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**SOCIALISM: THEORY AND PRACTICE**

**The lessons  
of the CPC's history**

**USA—China:  
real menace to peace**

**The bankruptcy of Maoism**

**SUPPLEMENT**

**VI  
1981**

**SOCIALISM:  
THEORY  
AND PRACTICE**

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*Editing completed*

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Yumjaagiyn TSEDENBAL,  
General Secretary of the MPRP Central Committee,  
Chairman of the Presidium of the Great National  
Hural of the Mongolian People's Republic

### CHINA'S EXPANSIONISM

*Asked to comment on Mongolian-Chinese relations, Y. Tsedenbal had this to say.*

Following the victorious people's revolution in China, our government officially recognized the People's Republic of China and the two countries established diplomatic relations which exist to this day. Regrettably, I cannot say that at present these relations are normal. The reason for this lies in the policy of China's ruling circles directed against the freedom and independence of the MPR.

The Peking rulers strive to make the entire world believe that the MPR is China's "unclaimed" territory. A textbook for Chinese secondary schools issued in 1978 presents all Mongolia as part of China. More. Part of Soviet territory is included within China's bounds. This makes it imperative to stress the dangerous character of the Peking leaders' policy which poisons China's younger generation with the idea of the annexation of other countries' territories.

In a bid to validate their expansionist policy toward the MPR the Peking leaders shamelessly distort

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From an interview given by Yu. Tsedenbal to a BBC correspondent on June 18, 1981.

the facts of history. They vainly attempt to prove that Mongolia has been from ancient times a part of China. Peking's ruling circles praise the wars of invasion waged by the Mongol khans in the Middle Ages. They seek to exploit this fact for justifying their claims to territories of other countries.

Guided by annexationist objectives with regard to our country, the Peking leaders make war preparations, amassing their troops and building military-strategic installations along our border. The greater part of China's armed forces is targeted on the Soviet Union and the MPR. For this reason our country for a long period has been forced to divert major resources from peaceful construction for defence. In compliance with the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance concluded by the MPR and the Soviet Union in 1966, the MPR relies on Soviet assistance in defending its freedom and independence. Under the Mongolian-Soviet treaty on mutual assistance and on the request of the MPR government, a certain contingent of the Soviet troops is deployed on our territory, which, jointly with the Mongolian armed forces, guards the freedom and independence of our people.

The Chinese side regularly smuggles its agents for subversive activities into our country. For the same purpose it tries to use Chinese emigrants (hua-qiao) who live in Mongolia.

Our country pursues a principled policy toward the PRC. We adhere to the course for normalizing the relations with China on the peaceful coexistence principles. Statements to this effect have been issued on many occasions. The normalization of China's relations with the MPR depends on whether the Peking

leaders renounce the policy of expansion and the practices of Maoism.

China's ruling circles also follow a policy of great-power chauvinism with respect to other neighbouring countries. This is known to the world public. In collusion with the United States China's leaders are waging an undeclared war against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. They have committed overt armed aggression against Vietnam and continually encroach on its independence and territorial integrity. Peking is sustaining and arming remnants of the Pol Pot regime and is organizing armed aggression against the People's Republic of Kampuchea. China persists in hostile schemings against the Lao People's Democratic Republic and in subversive activities designed to destabilize the situation in India. China's rulers conspire with the most reactionary forces in their aggressive actions aimed against the security, independence and social progress of the peoples.

*Mongolian News*, June 20, 1981 \*

Stanislaw KANIA,  
First Secretary of the Central Committee  
of the Polish United Workers' Party

## **DANGEROUS TO PEACE**

In its attempts to tilt the balance of world forces in its favour the USA promotes military cooperation with the PRC. This endangers stability and world

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From S. Kania's report at the Ninth Extraordinary Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party, July 14, 1981.

peace. Poland, just as the other socialist countries, would like to maintain friendly relations with China. It is not through any fault of the Polish side that they are not precisely such. Obviously, the Chinese leaders are more interested in a linkup with imperialism than in establishing good relations with the socialist countries. A departure from this line, from the policy of hegemonism and anti-Sovietism, would also accord, in our view, with the best interests of the Chinese people.

*Pravda*, July 15, 1981

Babrak KARMAL,  
General Secretary of the Central Committee  
of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan,  
Chairman of the Presidium of the Revolutionary  
Council of the DRA

### **AIMS OF FOREIGN REACTIONARIES IN AFGHANISTAN**

From the very first days of the existence of new Afghanistan international reaction declared a ruthless war on it attempting to achieve far-reaching aims. It intended either to obliterate our state from the face of the earth, or subjugate it to different countries. Thus, the eastern and southern Afghan regions inhabited predominantly by Pushtoos were to be made over to Pakistan, the northern regions to

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From Babrak Karmal's article *Indissoluble Unity with the People*, published in the journal *Problems of Peace and Socialism*.

China, and a terrorist government under Amin or any other power-hungry careerist, directly or indirectly subordinated to the CIA, was to be installed in Kabul. But we managed to thwart this sinister plot and under most complicated conditions of incessant aggression continued to progress along our chosen path.

\* \* \*

Gratifying phenomena in the life of the Republic gladden the hearts of all fighters for the cause of the revolution inside the country and all those who ardently sympathize with it abroad. The present march of events does not suit the sworn enemies of people's government, foreign reactionaries above all. This is only natural. For the plot against revolutionary Afghanistan is their work, a large-scale international undertaking of US imperialism, Chinese hegemonism and their allies in the region; the threads of conspiracy are traceable to Washington, Peking, Islamabad, Riyadh, Cairo. It is thence that the actions of the mercenary gangs are directed, it is from those capitals that torrents of misinformation and fabrications swamp the world.

*Problems of Peace and Socialism*, No. 6, 1981 \*

Dmitry USTINOV,  
Member of the Politbureau  
of the CPSU Central Committee,  
Minister of Defence of the USSR,  
Marshal of the Soviet Union

## IN ALLIANCE WITH IMPERIALISM <sup>1</sup>

The Peking leaders more and more closely align themselves with the most bellicose circles of imperialism. They strive to push the NATO countries, and Japan for that matter, into a collision with the Soviet Union. For their part the imperialist politicians reckon on involving China deeper into anti-Soviet actions, into the struggle against detente and peace. In particular, China's services are already now used by American imperialism for waging an undeclared war against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, for creating a new threat of war against socialist Vietnam.

*Pravda*, June 22, 1981

## A HOSTILE STEP AND TANGIBLE THREAT <sup>2</sup>

The US decision to lift the ban on the sale of weapons and modern military technology to China being a step openly hostile towards the USSR simultaneously creates a tangible threat to Vietnam, Laos, Kampuchea and other countries of the Far East and Southeast Asia.

*Pravda*, July 25, 1981

<sup>1</sup> From Dmitry Ustinov's article *To Uphold Peace*, published in *Pravda*.

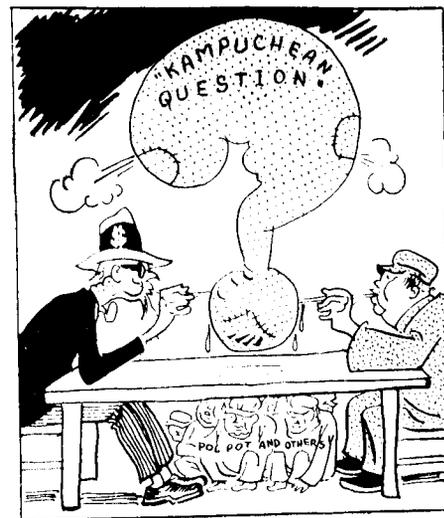
<sup>2</sup> From Dmitry Ustinov's article *Against the Arms Race and the Threat of War*, published in *Pravda*.

## THERE ISN'T ANY KAMPUCHEAN PROBLEM

(A Statement by the Ministry for Foreign Affairs  
of the People's Republic of Kampuchea)

The government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea has resolutely condemned the declaration of the so-called international conference on Kampuchea and totally rejected it as illegitimate and invalid,  
**IN A SATIRICAL VEIN**

*The aim of the so-called "international conference on Kampuchea" (New York) was to reanimate the overthrown genocide regime of Peking's stooges in Kampuchea, torpedo the process of progressive changes in the country and drive a wedge into the fraternal alliance of the three countries of Indochina—Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea.*



A blown-up case.

Drawing by Boris  
Yefimov, *Izvestia*.

## THE ONLY THREAT TO PEACE IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

### (A Statement by the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam)

reads the statement of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea. The actions of the USA, China and other sponsors of this "conference" are interference in the internal affairs of the PRK and a gross violation of the UN Charter.

They are designed to mislead world public opinion, present a distorted picture of the situation in the PRK and encourage the remnants of the Pol Pot gangs and other Khmer reactionaries to perpetrate fresh crimes against the Kampuchean people who are building a new life.

The statement draws attention to the fact that US imperialists and Peking expansionists are in the front ranks of the strident "champions" of the right of the Kampuchean people to "self-determination". These aggressors savagely flouted the paramount right of the peoples of Kampuchea and other countries of Indochina—the right to life.

Today these forces are trying to cover up their hostile aggressive actions against the PRK, the SRV and the LPDR by invoking the name of the UN. This intensification of their conspiracy is due to the fact that the situation in Kampuchea has been improving day after day and gaining in stability, and the fact that the government of the PRK effectively runs all the internal and external affairs of the country.

The People's Republic of Kampuchea deems it necessary to declare that there is not any "Kampuchean problem", that the situation in the PRK is irreversible and any encroachments on its independence and sovereignty are doomed to failure.

The Ministry for Foreign Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam resolutely rejects the decisions of the so-called "international conference on Kampuchea" and regards them as unlawful and invalid, reads the Statement by the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of the SRV.

The document further indicates that the proposals put forward by the participants in the "conference" are based on a misrepresentation of the real causes behind the continuing tensions in Southeast Asia and constitute a brazen encroachment on the independence and sovereignty of the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

The USA and China have been trying to thwart the revival of Kampuchea, open the way for a return to the country of the Pol Pot clique and other Khmer reactionaries, and undermine the solidarity of the peoples of Indochina. The aggressive interventionist policy pursued by the Chinese expansionists operating in collusion with US imperialists constitutes the only threat to peace and stability in the region.

Regrettably, it is stressed in the Statement, the ASEAN member states deliberately ignore these facts. They thereby encourage Peking's hegemonistic ambitions which pose a threat not only to the cause of peace and stability in the region but also to their own interests.

Any attempts to put pressure on the states of In-

dochina and thrust on them decisions suiting imperialism and reaction will surely fail.

## ENCROACHMENT ON THE SOVEREIGNTY OF THE PRK

(A Statement by the Ministry for Foreign Affairs  
of the Lao People's Democratic Republic)

The so-called "international conference on Kampuchea" held in New York is an encroachment on the independence and sovereignty of the PRK. The decisions adopted are unlawful and contradict the spirit of the UN Charter, says the statement issued by the Foreign Office of the Lao People's Democratic Republic.

The actions of the initiators of the "conference"—Washington, Peking and other reactionary forces—are aimed at reviving the Pol Pot genocide regime in Kampuchea, at intensifying tensions in Southeast Asia. It is the hegemonist course of the Chinese leadership, which in its expansionist aims is trying in every way to worsen the relations between the states of Indochina and the ASEAN countries, that is the source of tension and imperils peace and the security of the peoples of the region.

The Foreign Office of the LPDR stresses that a real way to solving the pressing problems of Southeast Asia on the basis of mutual respect, equality and non-interference from the outside is indicated by the constructive peaceful proposals put forward at the conferences of the foreign ministers of the SRV, LPDR and PRK that are aimed at establishing good-neighbourly relations with all Southeast Asian countries.

## WHERE THE MENACE COMES FROM

Even if the noisy campaign of Peking and Western propaganda about the "Vietnamese threat" has found some response in some countries of Southeast Asia, Indonesia is not among them. There is deep realization in the country who in fact threatens an armed expansion, who is staking on the inevitability of war and who lays territorial claims to practically all its neighbours.

Indonesian political observers point out, it would not be amiss to recall, that the Chinese navy ranks third in the world in the number of ships—over 1,300. "For the time being," writes the Jakarta newspaper *Kompas*, "this armada is confined to the Yellow, East- and South-China seas. But China's navy will hardly be satisfied with the role of a shore guard. Its plans envisage gaining an outlet to the Indian Ocean and the Pacific via Southeast Asia."

There is much talk today in Peking about China's "friendly feelings" towards the ASEAN countries (Association of South-east Asian Nations comprising Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand and the Philippines), about "support" for their struggle for setting up a zone of peace in Southeast Asia. But, as Admiral Suvarso, Chief of the navy department collecting and processing information, pointed out at a press conference, this is merely a tactical dodge, and obvious that the strategic expansionist plans of the Chinese leadership remain unchanged. China's growing military might, in the admiral's view, makes Peking's armed ventures more real against the countries of the region. "Malaysia, Papua-New Guinea and, first of all, Indonesia," the admiral warned, "should lose no time in preparing to rebuff Chinese aggression before it is too late."

This warning is sounded also by Indonesian journalist S. Sumardjo in his book *The Threat from the North*. Analyzing China's attempt to seize the Paracel Islands by force of arms, he draws the conclusion that the armed clashes which took place there in 1974 are indicative of the methods which China will use in the coming years.

### THE 60TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA

*July 1981 marked the 60th anniversary of the formation of the Communist Party of China (CPC). It has traversed a long and hard road of great achievements and serious setbacks. To analyse the main directions of the CPC's development, explain the causes of its successes and defeats and demonstrate the historical lessons of its evolution—this is a pressing and important task for the entire international communist movement.*

#### I

The Communist Party of China was founded during a period when a national liberation and working class movement in countries of the East directly influenced by the Great October Revolution was on the rise. Since the first days of its existence the Communist Party stood at the head of the struggle for the national and social liberation of China. It was able to become a general national force leading the revolution because it was guided by the great theory of Marxism-Leninism and expressed the aspirations and hopes of the people.

The appeal of Soviet Russia to the Chinese people to come out in a united front against imperialist oppression and establish truly friendly, equitable relations met with response. As Sun Yat-sen, a great revolutionary democrat, pointed out, Moscow prompted genuine Chinese patriots "to have bias towards a

revolutionary policy of alliance with the USSR, to form an alliance with the Communist Party."

Lenin paid great attention to framing the strategy and tactics of the revolutionary struggle of the colonial peoples. His speech at the Second Congress of the Comintern in 1920 was to have everlasting importance. Generalizing the experience of the world revolutionary movement, he drew the historical conclusion that "with the aid of the proletariat of the advanced countries, backward countries can go over to the Soviet system and, through certain stages of development, to communism, without having to pass through the capitalist stage."<sup>1</sup> Lenin pointed out that this could be achieved only through close alliance and mutual aid of the countries of the East and Soviet Russia, for after the victory of the October Revolution relations between states began to be determined by "the struggle waged by a small group of imperialist nations against the Soviet movement and the Soviet states headed by Soviet Russia."<sup>2</sup>

Addressing the Congress of Communist Organizations of the East, Lenin said: "In this respect you are confronted with a task which has not previously confronted the Communists of the world: relying upon the general theory and practice of communism, you must adapt yourselves to specific conditions such as do not exist in the European countries; you must be able to apply that theory and practice to conditions in which the bulk of the population are peasants, and in which the task is to wage a struggle against medieval survivals and not against capitalism."<sup>3</sup>

Lenin and, after his death, the Comintern and

<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 31, p. 244.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 241.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 30, p. 161.

the Bolshevik Party extended all-round support and aid to the CPC. They helped it to work out the strategy and tactics of the revolutionary struggle that suited the historical conditions of semi-colonial, semi-feudal China. Chinese Communists themselves many times pointed out the invaluable significance of the recommendations and advice contained in the documents of the Comintern and our party, in the speeches of Soviet leaders, including Stalin, about the Chinese revolution. On the strength of creative Marxism-Leninism these documents gave objective appraisals of the character of the driving forces and aims of the Chinese revolution, its peculiarities and main tasks at different stages, stated that in China a struggle was going on between armed revolution and armed counter-revolution, spoke of the need to organize a Chinese Red Army and revolutionary bases in the countryside and expressed confidence in the inevitable development of the people's democratic revolution into a socialist revolution.

Lenin, the Comintern and the Soviet Communists gave practical assistance to the CPC in building up the party itself, in promoting its ideology and organizational structure and establishing ties with the working class and other revolutionary forces. On Lenin's direct instruction, Soviet Communists helped the first Marxist study circles in Shanghai, Peking and Guangzhou and participated in organizing the First Congress of the CPC. An important role in the formation of the party was played by meetings of Comintern workers with Li Dazhao, the first propagandist of Marxism in China, and other foremost representatives of the Chinese intelligentsia. As a result the CPC took shape as a party of the working class. In 1922 it was admitted to the Comintern.

Resolute actions of urban and rural workers showed that the Chinese working class could become the vanguard of the revolution, the peasantry its reliable ally and the CPC their leader. Frightened by the growth of the revolutionary movement, the right wing of the national bourgeoisie, together with the reactionary forces led by Chiang Kai-shek, started preparations for a counter-revolutionary coup.

The Comintern and the Soviet Communists, who thoroughly studied the situation in China and maintained close contacts with CPC organizations in different regions, gave a timely warning of the impending danger to the CPC leadership. Following the counter-revolutionary coup in April 1927, hundreds of thousands of the finest sons and daughters of the Chinese people, the flower of the Communist Party of China, fell victim to most severe bloody terror. The destruction of the backbone of proletarian, Marxist cadres led to the strengthening of the positions of petty-bourgeois nationalist elements in the CPC who, headed by Mao Zedong, started preparations for the seizure of leadership in the Chinese Red Army and the Communist Party.

At that time a very acute struggle developed in the Communist Party of China and among its leadership. The petty-bourgeois nationalist wing, in violation of the CPC Charter and using the support of the army, seized key positions in the leadership. Mao Zedong and his followers, actively implanting militarist orders in the Party, sabotaged the Comintern's repeated recommendations to set things right in inner-Party life and hold a regular congress of the CPC (from 1928 to 1945 congresses were not convened).

In 1938 the Maoists set the course for supplanting Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationa-

lism with simplistic petty-bourgeois nationalist concepts, negating the integral Marxist international theory, dividing it into "general" and "partial" truths. On the pretext of uniting the general truths of Marxism-Leninism with their concrete actions, the Maoists began implanting nationalism and preaching "Sinification" of Marxism. "Mao Zedong's ideas" were proclaimed "Chinese communism".

Taking advantage of the fact that in the early 1940s the world communist movement and our party were organizing rebuff to Hitler fascism and Japanese militarism, the petty-bourgeois nationalist forces in the CPC stepped up their activity. They declined the Comintern's appeal for coordination of actions with the Soviet Union in the struggle against Japan's aggression in China. Moreover, on Mao Zedong's initiative, the CPC-controlled troops curtailed military operations against the Japanese invaders.

The rout of the Japanese invaders in Manchuria by the Soviet army and the armed forces of the Mongolian People's Republic not only played a decisive role in bringing World War II to a conclusion, but brought about a radical turn in the development of the Chinese revolution. Manchuria's liberation by the Soviet Army created international conditions for the triumph of people's power in China in 1949 and the conversion of the CPC into a governing party. In liberated Manchuria Chinese Communists, led by such prominent figures of the CPC as Gao Gang, created a dependable military strategic base which became the centre of the Chinese revolutionary movement. Relying on the military, political and economic might of the Manchurian base, and using the Soviet Union's aid, the Chinese people led by the Communist Party

began a resolute struggle against Chiang Kai-shek's reactionary regime. All this ensured the final victory.

## II

The proclamation of the People's Republic of China on October 1, 1949, crowned the prolonged struggle of the Chinese people. At all stages of the national-democratic, anti-feudal and anti-imperialist revolution the Chinese people led by the Communist Party of China received aid and support from the Soviet Union, the first country to extend official recognition to the young state of Chinese working people.

A major political act which ensured the consolidation of the international positions of the PRC and guaranteed its defence from imperialist intervention was the signing of the Soviet-Chinese Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance on February 14, 1950. In 1979, to gratify international imperialism and the Japanese revanchist forces, the Peking leadership declared that it did not intend to prolong the Treaty. It thereby assumed the historical responsibility for the termination of this treaty which met the vital interests of the Chinese people and served the cause of socialism in the country and international security.

The Constitution of the PRC, adopted in 1954, and the decisions of the Eighth Congress of the CPC held in September 1956 opened the prospects for China's confident advance towards socialism in close, mutually advantageous and equal cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. The Eighth Congress of the CPC stressed that in its acti-

vity the Party was guided by Marxism-Leninism. It endorsed the course for the gradual implementation of socialist transformations in town and country and liquidation of multi-structuralism of the economy. In view of the fact that the absolute majority of the Party's members were peasants, urban and rural petty owners and that the share of the workers did not reach 14 per cent, the Congress drew special attention to the danger of the dominance of petty-bourgeois nationalist elements and the need to wage resolute struggle against great-Han chauvinism and nationalism. The Eighth Congress of the CPC was a big victory for the truly socialist, Marxist-Leninist forces in the Party.

But the nationalist forces with Mao Zedong at their head regrouped their forces and mounted an offensive on the decisions of the Eighth Congress of the CPC. They put forward their own "general line" with its "big leap" in the economy and "people's communes" in the countryside. This policy hidden under pseudo-revolutionary phrases dealt a serious blow at the socialist construction in the country and brought grave misfortunes for the Chinese working people—hunger, unemployment and anarchy.

The CPC leadership headed by Mao Zedong disregarded the documents of the international meetings of communist and workers' parties of 1957 and 1960 which bore the signatures of Chinese leaders and launched subversive activity in the international communist movement.

The CPSU and other fraternal parties persistently sought normalization of relations and restoration of unity with the CPC. In response, the Maoist leadership demanded that the CPSU renounce its Programme and the external and internal policy formulated

at its 20th and the following congresses. The CPSU naturally, could not accept this demand.

The treacherous essence of Mao Zedong's and his supporters' policy came out most clearly during the barbarous aggression of American imperialism against Vietnam. The CPSU and other fraternal parties repeatedly proposed that Peking take part in joint actions and help the Vietnamese people in their struggle against the American invaders. The Chinese leadership turned down all these proposals.

By their splitting activity, rabid struggle against the CPSU and other fraternal parties, by their emphatic refusal to cooperate and normalize relations, Mao Zedong and his supporters severed ties with the international communist movement.

Mao Zedong's anti-Leninist "general line" engendered a deep crisis in the CPC and the country. The further development of this crisis held the threat of defeat for Mao Zedong's nationalist grouping which, trying to fortify its position, undertook a total campaign to destroy genuine Communists and supporters of socialism and friendship with the countries of the socialist community. This campaign turned into the notorious "cultural revolution" which became a nightmare for the working people of China.

In the course of the "cultural revolution" the Maoists instigated the actual extinction of the Communist Party of China and organs of the people's democratic government, trade unions and other social organizations, and associations of creative workers. The Ninth Congress of the CPC which met in April 1969 in fact legalized the establishment of a military-bureaucratic Maoist dictatorship in China. The two congresses and plenary meetings of the CPC Central Committee in 1973 and 1977 became mock trials of "gangs", the

name applied to the Maoist leaders who were defeated in the struggle for power in the Peking upper echelon and who were made responsible for the failures of Mao Zedong's policy. "Mao Zedong's ideas" and anti-Sovietism were endorsed as the guiding ideology of the Party and the state.

### III

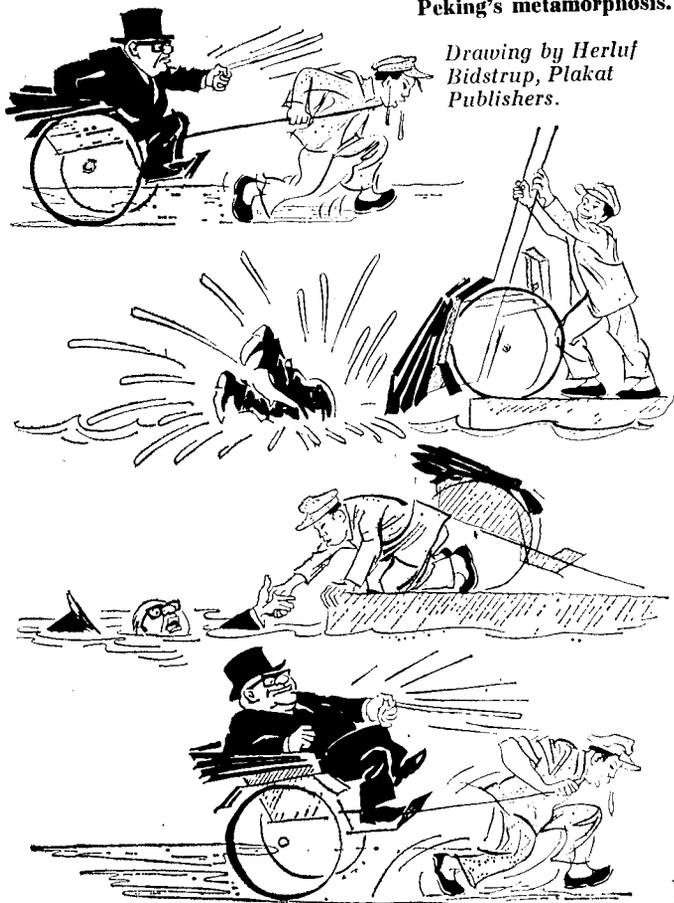
And so, what is the record of the CPC now that it has marked its 60th anniversary? How do things stand in the Party? According to official data, the CPC numbers 38 million members. Data on its social composition has been withheld for a quarter of a century now. Nor is this accidental. Though the Chinese leadership calls the CPC "the vanguard of the working class", workers make up absolute minority among its members. The Chinese press itself draws a rather unseemly picture of the present situation in the Party. It is reported that "a considerable section of Party members are not up to the requirements made of a Communist". It is said that "more than half of the party members even do not have an idea of what a communist party is, of what communism is". About 20 million members are former activists of the "cultural revolution" who, in Deng Xiaoping's words, are not averse to mounting another such campaign. "Renmin ribao" admitted that "the Party has to a considerable extent lost its prestige among the people".

The speeches of Chinese leaders and press items which at times give rather sharp appraisals of the situation in the Party and the country may give the impression that the present leaders of the CPC, recognizing an ideological and political crisis in the Party, are really looking for means of overcoming it. But

IN A SATIRICAL VEIN

Peking's metamorphosis.

Drawing by Herluf Bidstrup, Plakat Publishers.



this would be not only a superficial but actually false opinion. The fact is that the Chinese leaders, adhering to the general positions of Maoism, are clinging tooth and nail to the Maoist guidelines on Party organization and ideological and political work. The CPC leaders declare that Mao Zedong's ideas are "the most valuable wealth he bequeathed", that they will remain "the guiding ideology of the Party and the state", since renunciation of Maoism would lead to "ideological confusion in the Party and among the people".

The deepening crisis of Maoism, acute struggle in the ruling echelons and debates over the ideological-political legacy of Mao Zedong resulted in "credibility gap", and ideological muddle. The right-nationalist, pragmatic forces in the leadership headed by Deng Xiaoping took advantage of this to fight another round in the struggle for power. Under the pretext of "bending the efforts of the Party and the whole people to 'four modernizations'" (industry, agriculture, the military business, science and technology) they launched a policy of encouraging capitalist tendencies and small-commodity production in the country and threw China's doors open to foreign capital.

In foreign policy Mao Zedong's successors follow his line of forming blocs with imperialism, both united by hostility towards the cause of peace, detente and the national-liberation movement, and ready to confrontation with the world socialist community, particularly the USSR. As the report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 26th Congress of the Party pointed out, "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."

Changes are now under way in China. Time will show their true meaning. It will show to what extent the present Chinese leaders are able to surmount the Maoist legacy. This is a cardinal question and on its solution depends the CPC's home and foreign policy and the future of the PRC. In the meantime facts show that as before the core of Peking's policy is modified Maoism with its main components—"Sinified" Marxism, hegemonism and anti-Sovietism.

As the Chinese press admits, some Party members, seeing for themselves the failure of "Mao Zedong's ideas", insist on their complete renunciation. These people say that the "CPC is gravely ill", that "it has degenerated and it must be rebuilt". They see the cause of the present crisis in the country in the fact that the Party "has left the Marxist-Leninist track". With no less justification they qualify Deng Xiaoping's line as "a rightward turn", "a preparation for the restoration of capitalist orders".

Partly admitting Mao Zedong's mistakes in the last period of his life, the CPC leadership is trying in every way to obscure the anti-Marxist, anti-socialist and anti-popular character of his ideological and political legacy as a whole. More, it is seeking to shift Mao Zedong's mistakes onto the Party.

#### IV

One of the main specific features of the evolution of the CPC, its history and political life is that since the middle of the 1920s it has been constantly the scene of struggle between two tendencies: the Marxist-Leninist internationalist tendency, on the one hand, and the petty-bourgeois, nationalist tendency, on the other.

When the leadership of the Communist Party of China followed Marxist-Leninist theory and creatively applied it to suit the specific peculiarities of China, and analysed the overall experience of the international communist movement, the revolutionary process in the country and the development of the CPC itself unfolded on a sound basis and were marked by signal victories. This ensured the triumph of the Chinese revolution and formation of the PRC in 1949. This had a favourable effect on the developments in the early period after 1949 which even the present leaders of China call "the most successful". At that time the CPC relied on the experience of real socialism and closely cooperated with the socialist countries. The influence of feudalism and imperialism was being successfully overcome and the foundations of the socialist system were being laid, the life of the multi-million peasantry was changing and the centuries-old backwardness in culture, education, science and technology was being eliminated.

The experience of the CPC has confirmed Marxist-Leninist theory that it is possible to accomplish the tasks of socialist revolution after carrying out those of the bourgeois-democratic national revolution in such a country as China. Contrary to what the Maoists and other nationalists and opportunists said and are saying now, Lenin did not ignore the specifics of any individual country and the peculiarities of the revolutionary movement there. On the contrary, he insisted on such "application of the *fundamental* principles of communism (Soviet power and the dictatorship of the proletariat), which will *correctly modify* these principles in certain *particulars*, correctly adapt and apply them to national and national-state distinctions."<sup>4</sup> Follow-

<sup>4</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 31, p. 92.

ing Marx and Engels, Lenin invariably said that the communist movement should be internationalist in character, that it is impermissible to substitute opportunism for scientific socialism on any pretext.

On account of China's economic backwardness and undeveloped industry the Chinese working class was relatively small in numbers and the majority of those participating in the struggle was made up of peasants and other oppressed strata in Chinese society. The striving of the home reactionaries, dominant classes, feudals and the comprador bourgeoisie to strengthen their domination with the help of imperialism reduced China to the position of a semi-colony. This circumstance put in the foreground of the Chinese revolution the national-democratic aspect, rather than the social one and this, in turn, made nationalism a significant component of the ideology of the people participating in the liberation movement. Only the proletariat and its vanguard, the Communist Party, only Marxism-Leninism could impart a constructive, creative character to the Chinese revolution and its strategy and programme. And they proved equal to the task, with the powerful support of the first socialist country, the Soviet Union, the solidarity of the international communist and entire revolutionary movement. This factor played an exceptionally important role in the Chinese revolution. It made up for the relative weakness of the Chinese working class so that the Communist Party of China was able to discharge the role of leader of the revolution and set out to build socialism.

At the same time, historical experience and, above all, the grievous lessons of the last twenty years show that when the CPC weakened its international ties,

petty-bourgeois nationalist forces gained the upper hand in it, distorting its aims, strategy and tactics.

These conclusions are of fundamental importance for the correct understanding of the history of the CPC as a whole and its separate stages, as well as the present situation in the Party. It is indicative that after the Maoists' takeover the CPC has proved unable to fulfil one of the main tasks, the task of educating working people in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism and merging this revolutionary theory with the activity of the working people, first of all, the working class. Marxism-Leninism has been supplanted by the ideology of Maoism.

Maoism is the spiritual product of petty-bourgeois revolution-mongering forces which were fellow-travelers of the working class at the bourgeois-democratic stage of the Chinese revolution and tried to gain firm foothold in it by advancing their own nationalist ideology, poisoning the working class and the Communist Party with it. It is the tragedy of the Chinese revolution and the CPC that these forces have been able to impose Maoism on the Party and the working class for some time.

The lessons of the history of the Communist Party of China show what ugly forms petty-bourgeois nationalist tendencies may take unless resolute struggle is waged for the purity of proletarian ideology. The tragedy which befell China and the CPC during the years of the ill-famed "cultural revolution" graphically shows what consequences connivance in relation to revolutionary-mongering and chauvinistic moods leads to. We may note in passing that the grievous consequences of the attitude of reconciliation with the petty-bourgeois elements and nationalism are not confined

to China. A graphic example of this is Kampuchea under Pol Pot.

It is unquestionable that the building of socialism in the PRC is a highly complex and difficult task. To China more than to Russia are applicable Lenin's words that "a backward country can easily begin because its adversary has become rotten, because its bourgeoisie is not organized, but for it to continue demands of that country a hundred thousand times more circumspection, caution and endurance."<sup>5</sup>

The lessons of the Communist Party of China during the sway of the Maoist grouping in it testify that it is precisely "hundred thousand times more circumspection, caution and endurance" that were not displayed. Mao Zedong declared as erroneous Lenin's thesis quoted above and depicted the poverty, ignorance and even the misery of considerable sections of working people in China as a "great advantage" which made it possible to carry out the revolution much more quickly.

Despite the numerous objective and subjective difficulties, the building of the new society in China could and can be more successful. Generalization of the lessons of the CPC's development brings up the question as to the main reason why China has gone off the track of scientific socialism and taken the road of confrontation with the world socialist community and blocking with imperialism and reaction. The answer must be sought chiefly in the subjective factor, in the fact that leadership in the Communist Party of China was seized by opportunists of the hegemonistic social-militarist persuasion.

The Soviet Communists and their associates and like-minded people in other countries, the progressive

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 27, p. 291.

public of the world have never lost the faith that the Communist Party of China, which travelled a hard road and which was able to achieve a victorious revolution in exceptionally complex conditions, had and still has sound forces adhering to correct, Marxist-Leninist positions, advocating friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and capable of leading China along the socialist road of development.

*Kommunist*, No. 9, 1981 \*

## FOREIGN POLICY

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I. ALEXANDROV

### ESCALATION OF INSANITY

**The world public is watching with alarm the mounting dangerous tendencies in the development of US-Chinese relations, a factor exerting an increasingly negative impact on the international situation.**

The negotiations between A. Haig, the US Secretary of State, and PRC leaders, held recently in Peking, have shown that Washington and Peking coordinate their policies to further exacerbate tensions, destabilize the international situation and intensify confrontation with the Soviet Union and the socialist community generally and wage their undeclared wars against Afghanistan and Kampuchea.

A key feature of the negotiations, judging from the press reports, is Peking's and Washington's hostility towards the USSR and the cause of world peace. The views of China and the USA on the international situation, as Mr. Haig stated after the negotiations, have never been so close. He was echoed by Huang Hua, the PRC Minister for Foreign Affairs: "We have many common and similar views". In Haig's words, the Chinese side highly appraised the measures the US Administration designed to augment US fighting strength and further develop the country's links with its allies in military blocs.

## A New Stage

We are witnessing a new stage in the development of the US-Chinese partnership, exceedingly dangerous for the cause of peace. This, among other things, is expressed in the substantial enhancement of its military aspects.

Washington's Administration announced its intention to strike China out of the list of "unfriendly communist countries" and rank it with "friendly developing states". Appropriate amendments will be introduced into US legislation. This step will not only enable China to purchase US combat equipment and technology which special restrictions ban from being exported to "unfriendly countries", but will also give it access to credits on easy terms. In Peking they seem to entertain hopes that this will help them overcome difficulties connected with acute foreign exchange shortages.

Having expressed readiness to provide Peking with the means of modern warfare, including offensive weaponry, the current Washington leaders have taken a much larger stride in their dangerous incitement than did the Carter Administration which during the election campaign they criticized for its excessive bias towards Peking.

Concerted "parallel actions" by the two states on the strength of their "common strategic interests" were initiated by Brown, former US Defense Secretary, during his visit to Peking in January, 1980. Brown then hinted at the possibility of selling China "dual-purpose" equipment, i.e. equipment that could be used for civilian and military purposes. When half-a-year later Geng Biao, China's present Defence Minister, arrived in Washington to pay a return visit the possi-

bility changed into actuality. The US government endorsed some 500 licences for the sale to China of "dual purpose" hardware and technologies (helicopters, transport aircraft, trucks, radar stations). It was emphasized, however, that combat equipment deliveries did not include mass destruction weapons.

Henceforth, China will have access not only to such classified and highly sophisticated hardware as strategic missile guidance systems or combat communication facilities but also to different types of combat equipment ranging from anti-tank missiles to fighter-bombers. The State Department, however, avoids calling a spade a spade making believe that the USA does not export offensive weapons at all, for, according to US laws, such weapons must not be used for purposes of aggression. But the Pentagon's clients have on quite a few occasions demonstrated that such "reservations" count for nothing. The Israeli bombing raid on Baghdad is a recent example.

One might well say that Haig performed his mission in Peking as a general clad in civilian clothes. During his talks with China's Defence Minister, he discussed arms sales and exchanges of intelligence. Incidentally, Zhang Zhunci, deputy chief of China's Intelligence Service, took part in the talks.

The press revealed that the linkup between the US and Chinese intelligence services had occurred even before the "complete normalization" of relations between the two states. Another boost to US actions came from the overthrow of the anti-popular monarchic regime in Iran which deprived the CIA of its electronic spying stations near the Soviet border. Under a secret agreement between Washington and Peking two US-equipped tracking stations were built in North-West China and are serviced by Chinese person-

nel under the guidance of CIA instructors. Intelligence information on the Soviet Union gathered by them is, according to "The New York Times" used by both US and Chinese spy centres.

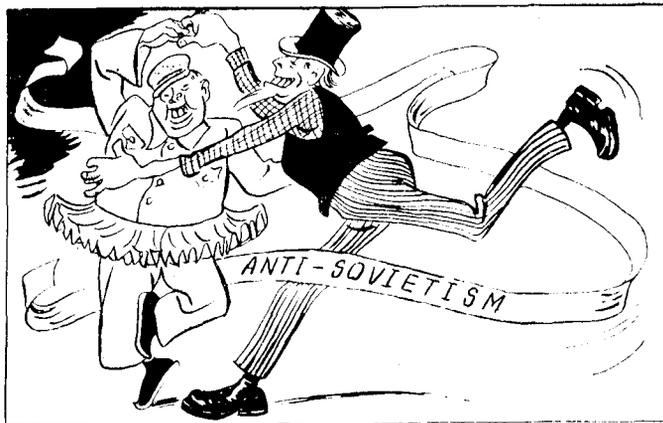
Haig stated that as a result of his trip he had agreed with the other party on expanding active cooperation between the war departments of the two countries.

### Against Whom are Weapons Targeted?

Those who provide Chinese hegemonists with modern weapons suppose, to all appearance, that they will

#### IN A SATIRICAL VEIN

*In their military psychosis the United States and China are leagued together to accomplish their aggressive designs.*



A dangerous dance.

*Drawing by  
Boris Yefimov,  
Ogonyok.*

be able to influence Peking's policy and direct its expansionism in the northern direction. This is a profound delusion! The danger of China's militarization—and this is precisely the path Reagan's Administration has entered upon—lies in the fact that US weapons finding their way into Chinese hands will be turned first of all against the relatively small neighbouring states including, incidentally, US allies. China is in effect being helped towards the realization of her territorial claims in Southeast and South Asia.

Even the countries considered to be US friends express their apprehensions over the results of Haig's Peking visit so prejudicial to the interests of peace. For instance, in Japan such sentiments have been voiced not only by the public but also by official circles. In its editorial "The Dangerous Character of US-Chinese Cooperation" the newspaper "Mainichi Shimbun" wrote in part: "Militarily strong China poses a threat to all the countries of Southeast and Southwest Asia adjacent to it". Japan's Ministry of Foreign Affairs expressed its concern over the US arms deliveries to China.

Washington's importunities in persuading the country of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki tragedy to overcome the nuclear allergy and become a military power are being increasingly echoed by Peking. And there is every reason to believe that the partners in the US-Chinese collusion will step up their efforts to force Japan onto the militarization path.

Foreign observers note that the decision on selling offensive weapons to China is pertinent to the sharp toughening of US policy in Asia. The major components of this policy are the expansion of military aid to Pakistan with the object of converting it into a regional gendarme and more particularly into the main

base for continuing the war of aggression against Afghanistan; the building of "the rapid deployment force" in the Indian Ocean area and other regions of the world and the knocking together of a new military grouping in Southeast Asia that would be opposed to Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea. The Chinese leadership supports the US military presence in the Indian Ocean and in the Far East and the extension of the network of US military bases and strong points in those regions.

Neither the USA nor China conceal the fact that their aim is to drive a wedge between the countries of Indochina and the neighbouring states of Southeast Asia, raise some sort of sanitary cordon around Vietnam and to try and force the Vietnamese people on their knees.

Another topic at the negotiations in Peking was the so-called Kampuchean problem. The State Department boss publicly stated that with a slight difference in the US and Chinese approaches to the question, the countries agreed that a "united front" should be created in Kampuchea for fighting Vietnam. The Pol Pot gangs are to constitute the hard core of the front, and US and Chinese weapons to be delivered to them via Thailand. All this means that the enemies of people's Kampuchea are fueling the hotbed of war danger on the Thai-Kampuchean border and force the pace for an armed conflict. The US-Chinese circles hatch plans for seizing part of the territory of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and establishing a "liberated area" there where they would immediately instal a puppet "government".

The results of the US-Chinese negotiations in Peking show that the Chinese line of resolving the "Kampuchean question" militarily was approved by Wa-

shington. Along with the USA, the ASEAN countries and certain other states team up in the pursuit of this course. There are schemes to invoke the authority of the UN to cover up the intervention in Kampuchea's internal affairs. With this end in view, Haig and Huang Hua discussed which "sanctions" the so-called international conference on Kampuchea could impose on the PRK and the SRV.

### **Each Partner has His Own Motive**

The dangerous military-political gambits, started by the reckless adventurers, pose a grave threat to the whole world. Washington seeks to use the rampant anti-Sovietism of the current Chinese leadership for the benefit of the USA in its global anti-Soviet strategy. Peking promotes its own selfish interests seeking to provoke a conflict between the USA and the USSR in order to hold undivided sway in the world after the nuclear conflict which, it expects, will incinerate Europe and America but will perhaps spare several scores or a couple of hundreds of millions of Chinese. Say what you will, but numerically the Chinese are twice the combined population of the USA and Western Europe.

No, the architects of US and China's policies, that have come to terms on the grounds of belligerent anti-communism, are by no means at one in their global ambitions. Each side seeks to tie down the partner and hitch it up to its policy, while wishing to remain unimpeded in its actions. Facts show that the USA has outdone the partner in this game. It sets the pace and dictates the terms.

Having set the course towards a military-strategic alliance with imperialism, Peking's top leaders have

in effect made concessions on the question of Taiwan. As Haig told at a press conference in Peking, the Chinese side "met with understanding" the US intention to continue maintaining close relations with Taipei in the future. Despite all verbal thunderbolts the PRC leadership has actually reconciled itself to the situation of "two Chinas" insulting to the prestige and sovereignty of the PRC as a great power.

Thus, China plays an ignominious role of a junior partner and accomplice of US imperialists, the role readily assumed by the current Peking leaders. One is under the impression that Peking gives no thought to the dangerous consequences of its gambles imperiling the destinies of its own people.

Apart from the international aspects of Haig's visit to Peking many observers point out its importance for Deng Xiaoping and his associates, in respect of domestic politics. The US Administration has evinced concern about bolstering Deng's positions in the Chinese leadership and thereby perpetuating Peking's present foreign policy course.

### **Conclusions must and will be Drawn**

Overall, the results of Haig's negotiations with the Peking leadership can be assessed as an escalation of insane policies. The Soviet Union cannot remain indifferent to this new dangerous trend in Chinese-US relations and particularly to the plans for supplying China with modern US weapons, combat equipment and technology. These actions of Washington and Peking can only be appraised as hostile to our country.

The ruling circles of the USA and China must realize that the US-Chinese linkup on the basis of anti-Sovietism will be viewed in the USSR accordingly, in

the overall context of Soviet-American and Soviet-Chinese relations. The Soviet Union will take the measures as dictated by the prevailing situation. No one should entertain any doubt that the Soviet people having strong nerves and mighty means for curbing aggression will not fall for provocations and will be able to stand for itself and safeguard the interests of its friends and allies.

Washington and Peking have started a dangerous game. What is required is not merely its condemnation but also vigilance and a resolute rebuff by all peoples, all responsible political forces which cherish peace, security and national independence.

*Pravda*, June 27, 1981 \*

Among those whom the United States supplies with arms are the most reactionary regimes and China with them.



Darling pets.



A relay race far removed from sport.

Izvestia,  
New Times.

An article entitled "Escalation of Insanity" published in "Pravda" has attracted the attention of wide sections of the foreign media. Many commentaries say that a new stage in the development of Sino-American partnership, which is characterized above all by a substantial expansion of its military aspects and therefore spells extremely great danger to peace, has set in.

In Moscow, noted the Indian news agency UNI, the results of the Sino-American negotiations held in Peking are assessed as an escalation of the reckless policy of Washington and Peking. By this "Pravda" article the Soviet Union has made it plain that it cannot remain indifferent to the present dangerous turn in Sino-American relations, especially the plans to provide China with modern US weapons, military equipment and technology.

The Japanese newspaper "Asahi" observes that the Soviet central newspaper "Pravda" has indicated that with the recent visit of the US Secretary of State to China US-Chinese relations have entered a new dangerous stage. This will exercise an adverse influence on Soviet-American and Soviet-Chinese relations as well as on the atmosphere in Asia as a whole.

The hazards of US-Chinese partnership are pointed out by many American newspapers. For example, the "Wall Street Journal" emphasizes that the decision to sell Peking offensive weapons will add to the tensions which mark US-Soviet relations and may provoke nervousness in Washington's European allies over the expansion of US-Chinese military relationships.

The Italian newspaper "L'Unita", sharply criticizing the present anti-Soviet US-Chinese rapprochement, says that there is no intimidating the Soviet Union. Its people, which have strong nerves and powerful means for curbing aggression, will not be taken in by provocations, will be able to stand up for themselves and even protect the interests of its friends and allies.

The member countries of the ASEAN (Association of South-East Asian Nations), states the French newspaper "Le Figaro", are gravely alarmed at the US decision to abolish restrictions on arms shipments to China. These countries fear that this may entail an escalation of the arms race in Asia aggravating the threat Peking poses to them. Particularly serious anxiety is felt in Manila, which is far from being eager to have China

gain a chance to step up its influence in Southeast Asia and is still more confident than Singapore, Kuala Lumpur and Jakarta that it is precisely China that presents the basic threat to Southeast Asia.

The Angolan newspaper "*A Jornal de Angola*" says that by regarding China as its crucial ally Washington increases China's military potential thus enabling its ruling circles to intensify their policy of aggression against the neighbouring sovereign countries.

China, writes the Bulgarian newspaper "*Rabotnichesko Delo*", is playing the disgraceful role of a junior partner and accomplice of the US imperialists, a role which has been readily assumed by its present leaders. This creates the impression that the Peking rulers do not give a serious thought to the dangerous consequences that this risky game can mean to the fate on their own people.

## MIDDLE EAST: PEKING'S OBJECTIVES

**While defining the foreign policy pursued by the present Chinese leadership the 26th Congress of the CPSU pointed to its following specific features: it aims at aggravating the international situation and, secondly, it is aligned with imperialist policies. These two features are clearly evident in all of Peking's moves in any region of the world. The Middle East is no exception.**

Peking's Mideast policy is in crying contradiction with the vital interests of the Arab countries. It seeks to exploit the differences and disagreements existing between Arab countries in order to provoke clashes and deepen the split in the Arab world. Peking's practical course in the Middle East is to maintain the conflict situation, worsen further the state of affairs in this region and set the Arab states at loggerheads with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, a factor bound to weaken the Arab countries in the face of imperialism and reaction.

China acts as a double-dealer in the Middle East. While posing as a friend of the Arabs it strives to knock together a "united front" hand in glove with imperialism and Arab reaction. Peking's practical deeds in this region provide eloquent proof of this.

### **Tell Me Who is Your Friend...**

The duplicity of Peking's political stance comes into bolder relief against the background of the American-Israeli-Egyptian collusion. It was long before the March 1979 Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty was signed in Washington that the Chinese leaders started to whitewash Sadat's traitorous line regarding the Arab countries' joint struggle to overcome the aftermath of Israel's aggression. During the Cairo-Tel Aviv talks Peking intimated more than once it would approve the idea of a separate solution to the Mideast problem.

Indicatively, right after the signing of the separate agreement Peking propaganda began assiduously to pick out the statements of foreign leaders, Egypt included, which commended this agreement. On the other hand, it took pains to tone down the criticism of the Egyptian leaders, first of all that by the Arabs, and to prove that Sadat's policy allegedly did not hamper the united action advocated by most of the Arab leaders. Thus Peking exposed itself as a direct accomplice and ally of Washington in the Middle East.

To quote Peking's leader, Deng Xiaoping, China and Egypt treat and view major international issues in an "identical or similar" way. Where do they converge? To all appearances, both are oriented on the United States and patently ignore the just cause of the Arabs generally and Palestinians, in particular, and, of course, their anti-Sovietism is identical. The Chinese, for example, present Sadat's foreign policy moves as well as Egypt's internal affairs solely from an anti-Soviet viewpoint.

Cairo is not the only concern of Peking's diplomacy. Of late the Chinese leadership is seeking rapprochement with Saudi Arabia and other Persian Gulf states. True, Peking's attempts to establish diplomatic relations with Al-Riyadh have been to no avail, among other things, because China is openly supporting Egypt's separate deal with Israel, but, inspired by Washington, the Chinese leaders have not given up these attempts. Peking is hypocritically applauding Saudi policy as "having no differences with the United States" and emphasizes that "Al-Riyadh's flexible foreign policy" is manifested in its "opposition" to the Soviet Union.

Sultan Qaboos bin Said of Oman is among Peking's newly found friends in the Middle East. What appeals to the Chinese is naturally the fact that this anti-popular regime is a long-standing and obedient instrument of imperialism in the south of the Arabian peninsula. Nowadays all trips made by Peking emissaries pass through Muscat. In their turn, the sultan's envoys are frequent visitors to the Chinese capital. In April Peking warmly welcomed al-Alawi, Oman's deputy foreign minister, with whom China's leaders had, as the Xinhua Agency commented, "sincere and friendly talks". The major contributing factor to this "friendship" is, of course, China's open refusal to support the struggle of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman against the "arch-conservative sultan" as Qaboos was referred to in Peking until recently. Well, policies change. Today Peking turns its back on those whom it once supported, at least in words, and flirts with those whom it branded as enemies not long ago.

A logical sequence to this betrayal is the support Peking offers to Middle Eastern reaction in its struggle against the progressive governments and national liberation movements in the region. As the Lebanese "Al-Dunia" pointed out, China is giving active support to organizations and groupings entrenched in Oman that oppose the government of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen. Citing the British diplomatic sources the newspaper adds that the Chinese are helping organize training centres in Oman for terrorists who fight against the PDRY. China supplies these bandits with weapons. It seems that Peking intends to use its "experience" of waging "undeclared war" against Afghanistan in its activities in Arabia's south.

## Rapprochement with Tel Aviv

After signing the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty Tel Aviv hastened to express its gratitude to Peking for the support of this separate deal. Addressing a youth rally in March 1979, Moshe Dayan, Israel's foreign minister of the time, told for all to hear that "China has welcomed the Egyptian-Israeli treaty". The obliging haste of the Israeli minister has deep political implications.

Verbally "an irreconcilable enemy" of the Israeli aggressor, Peking, back in 1976, showed its sympathy to Tel Aviv when it backed the UNESCO Executive Board's proposal for granting Israel membership of the European regional group in UNESCO, a proposal that was resolutely opposed by the Arab countries and the USSR. Peking's approval of the Camp David agreements and the separate treaty extended the possibility for rapprochement between the PRC and Israel.

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● IN BRIEF ●

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## READY TO STAB IN THE BACK

A White House spokesman announced the President's decision not to prolong the law on the limitation of certain Taiwan imports to the USA. It was stressed that this step would improve relations between the two countries. This is a significant fact indeed considering the current state of US-Chinese affairs.

It is surprising how persistent Washington is in calling Taiwan a country and maintaining contact with it despite the fact that official relations with it have been severed. Taiwan is the second largest trade partner of the USA in Asia, mostly receiving arms from overseas rather than "harmless" goods. A five-year programme (1979-1983) under which arms deliveries

From 1978, despite the repeated statements by the Chinese authorities that "China does not recognize Israel and has nothing in common with Israel", information about Peking emissaries' discreet and non-advertised contacts with Israeli representatives has leaked to the press more and more often.

Establishing secret links with Israel the Chinese strategists look upon the Jewish state as a counter-weight to the united Arab world and a constant source of danger to progressive Arab countries maintaining friendly relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist states. In doing so China no doubt counts on support from the powerful pro-Israeli lobby in the United States, which is closely following Peking's "covert flirting" with Tel Aviv. As indicated by the latest events, the Chinese leaders have every ground to believe that this lobby will facilitate their access to the American arsenals and make the White House more complaisant.

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● IN BRIEF ●

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are to be made to Taipei was adopted in the USA. Washington annually supplies Taiwan with artillery pieces, missiles, tanks, fighters and other combat hardware valued at 800 million dollars. One may well ask: what are the aims?

"The Washington Post" blurted out that the current Administration considers Taiwan to be a substantial asset in its Asian policy. In what kind of balance is this asset to play a role? The answer suggests itself automatically: within the context of US-Chinese relations.

While pressing for closer relations with China and even opening up the Pentagon's arsenals for it, Washington also flirts with Taiwan assigning it the role of a counter-weight in the event of Peking starting some unforeseen antics. The USA is actually bent on separating the island and perpetuating "two Chinas".

As for Tel Aviv, in the words of Israeli leaders it is prepared to establish relations with China. Both Peking's pro-imperialist and rabidly anti-Soviet course and its actions in the UN and the Middle East suit Israel. China's efforts to subvert Arab unity dovetail, in fact, with the interests and policy of American imperialism and Israeli aggressors.

### Washington's Flunkey

Needless to say, all the progressive regimes in the region condemn the pro-imperialist policy of China's leadership. As for Washington it appreciates and supports this policy. Incidentally, it looks as if American encouragement of China's overtures towards Arab reaction costs Washington nothing. It does not have to exert any special efforts to make Peking an accomplice in US plans for establishing American domination over the Mideast oil-bearing areas (and it is precisely this unseemly role that China's leaders are playing) because Peking's objectives in the Arab world fully coincide with the aims pursued by American imperialism, Israel and Arab reaction. Joining hands with these forces the Chinese leadership is trying to weaken and isolate those Arab countries that have chosen the path of socialist orientation and friendship with their true and tested allies, the USSR and the other socialist countries. The Chinese leaders are obviously disconcerted by the fact that in the Middle East the national liberation and anti-imperialist movement is rising and jeopardizing the interests of international imperialism and Arab reaction, and directly threatening Peking's plans.

In recent years the United States has been stridently screaming about the alleged "Soviet threat"

to the Middle East. The real purpose of this propaganda trick is to facilitate the creation of new US military bases in the region. Peking vigorously supported this campaign. The thing is that in January 1978 Chinese Foreign Minister Huang Hua, while receiving the US Congress delegation led by Alan Cranston, spoke about the "Soviet plan to establish control over the Middle East and its oil", which Peking concocted.

Today too Peking propaganda-makers keep hammering the idea of "the ever more serious threat of Soviet expansion" in the Middle East. To this accompaniment the United States is creating new bases and expanding the old ones in Egypt, Somalia, Kenya, Oman, Australia and on the island of Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean.

Peking gives more than propaganda support to the US imperialist plans. In Oman, for instance, it is building highways and creates favourable conditions for increasing US military presence in this sultanate.

As mentioned above, Peking looks at all Mideast developments from anti-Soviet positions. It presented this way the restoration of full-dress diplomatic relations between Egypt and Sudan in March 1981, which were curtailed as part of the Arab countries' joint action in protest against the Camp David deal. The re-establishment of the Egyptian-Sudanese relations was assessed by the Chinese press as a manifestation of the "common aspirations" of the two countries in "the joint struggle" against the Soviet Union. It was particularly stressed that both Sudan and Egypt "are prepared to grant the United States bases and other facilities".

When Alexander Haig, the US Secretary of State, began his tour of the Middle East in April 1981,

The scene is set in Peking. Seated are Deng Xiaoping, Deputy Chairman of the CPC, and Alexander Haig, US Secretary of State, with an interpreter between them. "Ask him: what about Taiwan?" says Deng with affected disconcern. "He says: what about Taiwan?" says the interpreter.



"Tell him those are our sentiments exactly," replies Haig with some irritation making all efforts to dismiss the problem. The key point of this quite senseless diplomatic dialogue is the relations Washington maintains with this island which Peking justly treats as an inalienable part of Chinese territory. *L'Humanité* (France), *Washington Star* (USA).

"Renmin ribao", faithful to its pro-imperialist and anti-Soviet line, wrote that he would conduct negotiations with the leaders of Egypt, Israel, Jordan and Saudi Arabia on "security and cooperation between the Mideast countries faced with the danger from the USSR".

In connection with the sharp aggravation of the situation in the Middle East in March 1981, caused by Israel's new aggressive actions against Lebanon, Peking propoganda intensified its attacks on the Soviet Union in an attempt to butter-up the Israeli brass hats and their American patrons.

All this makes it clear why Peking took a negative

attitude to the Soviet proposal, made at the 26th CPSU Congress, when the Soviet Union suggested that the Mideast problem be examined by a specially convened international conference with the Palestine Liberation Organization attending it as a full-fledged participant.

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The Chinese policy in the Arab world is actually aimed at forming a military-political group in the Middle East, inimical to the interests of the Arab people, in order to perpetuate Israel's occupation of Arab territories.

From the Soviet press

## PEKING'S SMOKESCREEN

**Peking's aggressive designs with respect to the neighbouring sovereign states are well known. Among the countries bordering on China there is not a single one upon whose territory the Dragon from the Celestial Empire would not encroach. Peking constantly reminds all of its existence either by staging a series of provocations, or by launching campaigns of slander and threats against states conducting policies that do not suit China.**

### Tactical Tricks

Having failed to realize its plans of penetration into Southeast Asia via Vietnam and Kampuchea, and also considering the victory of the April revolution in Afghanistan, the changes that have recently taken place in Iran, and India's firm stand in matters of the preservation of peace and stability on the continent which hinder China's attempts to spread its influence over the Asian region, Peking has been trying, guided by tactical considerations, to somewhat shift the emphasis of its foreign-policy course. While adhering to their policy of hegemonism and great-power expansionism and brazenly interfering in the internal affairs of the DRA and the countries of Indochina, the Peking leaders are going out of their way to advertise their "desire" to aid the process of "assuring stability" in Asia and build their relations with other countries on "principles of equality and good-neighbourliness". Trying to avoid the glare of exposure Peking passes over in silence the pertinent questions which prevent real normalization of the situation in the region and tries to pose as the initiator of a constructive dialogue.

Peking has been trading on the idea of China being part of the "third world", asserting that it faces mainly domestic development problems and that hegemonism and expansion are alien to it. Hence the idea is spread that there is a community of goals and objectives between China and the countries of South and Southeast Asia. Apparently, the Chinese leaders go to any length in order to entrap certain countries of the region and subject them to their influence.

### India—an Object of Subversion

China's policy regarding India is a typical example. While pursuing its hegemonistic goals as formerly, Peking at the same time lays much emphasis on its tactic of flirting with and "pacifying" its neighbour. Peking propaganda harps on the traditional affinity of the Chinese and Indian peoples and on the prospects of mutual cooperation and is lavish in its praise and protestations of sincerity of China's intentions and its "ardent" desire to normalize relations. However, these are merely words, facts tell a different story.

Peking does not stop its support for the anti-government groups in India's northern regions. As P. V. Narasimha Rao, India's Minister for Foreign Affairs, stated recently in Parliament, India is still an object of subversion on the part of China which aids and abets the separatists, encouraging their actions against stability and order.

China still lays territorial claims on India. For instance, the "Hindustan Times" has mentioned the maps recently issued in Peking which distort the border with India in almost every sector, and designate Sikkim as an independent state. Peking seeks to push the border issue to the background asserting that this

cannot prevent the normalization of bilateral relations between the countries. For its part, the Indian side justly emphasizes the necessity of first settling this issue. As Prime Minister Indira Gandhi said, before concluding an agreement it would be well to bear in mind that China still occupies part of Indian territory. As is known, China illegitimately occupies about 40,000 square kilometres of Indian territory and lays claim to another 90,000 sq. km. Still Peking does not consider this to be any obstacle to its "friendship" with India. In order to "settle" the border issue Peking has tabled the so-called "Deng package" whereby the dispute should be settled by an exchange of a part of Indian territory for another tract of Indian territory.

It was this proposal that Huang Hua, Deputy Premier of the PRC State Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs, presented in June when he arrived in the Indian capital. Apart from the general statements on "meeting one another half-way" he brought no concrete proposals relating to the settlement of that most crucial problem in relationships between the two countries. For its part, India is objectively interested in normalizing its relations with China on truly equitable foundations, on the principles of respect for the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the two countries, and it has repeatedly made steps in that direction. This calls for a real, and not fictitious, sincerity, which, as recent developments have amply demonstrated, Peking lacks.

### **Real State of Affairs**

Another cause of concern for the Indian public is the growing collusion between Peking and Islamabad and coordination of China's policy with the activity of

the new US Administration in the region. The growing military cooperation of Peking and Washington with Islamabad is a crude attempt to use the Zia-ul-Haq regime for converting Pakistan into a bastion of hegemonistic and imperialist policy in South Asia.

At the same time Peking itself vigorously builds up its military presence in the areas bordering upon India, forces the pace of construction of strategic communications in Tibet and Pakistan, and fits out missile launching pads. In one of her statements Indira Gandhi characterized the situation along India's borders as giving cause for alarm.

Peking pursues similar aims in respect of Nepal and Bangladesh. The Indian press has on a number

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## **● FOREIGN PRESS TESTIFIES ● FOREIGN PRESS TESTIFIES ●**

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### **ON CHINA'S TRADE IN ARMS**

**The West German "Der Spiegel" magazine published an article on China's trade in arms in its Issue No. 25 for 1981. A summary of it follows.**

Peking has always wrathfully and contemptuously castigated Western and Eastern arms merchants who by their dirty deals deprive the poorest of the poor of their hard-earned foreign exchange. The Xinhua Agency, the official Chinese information agency, had always branded them as "death merchants".

Such statements have disappeared inasmuch as the Chinese have for some time past been participating in this dirty business themselves. In its pursuit of foreign exchange Peking sells its weaponry on the black market which, as the Xinhua declared but recently, "has always been under the control of imperialists and social imperialists that have joined in an international conspiracy".

The first successes are most encouraging. For instance, the munitions industry of the city of Canton registered a fast growth of arms exports within a year. Since the Chinese are

of occasions exposed hypocritical statements by the Chinese side to the effect that its cooperation with Katmandu, Dakka and Islamabad is not directed against third countries. The true worth of these statements was demonstrated by Zhao Ziyang, Premier of the PRC State Council, during his trips to those countries. Observers noted an intensification of anti-Indian propaganda in Pakistan, Nepal and Bangladesh as a prelude to those trips.

### **US-Chinese Conspiracy**

Peaceable India has in effect become a victim of the Chinese-US collusion within the context of the

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#### **FOREIGN PRESS TESTIFIES**

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novices on the market and are insufficiently well acquainted with the methods of capitalist rivalry, they placed the sales in reliable hands. The bulk of the products is marketed by the British trading society Commerce International based in Brussels and having extensive contacts in the field.

The firm does not conceal the essence of its business. In well distributed advertisements placed in the "Internationale Wehrrevue" the British trading society extols its merchandize: rifles, mortars, howitzers, anti-aircraft guns, tanks, aircraft, in short, a whole range of motley "popular" weaponry and ammunition for it in any amounts.

This weaponry is first of all offered to potential users in third world countries who cannot afford to purchase first-class weapons directly from manufacturers (e.g. small developing countries and guerrilla organizations in strained circumstances). The political orientation of those ordering the arms is of no consequence to the merchants. Peking delivers weapons to leftist guerrillas and the racist Republic of South Africa. It purchases Chinese and imitated East European weapons in large amounts for the splinter movements it sustains in Angola and Mozambi-

increasing Peking-Washington rapprochement. In this connection, the Indian press pointed out that there existed an US-Chinese scheme aimed against India and that the partners had spelled out their "functions". Thus, Peking's task is to engage in "political work" with the neighbouring countries of South Asia, whereas the USA should "persuade" the Southeast Asian states to adopt a more outspoken anti-Indian stance. All this, according to the designs of the US and Chinese strategists, is to undermine India's positions and isolate it in the region.

Shortly before Huang Hua's visit, India's mass media extensively discussed the reasons behind China's "cordiality" towards India. The Indian press noted that one principal aim of China's diplomacy was to try and arrest the development of Indian-Soviet relations

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#### **FOREIGN PRESS TESTIFIES**

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que. For propaganda purposes the buyers can well pass off the hardware and materials they get as captured weapons.

Specialists are unanimous in scornfully rating Chinese weapons as inferior. Nevertheless, models of the fifties are constantly marketed. Earlier this year, Siad Barre, the head of the Somalia state, ordered 20 war planes for another military clash with Ethiopia. Anwar Sadat ordered 80 planes for the Egyptian Air Force.

The terms of delivery are adapted to suit the liberal Belgian laws controlling arms exports. Any party is free to buy weapons provided it can prove that it is the end user and the weapons it receives would not be resold to third countries. But those who cannot present such a limitation document will nevertheless be supplied by Peking. The Chinese for their "limitation document" accept cash. Paul Craddock, Director of the Commerce International company, does not mince words: "Go to Shanghai, put your dollars on the table and leave with your merchandize. No one will ask where it goes".

by intimating that should that happen, Indian-Chinese relations could improve.

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No matter how hard Peking tries to convince the Asian countries of its "peaceful motives" and "desire for cooperation" the falsity of these protestations sticks out a mile. China's diplomatic overtures towards the states of South and Southeast Asia would not deceive sober-minded political figures, while its exploitation of such categories as peace and good-neighbourliness makes one wonder about China's real intentions.

*Izvestia*, July 8, 1981 \*

## ECONOMICS, POLITICS, IDEOLOGY

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### SIXTH PLENARY MEETING OF THE CPC CENTRAL COMMITTEE

The 6th plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the CPC held in Peking has adopted a "decision on some questions of the history of the CPC since 1949". The decision reflects an acute inner political struggle which accompanied the development of its basic provisions.

Major attention is given to the activity of Mao Zedong and the CPC policy in recent years. Many provisions and appraisals bear an obviously contradictory character.

The failure of the Maoist course in the economy and policy and crisis phenomena in the country and the Party have forced the decision-makers to admit a host of Mao's errors. They attack the Mao-imposed policy of the "great leap" and "people's communes", the Mao-organized "cultural revolution", and a number of Maoist precepts which have led China to appalling tribulations and convulsions like, for instance, the Maoist concept of "continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat", which served to justify the policy of wholesale repressions in all Maoist campaigns.

Mao's personality cult and Mao's "arrogance", "detachment from reality and the masses", "subjectivism," "arbitrariness" and "lifting himself above the Party Central Committee" have been denounced.

Thus, albeit belatedly, the session actually admitted the correctness of the assessments of a number of aspects of Mao's activity, and Maoist ideology and policy, which have long been given by the CPSU and other communist and workers' parties at their international communist forums, in documents and in the communist press.

Nevertheless, the plenum's conclusion is that the "concepts of Mao Zedong" are "the richest cultural treasury" and "guiding ideas of the Party", which will "direct its activity in the future". In a bid to camouflage Mao's errors and the tragic consequences to which they have led China, the decision-makers allege that Mao's merits come first and his errors, next. Such a "compromise" appraisal must have been necessary to satisfy the opposing groupings in the Peking leadership in order to exploit Mao's name and "ideas" and consolidate Chinese society in the face of its present deep crisis.

The documents of the session and the statement made by Hu Yaobang, the new chairman of the CPC Central Committee, at a meeting devoted to the 60th anniversary of the CPC indicate that the present Chinese leaders, retain the petty-bourgeois nationalistic essence of Maoism as the basis of the ideology and politics of the Party and the state. In fact, an attempt was made at the plenum to formulate a broad ideological and political platform of "sinicized Marxism" or, as it is styled in China, "a scientific system of Mao's ideas" which was adjusted after the forced admission that a large number of Mao's provisions and precepts were erroneous. Typical features of this platform are the claims of China's "exclusiveness" and "its special road" in the revolution and in shaping a new society

as well as its disregard of the general laws of socialist development.

The document contains a falsified version of the CPC history, in which outward objectivity intertwines with half-truths and downright lies. Its authors laud, for instance, the 7th CPC Congress (1945), which recorded in the party rules Mao's "ideas" as the "guiding" ones. At the same time, there is a distorted appraisal of the 8th CPC Congress (1956), the silencing of such of its basic resolutions as the deletion from the CPC rules of references to the "ideas of Mao Zedong", of the congress-approved instructions on the need for a strict observance of the principle of collective leadership and a struggle against the personality cult, of the congress-emphasized immense importance for the PRC of the policy of cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. The history of the CPC's relationships with the Comintern and the CPSU is presented in a falsified, negative light. The role of the Soviet Union in defeating Japanese militarism and in liberating Manchuria—the revolutionary base which ensured the Chinese people's final victory in the struggle against the reactionaries at home and the enemies abroad—is ignored.

Unable to completely ignore the Soviet assistance rendered in the early years of the PRC's existence, the decision-makers tried to tarnish the Soviet Union's policy with regard to China.

The plenum supported a number of Maoism's anti-Soviet foreign policy guidelines, exploiting the absurd and slanderous anti-Soviet thesis of "social-imperialism". Mao's merits in the confrontation with the Soviet Union were emphasized. The CPC, as before, is being oriented on struggle against the Soviet Union. The session proceeded to the accompaniment of traditional

anti-Soviet propaganda. The Chinese press fanned up in every possible way the false allegation of a "Soviet threat".

The decision contains hypocritical statements on the Chinese leaders' adherence to peace although in reality they are bent on closing ranks on an anti-Soviet basis with the aggressive and most rabid imperialist circles, above all in the United States, steering a course toward undermining detente. The Peking leaders support the present US Administration's adventurous policy of whipping up the arms race and aggravating international tension.

A characteristic political atmosphere prevailed preceding the plenary meeting. In that period Peking reinforced its pro-Western pro-imperialist policy. This is evidenced by recent negotiations of China's leaders with Alexander Haig, the US Secretary of State. The Chinese leaders have demonstrated their hegemonistic claims in Asia.

The plenum was a milestone in a tough scramble for power in Peking. Among other things, this follows from the cadre decisions. Although the Politbureau of the CPC Central Committee has not been altered the shifts made within it have buttressed the positions of the Deng Xiaoping group. Judging by published materials, however, Deng Xiaoping failed to realize his plans fully and was forced to manoeuvre.

The internal struggle in the Chinese leadership, which has been very acute since the end of 1980, continues unabated. Its root causes persist—something which was admitted even in Peking. The plenum decision urged to "end factionalism, anarchism and arch-individualism," to "streamline party organizations and purge the party ranks from renegades." Not accidentally, the decision criticizes at length the errors of Hua

Guofeng, to which Deng Xiaoping's line is opposed. It all portends new purges and new clashes.

As can be seen from the results of the 6th plenary meeting of the CPC Central Committee, it was designed to validate and strengthen the policy charted by the present Chinese leaders in recent years. Its materials have confirmed the justice of the appraisal of China's developments offered by the 26th Congress of the CPSU. "The experience of the social and economic development of the PRC over the past twenty years," Leonid Brezhnev said in his report to the 26th CPSU Congress, "is a painful lesson showing what any distortion of the principles and essence of socialism in home and foreign policy leads to."

Only the consistent overcoming of the baneful legacy of Maoism can lead China to the way of healthy progressive development.

TASS, July 4, 1981 \*

## MAOIST YOUTH POLICY IN CRISIS

*Maoist experiments are having severe consequences for the life of the Chinese people and especially for its younger generation.*

By adjusting and reappraising Mao's most odious precepts and by attacking the excesses of the "cultural revolution" China's present leaders attempt above all to overcome the ideological and cultural instability of the country's younger generation provoked by the increasing depreciation of the Maoist "values".

However, the measures designed to overcome the general crisis of China's youth movement have up to now yielded no result. On the contrary, they meet with incomprehension, apathy and, not infrequently, resistance on the part of the young people. The mounting youth action under anti-Maoist slogans reveals the mounting self-awareness of young men and women.

### Problems Everywhere

True, at the present stage this action as a whole has an unorganized and contradictory character. But the very emergence in China—and the rising tide—of demonstrations mounted in large industrial centres by young workers who demand jobs, better living conditions, the right to education and the easing of marriage and family restrictions are fairly eloquent.

The relative social reorientation of the present regime to the skilled workers, intellectuals and skilled

cadres who were victimized during the "cultural revolution", and also the well-to-do peasants has encountered obvious resistance from the "cultural revolution" generation. For more than 15 years the Chinese youth had hounded intellectuals—the "ninth villain" in Mao's parlance. The "landlord," "kulak," "counter-revolutionary element" and other tags attached to all non-conformists heated up all these years in the younger generation what was called "class hatred" of all adversaries of the regime. This "class hatred" has ricocheted against the former hungweibings now being accused of anarchism, the subversion of the "four modernizations", "stability and cohesion" and opposition to the "new" social policy.

All this has widened the rift between the Peking ruling clique and the "cultural revolution" generation. Being concerned for the destinies of Maoism, the Chinese leaders at the same time are afraid that the Maoist precepts of the "cultural revolution" period may be restored.

The general crisis of the CPC's youth policy is being aggravated by other problems.

Thus the living standards of the younger generation remain an acute problem. Maoist economic experiments have led to a fall in these standards and a threatening rise in youth unemployment. No cardinal measures to remedy the situation are being adopted.

In their attempts to resolve youth employment problems the present Chinese leaders continue to rely on the previous tough policy of banishing young people from large cities and military-industrial centres to mountainous and rural areas. In fact, these steps intensify social tensions in China's countryside.

Being unable to offer a basic solution to the youth

problems, the Peking leaders try to make the rising younger generation believe that their situation will improve once the "four modernizations" programme has been carried out. The youth press is waging an intensive propaganda of "bringing youth to the altar of the 'four modernizations'" and asceticism calling on them to exhibit, as before, a "spirit of sacrifice", "undereating, undersleeping and giving all their strength without respite to the cause of the 'four modernizations', strike roots in the countryside" and settle "consciously" in distant areas. Disclosing the aim of this propaganda campaign, the PRC press plainly said that "we do not work in order to be fed and clothed today, but in the name of the future."

### Admission of Setbacks

Major setbacks of the present Peking leaders' youth policy are also mentioned in the decisions of the 2nd plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Youth League (CCYL) of the 10th convocation, which was held in Peking in January 1980.

The meeting proceeded in the complex atmosphere of China's contradictory internal political development marked by growing squabbles within the Peking ruling clique and the intensification of differences between the leaders on questions of the future political and ideological course and the methods of implementing the "four modernizations" programme.

The plenum documents point to the serious setbacks in the CPC youth policy. All signs show that the Peking leaders have had no success through the Maoist youth organizations—the CCYL, the All-China

Youth Federation and the All-China Students' Federation—to unite the overwhelming majority of Chinese young men and women and mobilize them for the implementation of the "four modernizations". The youth oppose the overtly militaristic and hegemonistic character of this programme. Addressing the session, Han Ying, First Secretary of the CCYL Central Committee, reaffirmed that the youth should "take more active efforts to carry out the 'four modernizations'".

This is quite natural as the younger generation accounts for almost half of China's population. At the same time, their low cultural standards, lack of vocational, scientific and technical training, low level of labour discipline and anarchist trends among them resulting from the "cultural revolution" seriously obstruct the drawing of this generation into the said scheme. At present, according to official data, almost 150 million Chinese young men and women are illiterate and 70 per cent of the young factory and office

### EVENTS IN PHOTOGRAPHS

*China.  
Militarization has spread to all aspects of life.  
Photo: Workers of an industrial enterprise at one of the endless military training sessions.*



workers in industry, communication and transport have only primary education.

### Education System in Decay

Recently the Peking newspapers have increasingly often complained about the general deterioration of the state of the PRC's system of education and a shortage of government resources for its improvement. The "big leap" and the "cultural revolution", in addition to leading the country to the brink of economic collapse, have thrown it many years back in the field of education. Through the fault of the Maoist leaders a whole generation of young Chinese men and women could not receive an education. Among 140 countries of the world China holds 10th place from the bottom of the list in per capita expenditures on education. While the 1950s saw intensive anti-illiteracy efforts, the events of the past 20 odd years, on the contrary, have led to a growth of illiteracy. In some provinces it now reaches 70 per cent.

China's education system is typified by an acute shortage of teachers and school books and a low teaching level. Classes consist of 80-90 pupils each and schools are in a dilapidated state. In Xian, the administrative centre of Shaanxi province, about one-quarter of the classrooms have no windows. The majority of the schools in urban centres have no equipment whatever and many do not have benches to sit on. Only 60 per cent of the pupils finish primary school.

Continuing its policy of militarization, the Peking authorities have been increasingly curtailing the allocations for social needs, including education. Meanwhile, the burden of school maintenance expenses is placed on the population.

### EVENTS IN PHOTOGRAPHS



*Ancient Chinese treatises say Wushu exercises improve the body, foster wrath and raise the fighting spirit of the nation. This ancient form of gymnastics is again in vogue.*

In their youth policy the Chinese leaders give major attention to the students—people who will be building "great China" in the future. The Secretariat of the CPC Central Committee has lately discussed the students' situation twice.

Now the country has almost 900,000 students, almost one-third of them freshmen, and 598 higher learning establishments—109 less than in 1965. However, only 100 are state-maintained and have more or less satisfactory instructors and training equipment. The majority of the remaining centres have to be content with local financing and as regards their level could rather be classed with secondary schools.

One of the articles of the PRC Constitution proclaims the right of citizens to free education. How the present Peking leaders expect to provide this right is best illustrated by the fact that now China has openly resorted to paid higher education. Some time ago there were supporters of free higher education. To date, they have been silenced. China's leaders strive to finance personnel training from school graduates' own pockets. Besides, higher school graduates are not guaranteed state-posting jobs. College and university authorities have only the right to recommend them to appropriate institutions and enterprises.

As before the students' living standards are low. There is a shortage of hostels, the allowances are negligible and there is a ban on student marriages. An inspection held at the medical college in Zunyi has revealed that students fairly frequently faint from hunger. Their tiny allowances put medicines out of their reach.

These factors, coupled with the prospect of unemployment after graduation, in other words, of becoming a redundant member of society, as the youth newspaper "Zhongguo qingnian bao" wrote in March 1980, provoke "discontent, passiveness and lack of confidence in the practicability of the 'four modernizations' among students."

### **Tough Line and Organizational Chaos**

In this situation the Chinese leaders attach particular importance to "ideological and political work" among the younger generation employing the same old "campaign" methods and expedients. A mass political-ideological campaign keynoted by a slogan of "intensifying ideological political work and emancipat-

ing consciousness" is designed to neutralize the extensive youth discontent.

The 2nd plenary meeting of the CCYL Central Committee also discussed youth crime—an acute problem. However, its threatening growth is attributed to the "influence of the gang of four" rather than the Maoists' anti-national and anti-socialist policy. The youth's political struggles for their vital rights are deliberately classed as criminal offences. Under the pretext of a "fight against crime" a proposal has been approved to attract state security bodies, the courts, the prosecutor's office and the army for "educating"

### **EVENTS IN PHOTOGRAPHS**

*Chinese leaders assert that the "modernization" of the economy has brought considerable changes for the better. Is it really so? By the sweat of the brow...*



and controlling the youth and the CCYL organizations.

The decisions also proclaimed a tough economic and cultural policy, which the CCYL organizations were to follow strictly in their work.

The plenum gave special attention to the "organization of local CCYL bodies and to raising their militancy". In 1980 the Peking leaders, hard as they tried, failed to complete the creation of CCYL organizations at the local and medium levels. As Han Ying admitted, in the rural areas "many CCYL organizations are in a state of paralysis", urban and school CCYL organizations "more often than not exist only on paper" and in many places "are non-existent altogether". The unpopularity of the Maoist CCYL among the young people is evidenced in the "numerical decline of the CCYL membership".

Another acute problem is the training and deployment of the CCYL personnel. For instance, even the CCYL executives have low cultural and educational standards. According to the newspaper "Zhungguo qingnian bao", in the Xicheng district of Peking 70 per cent of the CCYL personnel have only primary schooling and 26 per cent have incomplete or complete secondary and higher pedagogical education. It is not accidental that even these people have been sent to a compulsory two-year course to liquidate their cultural backwardness. If the professional and cultural standards of the CCYL personnel are so low in the capital what are they like in the localities?

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Thus, the present stage of China's youth movement exhibits complex and contradictory processes. On the one hand, there is the continued deepening of its crisis and mounting discontent of the younger generation

## EVENTS IN PHOTOGRAPHS



*Today, as in the far-off past, many Chinese have to content themselves with such "comfort".*

with the Peking leaders' policy. On the other hand, the latter are taking intensive measures to consolidate the youth and rally them round the central leadership under the "four modernizations" slogans. Obviously, as long as China's leaders keep their sights on building a strong military superpower and as long as their actions are motivated by hegemonistic and chauvinistic ambitions they will find it increasingly difficult to count on the support of the people, especially the younger generation.

*Molodoi kommunist, No. 4, 1981 \**

## DEPLORABLE OUTCOME OF ANOTHER "EXPERIMENT"

Such an incident in the West would be commonplace in a series of pop-music concerts; the hall admits 1,000 but tickets are sold to 3,000 avid to watch the performance. Consequently there are milling crowds at the entrance, the balcony gives way and crashes, or, at best, people faint for lack of air. In the Western countries this has become a common occurrence attending the performance of rock orchestras and rock singers. But the accident we shall deal with occurred not in the United States or Great Britain, but in China, in Peking.

Shortly before the Spring Festival in Peking's park the local authorities decided to stage a "modern music festival". The very fact of such a festival being held in China is highly unusual and would have been simply unthinkable a short while ago. Peking's spectators were treated to quite a few "novelties". For the first time since the "great leap forward" and "the cultural revolution" they saw performers clad in "European attire". Previously, they would appear in the invariable dark-blue robes and service jackets. It is also known that the appearance of a performer wearing a tie was once regarded as a "counter-revolutionary act". According to Western press reports "the spectators, especially the young, were deeply impressed by hit songs performed in English". The programme featured mainly US and British songs.

The amphitheatre in the park could only accommodate 25,000 spectators. Meanwhile the administration sold 50,240 tickets and, together with the holders of complimentary tickets, the audience numbered some 60,000. After the concert the spectators stunned by what they had seen and heard rushed to the exit in order to closer see their idols. The multi-thousand-strong crowd trampled 60 persons underfoot, three of them were killed and ten severely injured. Such is the sad result of another Maoist "experiment", this time in the cultural field.

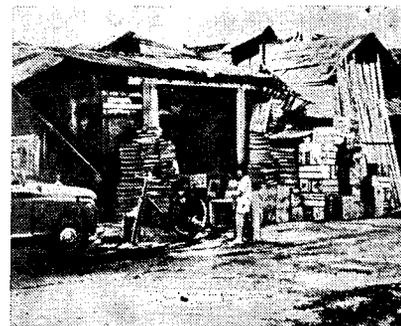
## EVENTS IN PHOTOGRAPHS

*In recent years various Chinese representations, agencies, banks and firms have become more active in Hong Kong. The People's Bank of China alone has 140 branches there and controls dozens of other banks. Over four billion dollars are remitted annually from Hong Kong to China.*



*Photos:  
The People's  
Bank of China.*

*Most people  
of Chinese  
origin in Hong Kong  
have to live in  
makeshift structures  
made of old iron  
plates, boxes and  
sacks.  
Financial Times  
(London),  
TASS*



G. LONSHCHAKOV

## THE XINHUA AGENCY—AN INSTRUMENT OF MISINFORMATION AND SUBVERSION

The Xinhua Agency is the foremost professional news and propaganda media in the PRC, the kingpin of the ideological organs of the Maoist regime. Xinhua holds a special place in China's foreign-policy activity and propaganda.

As an information organ of the Communist Party of China the agency named Xinhua (New China) was founded in 1938 in Yanan. A year later the agency was made into an organization in its own right. In 1940 it already had 20 branches and 57 correspondent offices inside the country and 8 bureaux in other countries. In 1942 the Xinhua Agency began its foreign radio service broadcasting in English 3-4 hours a day.

In 1949 the Xinhua Agency became the main state news media, maintaining contact with 30 foreign information services by radio and via wire communication channels.

### **Maoists' Information and Propaganda Machinery**

Whenever China's political course is changed, an ideological campaign is mounted in the course of which some people are compelled to engage in self-criticism. After the removal of the "gang of four" in October, 1976 the mass media entered another self-castigation period. Another round in the power struggle marked

a new phase in the fight to seize control over the main component of the Maoists' propaganda machinery—the Xinhua News Agency. Since then all the unseemly stratagems and methods employed by communication media and their main fount have been ascribed to the "gang of four". At the same time the exposure of the former misinformation methods, fact-twisting and other ruses has in effect been tantamount to the self-exposure of the new Chinese leaders. Meanwhile, the merchandise being supplied by the Xinhua Agency to all the PRC information channels is still of inferior quality.

Information available on the current activities of the Xinhua Agency is contradictory and far from exhaustive. After the formation of the People's Republic of China all Xinhua activity was rigidly centralized. The country's provinces and autonomous regions still maintained up to 30 local offices of the agency which functioned until the "cultural revolution". Xinhua branches and local offices are only required to gather information and dispatch it to Peking where it is carefully screened, edited and returned to the localities to be published. In this way information appearing in all Chinese newspapers is tightly controlled. Correspondents working for the branches and local offices are obliged to send in materials that have countrywide relevance and can safely be published by newspapers all across the country. This approach to the treatment and presentation of information is to conceal the real state of affairs in the localities.

### **To Encompass More Countries...**

A feature of Xinhua activities abroad is the use of its foreign-based bureaux as springboards for the fur-

ther expansion of the zone of subversive propaganda work. The Xinhua bureaux in Geneva and Bern were the stepping stones for implanting Chinese journalists in other West European countries and the bureau opened in Stockholm in the early sixties had the same object in the Scandinavian countries. Chinese journalists accredited to Australia make frequent trips to New Guinea and the Fiji Islands. A typical example of Chinese correspondents' expanding activities originating from a correspondent bureau, opened first in one country, and then spreading to neighbouring countries, is afforded by the Middle East where the first Chinese correspondent bureau was opened in Cairo in 1956 and was followed by the opening in quick succession of bureaux in Syria (1957), Iran (1958), Yemen (1959), Kuwait (1966) and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen (1968).

Much emphasis in the Agency's activity in the Latin American countries is laid on building a so-called "solid front" of struggle against the Soviet Union and other socialist states. In 1959 the Xinhua Agency stepped up its activities in the region after a delegation of Chinese journalists visited Brazil, Uruguay, Chile and Bolivia in July-August. In 1960-1961 Xinhua opened bureaux in Chile and Brazil and in Peru, Venezuela, Argentina, Colombia, Ecuador and the Dominican Republic it maintained bureaux staffed by locals. In 1962 a bureau was opened in Uruguay, and a year later three Chinese correspondents established themselves in Mexico. In the mid-sixties the Xinhua Agency gained a foothold in Guyana and Costa Rica.

In the countries where the Xinhua Agency employed local staff they were all too often used to help spread Maoist political influence and establish "friend-

ly relations" with persons close to government circles.

Many Chinese staff-members of the Agency are issued diplomatic passports by reason of which they find themselves in a more advantageous position abroad than representatives of news agencies from other countries, for the diplomatic status affords them wider and unhindered access to a greater number of information sources.

Peking strives to open more and more bureaux of the Agency in foreign countries. According to foreign observers China currently has between 60 and 70 foreign news bureaux.

### Means and Methods

Branches of the Xinhua Agency often act in the role of diplomatic missions abusing their status. They are being used for building so-called "solid fronts" on a non-governmental level in host countries. Through pressmen Peking establishes close ties with leftist extremist elements. Very often the activities of Xinhua men are terminated by their expulsion or arrest. In the years of the "cultural revolution" Xinhua officers were expelled from Ghana and Burundi for being involved in attempts to change the system of government in those countries. At the climax of ideological campaigns in China, her journalists fomented public disturbances in Nepal, Burma and Senegal. Xinhua correspondents were expelled from ten-odd countries for meddling in local affairs.

Besides supplying all the media with thoroughly sieved and smoothed-over information, the Xinhua Agency regularly issues a confidential information bulletin, "*Cankao Xiaoxi*", which plays an important

role in the workings of China's political machinery. This publication appears daily in the form of a four-page newspaper in three variants: the first one is intended exclusively for the top echelon of the ruling elite, the second—for a relatively small circle of leading functionaries and the third—for a broad circle of lower echelon cadres. The Agency also issues "Reference Materials", appearing six days a week, twice a day, and catering for persons and institutions immediately concerned with international problems.

These publications select and present politically-slanted materials, especially reports from abroad expressive of favourable reactions to developments inside China and PRC foreign-policy acts. Materials meant for the so-called Third World are steeped in demagoguery. A semblance of objectivity is observed in reporting certain materials. But when it comes to covering the countries of the socialist community and the Soviet Union Maoist journalists lose all sense of proportion and reprint patent slanders peddled by reactionary Western periodicals. Biased information, calumny and of peoples and governments of other countries, and first of all the socialist countries, make it necessary for Maoists to thoroughly conceal the classified publications of the Xinhua Agency from foreigners.

A special organ of the commission for the affairs of the Chinese, resident in foreign countries, is also a concern of the Xinhua News Agency. For dissemination of Maoist publications catering for the huaqiao, i.e. ethnic Chinese residing abroad, Peking established in Hong Kong its special information agency "*Zhong-guo Xinwen*" disseminating information, to all countries where emigrants of Chinese nationality reside.

In 1972 Xinhua opened its section at the Chinese mission to the UN in New York, with five staff corres-

pondents. The agency has agreements with the world's largest news agencies: the Associated Press, the United Press International, Reuters, Kyodo Tsushin and France Presse for exchanges of information and photo materials.

The Xinhua agency began to establish "special relations" with a number of foreign newspapers, first of all in the Third World countries (for instance, with the Tanzanian "African Standard" and the Congolese "Dipand"). These newspapers publish materials furnished by the agency—freely and without compensation.

The agency issues its own "Xinhua News Bulletin" for foreign consumption. It daily dispatches information to its foreign-based bureaux, which is then released in large editions in local languages on rotary presses and sold or circulated gratis. "News by Foreign Agencies and the Press" is issued in English for foreigners resident in the PRC. A detailed foreign information reference journal is published by Xinhua for a relatively narrow circle of party functionaries, senior administrative personnel and the top military.

All told, the Xinhua Agency daily issues 32 information bulletins which are not put on sale.

### **An Anti-Socialist Instrument**

The Xinhua Agency is actuated every time Peking is about to launch a slander campaign or stage a provocation. Today the Maoists' entire propaganda machinery, including the Xinhua Agency has swung full blast into an unbridled campaign of slander against the Soviet Union and the socialist community. The Xinhua agency almost daily grinds out insinuations about a "miserable plight" of ethnic Chinese in Viet-

nam. The unsavoury role which the agency and its representatives played in Hanoi has been exposed to the world public by the press of the SRV. On the strength of solid evidence it has been shown that the Hanoi section of Xinhua was actually a centre provoking ethnic Chinese resident in Vietnam not only to leave their home country but also inflict as much economic and political damage on Vietnam as possible.

The breakaway from Marxism-Leninism, the link-up with the forces of imperialism and war, the toughening of the policy of anti-Sovietism and anti-socialism inevitably induce corresponding changes in the activity and structure of the Xinhua News Agency, an institution for subversion in the world communist and national liberation movement.

*Problemy Dalnego Vostoka*, No. 2, 1981 \*

## BOOK REVIEWS

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L. GUDOSHNIKOV

### MAOISM'S SELF-EXPOSURE

The book "Maoism Without Trimmings"\*<sup>1</sup>, recently issued by the Progress Publishers in Moscow, can be of much help in countering Maoist ideology. It is a collection of Mao Zedong's statements derived mostly from his previously unpublished addresses to working conferences held in the CPC Central Committee, to the secretaries of provincial CPC committees, to conferences of ideological workers, to the second session of the Eighth CPC Congress, to plenary sessions of the CPC Central Committee, from his letters, etc. Some of the statements are taken from the published documents of the 9th-11th CPC congresses and plenary sessions of the CPC Central Committee held between 1966 and 1977, materials pertaining to the "cultural revolution", the hungweibing and other press of the PRC, and the fifth volume of Mao Zedong's "Collected Works" published in Peking in 1977.

Disclosing the underlying principles of Maoist ideology and politics, their glaring internal contradictions and eclecticism, the statements quoted in the collection do more than reveal the real essence of the views of Mao and his retinue. They also demonstrate the theoretical impotence and barrenness of Maoism.

An introductory article, by M. Altaisky, analyzes Mao's views on philosophy and socialism, on problems of foreign policy, war and peace. The author proves that the pivot of Mao's philosophical "concepts" was vulgar materialism combined with subjective idealism and pragmatism.

Mao's utterances on questions of ideology show that his interpretation of Marxism was extremely primitive and utilitarian with an admixture of various anti-Marxist views borrowed from

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\* *Maoism Without Trimmings*. Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1980 (in Russian).

the arsenal of traditional Confucianist ideology from the petty-bourgeois views of the anarchists and Trotskyites and the bourgeois ideology of pragmatism. The ideas of socialism are valuable for Maoism only inasmuch as they can serve as a banner for attracting the masses that will subsequently be exploited in efforts to attain nationalistic objectives.

To date, as a result of the past 20 years of evolution, Maoism has developed into one of the most dangerous enemies of Marxism-Leninism, scientific socialism and peace. In his detailed discussion of anti-Sovietism as the reverse side of Peking's great-power chauvinistic policy M. Altaisky emphasizes that the Maoists use anti-Sovietism in their attempts to validate their hegemonistic ambitions and in a search for allies among the enemies of socialism and to divert popular attention from internal problems and difficulties, to aggravate the atmosphere of war psychosis and pursue a policy of China's militarization. A cover-up for Peking's hegemonism, anti-Sovietism has become a threat to peace and all mankind.

The collection has four large sections: "Mao Zedong about Himself and His Views" (the sources and philosophical "concepts" of Maoism and militarist statements spearheaded against socialist democracy); "Maoist 'Socialism'" (Mao's concept of petty-bourgeois barrack-type socialism); "Sinocentrism and Hegemonism" (Mao's foreign policy concepts and views on questions of war and peace) and, finally, "Mao versus Mao" — Mao's statements directed against anti-Sovietism, hegemonism and alignment with the imperialists, which camouflaged the actual essence of his policy and ideology.

The latter section sheds particularly conclusive light on the methods of political duplicity which Mao Zedong frequently practised in order to secure his ends. A comparison of his unofficial statements with his public ones made in one historical period (for instance, in the 1950s and the early 1960s) plumbs the depths of his hypocrisy. In his public appearances he pledged allegiance to friendship with the Soviet Union and extolled the significance of its experience stressing his respect for the CPSU. In his unofficial addresses, made before the party activists, Mao slandered the Soviet Union, its achievements and its aid to the PRC.

The section "Mao Zedong about Himself and His Views" is evidence of Mao's real self-exposure. It vividly discloses his negative attitude to education and the intelligentsia. It is rooted in his biography, a commentary to the section says. The son

of a kulak, Mao in his youthful days suffered intense humiliation having failed to receive a proper education, which had landed him in a position below that which he thought he deserved. This ill-feeling for education and culture became Mao's lifelong hallmark and one of the principles of his ideology.

As follows from the statements cited in the collection, the theoretical fundamentals of Marxism remained a terra incognita for Mao. Parading his lack of education, Mao attempted to make his listeners and readers believe that "Sinicized Marxism" could be created even without a deep knowledge of Marxism. Mao never became a real Marxist remaining bounded by his petty-bourgeois world outlook, by nationalistic and anarchist concepts. If one were to cast off Mao's verbal trappings one would discover his idealistic ideology. His best-known postulate, "Politics is the commanding force", was not an accidental slip of the tongue. Mao always understood the primacy of politics as subordination of the objective laws of society to volitional decisions. Maoism is also typified by the identification of theory with practice and a mechanistic deduction of practical questions from general propositions—an error the classics of Marxism-Leninism warned against. Mao absolutized the subjective factor and belittled the role of material factors in social development. This formed the core of Maoist "philosophy". His statements reveal that Mao was an apologist of poverty, which he claimed was an indispensable condition for social progress. Mao's pronouncements show that he was a petty-bourgeois leader who attempted to "spur on" historical process and make his country skip major stages of development. Like any political leader of his kind, he was inclined to exaggerate the role of the military factor in a revolutionary war as well as in peaceful development constantly repeating that "all the people are soldiers".

Naturally, major attention is given to the Maoist "cultural revolution" as this unprecedented campaign synthesized, as it were, the main postulates of Maoism. Mao himself tells us how he kindled "the flame of the cultural revolution".

Maoism's self-exposure is particularly graphic in questions of foreign policy, where its motive concepts are sinocentrism and hegemonism. Slandering the socialist countries and attempting to split them, Mao Zedong in the last years of his life advocated "establishing an international united front with a friendly imperialist country and fighting revisionism". In other

words, he laid the practical basis for a reactionary alliance with imperialism, which is the pivot of the foreign policy of China's present leaders.

There is no overlooking Mao's statements about war. Addressing the Second session of the CPC's Eight Congress in 1958, he said: "One should not be afraid of war. If there's a war there will be casualties. The comrades who are present here have seen death. Death is not terrible. If a half of 600 million people perish, the other 300 million will remain alive... If half of mankind are killed in the war—it does not matter. It's nothing terrible if only a third of the population remains". To Mao, tension in international relations was a useful factor.

In many of his statements Mao urged war preparations. In the 1950s he threatened China's overseas neighbour, which to date has become the PRC's closest partner: "We shall build big ships and will be ready to land in Japan, the Philippines and San Francisco." Mao constantly repeated: "Again we are bracing ourselves for a 25-year war" (1964). "We should anticipate that a major war will shortly be unleashed on our territory" (1967). "We must be ready to wage a war in any year" (1969), etc. In the 1960s he reaffirmed his intention to sacrifice millions of human lives in war. Mao's calculations were based on the assumption that in war China with its large population would suffer less damage than the other countries, especially if it joined in the war later, after provoking a major military clash between the United States and the Soviet Union. After Mao's death the views of the Chinese leaders on this score have not changed. And Peking's verbal juggling with regard to delaying and preventing a world war should not mislead anyone.

"Maoism Without Trimmings" is a convincing document that unravels the true essence of the ideology of hegemonism and chauvinism, which is inimical to peace and the interests of the peoples.

*Problemy Dalnego Vostoka, No. 1, 1981 \**

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