

STP

SOCIALISM: THEORY AND PRACTICE

**Expansionism
and hegemonism
denounced**

**A policy damaging
the cause of peace**

**Militarization
of social life**

SUPPLEMENT

V
1981

**SOCIALISM:
THEORY
AND PRACTICE**

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FROM DOCUMENTS

PEKING'S EXPANSIONIST AND HEGEMONIC POLICY EXPOSED

The policy pursued by the present Chinese leadership was resolutely condemned at the congresses recently held by the communist, workers' and national-democratic parties.

We publish below excerpts from the congress reports and from the speeches made by the leaders of the CPSU delegations at these congresses (headings are provided by the editors).

Todor ZHIVKOV,
General Secretary,
Central Committee,
Bulgarian Communist Party

WE FAVOUR POSITIVE CHANGES IN CHINA

Continuing their anti-Soviet, hegemonistic policy the Chinese leadership is supporting reactionary forces the world over, laying claims to neighbouring and other countries, interfering in their internal affairs and performing acts of open aggression.

The past few years have seen complex and contradictory processes develop in China, which prove the fallacy of the Maoist course and distortions of socialism in this country. Criticism has been levelled at the "cultural revolution", an attempt has been made to denounce the cult of Mao, many victims of reprisals have been rehabilitated, talk has even begun about legality, respect for law, etc. But only the future will show

From Todor Zhivkov's report delivered at the 12th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party, March 31, 1981.

how far they will go along this road. We will welcome any positive changes in China and are prepared to develop state relations with the People's Republic of China.

The Bulgarian people entertain profound respect for the Chinese people, their rich and centuries-old culture, revolutionary history, their struggle for freedom and independence and their socialist development. We believe in their future and the positive role they can again play in our common struggle for the triumph of communist ideals.

Pravda, April 1, 1981

Vladimir SHCHERBITSKY,
Member of the Politbureau,
CPSU Central Committee,
First Secretary of the Central Committee of the
Communist Party of the Ukraine

HEIGHTENING THE DANGER OF WAR

On the threshold of the 1980s the socialist community encountered another aggravation of the international situation. The source of it is well known. This is the desire of the more aggressive imperialist circles to find a way out of capitalism's political and economic difficulties by whipping up the arms race and building up international tensions. Peking is an active supporter of the imperialist course and a direct colluder with the more aggressive circles, all of which of course heightens the danger of war.

Pravda, April 1, 1981

From V. V. Shcherbitsky's speech at the 12th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party, March 31, 1980.

Gustav HUSAK,
General Secretary,
Central Committee,
Communist Party of Czechoslovakia

CHINA'S INTERESTS ARE INSEPARABLE FROM SOCIALISM

All the progressive and revolutionary forces of the world and, together with them, the peoples of Czechoslovakia, hailed with hope and sympathy the Chinese Revolution and the birth of people's China 30 odd years ago. However, we are forced to bitterly state that the PRC has grossly violated and trampled underfoot the principles of socialism and its very essence, instead of actively siding with socialism, progress, peace and the struggle of peoples for liberation. The Chinese leaders are pursuing a policy hostile to the USSR and other states of the socialist community. They are threatening the peaceful life and socialist construction in the countries of Indochina and Afghanistan. They are trying to split the international communist and national liberation movements. Defying the interests of progress and world peace they are conspiring with the imperialists to fight detente and to escalate the arms race. Led by the USA the imperialist states are taking advantage of Peking's foreign policy positions in their own interests to fight world socialism and national liberation movements in the Asian, African and Latin American countries. The policy the Peking leaders have been pursuing in the last two decades can do China or its people no good. Objectively its interests are inseparable from socialism, from a peaceful and quiet life, from the development of normal international relations and cooperation. As we have repeatedly pointed out, Czechoslovakia is prepared, while consistently observing the basic principles of its foreign policy, to improve its inter-state relations with the PRC.

Pravda, April 7, 1981

Excerpt from the Report by Gustav Husak to the 16th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, April 6, 1981.

Erich HONECKER,
General Secretary,
Central Committee,
Socialist Unity Party of Germany

FOR NORMALIZATION OF INTER-STATE RELATIONS

A positive contribution from such a big country as the People's Republic of China to the settlement of burning issues in the life of mankind, to the fight for peace, progress and independence of peoples, to the fight against imperialism would be of tremendous value.

Though it is a pity, we must point out that today the situation is totally different. China has sided with the USA in its foreign policy, bringing grist to the mill of the most reactionary circles of world imperialism, pursuing a policy of confrontation. This is particularly true of Peking's anti-Sovietism and its hostile attitude towards the countries of the socialist community. Overcoming the legacy of Maoism which even the present Chinese leaders have described as fatal is proving to be a difficult and contradictory process. Because of this we can only wait and see what results the changes that have just become evident will bring. As far as the GDR is concerned it is prepared, as before, to normalize relations with the PRC on principles of equality, respect for sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-interference in internal affairs. We are sure that the policy of peace and normal relations is also in keeping with the interests of the Chinese people themselves.

Pravda, April 12, 1981

Excerpt from the Report by Erich Honecker to the Tenth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, April 11, 1981.

Mikhail SUSLOV,
Member of the Politbureau
and Secretary of the CPSU
Central Committee

DIRE CONSEQUENCES OF A DEPARTURE FROM MARXISM-LENINISM

"The Marxist doctrine is omnipotent because it is true", Lenin said. This indisputable truth has been confirmed by the more than 60-year history of the successful building of the new society in the USSR, the achievements made by the GDR and the other fraternal countries. This experience shows that only the consistent and steady translation of Marxist-Leninist teachings into life ensures the triumph of socialist ideals. There is no other alternative, and any departure from our revolutionary teaching has pernicious consequences. Evidence of this is the grim lesson of China where the principles of scientific socialism were rudely distorted.

It is a fact that the international situation has markedly worsened of late. A leading imperialist power has shifted its policy towards greater confrontation with the socialist world and the liberation movement and undertakes a skyrocketing arms build-up. The danger of war emanating from imperialism's aggressive circles becomes more real because the Peking hegemonists are increasingly aligning themselves with them.

Pravda, April 13, 1981

From Mikhail Suslov's speech at the Tenth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, April 12, 1981.

Yumjagiin TSEDENBAL,
General Secretary.
MPRP Central Committee

JOINING HANDS WITH IMPERIALIST REACTION

The Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party deems it necessary to continue strengthening the relations of friendship, international alliance and cooperation with the socialist community countries. This aspect of our activity remains the corner-stone of the foreign policy of our party and state.

As for our relations with the People's Republic of China, they have deteriorated through no fault of ours. The reason is the Chinese leaders' distortion of the principles of socialism, the gross violation of the norms of interstate relations, and their replacement with the policy of great-power chauvinism, threats and dictate. In their attempts to effect their expansionist plans in relation to our country they have recourse to the falsifications of history and reality, and open preparations for war against the MPR.

The MPR adheres to its principled course for the restoration and development of normal, goodneighbourly relations with the PRC, which would be in the interests of the Mongolian and Chinese people, alike. But this depends on whether the Chinese side will abandon the vicious line and practice of Maoism.

The present Chinese leadership have joined hands with the forces of imperialist reaction. Economic and political pressure, crude interference in the internal affairs of other countries, military threats and armed intervention against neighbouring nations, encouragement of neo-colonialism, support for fascist and racist regimes—all this is the inalienable component of the Chinese leaders' policy.

This is why our Party directly associates the struggle against imperialism and reaction with the struggle against the great-power hegemonism of the Chinese leaders. We shall continue to resolutely expose the anti-popular, anti-socialist

course of China's ruling circles and wage an implacable struggle against their great-power, hegemonic and expansionist actions posing a growing threat to universal peace.

Developments in China attest to Maoism's utter failure. The Chinese working people are dissatisfied with and oppose their leaders' political course which has no future and which is against the interests of the people, bringing them untold suffering.

Our Party and the Mongolian people see in the peace programme of the 26th CPSU Congress a real way towards improving the international political climate. We wholeheartedly greet and fully support this programme as a joint platform of the struggle for peace and universal security, for averting the danger of war.

It is quite natural that the problem of strengthening peace and security in Asia, of promoting normal, goodneighbourly relations between the peoples and countries of the region claims our Party's special attention. As a result of the positive changes in the world, especially since the historic victory of the heroic people of Vietnam and other peoples of Indochina, new and favourable prospects have opened for consolidating peace and security on the continent.

At the same time, the intrigues of the imperialist and hegemonic forces have seriously aggravated the situation in Asia; hotbeds of tension and conflict are extending there. The American imperialists and Peking hegemonists are more and more closely uniting on an anti-Soviet, anti-socialist basis. They are hatching plots against the cause of peace and the peoples' freedom and independence, undertaking coordinated hostile actions against the socialist countries and the states and peoples pursuing the progressive road of development.

The policy of reviving Japanese militarism and drawing Japan into the orbit of the US-China military-political alliance is causing growing anxiety. This calls for greater vigilance and opposition by the Asian peoples to the intrigues of imperialism and hegemonism.

Prawda, May 27, 1981

From the Report by Yumjagiin Tsedenbal to the 18th Congress of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, May 26, 1981.

Mikhail GORBACHEV,
Member of the Politbureau of the CPSU
Central Committee,
Secretary of the
CPSU Central Committee

THE POLICY OF HEGEMONISM, A THREAT TO ASIAN COUNTRIES

The world situation is fairly complicated today. The bellicose imperialist circles whip up the arms race and attempt to meddle in the internal affairs of other countries, arrest social progress, and push the world to the brink of war. In exacerbating the world situation imperialists have found active accomplices, the Peking leaders, who have made the struggle against the socialist community a principal direction of their foreign policy.

Things are not quiet over the vast Asian continent. The policy of imperialism and Chinese hegemonism clashes with the fundamental interests of the Asian countries and imperils their security.

Is this not denoted, for instance, by the setting up of new war bases by the United States, by the staging of counter-revolutionary intervention in Afghanistan from the territory of Pakistan and by the intensified arming of Pakistan? Or take the overall build-up of US military presence in the Indian Ocean area. Many Asian and African countries see this as a direct threat to their independence, and with good reason.

And everywhere Peking trails in the wake of this policy of provocation, disdainful not only of the interests of peace but also of the interests of the Chinese people themselves. Precisely this is evidenced by Peking's hostile policy towards the neighbouring states including the Mongolian People's Republic and its crude pressures on the countries of Indochina.

The Soviet Union, the Mongolian People's Republic and other countries of the socialist community expose this dangerous anti-popular policy and vigorously counter it. This is our common international duty.

Pravda, May 27, 1981

From M. S. Gorbachev's speech at the 18th Congress of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, May 26, 1981.

Pen SOVAN,
General Secretary, PRPK Central
Committee

THE KAMPUCHEAN PEOPLE CONTINUE THEIR STRUGGLE

Overcoming countless difficulties, the Kampuchean people won a historic victory on April 17, 1975. However, following the Maoist course the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary-Khieu Samphan clique succeeded in usurping the gains made by the people and brazenly betrayed the cause of the revolution, the Party and the people.

The traitors inflicted incurable wounds upon Kampuchea. The word "genocide" alone is insufficient to convey the heinous crimes the Pol Pot thugs perpetrated against the people. They are guilty of forcing untold suffering on the population of Kampuchea. The traitors destroyed all the democratic institutions of society, ruined the national economy and threw the country back to medieval times. They turned the party into a weapon of domination and oppression of the working people, the armed forces—into an army of gangsters, the country—into a military base of Peking's great-power expansion. The Kampuchean people had no other way than to rise in struggle and eliminate the anti-people's clique.

China's ruling circles are trying to unleash war in order to enslave the country and turn it into a springboard for their expansion in Southeast Asia. The war is still raging and the blood of Kampuchean and Vietnamese servicemen is still being shed on the Thailand-Kampuchea border.

When speaking about the international situation Pen Sovan said that US imperialism supports the Peking hegemonists and expansionists and other reactionary forces in attempts to regain lost positions. However, the revolutionary forces of our time, whose mainstay is the Soviet Union, are in a position to frustrate all the adventurous schemes and actions by imperialism and reaction.

Pravda, May 28, 1981

From the Report delivered by Pen Sovan at the Fourth Congress of the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea on May 27, 1981.

Muhamednazar GAPUROV,
First Secretary of the
Central Committee,
Communist Party of Turkmenistan

SINISTER PLANS FALL THROUGH

Soviet-Kampuchean relations are successfully developing. The Soviet Union supports the foreign policy of the PRK and of other countries of Indochina aimed at ameliorating the situation in Southeast Asia and the world over. The liberation of Kampuchea from the Pol Pot nightmare, the impressive successes in rehabilitating the country, achieved under the leadership of the PRPK and, finally, this very Congress—all show that the Maoist agents have failed in their scheme of destroying the proletarian vanguard of the Kampuchean people. The People's Revolutionary Party lives, functions and successfully leads its people along the path of building a new life.

Pravda, May 29, 1981

From M. G. Gapurov's speech at the Fourth Congress of the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea, May 28, 1981.

Herbert MIES,
Chairman of the German Communist
Party

ADVENTUROUS POLICY

Fidelity to proletarian internationalism has been, and remains, an immutable principle of our Party. We expose the policy pursued by the leadership of the Communist Party of China as a pro-imperialist, anti-Soviet, adventurous policy threatening peace. We shall display vigilance, as we have always done, in order to safeguard the Party's ideological staunchness. Now that the forces of imperialism and reaction increasingly coordinate their efforts, a duty of the communists of all countries is to further close their ranks.

Pravda, May 30, 1981

From the Report delivered by Herbert Mies at the Sixth Congress of the German Communist Party, May 29, 1981.

O. BORISOV

A COURSE UNDERMINING THE CAUSE OF PEACE

In the proceedings and materials of the 26th Congress of the CPSU due prominence was given to questions having to do with the policy of the Chinese leadership and problems of normalizing Soviet-Chinese relations. These matters acquire special urgency in connection with the fact that the adventurous and aggressive imperialist circles assign a substantial role to Peking's hegemonists who act in concert with them.

The 26th Congress gave a principled assessment of the dangerous foreign policy course being pursued by Peking, and reaffirmed the continuity and consistency of the CPSU's line regarding China laid down by the 24th and 25th congresses of the Party.

A Factor Stimulating Imperialism's Aggressiveness

The pertinent materials of the 26th CPSU Congress reveal the principal trends of Peking's foreign and domestic policies. They show China's role in the

From O. Borisov's article **Certain Aspects of China's Policy** published in the journal **Kommunist**, No. 6, 1981. Subtitles are given by the Editors.

IN A SATIRICAL VEIN

The arms race and rabid anti-Sovietism unite Washington and Peking.



The essence and forms of their political "platform".

Drawing by Kukryniksy,
Ogonyok magazine

struggle between the two diametrically-opposed systems, expose the unseemly and risky gamble it engages hand-in-glove with the West, a gamble so perilous to world peace and to its participants.

In pursuing its hegemonistic, chauvinistic course Peking strives to knock together, in league with the imperialist powers and their aggressive military blocs, an anti-Soviet "broadest possible united front", a sort of "international structure" opposed to the USSR, meaning in plain language an alliance with reactionaries and warmongers designed to hinder the growth of the forces of peace and progress and the strengthening of the positions of the socialist community. The PRC leaders have made an about-face from the "left" to the right, from ultra-revolutionary sloganeering to direct collusion with imperialist reaction which, for its part, is trying hard to keep China in positions of hostility to the Soviet Union, the socialist community as a whole, and to all revolutionary forces of our day.

The Chinese leadership's current policy is characterized on the one hand by the all-out urging of the USA, other NATO countries, and also Japan, to worsen relations with the Soviet Union, and on the other, by the striving to gain time for an accelerated build-up, with the aid of capitalist countries, of a mighty military-economic capability which, considering China's immense manpower resources, would enable that country to successfully rival the leading world powers. China's actions in concert with the USA, with other NATO countries and Japan, are designed to change the existing military-strategic balance in the world in favour of imperialism.

This course of China's encourages the adventurism of imperialist circles, fosters in them the illusion

that they can regain their positions and change the correlation of world forces in their favour. In other words, the hegemonistic, anti-Soviet policy of China's leaders is a factor stimulating imperialism's aggressiveness and pushing the world to another "cold war" period, to a new spiral in the arms drive.

"Guns Instead of Rice"

It is obvious that futile are the hopes that the imperialists could help the Chinese people to restructure their country on truly socialist foundations, and make it a state with an advanced industry, culture, science and technology.

In the West they make their own, purely pragmatic (and short-sighted, for that matter) schemes to exploit the hostility of the Peking leaders towards the Soviet Union and the entire socialist community in order to tie China to the capitalist system and its military blocs with innumerable links of dependence and open the channels for imperialist penetration.

The Chinese leaders associate their hopes for the achievement of their hegemonistic goals with a third world war. During his meeting with a delegation of the French Socialist Party on February 13, 1981, Deng Xiaoping, Deputy Chairman of the CPC Central Committee, tried to intimidate the visitors with "Soviet threat" stories and reiterated that "the threat is mounting... We, in China have soberly studied this question and are fully prepared to face it". Obviously, what Deng had in mind was the campaign of the country's intensive militarization spanning many years, in the course of which direct and indirect military spending has actually reached 40 per

cent of the state budget. This resulted in a weakening of the economy, an immense growth of inflation, emergence of grave disproportions in the national economy and a sharp decline in the people's living standard, low as it is. In effect, Deng's statement is tantamount to laudation of the "guns instead of rice" slogan which the Peking leaders have already translated into reality.

Officials and the press harp on the "growing war factors". However, this is not to say that they are really concerned over the destinies of peace. Just the reverse: Peking goes all out to whitewash imperialist warmongers and also lay a verbal smokescreen over its own plans of expansion. Peking leaders, extremely cynical in their fact-twisting exercises, picture US imperialism, and also the revanchist forces in the FRG and Japan, as "guarantors of peace and international security".

"Parallel" Interests and Inevitable Contradictions

As distinct from the Soviet Union, which is unwaveringly and steadfastly striving to secure universal disarmament and end the arms race (a striking manifestation of this are the relevant proposals put forward at the 26th Congress of the CPSU), the Chinese leaders have sometimes condemned the arms race in words but in practice they continue to hinder any steps towards its limitation, and towards the prohibition of nuclear weapons and their non-proliferation. Peking shrilly calls upon the West and Japan to build up their fighting strength and readily supports all misanthropic schemes of the US brass, notably those for the production of the neutron bomb.

The Chinese side "shields" imperialism's militaristic circles and shifts the blame for the arms race from imperialism on to the socialist countries.

Simultaneously, China furiously counters all peaceful initiatives advanced by socialist countries. For example, sharp attacks were made upon the proposals for assuring peace and security in the Persian Gulf area, which L. I. Brezhnev advanced during his visit to India in December, 1980. Peking negatively reacted to the set of peaceable constructive initiatives promulgated at the 26th Congress of the CPSU. Chinese propaganda has created an atmosphere of hostility around them.

Staking upon war, Peking energetically supports the imperialists in stepping up the arms race, in buttressing the aggressive military-political blocs and building up international tensions. After the victory of the Republican Party in the US Presidential election Peking propaganda began, in a detailed and approving manner, to expound the statements made by leaders of that party on the need to pursue a "tough" course vis-a-vis the USSR, whip up the arms race and "achieve military superiority". It gladly picks up Reagan's anti-Soviet bellicose rhetoric and pronouncements of the Pentagon brass. Peking persistently sells Washington an idea of China and the USA having "parallel strategic interests" in counteracting détente and preventing the growth of the influence of the forces of socialism. This was precisely the central theme during talks between Deng Xiaoping and ex-President Ford during the latter's visit to the PRC in March, 1981.

Peking's incendiary policy leads to its confrontation with all peaceable forces and countries, with all

those who oppose war preparations and the arms race. The Chinese leadership tries to place imperialism's aggressive strivings and anti-communist and anti-Soviet biases of Western politicians in the service of their hegemonistic ambitions.

Having betrayed the class interests of the working people and the ideals of the Chinese revolution, the Maoists moved from leftist pseudo-revolutionary calls for an immediate destruction of "the paper tiger—US imperialism" to a direct military-political linkup with this same imperialism.

Peking's anti-Soviet, anti-socialist policy gains an additional material stimulus from the accelerated development of military capability with reliance upon cooperation with the USA, the NATO bloc and Japan.

At the same time it is plain that the positions of the Chinese leadership and imperialists, even though they are at one in their anti-Sovietism and anti-socialism, are marked by discrepancies and contradictions. Each side tries to tie its partner down but for its part does not want to lose freedom of action and restrain itself by far-reaching commitments. In the US, for instance, especially with the Republican Administration taking office, apprehensions are voiced (and with reason) that upon gaining strength China might direct its expansion into the American zones of influence. One thing is clear anyway: sooner or later the interests of Chinese hegemonism will clash with those of the imperialist powers and of the US and Japan above all.

Calculations and Miscalculations

The realistic and well-balanced proposals of the Soviet Union, taking due cognizance of the interests

of all partners interested in negotiations, including China, just as the peace-oriented constructive initiatives advanced by the Soviet country and other socialist countries earlier are aimed at securing detente in Asia and in the Far East and relaxing tensions in Soviet-Chinese relations. These proposals undercut the lies about the "Soviet threat" and the alleged hegemonism of the USSR. The Soviet proposals go against the grains of the Peking leaders because their implementation would eventuate in the establishment of normal good-neighbourly relations between countries upon the principles of peaceful coexistence which, as is known, provide not only for respect for the partners' sovereignty but also for inviolability of their frontiers, non-interference in their internal affairs, and mutually beneficial cooperation. In other words, this would oblige Peking to discard its "territorial registers" which arbitrarily incorporate 10 million square kilometres of territory belonging to the neighbouring states, to abandon all attempts to "teach a lesson" to countries refusing to submit to Chinese dictates, and to cease interfering in the domestic affairs of many countries and first of all those of long-suffering Kampuchea and Afghanistan.

In pursuance of the same anti-Soviet global strategy China continues to further its relations with the states of Western Europe. The Chinese leaders' policy is aimed at NATO's political and military strengthening and frustration of detente, as well as at a sharpening of the confrontation of the USA and Western Europe with world socialism.

However, the radiant hopes of definite circles in the West to use "the Chinese card" in their political and military schemes against the USSR and other countries of the socialist community come to nothing.

And for China too its flirting with the West seriously aggravates the country's internal political and economic situation.

Peking vainly hoped that the West and Japan would make good the expenditures incurred in the country's militarization. The newly discovered failure of Peking as a trade and economic partner markedly accelerates the process of change-over from the latter-day raptures over the "boundless Chinese market" to sober assessments of its capacities which increasingly exhibits both the weakness of China and the presence of serious contradictions between that country and the West.

Subversive Activities

Under the conditions of exacerbation of the international situation Peking and the West, acting in concert, try to impede the positive course being pursued in the international arena by the socialist countries. The Chinese leaders introduce new elements into their policy of a differentiated approach to the socialist countries, and this approach grows evermore insidious. Peking subtly combines political flirtation with crude pressure, making various tactical steps in respect of the socialist community and adopting an individual approach to each of them. It is on an anti-Soviet platform that Peking is trying to strike contact and find a common language with the remnants of anti-socialist elements in some socialist countries, so as to try and destabilize them later.

Simultaneously the Chinese leadership mounts its attacks on Vietnam, Laos, the MPR, and also Cuba. It threatens to make another war of aggression on socialist Vietnam, rejects its proposals on resumption of Chinese-Vietnamese negotiations, and carries on

its provocations and maintains tensions on its borders with the SRV and the Lao People's Democratic Republic.

Peking pro-imperialist anti-Soviet line is also manifest in its relations with the developing countries and the national liberation movements. China no longer regards the developing countries constituting, according to the Chinese scheme, the so-called "third world", as the chief support of its global policy. It curtails economic and military aid to those countries and openly pushes them towards cooperation with the USA and former metropolitan countries. In the third world the Chinese leadership stakes its all on the reactionary regimes supported by the imperialist circles.

Peking gives special attention to the countries of Southeast and South Asia in attempts to bolster China's positions in Southeast Asia as a whole, and, more particularly, in Burma and Thailand, and to wreck their dialogue with the SRV. Peking has also tried to put pressure on Burma in order to frustrate its mediatory efforts in the matter of harmonizing relations between Vietnam and the ASEAN countries. Subversive activities are under way to discredit the recent initiatives of the SRV, the LPDR and the PRK aimed at normalizing the situation in Southeast Asia and establishing a zone of peace and stability there.

The Chinese leadership does not abandon its attempts to weaken the international positions of India, a great Asian country, and violate its unity and territorial integrity. Peking irately reacts to the growing and mutually advantageous Soviet-Indian cooperation which has gained fresh impetus since L. I. Brezhnev's visit to India in December, 1980.

* * *

Thus, Peking's foreign-policy course is a factor damaging the cause of peace and detente and a threat to the security of the neighbouring countries. At the same time this policy is prejudicial to the interests of the Chinese people themselves and the cause of socialism in that country, as in effect it turns China into an accomplice of imperialism's aggressive forces. At the 26th Congress of the CPSU L. I. Brezhnev pointed out that China's team-up with imperialism would not benefit China, and he added: "That, of course, will not bring China back to the sound road of development. Imperialists will never be friends of socialism."

Gus HALL,
CPUSA, General Secretary

THE US AND CHINA VS NATIONAL LIBERATION AND SOCIALISM

In an attempt to convince the American people to accept these aggressive war policies, the Reagan Administration will try hard to bury the "Vietnam syndrome"—the fear that hangs on from the US defeat in Vietnam.

It will feel its way toward a situation where it can hold both Taiwan and China on a leash. If further proof was needed that the Maoists have used their anti-Soviet policy as a trade-off for concessions from US imperialism, we now have their sickening hints that if the Reagan Administration establishes closer ties with Taiwan they will become less anti-Soviet.

In seeking their hegemonic aims, the US uses all sorts of codewords. A codeword to cover up the hegemonic interests of the US multinational corporations is "national self-interests".

"Hegemony" is another special joint US imperialism-China big lie catchword. It is another effort to attribute to the forces of peace and progress their own mirror-image of aggression and hegemonic ambitions.

The leading Maoist elements in the People's Republic of China have their own hegemonic designs,

From Gus Hall's contribution to the journal **Kommunist** (No. 5, 1981), entitled **Old Myths and New Realities**.

but the US Top Dog hegemonic drive includes hegemony over China, over the US-China arms deal, that is a CIA hegemony over the joint US-Chinese intelligence operations, and there is a growing hegemony by US banks over trade and Chinese financial institutions. And there is already the existing subservience of the thought of Mao Zedong to the ideological hegemony of US imperialism.

The overall US hegemony includes propping up China as an active force in supporting US imperialism in its central objective of blocking, slowing down, defeating and reversing the advances of the progressive forces of national liberation and socialism everywhere.

● AN INTERVIEW ● AN INTERVIEW ●

Patrick M. CLANCY,
Chairman of
the Socialist Party of
Australia

THE 26TH CONGRESS OF THE CPSU: PRINCIPLED LINE VIS-A-VIS CHINA

The international section of the Report deals, among other things, with the problem of relations

From an interview given by Patrick Clancy to the journal **Kommunist**.

with the People's Republic of China. It exhibits not a slightest deviation from the principled position of sharp disagreement with the general line of the Chinese leadership; at the same time it quite unequivocally expresses the idea of friendship with the Chinese people and readiness to establish good-neighbourly relations with China. Relations between the Soviet Union and China rank among the problems crucial to the revolutionary forces in all countries. The tragic course of events in China since the 1960s, the notorious "cultural revolution", repudiation of the fundamental principles of Marxist-Leninist theory in the field of economic development, the actions of Chinese leaders towards a linkup with imperialism and accommodation to its schemes—all has done great damage to the world revolutionary movement. China's return to a more positive position, the pursuit of a more independent, socialist course, its joining in the struggle against imperialism with all socialist countries and with all those who seek peace, independence and sovereignty for all peoples would undoubtedly be in the best interests of all working people.

The Chinese leadership's departure from Marxism-Leninism and the immense harm they have inflicted upon world revolutionary development could very well impell the USSR to take a stricter policy with regard to China and cause its irate and subjectivist reaction. But the CPSU did not take this path. It was in a calm manner and in a true statesman-

ship fashion that the Report of the Central Committee set forth the positive line which opens up the possibility of a convergent movement and establishment of good-neighbourly relations for the Chinese leadership. The fact that these questions occupy a prominent place in the international section of the Report, the well-reasoned approach to them and concern expressed over the development of the world revolutionary movement have made a deep impression on me.

Kommunist, No. 5, 1981

V. BABUROV

CHINA AND DISARMAMENT

China's attitude to disarmament, like the entire hegemonistic course of its foreign policy, is evoking well-founded concern among the world public at large. It was pointed out at the 26th CPSU Congress that no changes for the better have been noted in Chinese foreign policy at present. It is still geared to worsening the international situation, and it continues to be linked up with imperialist policy.

Manoeuvres and Intentions

Of late Chinese diplomacy has been aiming, not without due consideration for the mounting sentiments in the world for detente and the curbing of the arms race, to impart to a number of its tenets a modicum of "respectability" and, on issues of disarmament and international security, to adapt to the viewpoint of developing countries, which comprise the overwhelming majority in the UN. Peking allows for the possibility of "delaying" a new world war, although upon closer examination the impression is created that what is really meant is a postponement needed for implementing so-called modernization.

Special articles on disarmament appear in the Chinese press from time to time. *Renmin ribao*, for example, wrote that "international peace and security can be upheld", the struggle for a relatively long peace is China's "duty", and "is one of the main-springs of China's foreign policy". According to the journal *Hungqi*, the struggle for disarmament is

“more topical now than ever before”. Mention was made here of the presence of “favourable conditions for reaching this goal, including the realization by the peoples of the world of the “harm” they stand to suffer as a result of the arms race.

In his very first speech at a session of the Committee on Disarmament on February 5, 1980 the head of the Chinese delegation announced: “China has decided to take part in its work as from this year, and we are ready to join all of you in the deliberations actively and do our share for progress in genuine disarmament, and for the cause of peace.” A fair amount of time has passed since this declaration was made. However, major constructive steps or proposals on the part of the Chinese delegation in the Committee on Disarmament have not been forthcoming. On the other hand, during the examination of concrete items on the agenda or of procedural issues the Peking representatives have been unstinting in their hostile sallies against the USSR and the other socialist community countries which vigorously advocate the curbing of the arms race.

The record has shown that the concept of disarmament on the Chinese pattern means disarmament primarily for two powers—the USSR and the USA, while the other countries, China included, may act as they deem necessary. This approach by the PRC to arms limitations was also demonstrated during the elaboration of a comprehensive disarmament programme. Figuring prominently in the considerations of the Chinese delegation of the basic principles of this programme, which was presented to the Committee on Disarmament, is the trite proposition that the two states which possess the largest arsenals of nuclear and conventional armaments bear the main

responsibility for disarmament and should be the first to reduce their stockpiles. It unequivocally follows from this that China itself intends to preserve the opportunity to join the disarmament process at some time in the indefinite future, while other countries should engage in disarmament in the meantime.

The Policy of Obstruction in International Organizations

All five nuclear powers became represented in the Committee on Disarmament when China joined it in 1980. Many members of this body, particularly the delegations of the non-aligned countries, placed great hopes in this regard on the possibility of a speedy solution of the entire gamut of nuclear disarmament problems. Several of them, India included, advocated the formation of an ad hoc working group to initiate negotiations on this series of questions. This proposal was resolutely supported by the USSR and the other socialist countries. The highly-principled stand of the Soviet Union as regards nuclear disarmament and an immediate start of negotiations on this crucial problem was also set forth by the USSR delegation at the 35th Session of the UN General Assembly.

What about China? How is it reacting to the repeated appeals by the socialist and non-aligned states to begin negotiations on the urgent problem of limiting nuclear weapons?

The Chinese delegation did not take part in the voting on the Soviet draft resolution on the curtailment of the production of nuclear weapons in all their forms at the UN General Assembly’s 35th Session, while in the Committee on Disarmament it followed the lead of the Western nuclear powers, actually

blocking the formation of a working group on nuclear disarmament.

It was the line of these states that was mentioned in the Soviet Memorandum for Peace and Disarmament, for International Security Guarantees which was presented in the UN on September 25, 1980: "This matter can be put off no longer. Those who refuse to examine the problem of nuclear disarmament in a business-like manner bear full responsibility for the consequences of this kind of action".

China's stand vis-à-vis the limitation of strategic weapons is clearly inconsistent and is at variance with the interests of the world community as well. Peking is guided on this issue to a greater degree by considerations of bolstering its own nuclear potential than by disarmament. The Indian newspaper *Patriot* in its issue of May 1980 specifically points out that China's testing of an intercontinental ballistic missile is leading to a further acceleration of the arms race. China's nuclear arming is no cause for surprise, as Peking's desire to solve problems arising between countries by force is commonly known. China's plans pose the most serious threat to the stability and security of Asian countries.

The PRC's stance on such an aspect of nuclear disarmament as the general and complete prohibition of nuclear tests is just as inconsistent. It is a known fact that the USSR is an active participant in the trilateral negotiations held on this issue with the USA and Britain. Along with the other socialist community countries, the Soviet Union, taking account of the particular concern of the non-aligned states with this aspect, advocated the formation in 1980 of a working group on the Committee on Disarmament in which representatives of all the nuclear powers would

take part and whose task would be discussion of the general and complete prohibition of nuclear tests.

In an effort to help provide favourable conditions for completing the elaboration of an international agreement on the general and complete prohibition of nuclear tests, the Soviet Union at the 35th Session of the UN General Assembly urged all states possessing nuclear weapons not to make any nuclear explosions for one year. This Soviet proposal was supported in a resolution passed at the session.

As to China, despite persistent appeals by the overwhelming majority of countries to speed up the solution of this problem, it proved to be among those who did not demonstrate a readiness to form a working group on the Committee on Disarmament on this important issue. The Chinese "argumentation" amounted to an assertion that the PRC could not take part in nuclear limitation measures, including a nuclear test ban unless the USSR and USA achieve "considerable progress" in reducing their nuclear stockpiles. Here the Chinese delegates hid behind declarations to the effect that the appeals of the superpowers to prohibit nuclear tests are aimed solely at limiting those of others, and that the cessation of nuclear tests alone will not curb the nuclear arms expansion of the superpowers. Obviously, these "explanations" of Peking's are no more than a camouflage for actions geared to whipping up the nuclear arms race.

This was graphically illustrated during the 35th Session of the UN General Assembly. While the First Committee was discussing issues of disarmament and international security, the nuclear explosion on October 16, 1980 set off by China in the atmosphere, which placed a large portion of the globe

China is Pursuing Its Own Interests

An analysis of the Chinese representatives' statements on disarmament issues attests to the fact that they are aimed primarily at creating the conditions China needs for bolstering its own arsenals of weapons. It is this that accounts for the steady growth of the PRC's military expenditures, the broadening and deepening of its military ties with imperialist powers, purchases of the most sophisticated military hardware in the West, and the upgrading of its own weapons of mass destruction. It was not accidental that the launching in May 1980 of the Chinese inter-continental ballistic missile was presented by the Chinese mass media as a great triumph, one of "great significance for accelerating the four modernizations plans".

Peking welcomes the West's steps to exacerbate world tensions. Suffice it to call to mind that the NATO Council decision of December 12, 1979, to produce new American medium-range nuclear missiles and deploy them in Europe was assessed in China as an "important measure spearheaded against nuclear superiority of the Soviet Union" and an "important step on the part of the NATO countries to bolster their defences in countering the threat of war" posed by the USSR. Instigation was also the hallmark of Chinese propaganda during the spring 1980 session of the NATO Council, when Peking made the following recommendation to this aggressive bloc: "NATO must bolster its might."

Such is the unconstructive approach of China to a number of topical aspects of the disarmament and arms limitation problem. The line of Chinese diplomacy has shown that despite declarations of its de-

in danger of exposing to radiation, evoked deep concern among the world public. It is not fortuitous that the delegations of a number of countries, Canada and Japan included, voiced alarm over this.

In the light of the PRC's negative approach to the solution of the problem under consideration, it is no cause for wonder that the Chinese delegation at the session abstained from the voting on the draft resolution on the cessation of all test explosions of nuclear weapons.

China is also taking a negative stand on the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. This was demonstrated specifically in the Committee on Disarmament, where the Chinese delegate declared: "It is clearly not fair to ask all non-nuclear weapon states to give up their right to acquire nuclear weapons for self-defence."

Peking's line vis-à-vis the prohibition of other weapons of mass annihilation is just as unconstructive. It will be recalled that in 1975 the Soviet Union came forth with an initiative banning the creation of new types and systems of weapons of mass destruction which could prove more devastating than nuclear weapons. This initiative has been on the agenda of international disarmament bodies since that time.

As to China, it abstained from voting on the draft proposal on this issue at the 35th Session of the UN General Assembly. The Chinese delegation has also been silent during the discussion of this item in the Committee on Disarmament. Here the Chinese representatives justify their stand by alleging that the "superpowers" are obliged immediately to cease the research, development and production of all new types of weapons and to refrain from using them.

sire for real disarmament, Peking, in examining specific aspects of this issue, is actually opposing its solution by allying with imperialist circles and hampering the elaboration of practical measures to curb the arms race.

International Affairs, No. 5, 1981

TERRITORIAL CLAIMS, ARMED CONFLICTS, ARMAMENT

● The "historical" maps issued in China give an idea of Peking's claims to the Soviet Amur and Maritime territories, the Sakhalin, a part of Kazakhstan and Central Asia, the Mongolian People's Republic, Korea, a segment of Afghanistan and India, Nepal, Butan, Burma, Thailand, Malaysia, Kampuchea, Laos, Vietnam, and nearly all the islands in the East China and South China seas—10 million square kilometres in all.

* * *

● Since the late fifties the Chinese leaders have been continually causing tension on the border with their neighbouring states, provoking armed clashes. The Maoists are responsible for 19 out of the 30 armed conflicts that have erupted in Asia after World War Two.

* * *

● Following the lift of the US embargo on military hardware deliveries to China last year, Peking, as US State Department spokesmen admitted, began negotiations with 40 American arms manufacturers. The Chinese authorities intend to buy 5,000 particular types of military items worth 41,000 to 63,000 million dollars, according to Pentagon estimates.



Reports coming from Afghanistan depict successful operations of the Afghan people's armed forces in eliminating counter-revolutionary groupings infiltrating Afghanistan from Pakistan. Rifles and submachine guns surrendered by bandits bear the brands "Made in the USA", "Made in China".
Photo shows arms taken from thugs who had terrorized Afghanistan's eastern provinces.

HUAQIAO IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

The huaqiao (ethnic Chinese living outside of the People's Republic of China) are coming to play a growing role in the political and economic life of the Southeast Asian countries. In this vast region they control many industries, own plan-

tations, sea vessels, banks and insurance companies. Chinese businessmen form cartels and syndicates in these countries, their profits being used to boost Peking's trade and political activity. In the ASEAN member countries (Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia and the Philippines) huaqiao control 80 per cent of domestic trade and 40 per cent of foreign trade.

Between 1971 and 1977 ethnic Chinese made 36.1 per cent of all capital investments in Malaysia. In Thailand they own 63 out of the total of 100 large industrial enterprises; of the 25 most powerful businessmen 23 are of Chinese origin. All of them regularly send part of their profits to the Motherland Fund established on Peking's demand in the early seventies.

As estimated, the huaqiao own the total sum of 50,000-60,000 million dollars, 16,300 million of them in Southeast Asia. A special act which was recently adopted in the PRC, regulates the procedure of investing capital in the Chinese banks by huaqiao. The Maoist leadership guarantees Chinese businessmen, who want to "prop" the "four modernizations" programme which is on the verge of failure, an eight per cent annual interest rate. From 1955 to 1975, ethnic Chinese transferred to the PRC banks 3,400 million dollars as "a gift". Peking emissaries coordinate many huaqiao operations on the currency exchanges, their unofficial contracts with Western monopolies, and their illegal deals.

SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES OF THE US-CHINESE ALLIANCE

The political situation in the South-Asian subcontinent continues to be aggravated due to the massive build-up of arms in Pakistan by the United States of America and China, declared *Rajeswara Rao*, *General Secretary of the National Council of the Communist Party of India*, in an interview he gave to Soviet journalists. The United States and China, he said, are trying to turn the military regime of Zia Ul-Haq into the main support and integral part of their reactionary global strategy threatening peace in the world. The Washington-Peking-Islamabad axis threatens the integrity and security of India. The USA has built a military and naval base on the Diego Garcia island and in other regions of the Indian ocean and concentrated large naval forces armed with nuclear weapons there. Peking in its turn has constructed the high mountain strategic Karakorum highway connecting China to Pakistan, grouped troops and stationed missiles close to India's northern border.

The pro-American lobby and reactionary-chauvinistic forces in India, Rao continued, have stepped up their subversive activities precisely at the moment when threat hangs over our country from without. They instigate religious, language, and caste conflicts to undermine the unity of the Indian people and distract their attention. By such means they attempt to suppress the will of the Indian people to fight this danger.

In this connection one should point out that the Central Intelligence Agency of the USA becomes more active in India. In its perfidious game, stressed the General Secretary of the National Council of the Communist Party of India, the CIA uses extremely reactionary religious para-military organizations and foreign Christian missionaries. These missionaries support separatist groupings in the North-East of the country and also help other subversive forces in India.

Chinese expansionists are also active in the vitally important North-East regions of India. They incite armed separatist groups with the purpose of disrupting our country's unity.

The subversive activity of the US-Chinese alliance poses a serious threat not only to the security of our country but also to other states in the region.

Pravda, May 29, 1981 *

BUILDING UP TENSIONS

Peking does not stop actions hostile to the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. Chinese troops attack Vietnamese frontier posts and peaceful communities. Chinese heavy artillery systematically shells SRV frontier areas and large forces of Chinese soldiers invade the Republic's territory.

Peking's armed provocations on the border are accompanied by the all-out psychological war against socialist Vietnam.

At the end of last year Peking rejected outright the SRV's peaceful initiative to enter, before the end of the year, upon the third round of the Vietnamese-Chinese negotiations unilaterally broken off by China. Early this year they have reject-

ed the proposal by Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos that the sides sign bilateral peaceful coexistence agreements which would be instrumental in abating tensions in Southeast Asia.

Aided and abetted by the US imperialists and other reactionary forces, Peking hegemomists counter the expression of goodwill exhibited by the countries of Indochina by stepping up their interference in the internal affairs of the Indochinese states. Since China's aggression against Vietnam in 1979 Peking has incessantly threatened to "teach Vietnam another lesson". To dispel any doubt as to the truth of this threat Peking, according to "The Washington Post", keeps a force 225-250 thousand strong, in the provinces bordering Vietnam.

China has not stopped its attempts to knock together some sort of a "united front" which would include the Pol Pot gangs and other reactionary elements for a struggle against Kampuchea's legitimate government.

HAND IN GLOVE

Acting on the principle "my enemy's enemy is my friend" the United States and China are joining hands in conducting the policy of out-and-out anti-Sovietism, writes Jack Anderson, an American observer, in the newspaper **The Washington Post**. Evidence of this "alliance" is Peking's policy on the African continent, which merges more and more with Washington's imperialist ambitions. Anderson quotes a CIA's secret report which reveals that, despite their limited influence in Africa, the Peking leaders try to prevent the African states from developing normal relations with the Soviet Union and obstruct the national liberation struggle on the continent. To this end Peking has started to intimidate the African nations with "Soviet threat".

Among the methods China uses in Africa the CIA report lists assistance with arms and military training of various groupings holding rabidly reactionary views.

The report says that China, disconcerted on account of the independent countries maintaining friendly relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist states, can take "tough" measures. Notably, on the excuse of giving economic aid it will urge "evolutionary changes" in these countries and, failing this, as the authors of the CIA report predict, it will bring into play terroristic groups to effect coups d'etat there.

A. KRASILNIKOV

NAMIBIA: THE PRC-RSA PARTNERSHIP

The world community is being increasingly concerned over the fate of Namibia. The de facto maintenance of the colonial regime there, the stubborn refusal of the RSA authorities to grant it independence and conduct elections under the UN control create a hotbed of war danger in the south of the African continent. Peking gives the RSA racist government moral and political backing.

On the UN Agenda

The Namibian question is never off the agendas of the United Nations Organization, the Organization of African Unity (OAU), the conferences of the non-aligned nations and is constantly discussed by the world media. The fifteen years that have elapsed since the UNO annulled the RSA's mandatorship over this territory have seen several programmes for Namibia's peaceful attainment of independence. The latest, the most widely acclaimed one, was adopted by the UN in 1978. It envisages a cease-fire and introduction of UN troops and civilians into Namibia for control and supervision of elections.

To discuss the procedure of realizing this programme an international conference was convened in Geneva last January attended, among others, by delegations from the South-West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) and the RSA. Pretoria, however, aided

and abetted by the imperialist powers, disrupted all proceedings. The subsequent discussion of the situation in Namibia in the UN Security Council was likewise fruitless. The backstage activities of the Western countries, especially the United States, prevented the adoption of all-inclusive political and economic sanctions against South Africa.

Taking advantage of the aggravated situation in southern Africa the Peking rulers, who seize upon any opportunity to play up such situations and raise their political prestige, decided to make their "contribution" to the solution of the Namibian problem.

On Whose Side?

Aligning themselves with imperialism in the struggle against the forces coming out for peace, socialism and national liberation movement in Southeast and South Asia, in the Middle East and elsewhere, the Peking leaders do not mean to harm the interests of their imperialist partners also in southern Africa. At the same time Peking is posing as a friend of the African states allegedly supporting their struggle against colonialism and racism. This duality could not but find a reflection in the reports and comments pushed out by Chinese propaganda organs on the situation in southern Africa.

Since the end of last year Chinese periodicals have carried a great many articles referring to Namibia. At first glance they seem to give an unbiased assessment of the situation in that country and take a friendly attitude to its people. However, a deeper analysis of these publications brings one to the conclusion that Peking attempts to paint the imperialist powers white by peddling a myth about their "peace-making" ef-

forts. Chinese propaganda is assisting the Western states in their exertions purporting to demonstrate that they are "vigorously seeking ways for a peaceful solution to the Namibia problem" in order "to stabilize the situation in southern Africa". Thus it appears that the West is interested in the stabilization of the situation, in the solution of the Namibian problem, while Namibian patriots and people at large are very heartily rebels.

Peking propaganda is out to clear the West of all blame for its support of the racist-colonial regime in southern Africa, for the exploitation of the African population of Namibia and the RSA by the Western monopolies. To believe the Chinese, the West "facilitates the attainment of independence by Namibia, but

The government of the RSA examines the question of according the status of "honorary whites" to the Chinese residents in the country.

They are no longer yellow but white! The Chinese receive this happiness from their newly found racist friends.

Drawing by Boris Yefimov, Ogonyok



not very actively". In actual fact, however, what the Western powers, above all the USA, have proposed and done with regard to the Namibian question reduces to one thing, namely, not to allow SWAPO, the true leader of the Namibian people, its lawful spokesman recognized by all international organizations, to come to power. To quote Salim A. Salim, Tanzania's permanent representative at the UN, the Western powers bear "moral and political responsibility" for the failure of the Geneva conference.

Joining Hands with South Africa's Racists

While admitting verbally that SWAPO is "the principal nationalist organization in Namibia", Peking in its practical policies tends to share Pretoria's view on this organization. The RSA racists want the UN to recognize, as equal to SWAPO, their puppet parties in Namibia as full-fledged representatives of the Namibian people. Using this thesis they disrupted the Geneva conference.

The Chinese newspaper *Renmin ribao* of January 10, inst. wrote that SWAPO "failed to bring together all nationalities in the country and patch up differences among its own leaders." While deliberately belittling SWAPO's role, Peking is striving to counteract it with the so-called Namibian National Front which is seen as a certain "intermediate force" between the nationalist organizations, i.e., between SWAPO and the Pretoria-created Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA). In this way Peking sanctions the "right" of puppet organizations, such as DTA, to decide the future of Namibia.

Facts corroborate the convergence of the views of

the PRC and the RSA regarding Namibia. For instance, Kasangizi, whom Pretoria had appointed to "officially represent" the puppet alliance, is a longstanding friend of Peking. Back in June 1960, during his visit to the PRC's capital, Kasangizi admitted the "community of aims" shared by his organization and China. (In those years he headed the South-West Africa National Union, SWANU, and Maoists openly supported its anti-SWAPO activities.) Obviously, this "community of aims" is still valid today, but now Kasangizi, a pro-Peking man, without bothering to indulge in anti-imperialist phraseology, is overtly catering to the racist regime.

China continues to back up the counter-revolutionary organization UNITA, and its leader, Savimbi, has recently said as much. UNITA bands, regular RSA troops and Western mercenaries raid Angolan villages using Namibia as the base. Encouraged by Pretoria, Savimbi is trying to have his say on the Namibian question as a representative of the Angolan (!) people at conferences on Namibia.

Paying tribute to world opinion the Peking leaders "condemned" the RSA for wrecking the Geneva conference, but Pretoria ignores these "condemnations" realizing full well that Peking is its partner in the matter of preventing Africa's progressive forces from strengthening their position. Not long ago RSA foreign minister Pieter Botha boasted that he always "sees eye to eye" with Peking.

The racists applaud the Chinese leaders for their slackened criticism of the RSA's apartheid policy. Peking does not mind Pretoria's development of ties with Taiwan and Israel; it urges NATO to strengthen "defences" in the Cape of Good Hope area.

Despite all the propaganda subterfuges of the Chi-

nese leadership, the rapprochement of the views on Namibia of Peking, Pretoria and the imperialist powers is becoming more and more obvious. As the Senegalese newspaper *Ande Soppi* wrote last October, Peking is firmly entrenched in the camp of neo-colonialism, capitalist exploitation and reaction, in the camp of the enemies of the independent African states.

Definite tendencies, and not chance incidence, in the Peking leaders' policy in southern Africa, and their practical actions, clearly testify that Maoist China is interested in maintaining imperialist and racist rule in this region and that Peking's attitude is hostile to the national liberation movement.

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V. KONDRASHOV

A QUESTIONABLE PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN

In recent years new and, at first glance, quite unexpected notes have resounded in Peking's propaganda beamed to the countries of South and Southeast Asia. Peking which has always staked on exacerbating contradictions and fanning conflicts among countries in and beyond the region is more and more vigorously calling for bettering relations among South Asian states.

In its propaganda Peking encourages in every way the "regional cooperation" slogan, extols the idea of expanding bilateral ties and belauds the principle of politically settling local disputes and conflicts.

Why such a drastic turn? Why is it that the Chinese "hawks" have perched themselves on the olive-branch? To be sure, no turn-about has occurred in Peking's foreign policy. As before it is aimed at instigating conflicts in the region and preserving tension which it exploits to the best advantage. All of Peking's hypocritical appeals to promote "cooperation" and achieve "settlement" have one aim—to build a united front against "Soviet hegemonism".

Take, for example, the April 1980 meeting of the delegates of seven South Asian countries held in Colombo on the initiative of Bangladesh to discuss further invigoration of their economic ties in the region, which Peking's *Renmin ribao* hastened to assess as a sign of "gratifying development of regional cooperation in South Asia". But the newspaper went still further.

The author of the comment puts forward a model the countries of the region should follow in their policy. The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), he reasons, has become an important political factor to stave off the threat of foreign intervention and defend peace in Southeast Asia and throughout the world. No wonder the Chinese propaganda gives its own interpretation of the international relations in the region where ASEAN operates. It believes, and makes no secret of it, that the threat of so-called foreign intervention comes from the Soviet Union and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. Peking stubbornly offers this provocative thesis of the Chinese propaganda-makers to the ASEAN countries and, as the Indonesian *Merdeka* newspaper noted, tries, and not for the first time, to force on them the "unity of views" on various international issues and use them to advantage.

However, it is worth noting that Peking apparently does not fully appraise the part this Association plays today and precisely the fact that ASEAN has become an active, sufficiently mature, organization capable of rebuffing Peking's hegemonic policy.

The Chinese leaders have, evidently, forgotten the fact that the emergence of the Association was spurred on by the Maoists' attempts to extend the notorious cultural revolution to other countries.

Let us turn to the factors compelling Peking to act as a peace-maker, which is so unlike it. The Chinese leaders, it seems, have come to realize that the chauvinistic, expansionist ideas advanced by the "celestial empire" do not meet the

response their authors hoped for and that due to these instigatory slogans China sinks in the estimation of the Asian public, compared, say, with India which is pursuing, persistently and sincerely, a policy of peace and international cooperation. This warrants a conclusion that Peking's recent hypocritical calls for cooperation and friendship among the Asian states can be regarded as the Chinese leaders' attempt to "neutralize" India and secure its own influence in the majority of Southeast Asian countries.

Undoubtedly, Peking also wants, contrary to the interests of the ASEAN countries, to impose on South and Southeast Asia a model of relations that would advance foreign policy questions to the foreground rather than economic issues.

The Asian countries fully realize the essence of the foreign policy pursued by China in the region. As the *Hindustan Times* newspaper wrote, China has no other aims than splitting the Asian countries, creating new seats of tension and establishing its domination in the region.

The propaganda campaign launched by Peking, its flirting with the South and Southeast Asian countries look shameless against the background of the undeclared war Peking is waging against Afghanistan and Vietnam and its increasingly closer alignment with the interventionist policy pursued by US imperialism.

Peking's propaganda-makers have launched a questionable campaign, the more so that its organizers are not ashamed of gambling with the peoples' natural striving for peace, friendship and cooperation.

Izvestia, May 12, 1981 *

V. GANSHIN

DIRTY GAME

The situation in Poland is very much discussed by the Chinese media. Peking's central newspapers carry articles designed to misinterpret the processes under way in this country.

The nature of the information borrowed, as a rule, from reactionary Western sources leaves no doubt that in assessing Polish developments Peking sides with the enemies of socialism in Poland. Defying all facts the Chinese newspapers try to make out that the danger looming over Poland comes from the East while the West and various anti-socialist forces operating in the country are the only "defenders" of freedom and democracy.

To present the matter in such a way means to drastically distort the essence of what is happening in the Polish People's Republic. As is well known, the crisis situation was mainly engendered by the openly provocative activity of the anti-popular groupings and their "leaders", instigated by Western intelligence services and their agents. It is precisely these forces that are all out to stoke up tensions and attribute the existing subjective and objective difficulties to the "collapse of the Marxist theory which has no future in Poland". Keeping very quiet about the dirty game the Western imperialist circles are playing with regard to Poland and using its propaganda machine to aggravate tensions in the country and fan anti-socialist sentiments, Peking has actually taken a position well at variance with the interests of the Polish people.

Why have the events in Poland caused such animation in the Chinese capital? In answering this question, one should bear in mind that the policy pursued by the Chinese leadership has for long been aimed at splitting the socialist community and putting the socialist countries at loggerheads with one another by applying differential treatment. In the light of this policy Peking looks upon the events in Poland as a "favourable opportunity" to attain the set aims and weaken the ties of friendship and cooperation which exist between the Polish People's Republic and the Soviet Union.

Izvestia, April 6, 1981 *

Ye. KONOVALOV,
S. MANEZHEV

SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONTRADICTIONS IN CHINA

"The experience of the social and economic development of the PRC over the past twenty years is a painful lesson showing what any distortion of the principles and essence of socialism in home and foreign policy leads to...

At present, changes are under way in China's internal policy. Time will show what they actually mean. It will show to what extent the present Chinese leadership will manage to overcome the Maoist legacy."

L. I. BREZHNEV

The internal political development of the PRC since the death of Mao Zedong constitutes a complex multiple process which the present Peking leaders strive to channel into the construction of a mighty military-industrial power capable of translating his far-reaching expansionist concepts into life. Retaining the Maoist banner and the name of Mao Zedong, the Peking rulers, nevertheless, gradually revised a number of political and ideological precepts of Maoism leaving intact, however, its inner core as expressed in chauvinism, hegemonism and anti-Sovietism. More. Mao Zedong's heirs have left their "great helmsman" well behind in aligning themselves with the most

reactionary forces of our time against the Soviet Union.

As before, chauvinism and anti-Sovietism combined with the ambitious plans of building "Great China" are a common platform of all factions of the Peking leadership. This platform was, in essence, shared by the four "leftist" Maoist leaders removed from power, who parted ways with their political opponents above all with regard to the methods of implementing the said programme. Mao Zedong's strategic policy thus remains in force. The changes, including fairly tangible ones, which have taken and continue to take place on the country's domestic scene, are directed primarily at making this strategic policy more effective.

Admission of Setbacks

The more than 30 years which have passed since the formation of the PRC have seen social transformations and endless "nationwide campaigns" and shake-ups in all echelons of China's leadership. While in the 1950s observers could speak about China's progressive, if painful, ascension towards socialism and its entry into the period of creating the material and technical foundation of socialism, with the all-round assistance of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, in the next 20 odd years the Peking leaders have pursued their own specific internal and foreign policy which is fraught with the loss of the crucial gains of socialism and the advantages inherent in the socialist system.

Although in our days the production relations in China bear the official hallmark of socialization the prevailing forms of property are, in fact, more and

Where does the New Orientation Lead?

more assuming a character which is obviously alien to socialism. The extraction of the greatest possible surplus product in the name of enhancing the country's military potential and of pursuing a hegemonistic foreign policy is increasingly becoming the ultimate aim of production. Meanwhile, the basic material and cultural requirements of the working people are being ignored and vital socio-economic problems remain unresolved. The only "impressive" results of China's development in the past 30 odd years are that its population has almost doubled approaching one billion and that its People's Liberation Army has grown to be the largest in the world. By contrast, the PRC holds the world's 120th place in per capita national income, its unemployed total exceeding 20 million in the urban centres plus another 100 million in the rural areas.

Following the formation of the PRC its five-year plans (excluding the first—1953-1957) have remained actually unfulfilled and its annual plans have been endlessly revised. As admitted by its own leaders, their country has long been kept in a "half-planned, half-anarchic state". True, in 1975 the "four modernizations" programme was proposed and in 1978 a 10-year plan (1976-1985). However, it was also found to be totally lacking in economic validation. In the autumn of 1980 the 3rd session of the National People's Congress (NPC) of the 5th convocation admitted its failure. The 17th session of the NPC Standing Committee of the 5th convocation, which was held in February and March 1981, discussed ways of adjusting the economic development plans and the state budget for 1981. China is facing a general crisis of its national economy caused by colossal economic disproportions and immense budgetary deficit.

Nevertheless, as before, China's leaders have no real development strategy. In Peking emergency measures are being presented as a new economic policy, the current reduction in the scope of production and construction in crucial fields is being attributed to the need of improving proportions and the revival of non-socialist forms of property is being passed off for the "broadening of freedoms", for the expedient and necessary use of market control as an "extension" of planned control.

For instance, it is declared that an "ideal" branch structure for the PRC would be one in which the proportion of the Group B branches (the production of consumer goods) would substantially exceed that of the Group A branches (the production of the means of production). Peking is tempted by the fact that the Group B branches are considerably less capital-intensive and energy-consuming, that they recoup sooner and make it possible to use a huge semi-skilled labour force. However, the restructuring of the national economy from capital-intensive to labour-intensive creates new problems. The labour-intensive branches are major consumers of raw and other materials. A change in the branch proportions, for instance, in favour of the textile industry will sharply raise the demand for raw materials which are 70 per cent dependent on the state of agriculture, which is in a critical state. China's agriculture retains its grain orientation being obviously unprepared for serving the Group B branches. The restructuring may lead to the underexploitation of heavy industry and a shrinkage of its output, especially of industrial machinery, while the light

industry enterprises, which are currently going up and are being fitted with antiquated equipment, will bear a seasonal character due to a chronic shortage of raw and other materials.

Strategically, the proposed restructuring will have a baneful effect on China: its technical and economic lag behind other countries will grow due to the slower increase of modern type industrial capacities. A constantly swelling proportion of resources will be "eaten up" by the opening of new primitive jobs. This doomes the country to a retarded rate of reproduction, a drop in efficiency and labour productivity.

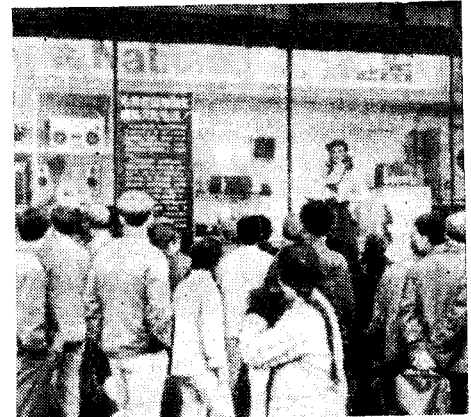
A Policy of Cooperation with the West

A major role in resolving national economic problems in the PRC is assigned to broadening economic relations with the capitalist world. China is trying to entice foreign capital to its economy. In the 1978-1980 period the PRC concluded credit agreements for obtaining a total of 30,200 million dollars from the capitalist countries. True, their enforcement is being stalled due to the low efficiency of Western credits and the tough granting terms. Estimates show that in the case of complete utilization of the loans before 1985 more than 80 per cent of the enlisted resources would go for the repayment of the greater part of the debt and the accrued interest.

At the same time, since the loaned resources are intended above all for buying industrial machinery, their efficiency and recoument are directly dependent on how promptly China will be able to obtain the resources necessary for repaying the enlisted capital. The effective introduction in China's backward eco-

EVENTS IN PICTURES

The aspect of Peking's streets has markedly altered. Mao's portraits and dicta have disappeared and been replaced by advertisements promoting cosmetics, cigarettes and domestic appliances. However, this refurbished facade does not conceal the severe social and economic problems left over by the "cultural revolution" and other Maoist experiments.



"Buy modern household electrical appliances, and raise your cultural level!" proclaims the advertisement in the show-window of the Japanese "National" firm.

An advertisement boosting shoe sales has replaced the giant portrait of Mao Zedong.



New Times, No. 12,
1981

nomy of modern industrial machinery is being gravely impeded by the poorly developed infrastructure, the weakness of the country's energy base and an acute shortage of skilled personnel. The equipment purchased abroad stands idle or is underexploited. The gap in technical standards existing between China and the Western countries leads to substantial additional expenditures on the assembly and setting up of foreign-bought equipment. In 1979 the unforeseen expenditures on the introduction of imported equipment equalled the outlays on its purchase largely accounting for the country's state budgetary deficit. The price paid by the Chinese economy is incomparably greater than the benefits reaped from the purchases of Western and Japanese equipment on credit.

Even despite the slackened rate of realization of foreign credits China is already facing the acute problem of repaying its foreign debt. The situation is aggravated by the fact that the hopes for a large-scale export of energy resources as an expedient of obtaining foreign currency have been dashed. Any decline in export may force the PRC to seek new loans—granted on harsher terms—in order to pay outstanding debts. This will be a heavy burden for China's economy jeopardizing its economic self-reliance.

However, Peking is increasingly orienting its country's foreign economic relations to the world capitalist market, directly using foreign business investments in China's economy. The PRC leaders contemplate to build joint stock enterprises in their country. They are manifestly doing their utmost in order to create a "favourable investment climate" in their country.

Obviously, advancement along these lines can result in the further erosion of elements of the socialist basis in China. Particular danger is spelled by what

is known as "special export zones", i.e., areas set aside for the practically uncontrolled sway of foreign capital in Guangdong and Fujian provinces as well as in Peking and Shanghai. State control over the influx of foreign capital to, and its functioning in, these zones is being so slackened that Peking has been forced to admit that "a measure" of exploitation of the Chinese working people will be permitted here.

China's early efforts in attracting foreign capital have already brought along serious problems. While in establishing joint enterprises the Chinese side is interested in using modern equipment and technology, the capitalist firms are mostly concerned to derive top profit from exploiting the cheap labour of Chinese workers and secure the rapid recoupment of their investments. This is why the majority of such enterprises are assembly plants, which closes access to necessary equipment and technological processes for the PRC. The trend toward taking to China only the concluding stages of manifold production processes obstructs the creation of integral industrial complexes in the "export zones" attaching them to the economies of the investor countries.

Alongside partnership, cooperation with foreign capital implies a struggle for the strategic interests of a socialist state in using foreign experience and capital in order to speed economic expansion. Meanwhile, all-too-easy conditions for foreign capital weaken China's potential for the effective checking and channeling of the activity of foreign investors in order to modernize its economy.

To sum up. It is obvious that Peking's increasingly one-sided emphasis on economic relations with the developed capitalist countries, far from resolving China's acute economic problems, on the contrary, poses

a grave threat to the socialist gains of its people. In its urge to ensure China's rapid military-economic development at all costs its leaders persist in their dangerous policy of drawing their country into close credit-financial and investment-entrepreneurial relations with the capitalist world. This policy inevitably ties China's economy to the world capitalist economy making this country economically and politically dependent on the imperialist powers.

Problemy Dalnego Vostoka, No. 1,
1981 *

APROPOS OF ONE PUBLICATION IN "RENMIN RIBAO"

Renmin ribao, organ of the CPC Central Committee, published a statement Huang Kecheng, Permanent Secretary of the CPC Central Disciplinary Commission, made at the colloquium on "some fundamental questions of party life".

His statement sums up, as it were, the discussion raging in the CPC over the assessment of the role of Mao Zedong and his ideological legacy.

Huang Kecheng says that of late "certain comrades have voiced rather sharp judgements" on Mao Zedong and his ideas, while some of them even "denigrated Mao Zedong's ideas without restraint", and "abused him". Pointing out the impermissibility of such an approach to Mao Zedong and his ideological heritage, the Permanent Secretary insisted that "renunciation of the ideas of Mao Zedong is bound to cause ideological confusion among party members and non-party people alike."

According to Huang Kecheng, "how to understand and assess Chairman Mao, how to interpret Mao's ideas, is a vital question for the Party and the state." And he provides a very definite answer to this question: "Mao Zedong's ideas are the most valuable wealth he left behind. We shall be guided by them in our activity"; "The basic ideas of Mao Zedong are the guiding ideology of our Party and state."

In his lengthy digression into the history of the CPC and the Chinese revolution the author sings the praises of the "sagacity and correctness" of Mao's guidelines, his "immortal exploits" and "historical services". Contrary to facts, all the successes of the Chinese revolution (during the civil war with the Guomindang, the war against Japan, the country's complete liberation) are attributed to Mao Zedong. In particular instances, when his "guidance was ignored" the revolution in China "was greatly damaged". The author in a tendentious and distorted way has interpreted the relationship between the Comintern and the Communist Party of China at various stages of the Chinese revolution. In the early years of the PRC Mao Zedong's rule was said to be "wise and correct"—despite the fact that already at that time he and his entourage began conducting an adventurous policy in the economy, ideology and other fields. This policy had later brought the country to the disastrous "great leap" and the excesses of the "cultural revolution".

"The shortcomings, mistakes and some blunders committed by Mao Zedong in the last period of his life" are only mentioned in passing. Instead, Deng Xiaoping has been quoted as saying that "the merits of Chairman Mao must take the first place, and his errors, the second." *Renmin ribao* adds that these

errors are rooted in "the deep historical and social conditions". No serious analysis of the real causes has been attempted. Moreover, Mao's mistakes are presented almost as his virtues. It is asserted that "in the last period of his life Chairman Mao was obsessed by great and lofty ideas. He strove to do within several dozen years that which needed several hundred years."

Passed over in silence are such important things as Mao Zedong's personal responsibility for the so-called "special course" in China's home and foreign policies, i.e., the voluntarist experiments of the "great leap" type, the forcible "communization" of the Chinese village, the wholesale reprisals of party and state functionaries during the incessant political campaigns and purges, the rapture with the international communist movement, abandonment of the principles of proletarian internationalism, rejection of the policy of friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and adoption of rabid anti-Sovietism, and the struggle against world socialism and other progressive forces. Mao Zedong was the architect of this policy. Having given up Marxism-Leninism, he espoused great-Han chauvinism, voluntarism and hegemonism.

Huang Kecheng complains that "some people want us to relinquish our most precious asset, Mao Zedong's ideas"; he condemns those who think it "enough to rely on Marxism-Leninism", accentuating in every way China's "peculiarity" and "specificity". Such an approach indicates that the present Chinese leadership adheres to nationalist positions, denies the universal character of Marxism-Leninism, and declares "Sinicized Marxism", or "Mao's ideas", to be the unshakable ideological and political foundation of the CPC. Fur-

thermore, the Peking leaders expect that "the quintessence of Mao Zedong's ideas" will for ever be "the spiritual weapon of the revolutionary peoples", claiming, as their predecessors did, the worldwide role for Mao's ideological legacy.

Huang Kecheng is clearly worried over the penetration of Western bourgeois ideas into China, and their growing influence, especially on the younger generation of the Chinese. There are also instances of "worshipping capitalism" among the youth. However, it is a fact that the Chinese leaders, seeking partnership with imperialists for the sake of their hegemonic and anti-Soviet ambitions, themselves encouraged these hostile influences.

Pravda, April 18, 1981

● THE WORLD ON MAOISM ● THE WORLD ON MAOISM ●

A REAL FIASCO

The pendulum of China's economic development is on the reverse swing, writes the "Wall Street Journal", organ of US business circles. It adds, that Peking's ambitious plans for modernizing the economy are falling through and through.

The Chinese leaders, the paper goes on, are conspicuous for their utter incompetence and inability to manage the economy, swinging from side to side in politics and economics alike.

There is not the slightest doubt, the "Wall Street Journal" points out, that the targets of the ill-famed "four modernizations" programme projected for the last twenty years of this century, are absolutely unattainable.

ANTI-POPULAR COURSE

China's grave political and economic crisis resulted from the anti-popular political course of its present leadership tenaciously sticking to Maoism, writes *Rude pravo*, the newspaper of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

The broad masses are becoming increasingly discontent with the leadership's economic policy. Having officially denounced the "big leap", which Mao Zedong instigated in the late fifties with the ambitious purpose of bringing China into the ranks of major powers within the next few years, the Peking rulers actually repeated his mistakes, when they proposed their "four modernizations". In the view of the authors of these projects, contracts with Western firms and cooperation with Japanese, American and West European monopolies in building modern factories in China were supposed, by the mid-80s, to advance that country to the level achieved by the developed states. However, these projects, like the ill-starred "big leap", have proved adventurous.

No wonder anarchy is holding sway in China. The state has, in fact, refused to tackle economic problems by advising people in town and country "to seek a way out on their own". Simultaneously Peking is tightening the screws in order to stop popular action aroused by the government's policy.

Rent by internal strife and power struggles, the Chinese leadership is trying to damp the social and political tension in the country by whipping up war hysteria and chauvinist sentiments, *Rude pravo* concludes.

MILITARISM IN CHINA

Lenin defined militarism as a practical manifestation of capitalism. It is not inherent in socialism, which opposes wars, the arms race and the use of military force in attaining political aims in the international arena. However, the present regime in China is heading for a loss of the socialist gains. This makes Maoist militarism a specific phenomenon which reveals the degeneration of a people's system into a military-bureaucratic dictatorship profoundly alien to the principles of socialism.

Specific Features of Maoist Militarism

Militarism as a social process is a system of state, economic, political and ideological measures designed to strengthen, as much as possible, the military component of the social structure. The basic purpose of militarism is to achieve political objects by military force. Exhibiting the general features of imperialist militarism, Maoist militarism has some specific features.

First, the militarist views in Maoist ideology and policy are overtly spearheaded against socialism and all progressive forces of the world. All documents, and statements by China's representatives in the United Nations and the mass media repeat different variants of one and the same theme: China is engaged in military preparations because of "threat from the North", the PRC's "environment", the necessity of combating "revisionism".

Aided by political expedients, China's militarism is developing at a rapid rate, with its effect intensified literally in all spheres of the country's life. Lenin said that "the whole of social life is now being militarized"¹. Maoist militarization is precisely a case in point. In essence, all of Peking's internal and foreign policy is conditioned by short- and long-term military objectives. *Militarism has actually developed into a phenomenon typical of the political scene in present-day China.*

Second, militarist trends in Maoist ideology and policy have an unorthodox form, being cloaked in the garb of "Marxist", "socialist" phraseology, which at times blurs their reactionary character. The Peking leaders declare all their political steps and ideological twists to be a "further development" of the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism. Such statements are accompanied by the juggling of phrases like the "dictatorship of the proletariat", "socialist revolution", "communist party", "the interests of the working people", etc.

Using "Marxist" terminological clichés, which in effect have nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism, Peking propaganda enables the bourgeoisie to speculate on the Chinese leaders' allegations in its ideological battle against socialism.

Third, organizationally, Maoist-style militarism attempts to validate the "objective necessity" of a broad transfer of military-administrative methods to all spheres of social life, of the replacement of many social institutions by military ones. Maoist theory obtrusively insists that the army represents an ideal model of social organization and social structure. The

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 23, p. 82.

periodically revived appeals for "learning from the army" are tantamount precisely to an urge for transferring the specific methods of work of a military organization to the economic and cultural life of Chinese society, above all, to the activity of the CPC.

The decisions of the CPC congresses and other published political documents of the Maoists direct the country's main efforts to war preparations, modernization of the army and militarization of all aspects of China's life. All this goes to show that *the PRC has developed militarism of a special petty-bourgeois type, which exploits all elements of the state structure in order to build up military strength for expansionist objectives.*

True, in recent times China's leaders have attempted to pose as peace-makers with a view to relieving Peking's ungainly reputation as an apologist of another world war. In reality, China's present leaders, like their predecessors, assume that another world war is inevitable, actually expecting it will help them attain their hegemonistic aims.

The Aims of "Modernization"

In a bid to build up their military-bureaucratic regime, the Peking leaders place emphasis on the country's continued economic militarization and the one-sided, militarist use of the potentialities afforded by scientific and technological progress.

The first session of the National People's Congress (NPC) of the 5th convocation, which took place in February-March 1978, put forward so-called "four modernizations": in addition to developing its industry, agriculture and science, the PRC is to create "modern

The Chinese leaders boost their arms build-up under the false slogan of a "Soviet threat". China's direct and indirect expenditures for war now take 40 per cent of the state budget. Peking's aim is to turn the country into a mighty militarist state which could claim world supremacy.

Poster by artist
M. Abramov
Plakat Publishers



defences" in order to develop the country into a "mighty great power" by the close of the century. In this programme the emphasis is on the modernization of China's armed forces.

The 17th session of the NPC Standing Committee of the 5th convocation, which was held in February-March 1981, with a view to adjusting national economic development plans, revised the 1981 budget reducing the state incomes and expenditures. However, the reduction did not extend to military expenditures, which constantly tend to rise. In 1980, for example,

the direct state military expenditures exceeded the state agricultural allocations by 15 per cent and the state outlays for science, culture, education and health services by 30 per cent. In total, China's direct and indirect military expenditures amount to 40 per cent of its state budget. Incidentally, 20 years ago its military budget equalled only 12 per cent of its national income.

The war industry constitutes an object of the Peking leaders' specific preoccupation. Several hundred enterprises turn out all types of modern conventional armaments as well as nuclear missile weapons. Several machine-building ministries supervise military sectors: China has adequately developed tank-building and artillery industries. In recent years it has substantially advanced its shipbuilding and aircraft-making. However, special importance is being attached to the manufacture and perfection of nuclear missile weapons, as well as to war-oriented space technology.

Much effort is being put into the *modernization of science*. Many posts in the Academy of Sciences and the Academy of Military Science are now occupied by individuals who received an education and developed research skills in the West. The overwhelming majority of this category, holding ultra-nationalistic positions, zealously strive to strengthen various ties with imperialist research centres. Such scientists, like Professor Qian Xuesen, an ex-colonel of the US Army and subsequently one of the creators of China's atomic bomb, are active bearers of bourgeois influence and advocates of China's continued backslide to the right.

Scientific modernization in China is mainly carried on in the field of applied military knowledge, which can be used to achieve the growth of its military-industrial potential. This is paralleled by the establish-

ment of scientific and technical contacts with the West. Of course, the drawing of any country into the structure of world economic and scientific relationships is a natural process. Like any modern country, China cannot remain outside it. However, it always establishes only those relationships which promote its war industry and its general military build-up.

Simultaneously, Peking, without waiting for the proposed "modernization" of industry and science to yield fruits, seeks to obtain weapons and military equipment from the capitalist countries. The numerous Chinese delegations, which have visited Western military testing grounds, laboratories and enterprises, have confirmed Peking's intention of buying formidable amounts of electronic military equipment, planes, helicopters, anti-tank missiles, engines, military documentation, etc.

Thus, the methods of China's "modernization", set forth by its present leadership, in addition to bearing a clearly militaristic character, are pushing it further to the right, towards closer alliance with the imperialists. The processes taking place in Peking all too obviously indicate that the notorious "four modernizations" are nothing but the maximum mobilization of all resources necessary for making it a mighty militarist power capable of claiming world supremacy.

Thus, the Western propaganda allegations to the effect that China's modernization programme reveals its desire for peace and is a stabilizing factor in international relations have nothing in common with the real situation.

The Regime's Support

As before, the army (People's Liberation Army) is the basic support of China's regime. Despite the

numerical reduction of its representatives in the party and state agencies the army holds stable political positions. In 1980, according to *Renmin ribao*, "more than 50,000 groups of servicemen were sent to more than 150,000 populated areas and institutions for settling specific questions." In January 1981 at an army conference on political work among the troops Deng Xiaoping, Hu Yaobang and other leaders called on the PLA to make the "greatest possible contribution" to the pursuit of the present policy and "fight counter-revolutionary elements."

One of the most ominous changes in Peking's foreign-policy strategy now is its new approach to the military factor. There is an obvious change in the theoretical basis of its military policy: as a matter of fact, Peking has renounced its doctrine of a "people's war" as a defensive war on the country's own territory (due to the "limited character" of this doctrine) and has developed the concept of large-scale military operations of a modernized professional army outside China. Unfortunately, China's military operations against the Socialist Republic of Vietnam in 1979 revealed that this theory was matched by a dangerous military-political practice.

Under the slogan of "modernization of defences" Mao's successors are implementing wide-ranging measures designed to speed the development of the armed forces. An appropriate directive of the PLA Main Political Department says that the servicemen must "step up war preparations and do all in their power to carry through, within three years, the readjustment and reorganization of the army, raise the level of training and strengthen the unity of the ranks of the armed forces."

The Peking leaders attach special importance to

the ideological indoctrination of the army personnel as a major factor in carrying out their own strategic designs inside the country as well as in the world. The indoctrination is pervaded by the spirit of Maoist dogmas, which are maintained as the "ideological compass" of social life.

However, the search for more effective ways of achieving its hegemonistic objects forces the Peking clique into manoeuvring, into some adjustment of the most compromised Maoist dogmas. This extends to the activity of the Chinese army's propaganda machine. Among other things, the army press has been increasingly often questioning the relevance of Mao Zedong's "military concepts" to modern warfare, offering a more "elastic" interpretation of the thesis of "reliance on our own resources" in carrying out the army modernization programme. There is a shift of accents in the assessment of the role of the material and moral factors in a war.

Peking propaganda is warning against a one-sided, schematic approach to Mao's "military concepts", which only too recently were presented as the "acme of world military thought". It is alleged that the "gang of four" and their ilk are guilty of dogmatizing all that was said and written by Mao. This is why regular army officers and men must derive from Mao's books only "the essential element", "dovetailing their theoretical studies with reality". If we consider that this "essential element" in theory—the undisguised apology of chauvinism and hegemonism, force and war—is supported by the practice of military preparations we shall see the *intensification of a danger to the peace and human progress which modernized Maoism presents.*

The above manipulations of Maoism heighten vari-

ous contradictions in the Chinese army leading to its endless purges. Referring to Chinese sources, the foreign press reported, for instance, that in the 1969-1975 period, in other words, when Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were in power, 400,000 servicemen were subjected to repressions, many committing suicide. However, the political winds in Peking are changeful, and shortly 600 military leaders fell victims in another campaign of purges, this time against the supporters of the "four". Back in December 1978 the Main Political Department of China's army hastened to announce that the campaign was, "in the main", completed. In reality, the end of it is not in sight to this day.

The Maoists are forced to admit that a large category of servicemen "wittingly or unwittingly oppose the present policy": some through a "lack of faith", others because they "nurse grudges from the past", still others because they are "henchmen of the gang of four". The army press and the central radio persistently urge to get rid of "factionalism", warn against "friction" among the command personnel and call for "stability and cohesion".

Despite the measures taken the leadership is failing to overcome the "crisis of confidence" in the PLA ranks. The troops are coming to realize that although the Chinese army is some 15-20 years behind the modern level it is nevertheless viewed by the country's leaders as a tool for the adventurous foreign policy which, as follows from the experience of the aggression unleashed against Vietnam in 1979, far from bringing it triumphs, spells death to tens of thousands of its men and officers.

Consequently, the PLA, once a factor of stability and a major political tool in the hands of the Maoists,

has in recent years *sustained changes tending to make it a factor of political instability.*

* * *

Obsessed by hegemonism, the present PRC leaders are whipping up the arms race, aggravating world tension, resorting to armed provocations and blackmail and strengthening partnership with the imperialists and other reactionaries. Their hostility to the Soviet Union and the socialist community as a whole is growing. *Peking's adventurous policy of pushing the world towards war poses a threat to the security of all peoples, including the Chinese.*

I. ILYIN



The start-up ceremony of a container making factory built with US assistance in Guangzhou. China has returned to a precommunist custom of staging and performing the dragon dance, writes the magazine "Fortune" overcome with emotion. However, raptures proved premature. Economic troubles have forced China to break some contracts concluded earlier which has resulted in multi-billion losses for large Western firms.

Fortune, USA

● IN BRIEF ● IN BRIEF ● IN BRIEF ●

CHINA'S "BLACK MARKET"

Illicit trade is sweeping China like an epidemic. "Contraband is thriving," complains *Renmin ribao*, an official mouthpiece. "Smuggling jeopardizes our socialist economy, undermines stability and unity, and has a pernicious effect on our modernization efforts. Illicit trade has spread to a great proportion of state enterprises and cooperatives, and is also conducted by people in the state service, officials and workers included."

The traffic in industrial goods mostly starts from Hong-Kong. According to some data the amount of these goods smuggled into China adds up to 500 million dollars. Hong-Kong officials admit that a fisherman may earn some 4,000 dollars for one contraband operation, and it takes him two years to earn as much by catching fish.

As a rule boats from Hong-Kong and Taiwan lie in wait for smaller Chinese fishing boats far off the coast, in international waters. Since the Chinese yuan has no circulation outside China, importers pay in kind: in gold, silver, jewelry, antiques and medicinal herbs. The goods are then sold at exorbitant prices on the "black market" to Chinese starving for consumer items. One of the 600 TV sets supplied through "Guangdali" junk would be worth 1,000 dollars in China, a pair of sun-glasses—25 dollars, etc.

The illicit trade traffic by land is a more modest affair, but is carried out just as persistently. Chinese from Hong-Kong visit their relatives in South China by the hundred thousands every year and take to them watches, jeans, radio sets, and tape.

This information was published in the US *Philadelphia Inquirer*.

THE BLIND LEAD THE BLIND

If energy specialists were as knowledgeable as the leading economic executives in China the voltage in electricity supply networks worldwide would have to be raised to 10,000 V (!). This is precisely the figure given by some senior staff member of the Administration for Energy in Hebei Province during a session held there to ascertain the competence of leading provincial personnel. Half the leading farm specialists in agricultural departments have no knowledge of pests most common in Chinese villages. "Renmin ribao" referring to the provincial newspaper "Hebei ribao" sums up the tests as follows: out of the 700,000 leading specialists in the province two thirds have an insufficient educational level and are virtually incapable of performing their duties. Their colleagues in the 18-million-strong army of China's leading cadres are not very far ahead of them either.

Lamenting this state of things "Hebei ribao" says: "In China the blind lead the blind."

DRUMMING UP THE ALARM

Peking's propaganda drums sound an alarm announcing the advent of another menace that threatens the foundations of Maoist society. The "gang of four" has been supplanted and now they say a jazz band is doing their "dirty work". Variety music has been branded in China as a national calamity and home-grown philosophers are debating whether "songs alone can conquer the country". Discussing this "jazz aggression" the "Peking Daily" concludes that this sort of music could very well cause the country's subjugation!

It turns out that the "celestial empire" can, after all, be won over with the aid of Frank Sinatra, Tom Jones and the Boney M group. Knowing that Chinese youth would not heed the calls of Peking theoreticians the authorities decided to resort to a more effective means for combating the music. The first successes have been achieved. Shanghai police reported the seizure of over one thousand tape cassettes with recordings.

SPECIALLY FOR STP

A POLICY EXACERBATING THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION



A call for peace and detente sounded loud and clear from the rostrum of the 26th Congress of the CPSU. The new Soviet initiatives constituting the peace programme for the 1980s have met with a wide positive response from the overwhelming majority of the world public.

However, the Soviet Peace Programme is not to the liking of all. It is openly resented in Peking where

the fresh constructive initiatives have given rise to a wave of anti-Soviet hysteria. The causes and roots of the hostile attitude of China's Maoist leadership to the policy of peace and detente are given an exhaustive treatment in a new booklet titled "Peking: Following a Course of Hegemonism and Chauvinism", issued jointly by publishing houses of nine fraternal socialist states¹. It is a collection of articles by political

¹ Peking: Following a Course of Hegemonism and Chauvinism. A collection. Sofia-Press (Bulgaria), Budapest (Hungary), Foreign Languages Literature Publishing House (Socialist Republic of Vietnam), Dietz Verlag (GDR), Prensa Latina (Cuba), State Publishing House (MPR), Interpress (Poland), Novosti Press Agency Publishing House (USSR), Orbis (CSSR), 1981.

writers and scholars from these countries analyzing the Maoist policy and activities of those who are guided by it in international relations.

The experience of the socio-political development of the PRC within the past two decades is a painful lesson showing what happens when the principles of socialism and its substance are distorted both on the domestic and on the world scene. The current rulers of China themselves refer to the order of things in their country during the so-called "cultural revolution" as a heinous feudal-fascist dictatorship.

The 26th Congress of the CPSU noted that China's internal policy is undergoing changes the true meaning of which time alone can show. It will denote to what extent the current Chinese leadership will have managed to overcome the Maoist legacy. "But, unfortunately, there are no grounds yet to speak of any changes for the better in Peking's foreign policy", L. I. Brezhnev pointed out in his report to the Congress. "As before, it is aimed at aggravating the international situation, and is aligned with the policy of the imperialist powers".

Adhering to the Maoist thesis on the inevitability of world war, the current Peking leaders tone down this formulation, somewhat renovating it with a provision on the possibility of "delaying the inevitable disaster". Thus it is seen that the practice of Peking in the international arena is being painted in subdued colours, while some people even present Peking's policy as an instrument for preserving peace and international stability. In his article titled "The Ideology of Maoism Is an Ideology of War", Czechoslovak journalist M. Drab, demonstrates the utter groundlessness of such conclusions. Drawing upon convincing facts he shows that militaristic hegemonism and great-

power chauvinism are still at the core of Peking's foreign policy.

The Maoists' practice and ideology are therefore aimed at further exacerbating international tensions and clash with the striving of socialist countries to promote international security and peaceful cooperation.

For some time now the ruling circles of the PRC have been carrying out another, the fifth, "modernization" by refurbishing their odious theory of the "three worlds". That adventurous conception depicted China as the sole leader of the planet's developing part which allegedly stands against the two other worlds—the countries of capitalism and the countries of existing socialism. The modernized theory of the "three worlds" calls for an all-out struggle against "hegemonism" by creating a world anti-socialist, anti-Soviet front. For the sake of achieving this goal and gaining access to Western technology Chinese leaders collude with the extreme reactionary forces from Chilean fascists to West-German revanchists, approve the US aggressive "military presence" in different parts of the world and clamour for the further strengthening of the NATO bloc. This theme is treated in articles written by F. Varnai (HPR) and P. Bursche (GDR).

"Peking's 'New' Tactics in the International Communist and Working Class Movement" by A. Borekov (Bulgaria) and "Peking Against the Socialist Community" by D. Lulinski (Poland) are two articles exposing the Maoists' traitorous policy regarding the revolutionary movements led by Marxist-Leninist parties. The articles show the utter failure of the Maoists' attempts to throw the international communist and workers' movement into disarray and "demolish"

their time-tested and long-established revolutionary principles. Now the Maoists have switched over to the tactic of a "differentiated approach" to different parties and countries ranging all the way from "ardent and eternal friendship" to sharp confrontation. However, the substance of the tactic of Mao's ideological heirs is still the same: to erode the world socialist community, to pit different countries against one another, or bring them together against the Soviet Union, to unhinge the mechanism of interaction between socialist states.

The authors from Mongolia, Vietnam, Cuba and the Soviet Union examine the hegemonic and chauvinistic aspects of PRC policies in different parts of the world. This publication shows the damage being inflicted by Maoism on the national liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America and also the tangible danger of the military adventures being let loose by Peking virtually against all countries bordering on China and against the peoples of Southeast Asia as a whole.

The Soviet Union's strategy of peace is in sharp contrast with Peking's expansionist foreign policy schemes. It is dealt with by V. Fetov (USSR) in his article "USSR's Leninist Policy Towards China". The history of Soviet-Chinese relations graphically demonstrates how the current anti-Soviet and anti-socialist course of Maoism has been taking shape over the years and the changes which have taken place in its evaluation of the main factors of international life.

Significantly, still prior to the 26th Congress of the CPSU the *Renmin ribao* began spreading concoctions about a "toughening" of Soviet policy. After the Congress put forward a number of constructive peace initiatives Peking propaganda responded by floating

absurdities such as "Moscow's shiftY stratagems", "deceptive manoeuvres" and stridently urged all not to "succumb", "reinforce the anti-Soviet front" and "arm to face the Soviet threat".

The principled positions of the Soviet Union vis-a-vis the People's Republic of China was set forth in the report delivered by L. I. Brezhnev at the 26th Congress of the CPSU. "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".

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MEMOIRS AND DOCUMENTARIES

Ernst HENRY

PEKING'S HIGHLY ESTEEMED PEOPLE

In the bourgeois world, people with ministerial portfolios not infrequently become pawns in Big Politics, whereas the main characters, "the bosses of all bosses", remain in the background. Their names are not boldly written on the pages of newspapers, nor do they nominate themselves at elections. But the levers of power protecting the interests of monopoly capital, move at their bidding.

Chinese diplomacy, which is trying to insinuate itself into the Western partnership, is fully aware of this. Accordingly, Peking does all possible to reach the holy of holies of the "free world" and establish valuable connections. Nowadays China finds itself in difficulties without them, particularly so when it is acting so unscrupulously and adventurously in the international arena. Such "bad form" in politics scandalizes even those who call themselves China's "friends".

Peking is most wanted where the word "detente" has the same effect as a red cloth to a bull. The Western reactionaries and Chinese rulers are drawn to each other by the rabid hatred of everything related to detente. Pursuing its great-power ambitions Peking counts on Western aid. The Western revenge-seekers and "hawks", in turn, exploit China's ferocious anti-Sovietism.

As is known, Peking is building up its military potential, feverishly "modernizing" the country's war machine. It has subordinated everything to this goal, and does not even conceal it. Huge sums are envisaged for the purpose and the money will be extorted from the much-suffering Chinese people.

The aggressive circles in the West intimate that they are prepared to assist Chinese militarism. Which capitalist firms in the West show heightened interest in China? Those who

participated in World War Two or read about it must have heard of the German firm Messerschmitt. Today, Messerschmitt-Bölkow-Blohm is a major military monopoly in the capitalist world with an annual turnover of 2,000 million marks, and is surely the most active one in Western Europe.

Its present owners are: the Messerschmitts and Bölkows, the fascist aircraft designers who established the firm; the Adenauer family (its offspring, Konrad Adenauer, was the first chancellor of Federal Germany, he conducted revanchist policies); the Thyssen monopoly, which in the not-too-distant past lavishly financed the Nazi party and today leads Europe in steel production. Among its shareholders is Bavaria's government in the FRG led by the right-wing Christian Socialist Union. After the war this government set the Messerschmitt on their feet. Franz-Josef Strauss, the head of the party, chairman of the controlling board in one of the firm's affiliations.

Outside partners of West German capital are two leading military monopolies: the US Boeing corporation which supplies the Pentagon with "Minuteman" intercontinental ballistic missiles and is now about to produce cruise missiles, and the French air concern Nord Aviation.

Thus, it is a powerful transnational military corporation with the American multi-millionaires playing duets with the old Nazis.

Chinese shareholders are not on Messerschmitt's list so far. But there is no ruling out that with time the Chinese, even if represented by figure-heads, will not show their faces there. For the Peking leaders contemplate more than just the attraction of foreign capital into the Chinese economy.

Indicative in this respect is the fact that Messerschmitt met and their overseas Boeing joint owners are people highly esteemed in Peking as they assiduously forge ahead into making China a partner of the Western monopolies.

The Messerschmitt concern initiated talks with the Chinese leadership way back in September, 1972. The Chinese side was represented by the industrial firm Northern China which, to all appearances, is an affiliation of the China National Machinery Import and Export Corporation, acting in fact on behalf of the war department. Some time later Franz J. Strauss, West German right-wing politician and a "friend" of the Messerschmitt firm arrived in Peking to continue the talks. To put it briefly Messerschmitt's relationship with the Chinese brass hats is

long one. At first the partners displayed discretion. It was not before February, 1978 that a report leaked into the press that a Peking mission was in the FRG discussing the possibility of buying Messerschmitt army helicopters.

The Messerschmitt-Boeing group has not yet openly struck a deal with China, probably waiting for an opportune moment. However, there are indications that Peking has a finger in the global pie of the US-West German military-industrial complex. It was not a sight seeing excursion when Hua Guofeng visited one of the Messerschmitt plants while in Western Europe. All this goes to show that the partnership of the overseas "hawks", the West German ex-Nazis and Peking adventurers is in the making. At first it may seem preposterous, but on closer scrutiny we see that the three partners have similar ambitions: to gain a foothold in the world by force.

The new expansionists in Eastern Asia are forming a bloc with the leftovers of the old ones in Europe. Each side has its own interests, plans and ulterior motives, but they have one object of hate—peace-loving peoples. "Ideology" has nothing to do with it, the main thing is for them to kill detente, carry on the arms race and impede peaceful coexistence.

APN

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