. Chinese officials were tight-lipped when approached by correspondents and diplomats. In a few days the authorities cancelled the festive demonstration and fireworks on occasion of October 1st, the anniversary of the proclamation of the PRC. Soon the disappearance of "Mao Zedong's closest associate", Lin Biao, and a group of military leaders from Mao's "chief staff" became conspicuous. Lin Biao's wife, Ye Qun, who was a member of the Politbureau and office chief at the Ministry of Defence, disappeared at the same time. It was also noted that Chen Boda had not been seen in public for many months.

In the period from October 27 to November 3 a number of books and pamphlets written by Lin Biao were withdrawn from sale, among them "The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (Important Documents)", a collection of his speeches; "Documents of the Ninth All-China Congress of the Communist Party of China" which included his report to the Congress and the new CPC Rules. The Rules said that "Com-

rade Lin Biao is a close associate of Comrade Mao Zedong and continuator of his cause".

In those days slogans coined by Lin Biao about Mao Zedong were removed from the city, notably, "At sea you cannot do without a helmsman, and in a revolution you cannot do without Mao Zedong's ideas." The press ceased to use the characterization of Mao Zedong given by Lin Biao. He called Mao a "great leader, great teacher, great general and great helmsman".

The authorities used Aesopian language to defame "swindlers of the Liu Shaoqi type" who "attacked Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong's ideas", who "turned traitors" and sought to "restore capitalism" in China. This campaign gained sway with every passing month to arrive at its climax at the Tenth CPC Congress that was held from August 24 to 28, 1973, i.e. nearly two years after Lin Biao and some of his supporters had disappeared.

### Zhou's Version

It took the Chinese leaders two years to produce a legend about Lin Biao's disappearance. For two whole years they worked on Chinese and world public opinion. However, they failed to force their version on public opinion or give the real reasons for the collapse of Lin Biao's career. In his report to the Tenth Congress Zhou Enlai set forth his version of Lin Biao's disappearance.

He said that "at the Ninth Congress and after it Lin Biao resisting the educational measures, pressure and efforts of Chairman Mao Zedong and the Party's Central Committee to save him continued to engage in conspiratorial and subversive activities. He went as far as to undertake an abortive attempt to effect a coup d'etat at the second Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee (ninth convocation) held in August 1970. In March 1971 he hatched a plan for a counter-revolutionary overthrow known as "Theses for Objective '571'" (in Chinese these figures sound the same as the words 'armed revolt'). Then on September 8 he attempted a counter-revolutionary armed coup. He tried in vain to make an attempt on the life of the great helmsman, Chairman Mao, and create his own Central Committee. Zhou Enlai further said that on September 13, after his abortive conspiracy, Lin Biao "unlawfully seiz-

ed an aircraft and took off, thus betraying the party and country, and crashed in the territory of the Mongolian People's Republic in the region of Undur-Khan."

### Detective Story

At the same time the foreign press published a version by Wilfred Burchett, an Australian writer. Essentially it boiled down to the following. Lin Biao decided to assassinate Mao Zedong and seize power in the party and state to transform China into a "bourgeois state". Mao Zedong was to be assassinated during his return to Peking from Shanghai. Explosions were to take place at two points along the Shanghai-Peking Railway (the first—north of Nanjing and the second—a little farther), in case the first explosion would not take place for some reason. The officer who was to organize the first explosion was gripped with doubt. He told his wife, a party member and a doctor by profession, about his assignment. She gave her husband an injection which upset the coordination of movements and informed her party organization about the attempt to blow up the train. The explosion did not take place. The train proceeded safely. Meanwhile telegrams were cabled to Peking. The warning reached Zhou Enlai who ordered to stop the train, put Mao Zedong into a car and to bring him to Peking. Zhou Enlai's orders were carried out. The train was only a few stations away from the point for the second explosion.

In the meantime Lin Biao's daughter Lin Daodao called up Zhou Enlai to tell him that her family intended to go somewhere by plane. Zhou Enlai suspected foul play and issued orders prohibiting all flights, unless the orders were signed by three persons: Mao Zedong, Lin Biao and Zhou Enlai. After that Zhou rang up Lin Biao, who was then at Bedaihe, a health resort. Lin Biao was not at home, he was at a concert and the phone call was answered by his wife. Ye Qun assured Zhou Enlai that they had no intention of flying anywhere. After that she hastened to the concert hall to tell her husband about the developments, suggesting that Mao Zedong was safe.

Some time later Lin Biao, Ye Qun and their son Lin Ligu arrived at Bedaihe airport. On the way to the airport one of Lin Biao's bodyguards who was in the car became suspicious and tried to stop the car. Lin Ligu fired at the bodyguard and then threw him out of the car at full speed.

The bodyguard who happened to survive made a full report on this. Fulfilling Zhou Enlai's orders, Lin Biao was refused an aircraft at the airfield. However, Lin Biao said that the orders were distorted and that they were valid with one of these signatures only. He immediately wrote out an order to make ready a British-made military plane. After the take-off the plane flew in the direction of the Mongolian People's Republic. While flying over Mongolia it ran out of fuel and crashed.

### What is the Pith of the Matter?

Neither this detective story, nor Zhou Enlai's version disclosed the true reason for the disappearance of Lin Biao and his supporters. The secret of the "conspiracy" remained behind the purple walls of Zhungnanhai. It is believed that Lin Biao's family was killed during the palace intrigues. Their corpses were put into an aircraft which was then directed into the air space of the Mongolian People's Republic and blown up there.

Lin Biao was in somebody's way. In whose and why? According to the official version about the "September events" as told by Zhou Enlai, Lin Biao "sought to seize power". But was this necessary? As a result of the "cultural revolution" Lin Biao had concentrated tremendous power in his hands. His men were in charge of everything, even the shops. What is more important is that he himself was officially proclaimed "continuator of Mao Zedong's cause", his "successor". Was there any need to seize something that had been seized already and moreover, by assassinating Mao Zedong?

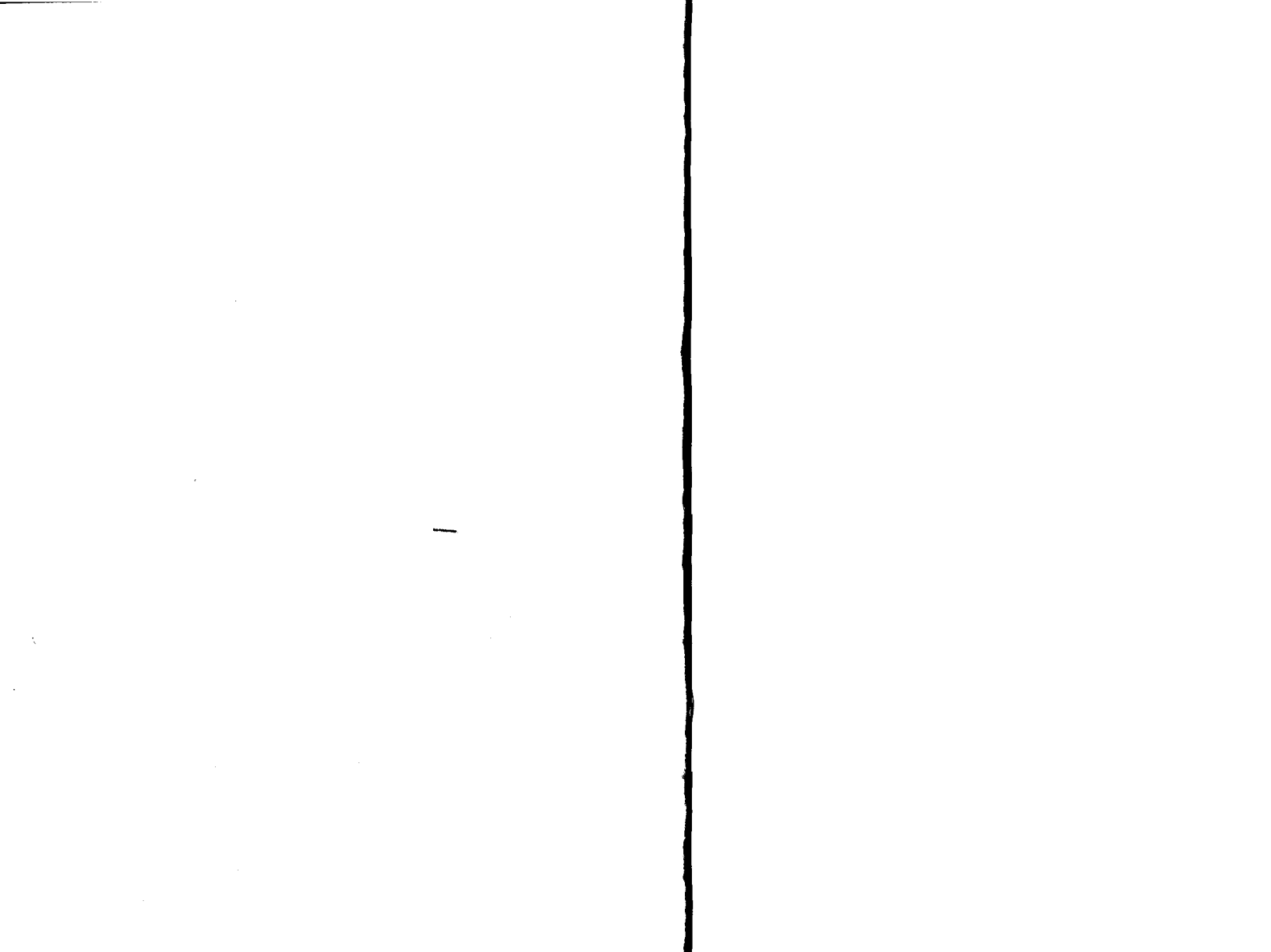
The reason should be sought elsewhere. Lin Biao was gaining in power. He was becoming dangerous for Zhou Enlai and the other leaders who were eager to take power, Jiang Qing and her group in particular.

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