

STP ***SUPPLEMENT***

**WHICH WAY
WILL CHINA GO?**

**PEKING'S
POLITICAL
ACROBATICS**

**"UPDATED"
MAOISM**

2





STP

SUPPLEMENT

SOCIALISM: THEORY
AND PRACTICE

2

Address:
STP Editorial Office,
APN Publishing House,
7, Bolshaya Pochtovaya Street,
Moscow, 107082,
USSR

© Novosti Press Agency
Publishing House, 1982

Abridged articles are marked with an asterisk (*).

Editing completed January 5, 1982.

CONTENTS

FROM DOCUMENTS

- L. BREZHNEV
Chinese Leaders Try to
Sow Discord among
Asian Countries 5

- LE DUAN
Collusion between the
US Imperialists and
the Reactionary Peking
Clique 6

- Meetings of
L. I. Brezhnev with
Le Duan,
K. Phomvihane 8

- For Peace and Security
in Asia 10

- A. GROMYKO
Collaboration Hostile
to the Cause of
Detente 11

**HISTORY AND OUR
TIME**

- B. PYSHKOV,
B. STAROSTIN
Spiral of Betrayal 13

- D. VOLKOGONOV
China's Future: Real
Possibilities 23

**FOREIGN POLICY
COURSE**

- F. BURLATSKY
The Shadow of a New
Alliance in Asia 33

- O. BORISOV
Dangerous Course 43

- Normalization of
Relations: Soviet
Proposals and China's
Stand 51

- M. SUSHANLO
Peking's "Islamic Card" 55

- V. VOLKOV
Double-Dealing 59

BOOK REVIEWS

- "The Fall of People's
China" 61

**ECONOMICS,
POLITICS,
IDEOLOGY**

- S. TIKHVINSKY
Maoism Reanimated 69



I am deeply concerned about the aggravation of the situation in the world and, in particular, on the Asian continent. One of the causes, in my view, are tense relations between the USSR and the PRC.

You blame China for the deterioration of Soviet-Chinese relations. What does the Soviet Union do to normalize and improve these relations?

A. K. MEHRA,
Bombay, India

I closely follow developments in China. The contradictory policy pursued by the Chinese leaders raises a lot of questions. In particular, it is not clear which way China is going. What would you say about this?

George TEW,
Villenhall, Britain

Replies to these questions are provided by the articles "Normalization of Relations: Soviet Proposals and China's Stand" and "China's Future: Real Possibilities".

L. I. BREZHNEV,
General Secretary of the CPSU
Central Committee,
Chairman of the Presidium
of the Supreme Soviet of the
USSR

CHINESE LEADERS TRY TO SOW DISCORD AMONG ASIAN COUNTRIES

The 26th Congress of our Party has put forward a broad Peace Programme for the eighties. The Soviet proposals were addressed to all countries. They are designed to improve the situation in all the regions of the globe.

This is applicable in full measure to Asia. Unlike any other place, the need for peace in Asia is most acute. The national per capita income in a large number of Asian states is at the lowest level. Also there, in Asia, new conflicts are being added to the old, still unextinguished ones. Evil winds sweep over Southeast Asia. The forces of imperialism and hegemonism fear an Asia in tranquillity.

It is tragic that the leaders of Asia's biggest state—China—are wasting the forces of their country for such an unseemly cause as worsening the international climate. They strive to make the Asian countries quarrel with each other, to generate hostility to the Soviet Union, to Vietnam, to the world of socialism. I repeat that it is tragic—and above all for the Chinese people itself.

Contrary to Peking's stand, many Asian states favour lasting, good-neighbourly relations. Neither are they doing the bidding of Washington. They wish to live an independent life. Such a position can only win respect. Only the Asian peoples, desirous of peace and freedom, can be the masters of Asia. They have every right to reject any outside interference in their affairs, in the sphere of their vital interests.

We welcome the growth of the international influence of India, of countries of Indochina, of other Asian states, their

active participation in world politics. We welcome the desire of Vietnam together with Laos and Kampuchea to achieve a transformation of the entire Southeast Asia into an area of peace and stability.

In international politics, like in other affairs, the Communists take class positions. They express the interests of the working people, the interests of peoples. That is why they are firmly working for detente, disarmament and peaceful cooperation between all states.

Pravda, September 8, 1981

From the speech by L. I. Brezhnev at the dinner in the Grand Kremlin Palace given in honour of Le Duan, Moscow, September 7, 1981.

LE DUAN,
General Secretary of the
Central Committee
of the Communist Party
of Vietnam

COLLUSION BETWEEN THE US IMPERIALISTS AND THE REACTIONARY PEKING CLIQUE

No matter how reckless their actions could be US-led imperialism and the reactionary clique in the Peking ruling circles, conspiring with it, are not able to change the existing situation. The indisputable historical law remains that the three modern revolutionary mainstreams continue their flow forward winning more and more victories, and the tendency towards peace and detente is irreversible.

The development of this tendency is greatly facilitated by the Peace Programme for the 1980s put forward by Leonid Brezhnev at the 26th Congress of the CPSU and by the Appeal of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR both of which have

been warmly welcomed and supported by the broad world public opinion.

Together with the Lao People's Democratic Republic and the People's Republic of Kampuchea, the Socialist Republic of Vietnam wages a consistent struggle for a lasting and just peace in Asia and, above all, for peace and stability in South-east Asia. To achieve this our people strive to develop the relations of friendship and cooperation with the great Indian people and other Asian nations.

The SRV is prepared to normalize relations with the People's Republic of China on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence, mutual respect of independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity of the two countries and the settlement of all controversial questions through negotiations. But at present the situation continues to develop in unfavourable way and the responsibility for this rests entirely with the Chinese side.

The Southeast Asian problems must be resolved by the countries of the region. They can be straightened out through a direct dialogue between the two groups of states of Indo-China and ASEAN without outside interference and with resolute opposition to treacherous plans hatched by Washington and Peking aimed at aggravating tensions and stepping up confrontation between the countries in the region.

Pravda, September 8, 1981

From Le Duan's speech at the dinner in the Grand Kremlin Palace in Moscow, September 7, 1981.

MEETING OF L. I. BREZHNEV WITH LE DUAN

On September 7, 1981 Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, met in the Kremlin with Le Duan, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam, who was on a friendly visit to the Soviet Union.

International questions were considered during the meeting.

The US militarist policy and China's hegemonic ambitions have led to the aggravation of the world situation, including in Southeast Asia. The peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea are still deprived of the opportunity to devote their efforts entirely to peaceful, constructive tasks. Their security is continuously threatened by the military sallies of Peking which is supported by the US Administration. China and the United States are trying to organize political and economic boycott of the Indochinese nations, and with this aim in view they are exerting crude pressure on the ASEAN countries. But this policy, hostile to the cause of peace, runs counter to peoples' aspirations and is, doubtlessly, doomed to failure.

The USSR and the SRV hold that the strengthening of security in Asia must become the common objective of Asian nations. In this connection they attach great importance to extending cooperation with India, are ready to develop and strengthen relations of friendship and cooperation with Indonesia, Malaysia and all peace-loving Asian countries. The cause of peace in Asia would only benefit if Japan joined in the constructive efforts of setting up genuine good-neighbourly relations among Asian nations.

L. Brezhnev and Le Duan expressed confidence that the consistent policy of the socialist countries aimed at improving the world political climate will meet a favourable response among responsible political circles in different countries and will be acclaimed by the world public.

Pravda, September 8, 1981 *

MEETING OF L. I. BREZHNEV WITH K. PHOMVIHANE

On September 14, in the Kremlin, Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, met with Kaysone Phomvihane, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party, Prime Minister of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, who was on a holiday in the Soviet Union.

The two leaders expressed the conviction that the key foreign policy task now is to ease international tension. The policy of confrontation, and of fanning hatred and distrust between states, pursued by the forces of imperialism and hegemonism, is a dangerous challenge to the destinies of mankind. This policy cannot and must not have any future.

The Soviet Union supports the initiatives produced by the states of Indochina for holding regional consultations for a settlement of the problems facing Southeast Asia by the efforts of the countries of the region. In conditions when the American imperialists and Peking hegemonists are trying to complicate the relations of the ASEAN countries with the states of Indochina, it is especially important not to interrupt the dialogue, to display patience, realism and a sense of responsibility and to refrain from steps that could worsen the situation. It would be reasonable to lay aside what divides the states of the region and to look for points of contact, for a mutually acceptable basis for developing fruitful peaceful cooperation.

The Soviet Union supports Laos in its desire to cement fraternal ties with Vietnam and Kampuchea, for close unity of the peoples of Indochina is an important factor of peace in this region.

The Lao People's Democratic Republic fully approves the Soviet Union's foreign policy programme of peace proclaimed at the 26th CPSU Congress and its further steps aimed at improving the international situation, strengthening peace and the security of the peoples.

Pravda, September 15, 1981 *

FOR PEACE AND SECURITY IN ASIA

Your concern over the developments in Asia is fully shared in the Soviet Union. Ever since the end of World War II conflicts, big and small, declared and undeclared wars between states have not stopped for a single day in that part of the world which has more than half of the Earth's population. The policies of the imperialist and hegemonistic forces lead to the aggravation of old, and the stirring up of new, conflicts, and to a continuous building up of tensions in Asia.

The Soviet Union along with the Mongolian People's Republic holds that this tendency, fraught with grave and dangerous consequences, must be countered by the resolute, consistent and firm action of peace-loving forces, particularly in Asian countries. These forces are formidable, their strength and activity are growing. Political thinking in Asian countries more and more resolutely turns to the search of ways for ensuring peace and stability. More and more Asian countries show readiness to contribute to the lessening of tensions, the strengthening of security in Asia, and the improvement of the international situation in general.

There is no doubt that this is the meaning of the proposal made by the Mongolian People's Republic as regards concluding a convention on mutual non-aggression and non-use of force in the relations among the states of Asia and the Pacific. If the interstate relations in this vast region could be reconstructed on the basis of the principles of mutual respect for independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-violation of national frontiers, equality, non-interference in one another's internal affairs, non use of force or threat of force, the settlement of disputes by peaceful means only and the development of mutually advantageous cooperation, one could say that it would be a major historical breakthrough in the developments on the Asian continent.

Your initiative is consonant with the well-known Soviet proposals on strengthening peace and security in Asia. It runs along the same lines as the proposals on turning the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace, on the creation of the zone of peace and stability in Southeast Asia, and other constructive ideas put forward by peace-loving Asian states. It can be expected, therefore, that the MPR's initiative will find

a favourable response in many countries of Asia and the Pacific Ocean.

As far as the Soviet Union is concerned, we have always held that peace in Asia will, to a large extent, determine the general climate in the world, and in its noble activity in the interests of peace on the Asian continent the Mongolian People's Republic can rely on the cooperation and support of the Soviet Union.

Pravda, September 27, 1981 *
From L. I. Brezhnev's message to
Yu. Tsedenbal

Andrei GROMYKO,
Member of the Politbureau
of the CPSU Central Committee,
Minister for Foreign Affairs of
the USSR

COLLABORATION HOSTILE TO THE CAUSE OF DETENTE

Other events of international life also influence the situation in the world. The ever greater alignment of Washington and Peking is in the focus of attention.

Who objects when two countries want to have normal relations? Of course, nobody objects. The issue is on what basis this is being done. In this case the basis is openly hostile to many states, especially to the Soviet Union, and hostile to the cause of detente.

It has been stated for the whole world to hear that the United States intends to sell arms to China, to promote the growth of its military potential. This is being done when Peking is pursuing a policy running counter to the interests of peace, a policy of hegemonism and aggression.

From the speech by A. A. Gromyko at the plenary meeting of the 36th session of the UN General Assembly, September 22, 1981.

The development of military cooperation between the United States and China—cooperation to which Japan is also gravitating for unclear reasons—will be taken into account by the Soviet Union accordingly and, we believe, also by other states.

On its part the Soviet Union has repeatedly expressed the conviction (this was recently stated again by L. I. Brezhnev from the rostrum of the CPSU Congress) that a policy of peace would be in the interests of the Chinese people. The Soviet Union would like to build its relations with the PRC on a good-neighbourly basis. We have confirmed more than once that our proposals on the normalization of these relations remain valid.

Pravda, September 23, 1981

**B. PYSHKOV,
B. STAROSTIN**

SPIRAL OF BETRAYAL

Peking and the World Communist Movement

"To safeguard peace—no task is more important now on the international plane for our Party, for our people and, for that matter, for all the peoples of the world"—this conclusion drawn at the 26th Congress has found a great response among the world's progressive public.

In order to solve the task of safeguarding peace it is necessary to understand clearly which forces in the present-day world facilitate peaceful development and which forces hamper it. In this connection special mention should be made of the policy pursued by Peking, which is increasingly becoming an accomplice of imperialism in its global anti-popular designs. As noted at the 26th CPSU Congress, Peking's policy continues to be "aimed at aggravating the international situation, and is aligned with the policy of the imperialist powers".

It may seem paradoxical at first glance that Peking is trying to match its pro-imperialist course with tactical steps towards "normalization" of relations with some Communist parties.

The people throughout the world are attentively watching Peking's acrobatic feats. Their interest grew particularly in connection with the visits to China of the Italian Communist Party delegation in

April 1980 and of the Spanish Communist Party delegation in November 1980. Opinions regarding these visits are extremely varied and even mutually exclusive. Some experts say that the renewal of contacts by the Chinese Communist Party with West European Communists is a common practice in relations between Communist parties, which has helped settle their earlier misunderstanding, chiefly because the Chinese leadership have revised their previous positions. Others regard Peking's flirting with the Communist movement as another attempt to split the revolutionary vanguard of today and use it for its own national-chauvinistic aims.

What are the real motives behind the Peking leadership's new attitude towards the Communist movement? What aims do the Chinese leaders pursue when they change their tune and go over from abuse to sweet flattery addressed to some Communist parties? How does Peking's policy for accelerated alliance with imperialism and reaction fit in with its desire to normalize contacts with Communists, the most consistent anti-imperialist force? All these questions need clear-cut and factual answers.

When did the Differences Begin!

If one traces back the evolution of the views and actions of the CPC leaders since the second half of the fifties, it becomes evident that they first created differences and then broke away from the world Communist and working class movement and the socialist countries. This was not a coincidence. It is true that the objective conditions in China created an environment suitable for the deformation of the revolutionary process and a possibility for the Party

leadership and state power to degenerate. This possibility, however, did not mean inevitability.

It is important now to bring to the fore the character of Mao Zedong's political group, who concentrated all Party and state power in their hands. They persecuted true Chinese Communists and while putting on the toga of Marxists, in actual fact embodied the spirit of reactionary nationalism, great-Han arrogance, chieftaincy, infallibility and unlimited permissibility. This anti-Marxist group dominated the Chinese Communist Party leadership in the late fifties, revised the decisions of the 8th CPC Congress, launched such pernicious "campaigns" as the "great leap", "forced communization of the village", "cultural revolution", and embarked on the path of confrontation with the socialist countries and Communist parties.

The Chinese leadership's break-away from the Leninist principles of foreign policy, betrayal of proletarian internationalism is the natural result of their adventurist home policy, the course of pursuing aims hostile to scientific socialism and using methods incompatible with Marxism-Leninism.

From the very beginning of the confrontation with the world Communist movement the Chinese Communist Party leadership took a specific, Sino-centrist attitude towards the most vital problems of international life and sought to impose their views on other Communist parties as an absolute truth. Peking made fierce attacks on the tactics and strategy of the revolutionary movement as a whole and on the policy of the socialist countries, and demanded that the conclusions drawn by the conferences of communist and workers' parties in 1957 and 1960 be revised.

As is known, at those conferences, owing to the

collective effort of the fraternal parties and the creative development of Marxism-Leninism, a fundamentally important analysis was made of such problems as the understanding of the modern epoch and its basic contradiction, the role of the world socialist system, the ways of building socialism and communism, the possibilities of preventing a world war, peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, peaceful and non-peaceful forms of transition to socialism in the developed capitalist countries and in the newly-free states.

The course of events in the world bore out the correctness of the conclusions drawn by the Communists. But the Chinese leaders distorted and rejected the conferences' conclusions which embodied the most valuable experience of political struggle gained by Communists. Instead Maoists put forward in 1963 a set of anti-scientific, anti-Marxist, non-class assessments and formulae in the so-called "Proposal on the General Line of the World Communist Movement". In brief, the "proposal" boiled down to the following.

— In defiance of the Marxist-Leninist understanding of the modern epoch's basic contradiction, the Chinese leadership counter-opposed the socialist system, the Communist parties and the working class to the national liberation movement.

— Peking rejected the conclusion drawn by the Communists on the possibility of preventing a world war and declared the latter inevitable and even useful for accelerating world revolution. As Mao stated, half of mankind could be sacrificed for the sake of building a new "splendid" civilization on the remains of the old one.

— In accordance with the Maoist "philosophy", the truly revolutionary countries and peoples must

use all their capability to kindle the "flame of world revolution", to export revolution, and even unleash a thermonuclear war for the sake of this aim.

— According to the quasi-revolutionary Chinese scenario, the Communist and workers' parties in Europe and America, Asia and Africa, regardless of the specific historical and political conditions in their countries, must rise to armed struggle under the Maoist slogans "power grows out of the barrel of a gun", "village encircles town" and so on.

The apology of war and armed struggle in general were accompanied with increasingly malicious attacks on the policy of peaceful coexistence. The Maoist theoreticians stated that peaceful coexistence served the interests of imperialism and played into the hands of imperialist warmongers. It meant, they claimed, replacing class struggle with class cooperation on a worldwide scale, replacing world proletarian revolution with pacifism and breaking away from proletarian internationalism.

After formulating their detailed theoretical programme, the Peking leaders proceeded to action.

At the first stage, in the early sixties, the Chinese Communist Party leaders sought hegemony over the whole of the world Communist movement and attempted to push it off from the positions of Marxism-Leninism and impose on it a petty-bourgeois and adventurist approach to the fundamental problems of the theory, strategy and tactics of revolutionary struggle.

Along with it, the CPC leaders began splitting activities within most of the Communist parties in an effort to undermine and "dismember" them from within and to set up parallel political organizations of Maoists.

The Communist and workers' parties regarded by Peking as the "backward flow" (to which Peking referred all the fraternal parties which rejected the anti-Leninist views of the Chinese Communist Party leadership) began to be called "revisionist", the "common enemy of the world proletariat" and accused of "social-reformism", "bourgeois tendencies" and "betrayal of the working class interests". Prominent leaders of the Communist and working class movement were given discrediting labels. Thus, in

IN A SATIRICAL VEIN



Peking's peace-pipe.

Dikobraz (Czechoslovakia)

1962 "Renmin ribao" published an article "Comrade Togliatti's Differences with Us" in which the Italian Communist Party leadership were accused of "deviating from Marxism-Leninism", "embellishing American imperialism", "supplanting class struggle and the struggle against imperialism by class cooperation on a worldwide scale", and so on.

Peking's splitting, subversive activities within the world Communist movement met with a rebuff from an overwhelming majority of the Communist and workers' parties.

Despite the fierce propaganda and political attacks on the Communist parties, Maoists failed to bring their internal erosion and ideological degeneration.

From Ideological Differences to Total Confrontation

Upon making sure that the world Communist movement cannot be split from within, the Chinese Communist Party leadership set their hopes on social groups and political forces outside the Communist movement and the working class.

It is the petty-bourgeois sections and groups that became a useful environment for spreading Maoist ideas and recruiting members of pro-Maoist organizations and "parties".

Among them were students inclined to anarchy, extremist intellectuals, urban lower strata and petty bourgeoisie in some developing countries. Usually their leaders were renegades and apostates of all kinds expelled from Communist parties for factional and opportunist activities, as well as those who dropped out of the Communist parties so as to wage an open struggle against them.

In 1967 there were several dozen such groups. Peking called them "true revolutionaries", 'genuine Marxist-Leninist parties'.

From that time on, there essentially began a new stage in relations between the Chinese Communist Party and the world Communist movement—that of open opposition to practically all the fraternal Communist parties. The Peking leaders opposed various splitting groups to them with a view to forming a new Maoist "world revolutionary movement". These groups were assigned the task of engaging in subversive activities against the socialist countries, Communist and workers' parties.

Following the Chinese propaganda, Maoists throughout the world began to clamour that there had shaped a "splendid revolutionary situation" in all countries of the world and that the only form of revolution was an armed seizure of power and civil war. These directives predetermined Maoists' cooperation with Trotskyites, anarchists and terrorists in their undermining activities against the existing socialism, the world Communist movement and revolutionary-democratic regimes.

The so-called "cultural revolution", that has now been debunked in China proper, largely promoted the growth of ultra-left aspirations and views among Maoists throughout the world.

The Peking ruling clique did not fail to use the Maoist groups abroad for exalting the "cultural revolution" and for the clamorous propaganda of its international significance. The Chinese press was flooded with absurd statements by foreign Maoists, who advocated most desperate adventurism and anti-Communism, using bombastic revolutionary words as a cover.

The bourgeois mass media contributed in their own way to the eulogy of the cultural revolution. They depicted it as a "spontaneous protest by young people against the domination of bureaucracy", as an expression of "free thinking by the masses", etc.

But more dangerous than the verbal exaltation were China's attempts to organize a kind of "cultural mini-revolutions" abroad. To this end the Peking leadership used their "fifth column"—large communities of ethnic Chinese in a number of Asian countries as well as some Communist parties, which fell under Peking's influence in the sixties.

Even before the "cultural revolution", in the autumn of 1965, the Chinese Maoist clique put in jeopardy the Communist Party of Indonesia, the most influential and numerous Communist Party in the non-socialist part of Asia. Hundreds of thousands of Indonesian Communists were executed, put to prison and concentration camps. It is noteworthy that Peking voiced no protest against this massacre in Indonesia.

In 1967-1968 irreparable damage was done to the Communist Party of Burma, when its pro-Chinese leadership attempted to carry out a "cultural revolution" in their party along the Maoist pattern, which resulted in the execution and repression of all those who did not agree with the Peking line. The Communist party of New Zealand, whose leadership joined the banner of Maoism, found itself isolated from the country's political life and disintegrated. The positions of the Communist parties of Thailand and Malaya, which follow Peking's lead, have weakened strongly.

The world witnessed yet another, most loathsome and tragic relapse of the "cultural revolution". Kam-

puchea became the country where the Maoist pattern of rebuilding society was put to practice outside China within the framework of a whole national state. The basic features of this "pattern" are as follows: military barrack regime, violation of basic human rights, absurd social and economic experiments and, finally, mass extermination of the population, which reached the scale of genocide. All this caused nationwide hatred and indignation, making a revolutionary explosion inevitable.

For the first time in the history of the world revolutionary-liberation movement an anti-Maoist revolution took place there. The popular revolutionary revolt aimed against the reactionary policy of the present Chinese leadership, embodied in Kampuchea by the Pol Pot-Ieng Sari bloody regime, triumphed. A powerful blow was struck at Maoism, and the inhuman Maoist models of rebuilding society, transferred by Chinese advisers" and their "pupils" to Kampuchea.

The "cultural revolution" made China still more isolated in the international arena. In fact, supporters of Maoism did not succeed in strengthening their positions either organizationally or ideologically in any country of the world. The years of the "cultural revolution" marked but a brief rise in the spread of Maoism. The attempts to export Maoism as a strategy and tactics of revolutionary struggle failed completely.

(To be completed)

*Kommunist, No. 12, 1981 **

CHINA'S FUTURE: REAL POSSIBILITIES

There are hardly any people in the world who would not be concerned about the future of China. Will that country make a contribution to the cause of strengthening peace and security of nations? Will it renounce the disastrous policy of aggravating international tensions and provoking another world war? Or will the unbridled hegemonism of the Peking leaders push them further to the brink of world catastrophe?

Historic Event

The triumph of the people's revolution in China in 1949 was appraised by all the progressive forces as an event of great historic importance. During the liberation revolutionary struggle of the Chinese people the Soviet Union gave it every possible assistance so that China could take a socialist path in accordance with her people's wish. On February 14, 1950, the two countries signed the Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance for a term of 30 years with eventual renewal. Under the Treaty the Soviet Union was to render assistance in various spheres of economic development. The PRC was immediately given a large easy-term credit to pay for Soviet equipment supplies. Some equipment was handed over free. Several joint companies were set up in the PRC on a parity basis, to develop air transport, mineral prospecting, etc. China received a great deal of equipment and technological documentation necessary for the creation of national enterprises. A large number of Soviet specialists were sent

to China to share their know-how with the Chinese. The ties between the young republic and other socialist countries also expanded. Many developing countries recognized China. The People's Republic of China played an ever more significant role in the fraternal socialist community and among the progressive countries. The triumphant revolution in China spelled the growth of the world revolutionary process. It gave a powerful impulse to national liberation movements and opened up wide avenues for the progressive development of the Chinese people itself.

But since then the situation has radically changed. The Maoists betrayed the cause of the Chinese revolution and abandoned the camp of fighters for social progress. The nationalism of the Chinese leaders has put them directly in the camp of reaction. Preaching traditional Sino-centrism Peking sets its sights on the whole world.

The First Alternative

The Chinese people has now several alternatives before it for its future development.

One of them is a socialist path. Maoism as an ideology and policy is incapable of ensuring the vital interests of the working people, and sooner or later the social consciousness of the Chinese people will awake to the disastrous nature of the present course. Naturally, today this possibility does not look very likely, though it must be borne in mind that in fact all reactionary regimes, ideologies and political doctrines eventually vanish from the historical scene. For China to return to the socialist path it is necessary that the main contradiction, that between the policies pur-

sued by the Maoist leadership, on the one hand, and the vital interests, material and spiritual needs of the country's multi-million population, on the other, be removed. This is the major obstacle preventing the Chinese people from taking the socialist path of development. To overcome that socio-political barrier erected by the chauvinistic Peking leadership it is necessary to drop Maoism and return to genuine Marxist-Leninist policies, repudiate the hostile attitude towards socialism and establish friendship and cooperation with the socialist world. Today, however, sufficient objective and subjective conditions for bridging the gap between the vital interests of the multimillion population in China and the domestic and foreign policies its leaders stick to are lacking. And this contradiction will be constantly manifested in instability, social conflicts and constant dissatisfaction of the working people.

A way out of this social impasse into which the Maoists doctrinaires have led China, lies in renouncing hegemony, militarism and war-mongering. Elements of socialist foundations still remain in China whose people objectively need peace, for only peaceful construction, not war, can solve the problem of abject poverty hundreds of millions of the Chinese find themselves in today. Naturally, all peace-loving forces would welcome this development since it would significantly strengthen the international positions of real socialism, all progressive and anti-imperialist forces, and would lessen the danger of another world war breaking out. But, I repeat, the possibility of China's socialist development has a very small chance of turning into a reality in the near future. Gross deformations in the superstructure and China's die-hard reactionary, nationalistic and militaristic

course prevent the PRC from noticeably changing its present aggressive and hegemonistic course.

The Second Alternative

There is another road Peking could possibly take. The dynamic development of the balance of world forces will make China accept *peaceful coexistence* as an inevitable reality. Today, Peking turns down outright all initiatives advanced by the USSR, socialist and other peace-loving states, aimed at strengthening detente. It must be noted that China will be able to resolve its numerous domestic problems better in peaceful conditions than in wartime. The following

IN A SATIRICAL VEIN

American-
Chinese
cooperation.



*Rabotnichesko
delo*
(Bulgaria)

facts show how urgent these problems are. Today, China occupies the 100th place in the world in the amount of the national product per capita and in spending on medical care, 91st place in spending on public education, 53rd in average life-span, 52nd in the number of pupils assigned to one teacher, etc. These are the outcry social problems which cannot be straightened out either in the conditions of war preparations or, the more so, in wartime. At the same time, the PRC comes third in military spending. In fact, this outcry disproportion shows up the complexity of the problems that can be solved only under conditions of peace and peaceful coexistence.

In the past the People's Republic of China actively supported the principles of peaceful coexistence. For instance, in December, 1953, the Chinese and Indian leaders during their talks in Peking formulated the following five principles which they pledged to stick to in the future: mutual respect for territorial integrity, non-aggression, non-interference, mutual benefit and peaceful cooperation. Later these principles were further developed in the documents of the Bandung Conference (Indonesia) of the Asian and African countries held in April, 1955.

Adherence to these principles offered favourable opportunities for China to cooperate with states having different social systems. More important was the fact that a foreign policy based on these principles ruled out war as a means for resolving all disputable questions and ruled out armed force as the main argument in international relations. Today, too, the principles of peaceful coexistence offer China more favourable prospects for development. The Soviet Union has repeatedly pointed out that if the PRC is not yet prepared to build its relations with the USSR on

the principles of proletarian internationalism we are ready to maintain them on the basis of peaceful co-existence. This would be beneficial to both the USSR and China and would improve the international situation in general.

But they won't hear of it in Peking. In the West sober-minded politicians realize that militarist China, if it persists in its present course, will present a grave danger not only to the USSR and other socialist countries, but also to capitalist states and all mankind.

Any collaboration with, or even mere tolerance of, Peking's policies, that run counter to the cause of peace, will only encourage the Chinese social-chauvinists to aggravate the international situation, to escalate military conflicts and the arms race and to foster an atmosphere that will only need one spark for a war to flare up. The struggle against Peking's war-mongering rhetoric and activities is indispensable for achieving unity and cohesion of all progressive forces working against the danger of war and the threat to international security. The realization of this highly important fact by the broadest sections of people can prompt them to influence China and make her adopt the policy of peaceful coexistence.

The Third Alternative

Unfortunately, *the possibility of China's development along the road of war preparations is quite real.* This possibility seems quite likely in the foreseeable future. In Peking they follow Mao's main directive he put forward in 1959: "We must conquer the globe. Our target is the entire globe, where we shall create a mighty power." If this thought had been

expressed by a paranoiac it could have been dismissed. But developments in China in recent years have shown Peking's fidelity to this long-term strategic directive.

People in the Peking leadership come and go, one policy line is replaced by another, and new directives in the field of foreign and internal policy come to the surface. Everything undergoes change, except for one thing: the intense hostility of the Maoist leaders to peace, their idolization of armed force, and their welcoming of a big war. If China today had the arsenal of weapons it intends to build up as a result of the "four modernizations" no one could guarantee that it would not seize an opportunity to use them. With their aggressive and chauvinistic frame of mind, and brazen contempt for the future of nations (including their own), this possibility must never be overlooked when assessing various zigzags in the foreign policy of the Peking rulers.

The present Chinese leaders realize that at the present time the PRC has neither the economic nor the military potential to set up a "world order" a la Peking. This is an objective restraining factor. But it does not mean that the world has nothing to worry about until China becomes a real "superpower". It is likely that Peking will not necessarily wait for this to happen. Today, the Maoist rulers through political manoeuvres, seek to create a situation and a correlation of world forces that will bring the possibility of a large armed conflict closer. In Peking they intend (and make no secret of it) to involve in a world conflict as many of their enemies as possible, bleed them white and then dictate Peking's conditions.

Frustrate Dangerous Plans

Naturally, these three possibilities, that is returning to the task of building real socialism, shifting to more reasonable policies based on the peaceful co-existence principles in foreign policy, or continuing the present militarist and aggressive course are only a forecast. But a forecast based on the really existing feasibilities of which the latter dominates. Only a powerful international opposition can thwart China's aggressive policy and compel Peking to take a more sober view of the situation and a more moderate stand. Only resolute action against the Maoists' dangerous policies can avert war.

China is undergoing rapid change in many spheres of life. These changes are particularly seen, and will be seen in the future, in the steady mounting of nationalism in its different forms. Social-chauvinism of specific Chinese colouring is today the motive force the Chinese leaders rely on. To substantiate their claims to play an exclusive global role in destiny of peoples, the Peking theorists and politicians are trying to revize past history and make the Chinese people see the present and the future through a distorted mirror of Maoism.

L. I. Brezhnev said at the 26th Congress of the CPSU: "At present, changes are under way in China's internal policy. Time will show what they actually mean. It will show to what extent the present Chinese leadership will manage to overcome the Maoist legacy. But, unfortunately, there are, as yet, no grounds to speak of any changes for the better in Peking's foreign policy. As before, it is aimed at aggravating the international situation, and is aligned with the policy of the imperialist powers. That,

Peking propagandists in the role of abettors of the anti-Soviet campaign mounted by the US ruling circles.



Shluota (USSR)

of course, will not bring China back to the sound road of development. Imperialists will never be friends of socialism."

Naturally, it would be oversimplification to identify the policies of the present Chinese leaders with the aspirations of the Chinese people. But one must not underestimate the danger that arises from the long-term course Peking has chosen. Therefore the question "which road is China taking?" can have the precise answer "Today, certainly not the one leading to peace". But whether it will reach the fatal brink of deadly nuclear war, does not depend solely

on China. Peace is too precious for everyone to sit back and wait for the Peking leaders to become wise. Principled criticism of the militarist acts of the Peking leaders, refusal to support their splitting and provocative activities, solidarity with all peace-loving forces of the world, denunciation of the alliance between Peking and imperialism, and other acts can frustrate the plans spelling danger to world peace.

From D. Volkogonov's book *Maoism:
The Threat of War*, Moscow,
Voenizdat, 1981

Fyodor BURLATSKY

THE SHADOW OF A NEW ALLIANCE IN ASIA

There are no one-way streets in world politics, everything is intimately interconnected. Each country should consider the interests and attitudes of other countries and alliances, that is, if its aim is not to create crisis situations aggravating international relations and provoking conflicts.

This was what came to my mind after I read about the intention of the American Administration to sell lethal weapons to China. About the same time Western media reported that a station for monitoring Soviet missile tests had been built on China's territory—an open and unprecedented challenge to the Soviet Union. And not only to the Soviet Union, but to the entire socialist community as well as to all the Asian powers for which China's rearmament spells crude interference with the established balance of strength. A new stage of military cooperation between the USA and the PRC (into which they contemplate to draw Japan) amounts to an attempt to form a new alliance jeopardizing world peace.

Let us weigh the political and military implications of the decisions and actions taken by the USA and the PRC.

What does this decision mean for the United States?

Some Western observers say it is in line with the Reagan Administration's overall policy of selling arms to other states. Having primitively divided the world into Reds and Whites, enemies and friends, pro-Soviet and anti-Soviet powers, the US government is feverishly stepping up arms deliveries to their "friends", viewing this as a major component of its diplomacy. Large contracts to this effect have exceeded 1,400 million dollars. Not long ago the White House decided to supply Saudi Arabia with AWACS aircraft and some more equipment for F-15 planes. In 1982, 1,400 million dollars are earmarked for arms deliveries to Israel and 900 million to Egypt. Thus, the Reagan Administration has thrown openly to the winds the Carter-promised policy of restricted arms sales.

I repeat: at first sight this decision might seem to be in the context of the overall policy of assisting other states militarily.

Yet this is far from so. This decision signifies substantial changes in the US military-political strategy not just in Asia, but the world over. For the first time in 31 years the USA is going to supply arms to a country with which it was twice in a state of armed conflict,¹ the country the US ruling circles do not regard as white, but rather red, or at worst, "pinkish", i.e. "communist China" only a

¹ During the civil war in China (1928-1937), when the USA armed and supported Chiang Kaishek's reactionary regime, and during the Korean war (1950-1953)—*Ed.*

short while ago slighted as much as the other socialist nations.

Indeed, the United States has pulled through a large-scale anti-Soviet operation. Having overcome the doubts that afflicted the predecessors of the current Administration, i.e. President Nixon and President Carter, the White House with its characteristic straightforwardness decided to play up the Chinese card.

—IN A SATIRICAL VEIN—

Lately the community of the "strategic interests" of the United States and China is being stressed in every way in Washington. Attempts are being made to knock together a new military grouping spearheaded against the countries of Indochina.



A design of an American-Chinese conveyor.

Drawing by
M. Abramov,
Krasnaya zvezda
(USSR)

Abnormal Alliance

There is also another purpose for this move, viz., a desire to tie China to the American military-political chariot. Not accidentally, Haig said by way of comment that the evolution of American-Chinese relations in the military field would be slow, leisurely and careful, whereby China would be gradually forced to rely more and more on US weapons, technology and spares. It is intimated that tomorrow China might get less limited amounts of arms and the day after—unlimited.

The American strategists thus mean to control China and her policy in Asia and the world. They further hope for China's "liberalization" by Western standards—a shortsighted policy indeed.

The United States pins great hopes on mounting anti-Sovietism in China. And what if this anti-Sovietism is but small change in China's rearmament gamble? Suppose some 5-10-15 years from now China starts playing up anti-Japanese or even anti-American card? How can the serious politicians in the White House take the risk of arming China whose leaders have more than once in the past few decades proved their immaturity and irresponsibility as statesmen? A mere twenty years ago they urged the Soviet Union to strike a thermonuclear blow at the United States of America—a proposal the Soviet Union rejected outright. Some ten years ago they fought India and just two years ago they carried out their "punishing" action in Vietnam. Can the USA give guarantees to China's neighbours that 10 to 15 years from now the American weapons in Chinese hands will not be directed against US friends and allies?

There is more in this than meets the eye. The United States is seeking for a means to radically change the correlation of forces on the Asian continent and restructure the system of international relations which took shape after World War Two. Washington is out to create a Far East tripartite alliance consisting of the USA, China and Japan. If the military cooperation, and much more so, military alliance, between these three powers becomes an accomplished fact, a new situation will develop between the East and West and in international relations generally, provoking changes in world politics whose consequences can hardly be imagined.

The US-China alliance has neither historical nor social roots. Historically, China has been acting as an anti-American force in Asia over 20 years. Socially, it "is still a developing socialist country", to believe its leaders. What, then, will the world's most advanced capitalist country gain through forming a military alliance with China?

Escalation of Armament in Asia

Let us now weigh up the military aspect of this question. What can be said of China's military potential and what can the US decision on its armament lead to?

It is rather doubtful that the American Administration will assist China in the field of thermonuclear and missile weapons: neither the NATO allies of the US, nor Japan, much less public opinion in the United States, will allow this to happen. Hence, the decision adopted does not in fact affect the balance of East-West nuclear and missile strength.

But in the future, it may affect China's armament

with conventional weapons. According to various sources, the Chinese army is now 3.6 to 4.4 million strong. It is equipped with some 12,000 outdated tanks and approximately 5,000 planes, mostly of the MIG-17 and MIG-19 type. China either received them from the Soviet Union in the fifties or manufactured them on her own to Soviet blueprints.

According to Western military experts China's naval armaments consist of coastal defence forces and about a hundred submarines, including one atomic. Another atomic submarine is said to be undergoing tests. The PRC also has approximately 40 big ships, of which only a half are equipped with "surface-to-surface" and "surface-to-air" missiles.

China's war against Vietnam has amply demonstrated the state of the Chinese army, its military-technical potential, and its strategy and tactics. As admitted by some Western experts, who are well-disposed to Peking, China emerged from the war "with a bleeding nose".

According to knowledgeable experts, it will cost China at least 300 billion dollars to modernize her army.

It is clear from the above that despite Washington's expectations, China's rearmament in the near future will not lead to any meaningful realignment of forces between the East and West, between the USA and the USSR, or between the PRC and the Soviet Union. But one thing is definite: this rearmament is sure to cause a drastic imbalance of military strength on the Asian continent, namely, between China and India, Pakistan, Japan, Vietnam and other countries.

The military re-equipment of China is the chief factor stimulating the manufacture of nuclear and

The United States has decided to provide China with modern means of warfare, including offensive weapons. As is known, the Maoist leadership has long coveted them.

Fatal fruits.

Drawing by
A. Andreyev,
Krasnaya zvezda
(USSR)



conventional weapons in Asia as well as outside. China is the first Asian power to possess nuclear weapons. This has led to a chain reaction. Now Pakistan has developed its nuclear weapon, or is about to complete its production. The South Korean regime has everything needed to produce the atom bomb and is ready to test it in the near future. Reports have leaked to the Western press that China is helping South Africa manufacture atomic weapons.

The new stage of US-Chinese collaboration marks a sweeping change in the balance of military power in Asia, and mounting Chinese threat to the neighbouring countries. According to the estimates made

by different Western experts China possesses some 100 to 300 nuclear warheads which are much more powerful than the ones that destroyed Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Being also in possession of medium-range missiles China is capable of destroying entire Japan with one strike. True, official Tokyo trusts in US nuclear umbrella. But as China increases its conventional and nuclear armaments, Japan, to use Mao's words, looks increasingly like a lonely monk dragging himself along in the blazing sun under a ripped umbrella.

"Egyptization"!

The last decisions prove that the Chinese leaders have driven the final nail into the coffin bearing Mao's sacramental catch-phrase, "Struggle against American imperialism."

Throughout 25 years China's leaders have posed as being "the most consistent" fighters against imperialism, and especially against the United States. They have used this as a pretext to oppose detente and the peaceful coexistence policy advocated by the Soviet Union. They meant to improve their status in their relations with the developing countries, and also mislead the international revolutionary movement. Now even the out-and-out pro-Maoist elements are harbouring no illusions on this score. The Peking leaders have made their choice—and a very definite choice it is, for the near future at any rate. They have betrayed the interests of the people's revolution in China, the interests of cooperation with the socialist countries, national liberation movement and all revolutionary forces of our time.

This means that the Chinese leaders will increasingly have to hide their socialism and parade their

nationalism—in exchange for overseas military and economic aid. This means that China shelves the problem of Taiwan which the USA has long been assisting militarily, and actually vies with that island in the requirements for more arms.

Now let us look at China as a great power, in the light of this decision. Having agreed to buy American arms and build an US base targeted against the Soviet Union, China is, in fact, sliding onto the path followed by Egypt, that obedient puppet of the White House. The Chinese leaders will have to answer whether it fits China as a great power to expose itself to the danger of "Egyptization".

Postwar history shows that Washington does not squander its military aid right and left. Its assistance is intended for definite recipients, i.e. satellites that must strictly keep to their political roles. And this dependence on the US military-industrial machine and its foreign policy will be the greater the more China gets entangled in her military cooperation with this power. Obviously, both sides, the US and China, seek to swindle each other and make one partner do the other's bidding. The USA wants to use China to bring pressure to bear upon the Soviet Union and the forces championing socialism and peace. China, in its turn, hopes to rearm with America's help and be free to pursue its own line in the international arena. This alliance is, in a great measure, transient and artificial. Anti-Sovietism is not the basis, but a pretence either side uses in pursuing its own aims: the USA in the struggle for pan-Americanism and China in the struggle for "pan-Chinism", viz., for buttressing Chinese influence in Asia and subsequently throughout the world. This alliance is likely to lead to a serious Chinese-American

clash sometime in the future. Speaking of today, the planned military cooperation of the two powers can prejudice the cause of Asian security, East-West détente, normal cooperation between the USSR, the USA, China, and the cause of world peace.

What are the conclusions?

First, the USA and China are historically responsible for the sharp swing in world politics. The emerging situation is perilous for universal peace.

Second, until a sharp turn in international relations has become a fact, joint actions by the countries and movements concerned about peace are imperative to prevent further dangerous developments.

Literaturnaya gazeta, August 5, 1981 *

IN BRIEF

CHINESE SPIES IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

The planting by China of its agents in Indonesia and other Southeast Asian countries for carrying out espionage and subversive activities causes ever growing alarm among Indonesian public.

According to Minister of Justice, Ali Said, Indonesian courts of law are examining the cases of about 1,500 Chinese citizens who have illegally entered the country.

He insisted on exercising strict control over the activities of the Chinese who

have illegally crossed into Indonesia.

Commenting on the statement by the Minister of Justice the local press points out that the Peking leadership has long been nurturing plans of subordinating the whole of Southeast Asia to its political influence. For implementing its hegemonic intentions it is planting its agents in the countries of the region. It is also directing the subversive activities of various anti-government groupings.

DANGEROUS COURSE

Analysis of the home and foreign policy and the ideological doctrine of the Chinese leadership testifies to a new significant shift to the right in Peking's political course, to a new stage of its evolution.

Main Trends

The main trends of China's hegemonic course at the current stage are as follows:

The policy of rapprochement with imperialist circles of the West and Japan has now resulted in a strategic alliance, partnership, joint or parallel actions of China and leading imperialist states in the international arena. These actions are aimed against the Soviet Union and the national liberation movements. Peking comes out for preserving imperialist domination and aggressive military imperialist blocs while the imperialists in their turn side with Peking in its hegemonic ambitions aimed against the national interests of the developing countries in Southeast and South Asia, Africa and Latin America, unless these ambitions threaten the interests of imperialism. Imperialists encourage China's aggressiveness and expand military and political cooperation with China.

The policy of setting up the "broadest united front" against the Soviet Union and other peace forces is pursued by the Chinese leadership so as to involve in this "front" not only China, the United States, NATO countries, Japan and other imperialist states but also the developing countries and separate detachments of the national liberation movement.

The Chinese leadership change their political and economic policy and ideological doctrine so as to create conditions that will accelerate the development of relations with the West and bolster their hegemonic policy on the international scene both politically and economically.

The Maoist ideological and political doctrine is being altered with some of Mao's insolvent tenets rejected. Under the guise of "restoring the integral system of Mao Zedong's ideas"

attempts are made to preserve the invariable great-power, hegemonic essence of these ideas. At present the pragmatic revision of Maoism creates ideological foundations for Peking's cooperation with imperialism and other reactionary forces.

Imperialist Policy

Regarding rapprochement with imperialist forces as one of its primary tactical tasks, Peking has in recent years revised its policy towards the developing countries and the national liberation movement. China no longer considers them to be its main strategic brothers-in-arms and allies. Consequently, Peking has sharply cut down its economic and military assistance to the developing countries and aids only those states which occupy a key place in Peking's strategic plans aimed at penetrating certain regions of the world and spreading its influence.

China primarily develops contacts with reactionary regimes and steps up confrontation with the countries of progressive and socialist orientation. The Chinese leaders are pursuing a policy of suppressing the freedom and independence of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America and creating an extensive sphere of influence in these parts of the world.

Peking's political aims and methods have very much in common with the policy of the imperialist states. While several years ago the Chinese leadership only sought to play on the contradictions between the two world systems for their mercenary motives, today the situation is quite different. China has passed over from ideological to political, economic and even military struggle against the socialist countries, virtually coordinating its activities in the international arena with imperialists and conducting subversive activities against Afghanistan, Kampuchea, Angola and other developing countries. All this shows that China has turned into an ally of imperialism in the class content of its foreign policy.

Peking's policy is to strengthen its alliance with imperialism in the zone of the developing countries. Thus, the Chinese leaders have approved of the "military presence" of the United States and other Western countries in Asia and "agreed" on the expansion of imperialist military bases in the Pacific and Indian Oceans.

In Southeast Asia

As the Peking leadership is unable to step up their activities equally in all regions in Asia, they give priority to **South-east Asia**. This is due to the following factors: this region is very important from the strategic and economic viewpoint, it is geographically close to China, the majority of Chinese emigrants (over 25,000,000 people) live there, there are many pro-Peking parties and groups, and an extensive network of the Chinese secret service is established in the region. Moreover, Peking realizes that as the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and the Lao People's Democratic Republic make headway and the situation in Kampuchea grows more stable, the positions of socialism will strengthen significantly in Southeast Asia and form an obstacle in the way of China's hegemonic aspirations in the region. By trying to translate into life its great-power ambitions in Southeast Asia, Peking spares no effort to weaken the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and Laos as much as possible, provoke military conflicts in Kampuchea for an indefinitely long time and put obstacles in the way of economic rehabilitation and development of the countries of Indochina.

The Chinese aggression against the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, armed provocations in the border areas with Laos have revealed the expansionist essence of China's policy in Southeast Asia. Peking views this region as the zone of its interests. Having suffered defeats in Kampuchea and on the border between Vietnam and China, Peking has not abandoned the idea of a new attack on the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and assumed the "right" to "teach lessons" to neighbouring countries.

China continues to interfere in the internal affairs of Kampuchea, maintains a large contingent of troops in the border areas with Vietnam and Laos and increasingly stages border incidents. The Chinese leaders do not even seek to achieve progress at the talks between Vietnam and China and reject all the constructive proposals put forward by the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. The Chinese aggression against Vietnam has clearly demonstrated that China's growing aggressiveness and expansionism are definitely the result of the new relations it has with the United States and Japan. The Chinese leadership would not have risked undertaking aggressive actions in Indochina had the United States and Japan taken a negative attitude towards China's intervention.

By fanning the myth of the allegedly growing "threat" to Thailand and other ASEAN countries from the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, Peking has initiated a broad diplomatic attack on the Association under the slogan of the "united China-ASEAN front". China uses this slogan to conceal its subversive activities against the Association and to push the latter to confrontation with the Indochinese countries. While pronouncing flattering declarations in support of ASEAN, the Peking leaders make every effort to turn this Association into an anti-Soviet, anti-socialist military bloc, call on it to lean on the United States, Japan and the European Economic Community and express their readiness to back these slogans materially.

Developments in the region show that China and the imperialist powers coordinate their subversive activities, seek to bring about a protracted conflict, involve in it the countries of Southeast Asia and hamper the rehabilitation of peaceful life in the Indochinese countries. It is with these aims in view that the Chinese leaders together with the most reactionary imperialist forces feverishly search for possible ways to compensate themselves for the failures they suffered and continue to heighten international tension.

In the Middle East and South Asia

In the **Middle East** and **South Asia** Peking also pursues a policy of closer coordination with the United States and other imperialist powers and with reactionary circles in Moslem countries.

Jointly with the USA and other imperialist countries China brings increasing pressure to bear on the Pakistani leadership with a purpose of strengthening Pakistan as the principal base from which to conduct subversive activities against the Afghan revolution, and turning it into the main centre for obstructing progressive processes in the region. Thus China hopes to strengthen its political and military positions in the region, draw Pakistan into the orbit of its foreign policy and make it an obedient tool for realizing China's hegemonic designs in the Middle East and South Asia.

The Peking strategists develop military cooperation with US imperialism in the hope of purchasing modern military hardware and taking another step towards the achievement of their own hegemonic aims. Trying to divert the world public from

their collusion with the Pentagon, with militarist forces of imperialism and reaction spearheaded against the national liberation movement in Iran, Afghanistan and other countries the Peking leaders raise hue-and-cry around the events in Afghanistan.

There is growing concern in South Asia over Peking's increasing anti-Indian activities in Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal and on Indian territory. Chinese arms are being continuously supplied to Pakistan. Declaring friendship with India and assuring the latter of its "sincere" desire for good-neighbourliness and peace, Peking builds a second strategic highway along the Indian border, trains terrorists in special camps on Chinese territory, equips and arms them for armed struggle against India.

Peking is trying to sow seeds of discord between Asian countries, provoke internal disturbances and weaken these countries politically and economically. It makes every effort to weaken ties between Asian countries and the world socialist system, to force the national liberation processes onto a chauvinist road and slow down social progress in Asia. China continues installing its secret services in the region, forms pro-Chinese groups and organizations and employs them to bring pressure to bear on governments, incite separatism, and split progressive forces.

At the same time Peking increasingly contacts Chinese emigrants seeking to use their money for implementing the "four modernizations programme" as well as their political influence in the countries where they live in the interests of great-power chauvinism and expansion.

In Other Regions of the World

Peking regards the **Middle East** and **Africa** as regions where it can, on the basis of the "community of interests" with the United States, urge the US to a "tit-for-tat" struggle against anti-imperialist forces supported by the countries of the socialist community. To this end, the Chinese leadership deliberately provoke and worsen conflict situations and complicate Soviet-American relations.

Virtually China has assumed the role of assistant of imperialism in its counter-revolutionary activities in these parts of the world and embarked on the road of open hostility to and

The United States, China and their helpers are expanding subversive operations against Afghanistan. "Travel certificates" in the bandits' parlance mean dollars and weapons with the trademarks "Made in China", "Made in USA".

"Come on, we again got certificates for travel to Afghanistan".

*Socialist
Czechoslovakia
(Czechoslovakia)*



struggle against progressive regimes, against all anti-imperialist forces. In collusion with the United States and the racist regime of Pretoria, China attempted to defeat the revolutionary forces in Angola and overthrow its legitimate government. In the Somali-Ethiopian conflict Peking and Washington joined forces with the Somalian expansionists.

Peking and Washington take similar attitude towards the "settlement" of the Arab-Israeli conflict and suppression of the struggle waged by the Palestinian and other Arab peoples against Israeli aggression.

The Chinese leadership have betrayed the national liberation movement in **Latin America** and cooperates with most reactionary regimes, using them as their allies and bearers of their political influence. This tendency is particularly manifested in the development of cooperation between Peking and the fascist junta in Chile, the bloodthirsty regimes in Central and South America and other no less odious dictatorships. The Chinese leaders prod Latin American states to maintain a bloc system under US aegis and threaten them with "military expansion" from the Soviet Union.

China follows a pro-imperialist line with regard to the general problems confronting the developing countries and their struggle to establish a new international economic order. The Chinese leadership step up subversive activities against the non-aligned movement, trying to turn it against the socialist countries. Peking leaders state that struggle against the Soviet Union should be the main aim of the movement. Active attempts are being made by Peking policy-makers to undermine the non-aligned movement from within by weakening those states which consistently come out for preserving and strengthening the active anti-imperialist character of the movement, for developing cooperation with the world of socialism and other progressive and democratic forces.

Threat to World Peace

The alliance of the Chinese leadership and the aggressive imperialist circles is a new source of threat to the world peace, heightening international tension.

Opposing relaxation of international tension and doing everything possible to aggravate the contradictions between the great powers, above all the Soviet Union and the United States, the Peking leaders try to use the situation to their own advantage. Their aim is to divert the world public's attention from China's own expansionist actions in neighbouring countries and draw the states it lists as enemies into a new exhausting round of the arms race. So far the Chinese leadership have assigned for themselves the part of a certain "wise monkey", who sits on a mountain and watches tigers fighting, hoping they will destroy one another and it will take advantage of the fact. Aware of China's military and economic weakness at the present stage, Peking leaders play a double game: on the one hand, they urge imperialist countries to spoil their relations with socialist countries and advocate the inevitability of war in every way possible and, on the other, they try to pose as champions of peace, wishing gain time to implement China's modernization programme centred on building a powerful military-industrial potential with imperialists' assistance.

It is no paradox therefore that Chinese officials talk profusely of their love for peace and detente and at the same time harshly call on the West to step up the arms race. The Chinese leaders' statement to the effect that the "war can be delayed" is merely a tactical trick, a manoeuvre to disguise the Maoist

thesis on the inevitability and desirability of a new world war, to which the present Peking leadership adhere.

At present Peking talks of being interested in a long period of "peaceful international encirclement" as it wishes to gain time for strengthening its military and industrial basis. Meanwhile the Chinese leaders advise other countries to wage a "tit-for-tat" struggle and call on the imperialist states, above all the United States, NATO countries and Japan, to build up their arms arsenals more quickly.

Of particular danger to the cause of peace is the growing alliance of Peking with the most reactionary imperialist circles. The partnership of imperialism and Peking hegemonism is a new factor in international politics. It increasingly covers the military sphere and considerably increases the danger of a new world conflict.

The imperialist countries' efforts to bolster China militarily will enhance instability in the world and intensify adventurism in Peking's policy.

At present China is carrying out a broad programme of nuclear armament and has tested intercontinental ballistic missiles capable of reaching remotest corners of the world. If China becomes stronger militarily, it will in the first thrust threaten its neighbours, above all the small countries in Southeast and South Asia, as well as Japan and India.

Washington's policy of rapprochement with China on an anti-Soviet basis seriously encourages Peking's expansionist aspirations. It is common knowledge that the Chinese leadership unleashed a war of aggression against Vietnam upon agreement with the United States and Japan.

Although Peking leaders declare that the policy of setting up a "tripartite alliance"—the United States, Japan and China—or the so-called "broadest united front" is directed above all against the Soviet Union, in reality it creates conditions for the imperialist re-division of the world and collective rule by the states that pursue a policy of hegemonism. Therefore **in the present-day conditions the struggle against Peking's policy aimed at worsening the international situation, at forming an alliance with imperialism has become an integral part of the struggle against imperialism, for national emancipation and progress.**

From the book *China's Hegemonic Policy Is a Threat to the Peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America*.
Moscow, Politizdat, 1981. °

NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS: SOVIET PROPOSALS AND CHINA'S STAND

The editorial board received a letter from the STP reader A. K. Mehra of Bombay (India) saying: "You blame China for the deterioration of Soviet-Chinese relations. What does the Soviet Union do to normalize and improve these relations?"

Lyudmila FYODOROVA, a member of the editorial board, answers this question.

Dear Mr. Mehra!

I am sure you are aware that the 26th Congress of the CPSU confirmed the consistent policy towards China. The essence of this policy is expressed in the initiatives the Soviet Union has advanced over a number of years with a view to building up the atmosphere of confidence and good-neighbourliness between the two countries. Let us deal with these initiatives successively.

Proposals to Improve Mutual Relations

The readiness to normalize state relations with the PRC on the basis of good-neighbourliness has been repeatedly expressed in party and government documents and in speeches of the Soviet leaders. For instance, on February 24, 1978, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet addressed the Standing Committee of the Chinese National People's Congress (CNPC) proposing that a joint declaration be made on the principles of relations between the USSR and the PRC. The document pointed out that such a declaration stating that the sides would build their relations on the principles of peaceful coexistence, equality, mutual respect, sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-intervention in each other's internal af-

fair and non-use of force could be the start for normalizing these relations. To work out a mutually acceptable text of the declaration, it was proposed to hold a high level meeting between the representatives of the two countries in Moscow or Peking.

The Chinese side negated the initiative and, in its turn, advanced preliminary conditions unacceptable to any sovereign state. A year later Peking made one more step backwards. On April 3, 1979, the Standing Committee of the CNPC stated the intention not to renew the Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance between the USSR and the PRC, of February 14, 1950.

As a result of persistent effort by the USSR talks were held in Moscow in the autumn of 1979 on Soviet Chinese inter-state relations. The Soviet delegation put forward a draft declaration outlining the principles on which to build relations between the two countries, such as mutual adherence to peaceful coexistence principles, non-use of force or the threat of it, obligations not to claim any exclusive rights or hegemony, and to oppose any claims made by others to achieve domination in world affairs. The document provided for measures that would maintain an atmosphere of respect and trust in bilateral relations, and for the mechanism of holding consultations. It also proposed that the sides express their readiness to assist the development of trade, economic, scientific, technical, cultural and other relations.

The Chinese side again confronted these constructive proposals with demands that not only infringed the interests of the USSR but also interfered with its treaties with the Mongolian People's Republic and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. The Soviet delegation, naturally, opposed the Chinese attempts to intervene in the USSR's relations with other sovereign states.

At the Chinese initiative the negotiations were suspended. The delegations agreed to finalize a date for the next round of talks, which were to have been held in Peking, through diplomatic channels. However, on January 21, 1980, the Chinese newspapers published a statement by the Chinese foreign ministry saying that "at present a second round of the Chinese-Soviet talks is pointless". Thus, it is the Chinese side that is to say whether the negotiations will be continued or not.

Talks on Border Issues

In September, 1969, the heads of government of the USSR and the PRC agreed to hold negotiations to settle certain border issues. But the Chinese stand thwarted any progress in this direction.

The talks opened in October that year in Peking. The Soviet delegation insisted that they pursue the main objective, that is, on the basis of the existing agreements specify certain sectors of the borderline with regard to the interests of both parties. But the Chinese representatives responded with a number of ultimatums centered around the "disputed areas" concept, which, in fact, amounted to territorial claims on the USSR.

In an effort to break the deadlock caused by the stand of the Chinese delegation, the Soviet side on March 6, 1973, proposed a draft agreement on the eastern part of the borderline. The draft was drawn up with regard to the results of the Soviet-Chinese consultations held in 1964 at the level of working groups. At the time the sides had preliminarily agreed on the borderline in this sector. Under the 1978 Soviet draft agreement on the border along the Amur, Ussuri and other rivers the borderline was fixed to run along the main waterway or in the middle of the river. The proposal made it possible to resolve all the border issues over a section of more than 4,300 km long and normalize the economic activities of the citizens of both countries in the region.

But the Chinese delegation persisted that the Soviet side recognize the existence of "disputed areas" within USSR territory, otherwise, they said, it would not consider the border issue or sign any relevant treaty. Naturally, the Soviet Union rejected these ultimatum conditions.

Soviet-Chinese talks on the settlement of border issues have not been resumed since June, 1978.

Problems Connected with the Non-Use of Force and Non-Aggression

On January 15, 1971, the Soviet government proposed that the PRC government immediately conclude a treaty on the non-use of force or the threat of force in any form and supplied a draft of this treaty. The Peking leaders rejected the proposal. Describing their stand in his speech "On the 50th Anniversary of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics", L. I. Brezhnev pointed out:

"The Chinese leaders claim to be disturbed about some threat emanating from the Soviet Union. If these statements are not hypocritical, it is impossible to understand why China has not replied to our proposal, repeatedly made since 1969, to assume clear, firm and permanent commitments ruling out an attack by one country on the other. If Peking is really concerned about China's security, why has not the PRC leadership agreed to conclude a special treaty renouncing the use of force, the draft of which was submitted to the Chinese side on January 15, 1971? The draft of this treaty states unequivocally that the sides—and I quote—'shall not use against each other armed forces employing any type of arms, including: a) conventional, b) missile, or c) nuclear'. No, the Chinese leaders' complaints about a mythical 'Soviet threat' quite obviously do not stand up to scrutiny."

On July 8, 1970, the Soviet government put forward a proposal that the PRC government enter into negotiations with the USSR and elaborate an inter-governmental agreement on non-aggression, on the ban on war propaganda and preparations of war against the other side. The Chinese government disregarded this initiative.

On June 14, 1973, the USSR took a further step by proposing conclusion of a non-aggression treaty. The Chinese leaders also rejected this proposal.

The Soviet Union repeatedly advanced other initiatives in an effort to improve Soviet-Chinese inter-state relations. In March 1973, the USSR Ministry of Health proposed resumption of cooperation in the field of medical care. In December, 1977, China was invited to resume scientific and technical ties with the USSR. The Soviet Union also proposed to conclude a long-term trade agreement and resume border trade between the USSR and the PRC, to renew contacts and cooperation between friendship societies, academies of sciences, etc. All these proposals have been either rejected or disregarded by the Chinese side.

The Soviet Union's stand is clear and definite. But to normalize and improve relations between the USSR and the PRC it is necessary that the Chinese leadership also strive for it.

These are true facts of the matter, Mr. A. K. Mehra, and I close with the hope that I have answered the question to your satisfaction.

Lyudmila FYODOROVA

M. SUSHANLO

PEKING'S "ISLAMIC CARD"

The steps the Chinese diplomacy takes in the Arab world reveal Peking's attempts to use Islamic states as another instrument of its hegemonic strategy. Peking is all out to create an integral system of political, military, economic and other ties with Islamic countries and regio-

nal organizations. With this aim in view the Chinese leadership increasingly involve the Muslim community in China, thoroughly camouflaging its policy of national discrimination towards this section of the country's population, pursued both yesterday and today.

A Radical Turn

The early sixties saw the policy of suppression of the customs and traditions of national minorities under the slogan of struggle against "feudal culture". Outrages and excesses committed by Maoist thugs—hungweibings and zaofans—marked the most sorrowful pages in the history of China's small peoples. Urged by Mao's call, hungweibings assassinated intellectuals of non-Han origin, persecuted the Muslim clergy, destroyed and burnt many mosques and Lamaist monasteries or turned them into barracks and stalls.

The Maoists profaned the cultural monuments, burnt holy books and writings by Chinese Muslim theologians.

Today things are different. Playing the "Islamic card" the Peking hegemomists are flirting with the Arab countries. The Maoists and their followers have given wide publicity, both at home and abroad, to the Chinese editions of the Koran and other Muslim books. The Chinese mass media widely advertise the Guangtasi Mosque in Guangzhou and the Dongsu Mosque in Peking as ancient Arab monuments in

the territory of China and assure the public that these Muslim holy monuments in East Asia are carefully protected. Moreover, al-Haji An Shiwei, Chief Imam of the Dongsu Mosque, is the major exponent of the Maoist propaganda campaign to the effect that China is the only country to share the Muslims' aspirations and facilitate their struggle against the "infidels".

China hastily eliminates the traces of the pogroms hungweibings perpetrated in Muslim mosques and other holy places. Mao's successors clamorously call on the practising Muslims to preserve the Islamic cultural heritage, blaming the "gang of four" and Lin Biao for the excesses committed in this field. Muslim cuisine is given wide

publicity in Peking, Tianjin, Guangzhou, Sani; the mosques in these cities have stepped up their activity. The Peking mass media often carry articles about the life and culture of the Chinese Muslims. According to press reports, there are 13 million of them in China, including ten ethnic groups professing Islam.

In spring 1980, Peking was the venue of the All-China Conference of Islamic Peoples' Representatives which was held in accord with Peking's Arab strategy. Addressing the conference, al-Haji Burhan admitted the physical extermination of Muslim clergymen and outrages committed upon holy places in the not-so-distant past.

Aims

The Peking leaders have become "protectors" and financial benefactors of the Chinese Muslim Society, many of whose members are their undeclared advisers. The Society plays a prominent part in establishing China's diverse contacts with the Islamic world. Muslim countries' ambassadors to the People's Republic of China are the Society's frequent guests. In 1980, an ag-

reement on the exchange of "Islamic delegations", initiated by the Society, was concluded with 19 countries. It sends its delegations to Islamic countries to establish and develop political ties with the aim of forcing upon them a "joint policy" of struggle against the socialist community. Particularly revealing in this respect are the Society's ties with Pakistan, Egypt and Saudi Arabia. The

Peking hegemonists support the most reactionary religious terrorist organizations in the Islamic world, such as Jamaat-i Islami (the Muslim Brotherhood) and others.

Peking's emissaries in the Arab world stage instigatory and slander campaigns against the USSR and other countries of the socialist community and knock together pro-Peking subversive extremist groupings. Peking's leaders finance the activity of pro-Chinese Muslim groups in Pakistan, Egypt, Turkey, Afghanistan, Iran, Bangladesh, Indonesia, Malaysia, India and other countries.

Addressing the 26th CPSU Congress, L. I. Brezhnev noted in his report: "Of late, Islamic slogans are being actively put forward in some countries of the East. We Communists have every respect for the religious convictions of people professing Islam or any other religion. The main thing is what aims are pursued by the forces proclaiming various slogans." As is known, the Chinese leaders support primarily those Islamic slogans which are in tune with their global strategy of struggle against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, against the world revolutionary movement in general.

Indicative in this respect

is Peking's response to the events around Afghanistan. There is, in fact, an open military interference in the internal affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. The Maoists are arming renegates of all hues and chieftains of bandit gangs who, under Islamic slogans, are waging a struggle against the "infidel" Afghans. Five anti-Afghan bases have been set up in Xingjian, i.e. in the Chinese territory, and the Chinese mass media are conducting a hostile anti-Afghan slander campaign in unison with imperialist propaganda.

By their official statements the Chinese leaders set the tone in the anti-Afghan campaign. Far from limiting themselves to the anti-Soviet theses and legends of their own invention, they willingly borrow fabrications about the "Soviet threat", "Moscow's growing aggressiveness", etc. concocted by the most reactionary politicians of the United States and other imperialist countries.

In early 1980, during his visit to Pakistan, Huang Hua, Chinese Foreign Minister, promised to support the "struggle" of the "Afghan freedom fighters" against democratic Afghanistan and did it not only on behalf of his government but also on be-

half of the Chinese ethnic groups professing Islam.

The progressive public justly regards the undeclared war waged against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, in which Peking plays a first fiddle, as a component part of an expansionist policy pursued by China in Asia.

The working people in Asian countries, including progressive Muslims, have long understood Peking's objectives in Asia and the reasons behind its flirting with Islam. In an interview to the Spanish newspaper "El Pais", Abdul Aziz Sadeq, Chairman of the Council of Mullahs in Afghanistan, said:

"The Muslims should oppose all attempts by imperialists and Peking hegemonists to draw them into a new cold war under the guise of defending Islam."

* * *

Whatever the social and political systems their countries have, ordinary people the world over need peace, detente, and mutual understanding. This idea keynoted an international conference of the Muslim clergy held in Tashkent in September 1980 under the motto: "The 15th century of Hijra should become a century of peace and friendship among peoples".

Problemy Dalnego Vostoka, No. 2,
1981 *

V. VOLKOV

DOUBLE-DEALING

(Peking's Partnership with South African Racists)

Referring to reliable information received from the Central Intelligence Agency *The Washington Post* has published a report about close cooperation between the racist Republic of South Africa and Peking in nuclear industry. Stressing that this cooperation is mutually advantageous the newspaper informs about deliveries of enriched uranium from China to South Africa.

The world public has long been concerned about the RSA's nuclear preparations. It is well known that in September 1979 a nuclear explosion was carried out in the South Atlantic which was a result of joint efforts by South Africa, Israel and Western countries which had supplied the racists and Zionists with nuclear technology. Now it has been found out that China has had a hand in this nuclear weapons test near the shores of South Africa.

It was reported in the press that the cooperation between the RSA and Peking in the nuclear field was discussed during the visit of the US Secretary of State Alexander Haig to Peking and fully approved by the United States.

The lies between racists and Chinese hegemonists are not a new phenomenon. Some time ago China concluded an agreement with the RSA on deliveries of oil to the stronghold of apartheid in violation of UN resolutions on sanctions. The goods turnover between the RSA and China has grown ten times in the past two years to reach \$ 500 million. In addition to oil the RSA imports from China textiles for the army and police, handcuffs and locks for prison cells, and, in exchange, supplies China with gold, chromium, copper, nickel, uranium and other strategic raw materials. The South African newspaper *Star* wrote that China is interested in preserving a stable pro-Western regime in South Africa since

the rule of the Black majority does not correspond to its long term strategic interests. Peking strategists are probably guided by these interests when they supply racists with raw materials for manufacturing nuclear weapons. Naturally, this alarms African public.

The African peoples have long been convinced of double-dealing of Peking which in word claims to be a "revolutionary ally" of the nations of the continent but in deed enters into collusion with Pretoria's militaristic regime and imperialism. The African peoples well remember the support the Maoists rendered to the Biafra separatists in their struggle against Nigeria's unity and integrity. The Chinese leaders continue to provide political and military aid to the anti-popular splitter groups in Angola and Ethiopia. Peking openly supports the buildup of US military might in the Indian Ocean and opposes the dismantling of the US military base on Diego Garcia.

Peking's treacherous position in Africa, its collusion with the RSA, which is dangerous for the people of the continent, show once again that the Peking leaders are teaming with racists and imperialists and acting as enemies of independence and progress.

Pravda, August 3, 1981 *

IN BRIEF

TAZARA'S LOSSES

According to the magazine "Afrique-Asie", the TAZARA railway which links Tanzania and Zambia and which was built with Chinese financial and technical assistance is living its last days. It was opened less than six years ago and is now practically out of service. When it was built Peking raised unprecedented propaganda

campaign around this project. The road was called "an example of Chinese-African friendship and fruitful cooperation" but the railway which had cost \$450 million has incurred only losses since its opening. It turned out to be totally unsuitable for operation. In the first two years there were 600 accidents and 70 per

cent of Chinese-made locomotives and 50 per cent of cars were put out of service. The passenger traffic stopped altogether in April 1981. In this connection

"Afrique-Asie" asks a question: how will Zambia and Tanzania be able to pay China if TAZARA brings losses instead of profits?

BOOK REVIEWS

"THE FALL OF PEOPLE'S CHINA"

This is the title of a book written by Japanese Sinologist Hiroaki Yokoyama and published in Tokyo. The author, a bourgeois scholar worried by the dangerous policies pursued by Japan's ruling circles that have taken the course of building up armaments and strengthening all-sided relations with Peking, especially military, discusses events that have occurred in China since the death of Mao Zedong. He refers to the trial of the "gang of four" as a "political show" organized by its sponsors to establish their control over the country, and as an expression of the political struggle between opposed groupings. They fight each other, then reach a compromise, first one grouping occupies the pinnacle of power, then another. For instance, during the "cultural revolution" Mao's grouping got the better of Liu Shaoqi's. Now Deng Xiaoping's pragmatists have defeated the "gang of four". But no matter which grouping gained ascendancy its power struggle had grave social consequences, the writer points out.

Once in power, the pragmatists have set to cooperate with American imperialism, which they only shortly before called "enemy No. 1", and develop

(to be continued on p. 79)

REVELATIONS OF THE PUPPET

With Washington's approval Peking tries to drum up a mixed "front" of Kampuchean counter-revolutionaries which would include Sihanouk's followers, Pol Pot's henchmen, and Son Sann's anti-popular grouping. These subversive manoeuvres by Maoists are aimed to intensify the activities of the Khmer reactionaries who have settled on Thailand territory, frustrate revolutionary changes in Kampuchea and again try and turn that country into a bridgehead for Chinese hegemonists.

Below is an article on this published by the "Stern" magazine (Hamburg).

The invitation was worded in a refined manner: "His Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk has the privilege and honour to welcome you in Peking at this audience". If only the "great helmsman" Mao could see what was taking place in China in 1981: a prince has his court in a country which some time ago set itself the objective of eradicating feudal rule and achieving the equality of people.

Peking wants Sihanouk to merge various Pol Pot and Lon Nol bands into the so-called "united front" and restore his control over Kampuchea with the help of Chinese weapons. The Chinese leaders do not hide their intention to teach Vietnam a lesson. To this end Peking is ready to fight to the last Kampuchean.

That is why Prince Sihanouk is a guest of honour in the People's Republic of China. That is why he can arrange for a Chinese visa and invite journalists.

The Prince takes me to the park.

"How many of your relatives did the Pol Potists murder?" I ask him.

Sihanouk shrugs his shoulders:

"A dozen of my children, grandchildren and brothers-in-law."

"Why do you now enter into an alliance with the Pol Potists?"

"I have to be realistic. The Chinese support the 'Khmers Rouges' and supply them with weapons. Therefore they should be the backbone of my new 'Sihanouk army'."

"Suppose the 'united front' is indeed formed. Do you seriously believe that it has any chance of winning a victory in Kampuchea?"

The Prince looks at me and laughs a little mysteriously:

"I know we cannot win," he says.

"You are trying to form a 'united front', shake hands with your mortal enemies, ask them and Peking for weapons while realizing that your cause is doomed to failure. How can it be?"

"I know that this looks strange. I'm like a parrot which cries, 'We shall win, we shall win'. Now look, this is Son Sann (former Prime Minister of the Sihanouk government overthrown in March 1970 as a result of a coup staged by the CIA - *Ed.*). He promises to the West that in four years Phnom Penh would be ours. Such a naive person... He believes in this. Bravo! I'm applauding him. He should lead our 'united front' and I'll play the second fiddle."

For a while we are walking in silence. Then I say:

"You assert that your people are oppressed by the Vietnamese. But according to information from other sources the Kampuchians are restoring normal

life in the country with the assistance from Vietnam."


"I also believe that my compatriots fear the return of the Pol Potists more than anything else. We should be fair. At present they live much better than under the terrible rule of the 'Khmers Rouges'."

"Nevertheless, you enter into an alliance with this band of murderers? It seems to me you are totally scared of the victory of your 'united front'."

Sihanouk laughs and turns serious.

"I know nothing can be altered now. But I'm forced to do this. I've never wanted to form a 'united front' with the 'Khmers Rouges'. I have horrible memoirs of what took place in 1975 (when the Pol Potists came to power—*Ed.*). Unwillingly I contributed to the Pol Potists coming to power. Everyone knows what they did to Kampuchea. But China, the United States, Japan and others push me to join the 'united front'. If I make up my mind to do this I'd do it only as a private person, as a rank-and-file member."

Sihanouk bids me farewell. He knows that his time is over.



PEKING'S TERRITORIAL CLAIMS

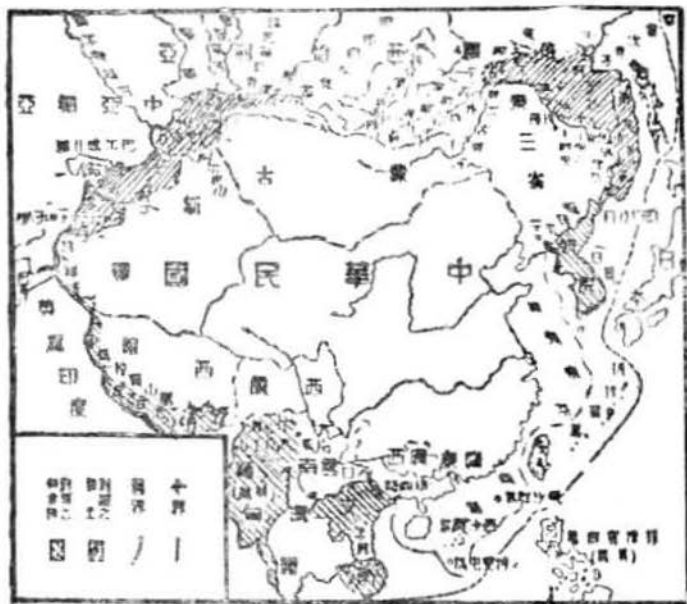
In China an ideology was evolved to justify her policy of aggrandisement. China was considered the centre of the universe (hence the name "Middle Kingdom"), around which all the rest of mankind would be on its knees. This policy was pursued until the 1840s clash with the colony-hungry European powers, which had somewhat dampened Peking's predatory ambitions.

But Sinocentrism survived. An attempt to resurrect it was made by the right wing of the Kuomintang, the party of the Chinese bourgeoisie that ruled the nation until 1949. A book entitled "China's Frontiers" by Hua Qiyun was published in Shanghai in 1932. The dotted line in a map in this book (see map one) is the "old frontier" that allegedly existed until 1840. The dot-dash line is China's frontier at the time the map was published. The hatching indicates "lost territories". These embrace Korea, the Ryukyu Islands, Taiwan (then occupied by Japan), Annam (Vietnam), Burma, Bhutan, Nepal, part of India, and vast territories in the Soviet Union (part of Kazakhstan and Central Asia, the Amur region, Primorye, the Maritime Territory, and Sakhalin). Without any explanation the whole of the Mongolian People's Republic is indicated as Chinese territory despite the fact that 12 years before Hua Qiyun's book appeared Mongolia had become an independent nation.

The ambitions of the feudal emperors and the Kuomintang overlords were inherited by Mao Zedong and his henchmen.

Hegemonistic, predatory ambitions are entertained by the present Chinese leadership as well. Evidence of this is a textbook, "A History of China", published in Peking in 1978 for secondary-school senior classes. This textbook contains a map (see map two) in which the cartographers have even surpassed the Kuomintang: they included as "part" of China the Soviet territory adjoining lakes Baikal and Balkhash, and also the Aral Sea.

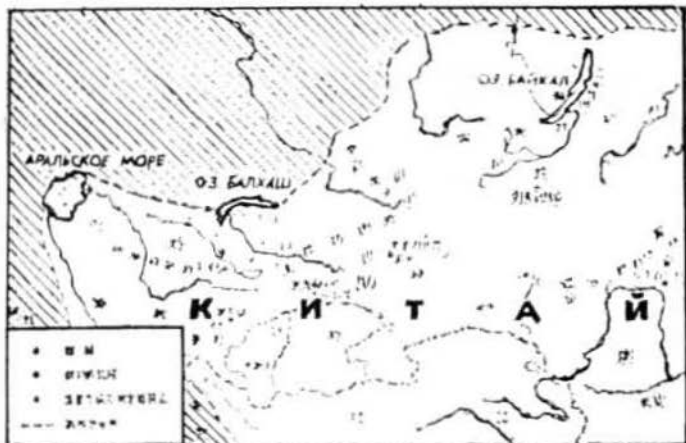
Young Chinese are told that there is a "historical injustice" that must be corrected by incorporating huge territories of neighbouring countries in China. The total size of these terri-



Map 1

territories exceeds 10 million square kilometres, which is larger than the territory of China by nearly a million square kilometres. In addition to land areas, Peking lays claim to more than four-fifths of the South China Sea, recognizing only a 12-mile limit for the territorial waters of other coastal states.

Many of Peking's political attitudes are motivated by the striving for territorial expansion. These include the demonstrative non-recognition of the inviolability of frontiers and of the renunciation of the use or threat of force in international relations, and China's opposition to the efforts of the Asian peoples to ensure security in their part of the world by joint efforts. Having inherited the predatory traditions of China's past rulers, including Mao Zedong, the present Peking leadership is seen by the world as a proponent of international piracy and expansion.



Map 2

A NEW CHINESE MAP

A new Chinese map published in June 1981 and showing the Soviet-Chinese border is a new proof of the Chinese leadership's claims on vast areas of Soviet territory in the Far Eastern regions, in Kazakhstan and Central Asia. This map was compiled by the museum of Chinese history, published by Ditu Chubanshe Publishers and printed in Shanghai. The first edition of the map was published in June 1978. It is intended as a teaching aid and is titled "a map of Chinese areas annexed by tsarist Russia".

The scope of Peking's territorial claims to the USSR is shown by the fact that the Soviet Maritime Territory, including the island of Sakhalin, and hundreds of thousands of square kilometres of Soviet land, including the Amur Region and the Khabarovsk Territory, are shown on the map as Chinese territory which had allegedly been annexed by Russia as a result of Russian-Chinese treaties.

A considerable part of the Kazakh SSR, Tajik SSR and Kirgiz SSR, including the area around Alma-Ata, capital of Kazakhstan, and other towns of this Soviet Republic are shown as belonging to China.

Those who prepared the map gave Chinese names to Soviet towns.

It should be added that the territory of the Mongolian People's Republic has the same yellow colour on the map as the territory of China whereas the territories of neighbouring countries, such as Japan and Korea, are in grey.

(continued from p. 61)

economic ties with capitalist countries. Yokoyama writes that this course accounts for the so-called 10-year plan for the economic development of China made public in 1978. The Peking leaders announced they intended to buy from abroad a great deal of equipment for building 120 large projects. Carried away by these "grandiose projects", the Western countries, and primarily Japan, raced to make contracts with China for shipment of all sorts of equipment. The author refers to it as the Chinese "gold rush".

Its outcome is well known. Hardly a year or so had passed when China began to annul agreements and contracts one after another. The author shows that this time the scrimmage for power among the Chinese leaders also stood behind the sharp changes in China's economic strategy.

H. Yokoyama criticizes the noisy campaign started in Japan about the so-called "Soviet threat" exploited by the Japan ruling circles to carry out their plans of militarizing the country. He writes that the policy of building up military power of Japan through the use of this campaign is extremely dangerous. Japan must soberly analyze the constantly changing international situation and the one in Asia and on this basis seek ways that will ensure genuine peace and security, the Japanese scholar writes in conclusion.

TASS correspondent

S. TIKHVINSKY

MAOISM REANIMATED

The situation in China is making it all the more evident that it is the final eradication of the Maoist legacy that is required, first and foremost, for resolving the nation's social and economic problems and carrying through a real "modernization". Yet the present Chinese leadership keeps on defying this imperative. Proof of this is the sixth plenary meeting of the CPC Central Committee which, as it met late last June, passed a "Resolution on Certain Issues of CPC History since the Founding of the PRC".

The resolution, in fact, canonized a slightly refurbished Maoism and called for various party factions to be rallied behind it, as well as for using "Mao Zedong's ideas" to oppose Marxism-Leninism, cover up the collusion with imperialism and achieve Peking's hegemonic, great-Han, chauvinistic aims.

An Attempt to Whitewash Mao

The resolution is an attempt to dissociate Maoist ideology as a kind of "scientific theory which has stood the long test of history" from Mao Zedong's errors, and present Maoism as the "spiritual storehouse of the CPC" and Mao Zedong as a "great Marxist, great proletarian revolutionary, strategist and theorist" whose merits, on balance, "largely outweigh his failures".

Peking now has to admit that the Chinese Com-

unist Party's political record of the last few decades has been marked by "subjectivist deviations", "excesses in the conduct of the class struggle", "rush" and forward-thrusting" in economic development, as well as a "serious error of such an all-embracing and lasting character as the cultural revolution". Yet all this has been dished up in such a way as to whitewash Mao Zedong and blur over his crimes. The technique used to this end is one of eclectically lumping together the positive record of the CPC (the elaboration of the general strategy for the period of transition and the implementation of socialist reforms, the platform of the Eighth CPC Congress) and Mao's anti-Marxist concepts.

The documents of the sixth plenary meeting of the CPC Central Committee show that the present party leaders, while sticking to the positions of Maoism, are not venturing a committed and honest assessment of the "ten-year period of the cultural revolution". True, they concede that this campaign brought the Party, the state and the people to "the worst setbacks and losses" since the founding of the Republic and that "the principal responsibility for so serious a leftist error of an all-embracing and lasting character" lies with Mao Zedong "who had become more and more conceited, increasingly divorcing himself from the actual realities and from the masses, and just as increasingly indulging in subjectivism and self-willed action, and trying to put himself above the Party's Central Committee". But in the same breath, as it were, the authors of the resolution seek to justify Mao Zedong by putting the blame for all the calamities of the "cultural revolution" on his closest associates, like Lin Biao, Jiang Qing, Kang Sheng, to mention just a few, as well

as on the CPC as a whole, although it had itself become the target of the "cultural revolution".

Realizing that the Chinese people and history will not forgive Mao Zedong the "cultural revolution", the sponsors of the resolution attempted to present the political guidelines of that campaign as something outside "Mao Zedong's ideas", casual, and out of their general ideological and political context, and to justify them by personal impatience and a "desire to build socialism as soon as possible". However, it was Mao Zedong and his closest associates who made what was essentially a counter-revolutionary coup with a view to preserving their power materially shattered by the deep crisis into which they had plunged the Party and the nation.

In addition to an attempt to dissociate "Mao Zedong's ideas" from the "cultural revolution", the resolution ascribed even some "merits" to Mao Zedong in those days, the major of them being the country's militarization, hydrogen bomb tests and artificial Earth satellite launchings.

The overall assessment of the "cultural revolution" in the resolution has been attenuated even beside what has been but recently said by the Chinese leaders and written in the press. In a report on the 30th anniversary of the PRC, Ye Jianying, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, stated that a "dictatorship of utterly rotten and most sinister fascism mixed with feudalism was virtually established" in China during the "cultural revolution" and the nation was in a state of "split and chaos" and in a "climate of bloody terrorism" and, besides, "on the brink of economic disaster". The resolution claims, however, that the only

EVENTS IN PICTURES

Broad ideological conditioning is being conducted in the Chinese army. Soldiers are called upon to be ready to fulfil any orders, to invade any country by the order of their commanders.



Photo: Chinese soldiers at political classes memorizing quotations from the works of Mao Zedong. For the time being they submit to the will of the Chinese rulers.

Photo: Going berserk by command...



thing the "great proletarian revolutionary" was to blame for was a "serious leftist error".

The reassessment of the "cultural revolution" has been caused by the urge of the leading groups in the Chinese leadership to preserve the great-power, hegemonic "ideas of Mao Zedong" as a platform for them to unite on and to prevent the spread in the CPC of Marxist-Leninist evaluations of one of the tragic periods in China's history, particularly those made by the CPSU and other communist parties.

Principles of Internationalism Distorted

It should be noted that while calling, in the field of international relations, "for a further vigorous struggle against imperialism, hegemonism, colonialism and racism and for safeguarding world peace", the resolution contains not a single word of criticism of Mao Zedong's adventuristic foreign policy. This means that Peking still fully approves the abrupt change from friendship and alliance with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries to confrontation with them and to a rapprochement with world imperialism.

The plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China gave credit to Mao for his active anti-Soviet activities during the "cultural revolution". It appears that the present Chinese Communist Party leadership would like to get a posthumous mandate from Mao for conducting a policy of collaboration with American imperialism in the struggle against the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. This policy manifested itself in the armed aggression against socialist Vietnam, support for the remains of the bloody Pol Pot regime overthrown by the people in Kampuchea, the smuggling of killers

and saboteurs into Afghanistan, and the granting of Chinese territory for the American military bases equipped with electronic facilities for spying on the Soviet Union.

The resolution is full of scornful remarks about the international communist movement and persistently emphasizes the "uniqueness" of the Chinese revolution which is regarded outside the context of the world revolutionary process. The document questions, in effect, the thesis on the internationalist and universal character of the Marxist-Leninist teaching and emphasizes the need to be guided by "national", "Chinese-style Marxism" embodied in "Mao Zedong thought".

It is specially emphasized that "Mao Zedong thought" developed in the struggle against the experience of the international communist movement and the Soviet Union. The document distorts the principles of proletarian internationalism; under the pretext of taking into account the specific conditions in one or another country much prominence is given to the idea of the national "self-isolation" of communist parties and socialist countries.

The resolution makes no mention of the internationalist fraternal aid which the CPSU and the Soviet Union gave to the revolutionary forces of China led by Sun Yatsen in the period of the 1925-1927 revolution and in the years of resistance to Japanese militarism. It passes over in silence the liberating mission of the Soviet armed forces which routed the Japanese Kwantung army in 1945 and gave wide-ranging assistance to the CPC in establishing a stronghold in North-Eastern China which enabled the people's liberation army to defeat the American-trained and -armed Kuomintang forces.

The resolution omits mention of the Soviet Union's contribution to creating favourable international conditions for the victory of the Chinese revolution in 1949. It keeps mum about the USSR wide-ranging assistance provided to China in building the foundations of socialism, particularly in the economy. It ignores the emergence of the world's socialist system after World War II as a decisive factor of the change in the balance of forces in the world. The resolution merely speaks of the importance of the "victory of the Chinese revolution which changed the alignment of political forces in the international arena".

The resolution has nothing to say about the Soviet-Chinese Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance of February 14, 1950, which saved the newly founded Republic from the threat of imperialist intervention and ensured it all-round aid in building a new life. At the same time, the resolution contains rude slander against the CPSU and the Soviet Union and false and unfounded accusations of putting pressure on China and "treacherously abrogating agreements".

The resolution of the sixth plenary meeting of the CPC Central Committee shows that anti-Sovietism remains the leading political line of the Peking hegemomists, a bill with which they intend to pay imperialism for its help in building up China's military-industrial potential. In keeping with the current pro-imperialist policy of Peking, reflected in its military rapprochement with the United States and in the coordination of actions of the two countries on the world scene, the resolution actually consigns to oblivion such an important side of the historical activity of the Chinese Communists as their long anti-imperialist struggle exactly against US imperialism. On the

The Chinese authorities unilaterally cancelled the contracts concluded between China and Japan for the building of 16 large industrial projects at a total cost of 1.5-2 billion dollars. The losses incurred by the Japanese firms amount to 700-800 million dollars.



**A specimen of
Chinese cuisine.**

Dadzis (USSR)

contrary, it extolls Mao's conception of "three worlds", which served to justify China's switchover to positions of cooperation with imperialism and to disorganize anti-imperialist forces in other countries.

"Updated" Maoism

In an extremely general form, the resolution formulates the objectives of the Party in the field of domestic policy. Here the Chinese leadership remains fully loyal to the Maoist thesis on the need to increase China's military power. From the same standpoint it also views the "central task" of the Party—economic construction. The Chinese people are still being asked in the name of hegemonistic aims "not to fear hardships and not to fear death".

Concluding the document with calls for "unity" of the ranks of the Party and regarding "updated" Maoism as the basis for successful implementation of the policy of "four modernizations"—in industry, agriculture, the military field and science and technology, the authors of the resolution try to give an exaggeratedly optimistic ring to the entire document. However, they cannot hide the now chronic ailment of the CPC, the symptoms of which are termed in the resolution as "clanishness, anarchism, archindividualism, elitism, and other unhealthy phenomena".

Admitting the existence of various attitudes to Mao and his legacy—from absolute canonization to total rejection—the resolution nevertheless demands a faithful acceptance and assimilation of the Maoist catechism ("updated" Maoism) that is set out in its pages.

Instead of disseminating and studying the ideas of scientific socialism, China's socio-political thought is

again being driven into the Procrustean bed of Maoism, and the campaign to study the decisions of the sixth plenary meeting, by all indications, threatens to turn into yet another purge.

Many foreign observers point out that the plenary meeting failed to end group rivalry in the Chinese leadership, that the struggle in the CPC over Mao's role is intensifying, that achieving "stability and cohesion" in the Chinese leadership has been left for the future and that an "alienation from the CPC" is observed among the Chinese people.

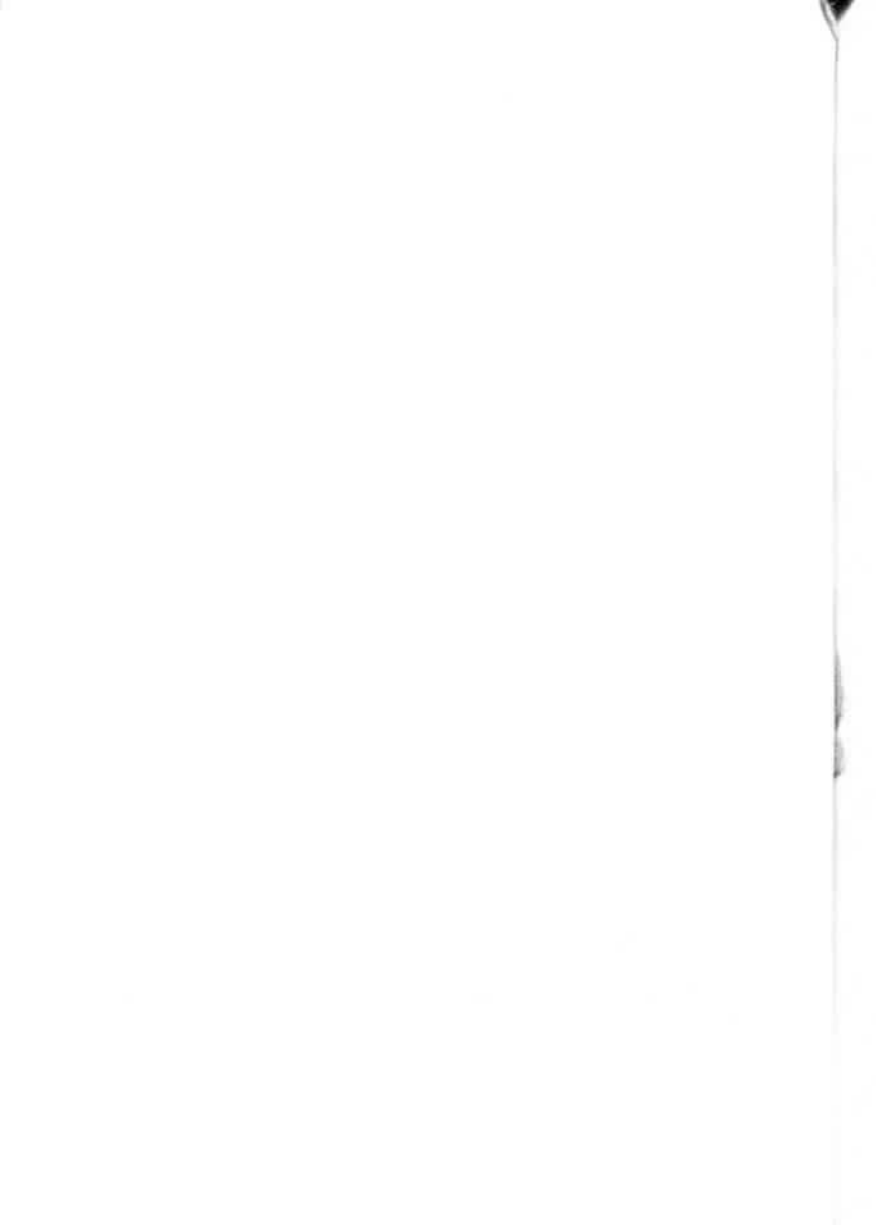
* * *

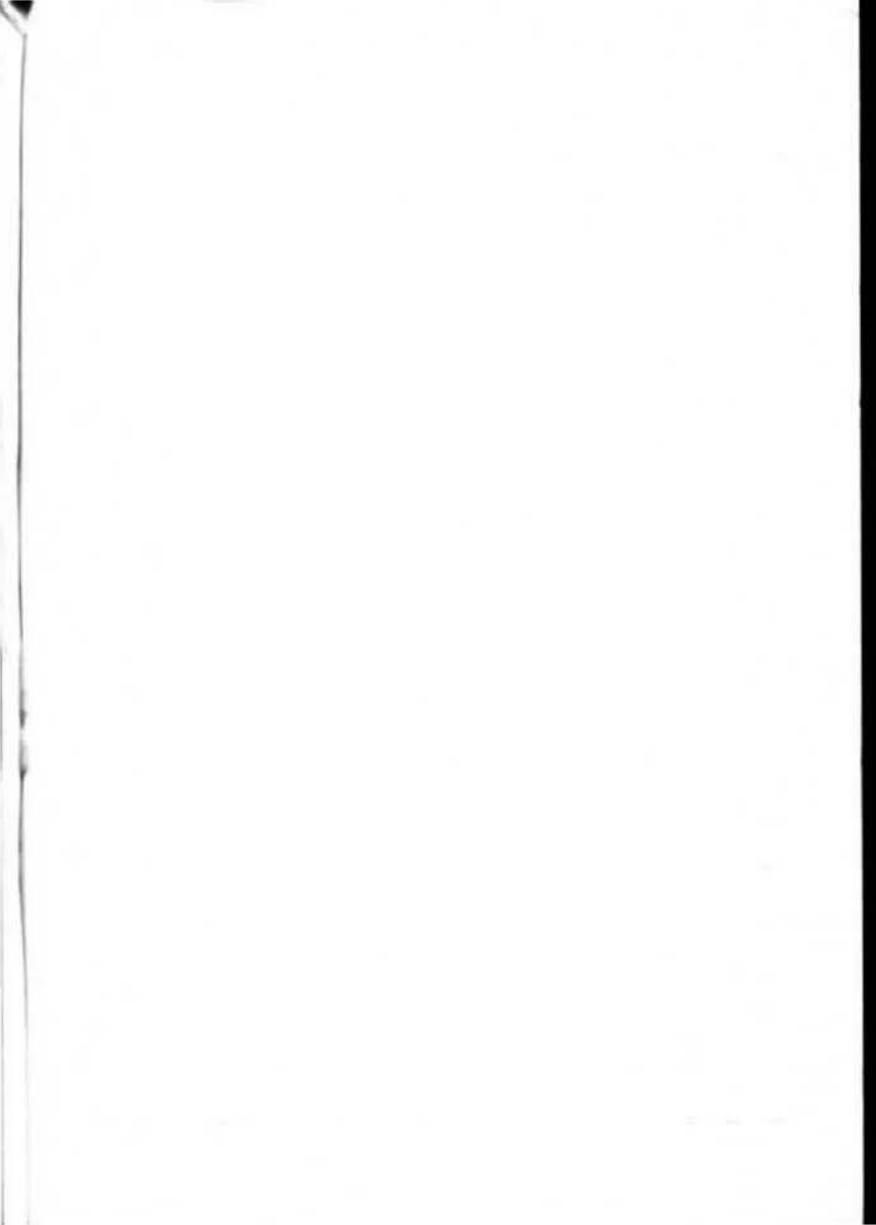
An objective analysis of the documents of the sixth plenary meeting of the CPC Central Committee, as well as of Peking's domestic and foreign policy, bears out the correctness of the assessments of the processes occurring in China, that were given by the 24th, 25th and 26th congresses of the CPSU and the forums of fraternal parties.

Only abandonment of the policy of hegemonism and anti-communism, of militarizing the country, only getting over, not "updating", Maoism and only a Marxist-Leninist course of development based on the theory of scientific socialism can bring China out of its present impasse and ensure the progress and prosperity of the Chinese people.

Pravda, August 14, 1981 *

ПРИЛОЖЕНИЕ № 2
К ЖУРНАЛУ
«СОЦИАЛИЗМ: ТЕОРИЯ И ПРАКТИКА»
№ 3, 1982 г.
на английском языке
0-35





The Soviet monthly **SOCIALISM: THEORY AND PRACTICE** and supplements to this magazine are digests of the political and theoretical press featuring the vital problems of Marxist-Leninist theory, the practice of socialist and communist construction, the peoples' struggle for peace, democracy and socialism, and worldwide ideological struggle.

All inquiries should be addressed to:
SOCIALISM: THEORY AND PRACTICE,
7, Bolshaya Pochtovaya Street,
107082, Moscow, USSR
or to the Information Department of
the Soviet Embassy.