

# A Revolution Betrayed

Articles and documents

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# A Revolution Betrayed

Articles and documents published by the Socialist Party of Australia.



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## Letter to the Chinese Communist Party

The following is an open letter addressed to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China from the Central Committee of the CPUSA, January 1979.

Dear Comrades,

Some years ago, the Central Committee of your Party sent us a cablegram in which you criticized our Party for being "soft on U.S. imperialism." You presented no evidence to sustain your charge, obviously because your accusations were not only false, but slanderous.

We now reverse the same charges. Your Party leadership is collaborating with and "prettifying" imperialism.

We make these criticisms because the policies and actions of your Party give aid, hope and strength to imperialism in general, and most importantly for us, your policies strengthen U.S. imperialism. Therefore, your policies have a direct effect on our internal affairs.

Our criticisms will be limited to those of your policies which have a direct effect on our struggles against the policies of U.S. imperialism. For us—for the working class and people of the United States—this is a most important matter.

However, we do this reluctantly and with a great deal of sadness. We have postponed writing this letter in the belief that life and experience would turn your Party away from the path you are currently following. But it is clear your actions are not isolated mistakes due to specific judgments. Rather, they are based on basic, long-range erroneous concepts. You have veered away from the working-class revolutionary path.

The documentation could begin further back, but it will suffice to start with the crisis brought on by the Kennedy Administration over the purely defensive missiles on Cuban soil.

### "Cuddling Up to Imperialism"

In 1962, during the first days of the missile crisis, your public statements attacked the Soviet Union for what you called "provocative actions." It was hard to believe that leaders of a socialist country, with a long history of struggle against imperialism, would take the side of imperialist aggression and slander military aid to socialist Cuba as a "provocation."

While slandering the Soviet Union you were completely silent about the fact that the missiles were on Cuban soil because U.S. imperialism was in the final stages of preparations to invade Cuba by a full-scale, massive military assault. This was no big secret to anyone who wanted to know the truth. What U.S. imperialism could not accomplish with the Bay of Pigs invasion it was determined to do by a massive military attack. U.S. imperialism saw a socialist Cuba as the beachhead of anti-imperialism and socialism in the Americas.

But U.S. imperialism needed a cover for their aggressive designs against the young socialist republic of Cuba. With your irresponsible charges of Soviet "provocation" you provided that demagogic smokescreen. You tried to make it appear that the crisis was brought on by Cuba and the Soviet Union, and not by the plans of aggression of U.S. imperialism.

When the crisis was over, when U.S. imperialism and the Kennedy Administration were forced to drop their plans for the invasion, and when, in return, the missiles were removed, your Party then turned around and accused the Soviet Union of "cowardice and betrayal."

Your Party statements and editorials said there were no agreements, and that as soon as the missiles were removed the United States would invade Cuba. U.S. imperialism wanted the world to believe that President Kennedy had won the so-called "confrontation." Your false statements of "cowardice and betrayal" supported this fabrication.

Your statements slandered the heroic people of Cuba, whose firm stand and readiness to do battle in defense of their homeland was a most important factor in convincing the Kennedy Administration to back off from its carefully planned aggression.

In short, you sided with U.S. imperialism at every turn in that crisis. Life has since proven you were wrong on every count. It was, in fact, an important turning point in U.S.-Cuba relations. It was a defeat for U.S. imperialism.

In 1971, Sudan had won independence and was moving toward the building of a socialist society. U.S. imperialism went all out to reverse their course.

The world now knows that the CIA, in alliance with some of the reactionary forces from Saudi Arabia, moved into the Sudanese situation. They created a provocation, and, as a result, a counter-revolution was successful. At the very moment when a reactionary military junta was slaughtering Communists and other revolutionaries in Sudan, your Party, under Mao Tse Tung's direction, was sending messages of encouragement, not to the revolutionaries, but to those who were killing and imprisoning revolutionaries. And immediately thereafter your Party sent a trade delegation to Sudan.

The counterrevolution was a victory for U.S. imperialism. It was a temporary but serious setback for the forces of progress in Sudan. The most reactionary right-wing forces in the U.S. hailed your actions as a "welcome stabilizing factor in Sudan." Through your actions you became an accomplice and a "stabilizing factor" for counterrevolution, for the imperialist oil interests in the Middle East.

Also, in 1971, it was clear to everyone that the U.S.-supported reactionary, fascist, feudal regime in Pakistan was murdering and starving the people of Bangladesh into submission. It was a policy of mass genocide. When the people of Bangladesh revolted, your Party leadership and U.S. imperialism, almost alone in the world, took a public stand in support of the reactionary, counterrevolutionary forces.

Your Party leadership did not limit its actions to statements of support. You again rushed in delegations to Pakistan and warmly and publicly received delegations in Peking. Your actions were

hailed and blessed by U.S. imperialism. While the people of the world protested against the killings, you cuddled up to the reactionary U.S. puppets in Pakistan.

Again, the forces of national liberation and socialism watched in disbelief as the leaders of China, a socialist country, took the side of imperialism and national oppression.

Possibly your most blatant support for U.S. imperialism was during the counterrevolutionary coup d'etat in Chile. To this very day, when the military junta is in serious trouble, you give your support, both materially and spiritually.

It was never a secret, but now the world has all the facts about how the counterrevolution to overthrow the progressive Popular Unity government, led by Salvador Allende Gossens, was organized, directed and who paid for it.

These facts prove that which was obvious at the time. The counterrevolution was a product of U.S. imperialism. It was organized and led by an alliance of the CIA, the large U.S. multinational corporations and the reactionary and fascist elements in Chile, and especially these elements among the military brass.

Not since the days of Hitler has the world been witness to such heinous butchery of Communists and other revolutionary and progressive activists, such as followed the coup. Their bones are now being found in the lime pits of Chile.

But, it is also true that not since the days of Hitler has there been such a worldwide movement of protest, rejection, boycott and isolation as there is of the Chilean junta. It is a worldwide united front against reaction and cut-throat fascism. It is an effective struggle.

U.S. imperialism worked desperately to break the worldwide united front of struggle against the fascist regime in Chile. Almost in total isolation, your Party broke through this front and rushed to extend diplomatic recognition to the fascist junta. Even before the murdered President Allende was buried, you evicted, by physical force, Chile's ambassador from the embassy in Peking. You broke all records in extending your hand of cooperation and friendship to the butchers of the Chilean people.

If these actions are not a defense and support of

U.S. imperialism, then words and concepts have completely lost their meaning. There is not even a bourgeois government that has so grovelingly and openly rushed to prop up and support the positions of U.S. imperialism around the world.

Again, it was difficult for many to understand why the leaders of a country with a long, honorable history of struggle against imperialism would give their support to such brutal imperialist oppression. And there is not even the shadow of a doubt that it is the support of U.S. imperialism and your continuing economic, political and diplomatic support that keeps the counterrevolutionary fascist butchers of Chile in power.

The people of Angola fought a long and bitter war of liberation against the racist Portuguese imperialists. The leaders of the Communist Party of China did not lift a finger to support their heroic struggles. Throughout the years, most of the other socialist countries, and especially the Soviet Union, gave their full and unstinting support. You talk about national liberation, but invariably you have lined up with the forces of imperialism.

After the people of Angola won their liberation, most of the countries of the world extended diplomatic recognition to the new revolutionary, democratic government. Again, the exceptions were U.S. imperialism, the People's Republic of China and South Africa.

But, U.S. imperialism, South Africa and your Party leadership did not remain neutral in the struggle. Even after the people of Angola won their independence, you joined forces with U.S. imperialism and South Africa, led by the multinational oil corporations and the CIA, in support of an armed struggle to overthrow the People's Republic of Angola.

In this case, your support went and continues to go to the military arm of the CIA. To this very day, you are in alliance with U.S. imperialism, working to reverse the revolutionary process in Africa.

In the most vile terms, you slander the Soviet Union, Cuba and the other socialist countries who give aid to the forces of national liberation, while you line up with imperialism.

There is no way you can truthfully deny that your Party is supporting and collaborating with U.S. imperialism in Angola, Ethiopia, Afghanistan,

Yemen, Burma and in many other countries. It is a painful observation, but a true one, that wherever imperialism is being challenged and is in difficulty, you throw your political, ideological and military support to bolster it. You are in the same orbit with reaction, counterrevolution and imperialism.

And now, you can not honestly hide your big power policies of aggression against the government and people of Viet Nam. In imperialist fashion, you send naval vessels into the waters of Viet Nam. You practice gunboat diplomacy against Viet Nam—the very weapon imperialism used against the people of China for so many years.

You are now demanding that the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam extend "preference," and exempt the bourgeois elements who are of Chinese origin from the laws and the process of building a socialist society. As you have done in Indonesia and other areas, you are demanding that the capitalist and feudal Vietnamese of Chinese national origin in Viet Nam be permitted to continue exploiting the people of Viet Nam, including the hundreds of thousands of people who are of Chinese origin.

It is not the workers and poor people of Chinese origin you are concerned about, as you would have the world believe. No, you are concerned about the rich, the well-to-do of Chinese origin in Viet Nam. This is extending the hand of your bourgeois nationalism across state lines. You have replaced the outlook and concepts of the working class with imperialist and capitalist class concepts.

It is ironic and reprehensible that after victoriously fighting for generations against the invading forces of the imperialists of the United States, France, Japan and against the invading forces of feudal China, that the people of Viet Nam are again harassed, threatened and attacked by the forces of the People's Republic of China. This is revolting to the hundreds of millions of people around the world, including the millions of Americans who gave their support to the people of Viet Nam in their struggle against U.S. imperialism. It is ironic that your armed forces have replaced the forces of imperialism, harassing and threatening the people of Viet Nam.

You have adopted and put into practice the idea of the old Chinese feudal rulers and bourgeois nationalism—that all Chinese, wherever they live,

must accept the view that "China is wherever there are Chinese."

The Vietnamese Communists have asked the critical question—to which you have not replied: "Is it right that the immutable law of the socialist revolution governing the transformation of the capitalist sector in industry and trade should not be applied to some bourgeois only because they are Chinese, although their property was earned by the sweat and blood of the working class, the entire working people of Viet Nam? Why does the Chinese side devote so much attention to a handful of bourgeois of Chinese extraction in Viet Nam, while fully ignoring the destiny of hundreds of thousands of real working people, Chinese emigrants who are being subjected to ruthless exploitation, persecution and even physical extermination in various other regions of the world?"

You attack and slander the treaty of friendship between two socialist countries—Viet Nam and the Soviet Union—when, at the very same time, you have just signed a treaty with imperialist Japan. We are sure you are aware that U.S. imperialism is for the Japan-China treaty because it sees it as a foundation-stone for a new Far East axis, under its domination. And Japanese imperialism sees the treaty as a foundation-stone for its policy of resurrecting its old dream of an "East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere."

In its basic sense, the Japan-China treaty is directed against the Soviet Union, Viet Nam and Laos, and against the national liberation movements in general.

The U.S. imperialist-racist South Africa-China connection keeps reappearing again and again. In the late sixties, when war broke out in Nigeria, when U.S. imperialism did not want a united or a truly independent Nigeria, your Party leadership and U.S. imperialism supported and gave arms to the Biafra separatists.

You started to give military aid to the forces of Somalia only after they sided with imperialism, and became the spearhead against the Ethiopian revolution.

Again, in Zaire, you gave your full support to the NATO forces who militarily sided with the forces of reaction.

Racism is an instrument of imperialist oppres-

sion. This is especially so in Africa. Your conniving, and your support for the racist policies of South Africa and U.S. imperialism, is support for racism. It is racism.

In all these cases, you are on the wrong side. Your policies are geared to supporting imperialism. You are on the wrong side of the struggle for national liberation. You are on the side of national oppression. You are on the wrong side in the struggle for socialism. This is evidence that you are on the wrong side of the class struggle in general. This places you on the wrong side of the whole world revolutionary process.

You must be aware that your actions are an active force of struggle against national liberation in every part of the world.

Your actions have become a counterrevolutionary force against the building of socialism throughout the world.

#### Advocacy of War

In addition to these concrete policies and actions, your leadership is propagating the unbelievably insane idea that every generation "must have its own war," and therefore the task is to prepare for war.

This question was on the agenda of the 11th Congress of your Party in 1977, and on the agenda of the 5th National People's Congress in 1978. Hua Kuo Feng said at that Congress: "We have to strain every nerve to raise the combative quality and moral spirit of the army, to raise to a new level in the preparations for war."

In a recent article, published on the anniversary of the creation of the People's Republic of China, your Defense Minister, a member of the Central Committee of your Party, declared that "war is a moral occurrence," and he expressed confidence that "the Third World War might break out any day."

In another article, the Deputy Chief of Staff of your Army proclaimed that "China must get ready for a war of devastation."

Surprising as it may seem, your Party leadership is the only political group in the world that advocates war as a matter of principle—something that "every generation must experience."

Your talk about war as something "every generation must experience," that wars are a "moral oc-

currence," and that "China must get ready for a war of devastation," is but a cover for your own plans of aggression against China's neighbors—for your plans for "the Greater China." Your "mobilization for war" is related to your slanderous campaign against the Soviet Union.

You have replaced the concepts of struggle against imperialism with supporting and working with imperialism.

You have replaced the concepts of working class internationalism with concepts of narrow nationalism that leads to supporting world imperialism.

You have replaced the concepts of working to relax tensions, working for peaceful coexistence and detente, with your plans for sharpening tensions, and your own plans of expansion and aggression.

You are working to raise a generation of Chinese youth to believe that they must be ready for "a war of devastation" against other socialist countries. What a hideous concept! It is total ideological, political and moral bankruptcy.

And now, your capitulation and collaboration with imperialism have entered a new and an even more dangerous arena.

Your maneuvers and negotiations for military alliances with imperialism, your advocacy of war, are new factors feeding the danger of a nuclear confrontation and world catastrophe. But evidently you do not consider a nuclear war such a disaster because at the UN Assembly on Disarmament, following the earlier statements of Mao Tse Tung, your Foreign Minister said, "The Chinese people do not believe in the frightful talk about nuclear war leading allegedly to the peril of all mankind." Some spokesmen of U.S. imperialism agree with you. Zbigniew Brzezinski, the reactionary cold warrior, after returning from a visit to Peking, branded the proposition that a nuclear war would mean the end of humanity as "baloney," and stated:

It is inaccurate thinking to say that the use of nuclear weapons would be the end of the human race. That is an egocentric thought. In strictly statistical terms, if the United States used up all of its arsenal in the Soviet Union, and the Soviet Union used all of its against the United States, it would not be the end of humanity. That's ego-

centric. (*New Yorker*, May 1, 1978, p. 126.)

Such talk is irresponsible insanity. And this nuclear maniac is Carter's chief adviser on national security affairs.

As early as 1957, Mao Tse Tung expressed the same insanity:

Can anybody suggest how many lives a future war would take? It will likely be one-third of the 2.7 billion people of the world population, that is, altogether 900 million people. But I think even this figure is too low if atom bombs really come into effect. Of course this is terrible, on the one hand. But on the other, it would not be annoying if it were half of mankind... if half of mankind is killed, the other half still remains... within half a century or within one century the population will grow again, and even by more than the half of it.

Your Foreign Minister's remarks about nuclear war were not a slip of the tongue. In earlier speeches, he had stated: "One should not by any means nurse the pipedreams of disarmament" and that the "neutron bomb was not such a bad weapon."

In these statements you are dancing to the tune of imperialism. U.S. imperialism, the Pentagon brass, and especially its most Right-wing reactionary elements, are delighted with your policies, statements and actions.

As a result, the Carter Administration has made a decision to speed up the supply of military technology and equipment to China, which can be used solely for aggressive military aims. Spokesmen for U.S. imperialism have been encouraging the increase of military aid to China by the Western European powers.

NATO's coordinating committee on the export of strategic goods recently sanctioned arms sales to China. Your government spokesmen have put out lists of what you want which include combat and transport planes, helicopters, tanks, missiles and other military articles. The lists and the war goods are the hardware for sustaining and building up your military alliance with imperialism.

It is not necessary to speculate as to why you have

embarked on this all-out military shopping spree. You have openly stated your intentions and privately assured the imperialist camp that your military buildup is directed against the Soviet Union, Viet Nam, Mongolia and other socialist and Third World countries, and especially the countries that have borders with China. You keep reassuring U.S. imperialism that it is the Soviet Union you are preparing a "war of devastation" against.

Because you have replaced the concept of a struggle against war, and especially against nuclear war, with your insane advocacy of war, including a nuclear war, your policies now seriously add to the danger of war, and especially the danger of a nuclear disaster. Your advocacy of war and your preparations for war have become a shield, including an ideological shield, behind which the Pentagon and the imperialist forces prepare for war.

Lenin very correctly observed that in the world arena the critical question is: Who is using whom? You may be operating under the illusion that you are using world imperialism, and especially U.S. imperialism, to your advantage. It is possible to use contradictions within the imperialist world. But that is not what you are doing. You are making it possible for world imperialism to use to its advantage divisions in the world of socialism, in the movements of national liberation, and in the working-class movements. In fact, you are the main force in creating such divisions.

You obviously have illusions about what concessions you will get from U.S. imperialism. Observing world developments from the viewpoint of the "belly of the beast," it is our conviction that such illusions will come home to plague you. You may get some crumbs from the table of imperialism, but it is U.S. imperialism that is reaping the benefits of your policies. It is a dangerous illusion for anyone to think that U.S. imperialism can be hoodwinked into becoming a base of support for the building of socialism anywhere.

Our Party has always advocated and fought for the normalization of relations between our two countries. However, we would not be honest if we did not express our concern that the establishment of diplomatic and trade relations between China and the United States is taking place in the context of your support for the policies of U.S. imperialism.

There should be no illusions about why the Carter Administration moved to establish U.S.-China diplomatic relations. The Carter Administration is convinced that it can use China to further its policies of aggression against the countries of socialism, and its policies of imperialist aggression against the forces of national liberation and the developing countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Imperialism is never motivated by feelings of friendship or justice.

Anti-Sovietism is a major element in the ideological, political, economic and military outlook of U.S. imperialism. In an earlier period, you covered up your campaign against detente and the relaxation of tensions by labeling such policies as "appeasement" of imperialism. Now you have switched to the opposite extreme and call on U.S. imperialism and the NATO countries not to accept detente, not to negotiate arms control and arms reduction agreements because, as you say, "it would lead to a weakening of the NATO countries."

In November 1977, Li Hsien-mien, Deputy Premier of the State Council, stated: "We want Europe to be powerful and its defenses against the Soviet Union reinforced" and "China and the United States need cooperation to get the better of the Northern Bear."

It is indeed a sad day when the leading cadre of a socialist country publicly shed tears because imperialism might be "weakened." Here you advocate and campaign for the further arming of imperialism.

Your main proimperialist figleaf is that "the Soviet Union is preparing to attack China." Of course you know that such a charge is a total fabrication. If such was the outlook of the Soviet Union they certainly would not have waited to this day.

You can not deny the truth, that the leaders of the Communist Party and the government of the Soviet Union have repeatedly demonstrated their willingness and eagerness to negotiate an agreement with China on all questions.

If conquest of new territory was the policy of the Soviet Union it would have acted differently following the end of World War II. When the Soviet armed forces defeated the Japanese in Manchuria (which, incidentally, was Japan's largest military

force on land), the Soviet Union turned over to the army, under China's Communist leadership, all of the huge stores of Japanese military equipment and, in addition, much of the military equipment used by the Soviet armed forces. It was enough up-to-date, modern military hardware to equip an armed force (including army, navy and air force), of one-and-a-half-million men. As you well know, this military hardware, given to you by the Soviet Union, made it possible for you to go on the offensive, and to a victorious conclusion of your historic revolution. Needless to say, that is not how a force interested in conquering your territory would have behaved.

Mao Tse Tung worked hard to cover up, but you know, and the world knows, that after the victory of the Chinese Revolution, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries gave China billions of dollars worth of every imaginable kind of material assistance. They gave China whole industrial plants, mining and transportation equipment, without any regard as to when, or if, China would be able to pay for them. This, also, is not the way a would-be conqueror would have behaved.

With your irresponsible anti-Soviet campaign you are synchronizing your ideological concepts with those of the anti-working class forces and the anti-socialism of the most reactionary forces of world imperialism. You are now allied with the forces of imperialism who plan and advocate a nuclear war against world socialism and the forces of national liberation. You are now united with such cold warriors as Zbigniew Brzezinski, Senator Henry M. Jackson and others. In fact, you have become the most active and the leading ideological force within the anti-working class, anti-socialist, anti-national liberation brigade of world imperialism.

By now most people, but especially people who are active participants in the world revolutionary process, understand that your clichés about "two superpowers" and "hegemonism" are but crude concealment of your policies of support for U.S. imperialism, and your own dreams and plans for dominating large areas of the world.

You are giving your support to the U.S., Japan and the imperialist powers in NATO in their efforts to stop the building of socialism and national liberation, hoping to get their blessing for your ef-

forts to control and dominate, especially the smaller countries of Asia.

This becomes even more obvious in your latest Central Committee statement of December. You claim "new and important success in developing the international united front against hegemonism," followed by a list of the "steps" you have taken in "developing the international united front," "the China-Japan treaty" and "the normalization of relations between China and the United States." This, again, makes it clear that your "united front" is with the imperialist powers, directed against the Soviet Union, the other socialist states and the developing countries.

In Europe you are encouraging the NATO military alliance to build up its armed forces, and you are allied with counterrevolution and anti-national liberation in every corner of the globe.

In the United Nations your spokesmen have vehemently opposed all proposals that would lead towards peace and disarmament.

### The Roots of Opportunism

Why do you pursue this course? What has motivated the leading cadre of your Party to adopt and pursue this disastrous course for so long? What is the logic behind your policies of supporting imperialism and counterrevolution?

Because your policies are the very opposite of working class policies; because your policies are alien to Marxism-Leninism; because your policies do not correspond to the interests of socialism or national liberation, it is difficult for many to understand why you continue along this opportunistic path.

Years ago, one could say Mao Tse Tung made some mistakes in assessment or judgment. One could also argue that there were some understandable tactical differences that reflected Chinese realities. But one can not say that today.

As we know, in the application of the science of Marxism-Leninism, each Communist Party must take into consideration the history, the experiences and the level of development of the social and political forces of one's own people and nation. Therefore, we also know that the strategic and tactical line will not always be identical. We have no argument about that. But that is not the case with

the policies you are pursuing. You are following a general line that has nothing to do with national peculiarities. What has led your Party into this swamp is, of course, an important question.

As you well know, the sharp internal struggles in your Party have always been over basic questions related to the class struggle. In the past, many outstanding Marxist-Leninist leaders of your Party have fought for a political line and for policies from the viewpoint that the working class is the leading revolutionary force. They well understood that the class viewpoint was not a matter of how many workers there were in China, but how to lead the movements and struggles from a viewpoint that takes a principled and clear working-class position in the class struggle.

It is clear that the roots of your present policies go back into the history of your Party. The most consistent and clearest expression of the opposite line and policies, and their roots, is in the works of Mao Tse Tung. The basic flaws were present before the victory of the great Chinese Revolution. In fact, they have been a feature of Mao Tse Tung's thinking from the very inception of his role in the Communist Party of China. To say he has been "70 per cent right" is a misstatement of history.

The history of the Communist Party of China is a history of struggle between two lines, two different approaches. One is the working-class, Marxist approach. Many great Marxist-Leninist leaders, such as Lita-Chao, Chu Chiu-po, Peng Pai, Chang Tai-Lei, Su Chao-Cheng, Chu Teh and many others made important contributions in this struggle.

The opposing trend has always been a wavering, classless, petty-bourgeois, narrow nationalist one. For them, the concept of class struggle, the class division, and, therefore, a partisan working-class approach has never been its main point of reference. Mao Tse Tung has always been associated with this trend. As a rule, this trend attracts elements that have no class roots—nationalistic and alien elements. It is this trend that became the "thought of Mao Tse Tung."

The history of your Party is also a history of heroic struggles and sacrifices. Because the class enemy concentrated its fire on the cities, the biggest losses were always among the working class, Communists and working-class Communist leaders.

Many were in the leadership of the struggle for a working-class, Marxist approach. Also, because of the brutal terror in the cities, the number of workers in the Party declined. All this had an effect on the internal struggle in your Party.

The victories of the Chinese revolutionary movement can be traced to the working-class, Marxist contributions; the weaknesses and mistakes, to the influence of the classless petty-bourgeois trend.

The most basic of all flaws is that Mao Tse Tung neither accepted nor understood the very basic idea of Marx that "the history of all hitherto existing societies is the history of class struggles," and that capitalism is no exception to this rule.

The class struggle was never a basic point of reference for Mao Tse Tung. In his view it was one of many factors of equal significance. In fact, he rejected the basic truth that the contradiction between the capitalist class and the working class is the primary contradiction. He saw the world as a mish-mash of contradictions.

From this it follows that he never viewed the working class, which is a product of the primary contradiction, as the most consistently revolutionary class. He rejected the role history has assigned to it. Therefore, the class struggle was not his principled point of reference. In his thinking, the class struggle was not the pivot. It was replaced by concepts of classless nationalism. It is this basic lack of understanding—or the rejection of the nature of a class society and the forces of such a society—that is the basis for Maoism's subjective reactions to developments.

When one does not view phenomena from the standpoint of the class struggle, then the question of taking sides in that struggle, or being a partisan of the working class, is not a matter of principle. In such a classless outlook, taking the side of the working class is just one of the options.

For example, when one does not accept the class struggle, or understand the unique, advanced role of the working class, there is no motive or compulsion to accept the concept of proletarian internationalism, because the concept that the working class is not necessarily your class can also lead to the concept that the capitalist class is not necessarily the enemy.

In Mao Tse Tung's petty-bourgeois nationalist

thoughts, the class struggle has never been a basic, guiding principle. Therefore, Maoism was never a trend in the working-class movement because Mao never accepted the basic concept of the class struggle.

In a conversation with a U.S. writer in 1944, Mao is quoted as saying:

We by no means want to establish a policy of the dictatorship of the proletariat. As regards government, our democratic government will include landowners, merchants, capitalists, bourgeoisie, peasants and workers.

Such a concept clearly was not based on the realities of the class struggle. The words "and workers" were a concession to the class viewpoint. In Mao's concepts, workers were never more than a small concession to class pressures.

There is also no class concept in an earlier statement of Mao Tse Tung:

Apart from their other characteristics, the outstanding thing about China's 600 million people is that they are "poor and blank." This may seem a bad thing. On a blank sheet of paper, free from any mark, the freshest and most beautiful pictures can be painted. ("Introducing a Co-operative," *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse Tung*, page 36.)

To Mao, China was a classless "blank sheet of paper." Mao's China was a "blank sheet" without classes or a history.

It is always necessary to question the accuracy of reported impressions by U.S. State Department emissaries. But it is of interest that in the recently released secret documents of their discussions with Mao, there is one line that runs through all of them. It is anti-Sovietism and rejection of a class approach.

For example, in 1944, a David Barnett reported Mao as stating:

We will accept your help, with gratitude, any time, now or in the future. We would serve with all our hearts under an American general, with no strings or conditions attached. That is how we feel towards you.

And,

Every American soldier in China should be a walking and talking advertisement for democracy. He ought to talk it to every Chinese he meets. American officers ought to talk it to Chinese officers. After all, we Chinese consider you Americans the *ideal of democracy*. (Emphasis added.)

And, finally,

China must be industrialized. This can be done in China only by *free enterprise and with the aid of foreign capital*. Chinese and American interests are correlated and similar. (Emphasis added.)

Working with the forces that were allied in fighting to defeat the world fascist axis was, of course, necessary. But from these reports it is obvious that Mao expressed ideas that went far beyond such considerations. In these released papers there are continuing reports about Mao Tse Tung's anti-Soviet remarks.

Lenin correctly spoke about the need and the possibilities of using the contradictions between imperialist countries, and even between different sections of monopoly capital in specific countries. This concept is based on using the contradictions in the ranks of your class opponent.

However, that is not what Maoism is about. The underlying thought of Mao is the concept of opportunistically using the contradictions between the countries of socialism and the world of imperialism, with special emphasis on using the contradictions between the imperialist USA and the socialist USSR. Of course, you would not do this if you accepted the class struggle and had a partisan, working-class viewpoint—because a partisan of the working class is also a partisan of socialism.

In a period of history in which there are socialist countries and capitalist countries, the leadership of socialist countries have two choices. The choice is between the two main classes. Because Maoism does not accept the concept of a class struggle, it also does not accept it as a guide in its policies in a world of two class powers—one capitalist, the other socialist.

The opportunism of the Socialist Parties of the

Second International that came to a head during the First World War was tailored to fit into the relationship of forces in a world dominated by imperialism. In each case, it was, therefore, an accommodation to the interests and the pressures of the ruling class of one's own country.

Maoism is opportunism tailored to fit the relationship of forces in a world where there are two competing socio-economic systems. It is, therefore, the opportunism for a period of the transition from capitalism to socialism. It is basically policies of selling out the interests of the working class and socialism in return for some crumbs from the table of imperialism.

Maoism is an accommodation to the interests of imperialism in general, and especially to the interests of the leading country of imperialism, the United States. It is opportunism that is possible only because there are other socialist countries that hold to a firm policy of struggle against imperialism. In our working-class struggles, scabs and other anti-working class elements can sell their services to the corporations only because militant workers and the trade unions hold to a firm line of struggle.

Maoism is opportunism in a period when world capitalism is decaying and is forced to retreat, and is, therefore, looking for ways to divide and weaken the forces of the world revolutionary process. Maoism is out to sell this service to imperialism.

There is only one way in which a socialist country can "use" the contradictions between the two socio-economic systems, and that is to play the game of imperialism, to lick the boots of imperialism and make concessions to imperialism.

For a socialist country to play this game and get paid, it must be of service to imperialism. A service to imperialism is a betrayal of the interests of the working class. The hopes and the illusions of those who push policies based on opportunism is to get some concessions as payment for services rendered to imperialism. And, indeed, imperialism is willing to make some payments. But such services to imperialism are at the expense of the working class, of national liberation and of world socialism. That is the only kind of service imperialism is interested in. Such services are a betrayal of the interests of the forces that propel the world revolutionary process.

Your policies are a service to imperialism because they work to weaken the forces of the world revolutionary process, because that is what imperialism wants. You are working to split the forces of national liberation from the forces of world socialism, to split the Communist and other revolutionary forces—because that is what imperialism wants.

But history is also witness to the fact that the promises of imperialist payments are big, but the actual payments are small and of short duration.

U.S. imperialism is willing to sell and loan military goods to China as long as China follows its present policies, which are in line with U.S. imperialism's interests. A war between China and the Soviet Union is on top of the list of imperialism's priorities. U.S. imperialism is working to push China away from the building of its socialist industrial base, and into using its resources and manpower in the non-productive military wasteland.

Opportunism is a dead-end street. History is indeed a stern teacher. For the working class, the main lesson is that unity and struggle is a precondition for victory. Groveling at the feet of corporations or of world imperialism has never resulted in any lasting victories. The class struggle on the world scale, between world capitalism and world socialism, is no exception to this rule.

There have been many warnings within the ranks of your Party's leadership about the consequences of policies based on opportunistic considerations. This is obviously what Liu Shao-chi had in mind when he said:

If one follows the bourgeois-nationalist concepts of the nation... opposes the Soviet Union instead of uniting with it, opposes the People's Democracies instead of uniting with them, opposes the Communists, the proletariat and the people's democratic forces in all countries instead of uniting with them, opposes the national liberation movements... instead of uniting with all the oppressed nations... then one will of course unite with the United States and other imperialists, will of course line up with the imperialist camp, will of course fail to achieve national liberation, will never accomplish anything in the cause of socialism, will of course make one's own nation prey to the deception and aggression of the United

States and other imperialists, with the result that one's own nation will lose its independence and become a colony of the imperialists. (Liu Shao-chi, *Internationalism and Nationalism*, Foreign Languages Press, 1954.)

Making political assessments is not like balancing books. It is not a matter of weighing the positives and negatives. Truth demands an accounting of the consequences of actions that are the results of wrong policies or right policies. An assessment of Maoism is an accounting of the consequences of wrong policies.

It is impossible to estimate the amount of suffering and death in human terms that Maoism has contributed to around the world. And, it is possible only to generalize and speculate as to where the world revolutionary process, the transition to socialism, the national liberation and working-class movements of the world would be, if it were not for the divisions, diversions, the slander of socialism and the confusion created by Maoism. Only history, in its objectivity, will make a full assessment of these crimes.

Maoism has done all this as a payoff—for what? For a few largely meaningless concessions. But, mainly, for fancy, illusory promises from world imperialism.

If united, the forces of the world revolutionary process could have won many more meaningful victories—victories that could have advanced and contributed to the building of socialism, including in China.

Maoism has gambled on using, opportunistically, the struggle between the two socio-economic systems—on betraying the interests of the working class. If the history of the revolutionary movement teaches anything it is that the swamp of opportunism is a bottomless pit. In the long run it is a losing game.

We send this letter in the spirit of the many past struggles our two peoples and Parties have participated in.

Our Party, and millions of our people, took part in the struggle against U.S. imperialism's attacks against China, and its oppression of your country

and people. We were involved in the struggle against Japan's imperialist aggression against China. We were initiators of the struggle against General Douglas MacArthur's plans to use the atomic bomb against your country. We actively participated in the "hands off China" movement, following your historic revolutionary victory against feudalism, capitalism and imperialism.

We are convinced that we express the sentiments of the forces of the world revolutionary process, the millions who are building socialism the world over, the millions who are fighting against imperialist oppression, the additional millions who are fighting against neo-colonialism, the millions of workers in the capitalist world, the hundreds of millions throughout the world who are active in the struggle for peace, for detente, for preventing the world from sliding into a nuclear disaster from which there would be no return. In fact, we are convinced that we are expressing the thinking and sentiments of the great majority of humanity when we say: Take a hard look at the direction you are going; examine the path you are following; make a searching assessment of the forces you are aligned with. If you do, we are sure you will conclude it is the wrong direction, a dangerous path; it does not serve the best self-interests of the people of China or the struggle for social progress. We are convinced you will conclude your policies are not in keeping with the needs of the historic transition from the world of capitalism, with all its evils, to the world of socialism, which opens up the great highway of unlimited human progress.

We are sending you this letter in the hope that it will serve to open up a discussion between our Parties on these questions. These questions are critical to matters related to preventing nuclear war, to the struggle for socialism and national liberation, to the struggles and interests of the people of both China and the United States.

Fraternally,

Gus Hall  
General Secretary, CPUSA

# A Revolution Betrayed

by Victor Williams

## A Proud History of Struggle Against Imperialism

The previous struggles of the Chinese people against oppression and foreign domination cannot be forgotten nor can the world-wide sympathy for them be discarded.

They fought the Opium war against the British who were intent on using opium as a tool of trade and domination; they fought against the Japanese invasion from 1931, long before Japan threatened Australia; they defeated Chiang Kai-shek who after the defeat of Japan in 1945, collaborated with the US government and the US army to make China an American colony.

The Chinese revolution was victorious in October 1949 and the People's Republic of China was proclaimed. The Chinese people set out on the path of socialist construction. Aid and help from the other socialist countries, in particular the Soviet Union, poured in. Chou-en-lai established the principle of peaceful co-existence as the basis of China's foreign policy towards other capitalist countries.

But step by step these noble aims have been betrayed. The socialist objective is betrayed. Struggle against imperialism is betrayed. Peace itself is betrayed. The gains made by the Chinese revolution are in jeopardy.

Socialist construction should have brought the Chinese people a new life of higher living standards, a flowering cultural life, democratic rights and peace. One dismal failure after another has denied the people these gains.

The letter of the Communist Party of the USA graphically and convincingly recalls the factual alliance between the Chinese leaders and imperialism in international affairs.

This article details some developments inside China and the reasons why.

## The Economy

In 1949, when the People's Republic of China was established, foreign capital owned 42 per cent of industry. A further 20 per cent was owned by those capitalists who threw in their lot with Chiang Kai-shek and the Kuomintang. Their property was nationalised by the new revolutionary government. However the

remaining 38 per cent owned by national capitalists, that is, those who supported the revolution, was not. The profits remained in their hands too.

In 1952 the national capitalists accounted for a quarter of the industrial production. In 1956 these enterprises were converted into joint State-private enterprises. The former owners were guaranteed 5 per cent interest on the value of the capital for five to seven years. In 1962 this was extended another five years, and in 1967 for ten years and it is still being paid. Jung Yi-chen, for instance, receives interest payments of three million yuan a year.

The administration of these joint State-private enterprises is by the previous owners, with salaries several times the salaries of those doing the same job in public enterprises. Many capitalists are on the standing committees of the government and were not touched during the "cultural revolution." The capitalists have 260 representatives out of 1260 in the National People's Congress.

The Chinese capitalists in SE Asia are encouraged by guarantees of inviolability and interest rates to invest their money in People's China and are investing a hundred million dollars a year.

The journal *Swiss Review of World Affairs* reports that Chinese living abroad send nearly 500 million dollars a year back to relatives in China and much of this money finds its way into the Chinese treasury.

This situation has similarities to the State ownership of some main industries in capitalist societies and the payment of interest to bondholders. It suggests that the changeover from national liberation to socialism in the economic sphere has not been completed in China.

Furthermore the direction of China's trade with foreign countries shows a decided capitalist orientation.

In 1950, 74 per cent of trade was with capitalist countries, 50 per cent of which was with the major imperialists. Trade with the USSR was only 23 per cent.

In 1959, in a period when China was taking a socialist direction, trade with capitalist countries declined to 32 per cent, 23 per cent with major

imperialist countries. Trade with the socialist countries had increased to 68 per cent, 60 per cent with the USSR.

By 1967, however, a big swing had taken place. 80 per cent of trade was now with capitalist countries, 59 per cent of which was with imperialist countries and only 20 per cent with socialist states. Trade with the USSR had slumped to 7 per cent.

Hong Kong, the British colony on Chinese soil, is the source of one third to one half of Peking's foreign exchange earnings. Chinese government investments there are more than 1 1/2 billion dollars, in electronics, oil refining, ship and machine building jointly with British, American and Japanese monopolies. The Chinese leaders are prepared to use Hong Kong for capitalist profits, exploiting the workers there and to leave it as a British colony even after 1997 when the British lease expires.

In 1949 there were only about eight million workers in China out of a total population of approximately 500 million. Only 3 million of these were in production. There were few big factories and many of the workers were in workplaces with little or no machinery or power, in semi-patriarchal conditions.

By 1957 the numbers had trebled with nine million in production. Union organisation developed, and they combined in the All-China Federation of Trade Unions. In those years wages and living conditions improved, but wages and salaries did not change after 1958, although the price of food went up.

In 1962 bonuses were reduced and spread out more thinly. The supporters of bonuses were attacked for "counter-revolutionary economism," though the ACFU up to 1965, published statements by those who wanted the bonus system retained.

There were many workers under contract for particular jobs and with the collapse of the "great leap forward" many of those were out of work.

Workers under contract did not get social insurance benefits that applied to groups of other workers.

In 1965 monthly wages for skilled workers were only 60 to 65 yuan. The recent increases, the first in fifteen years were only 6 yuan a month for less than half the workers (one yuan is approximately 50 cents.)

In December 1966, the "Red Guards" broke up the All China Federation of Trade Unions and disbanded unions covering twenty million workers.

There is no labor legislation in China. The length of the working day can be varied by the management of its own free will. Workers cannot choose their trade or profession or change their place of work. There has recently been a renewal of activities of trade unions, but they are debarred from the settlement of any issue involved in the dismissal of factory and office workers.

The Chinese press has reported that penal, civil and procedural codes were drafted in 1962 but have not yet been approved.

## Peasant Poverty

More than three quarters of the population are peasants. Before 1949 landowners and kulaks owned 70 per cent to 80 per cent of the land, and charged the landless peasants and poor peasants exorbitant feudal rents of over half the peasant's crop.

The liberation gave land to over three hundred million peasants, who based their production on individual peasant farming, aided by producer co-operatives. The drive for collective farms began in 1955, and by 1956 nearly all peasant households were in producer co-operatives with a collective form of ownership.

In those years the peasants ate more and wore better clothed. Production of grain and potatoes rose 70 per cent to 185 million tons, cotton had a four fold rise to 1.6 million tons. Pigs, the main meat supply, more than doubled to 150 million head.

In 1958 the Maoists forced the peasants into large communes. The principle of material incentives came under attack. The move was premature, as shown by the splitting of the communes into production brigades, somewhat on the basis of the previous producer co-operatives. Agricultural production fell. The management has come more and more under the direct control of the state and the army.

Official figures from Jenmin jihao and Hungchi showed that within two years of the "great leap forward," that is by 1960, grain fell to 160 million tons, cotton to 1 million tons and pigs million tons, from 1970 to 1976 to 120 million head.

agricultural production grew per year by 1½ per cent, but this barely kept up with population growth.

In 1957 grain production averaged 286 kilograms per head; in 1976 it had fallen to 275 kilograms. Cotton production fell by the same proportion.

The gross output of the communes or the production brigade goes in several directions. The agricultural tax to the State takes 7 per cent to 12 per cent of the total. Production expenses vary according to the specialisation and technical level from 20 per cent to 30 per cent. The accumulation fund takes 5 per cent to 10 per cent; the welfare fund 1 per cent to 2 per cent. The distribution fund to the members of the commune or work team should have been over 50 per cent but the official figures showed it was only 40 per cent to 50 per cent.

Under the slogan "Prepare for war and natural calamities" the consumption funds have been cut. Peasant income has remained very low. Living standards of Chinese workers and peasants are suffering because of the huge military spending that is taking 40 per cent of the budget, nearly half of that for atomic weapons and rockets.

#### **Democratic Rights Swept Away**

The democratic rights of the people have steadily eroded. The National People's Congress was first elected in 1953, and in five sessions passed a number of major laws. People's representative assemblies were elected and in 1956 had 215,000 bodies with five and a half million elected deputies. In 1958 this dropped to 25,000. The numbers have grown since then but they have been deprived of any real power. In 1966 and 1967 there was not one session of a People's Congress in any province or autonomous region.

The second People's Congress was elected in 1959, and met four times but did not pass any major laws and in 1961 had no normal session. The third Congress elected in 1964 met for less than a fortnight to endorse the State plan and budget, but was not reconvened.

In 1967 "temporary" organs of power were set up in provinces, towns, peoples communes and industrial enterprises. The army leaders had the main responsibility of appointing the members of the revolutionary committees. The sole criterion of "revolutionaries" is "loyalty to the thoughts of Mao Tse Tung."

The directives to the revolutionary committee in Shansi Province were "to wrest power by the

end of March" and "to put into practice the principle of smashing the old State machine." This State machine was the Shansi People's Congress elected by the workers and peasants.

At the same time, in the "cultural revolution" the trade unions, youth and women's organisations were disbanded, and many basic Communist Party organisations were attacked and destroyed. Since 1967 the destruction of democracy in China has continued.

#### **Preparations for War**

The 11th Congress of the Communist Party of China was held in 1977, after all the internationalists and critics of Mao Tse Tung had been weeded out. It strengthened the State machine and the influence of the army to ensure "overall order." Army personnel now comprise 45 per cent of the CC, and fifteen of the 26 Politbureau members.

The Government and the Party leaders are campaigning for the "four modernisations." The journal *Hungchi* in October '78 showed the main purpose of the drive:

"We must prepare ourselves thoroughly before a war breaks out, and the best and most complete preparation is the accomplishment of the 'four modernisations.'"

The first aim is the modernisation of China's armed forces, while the modernisation of industry, agriculture, science and technology, so urgently needed to lift the standard of living of the Chinese people, is called on to meet the requirements of the build-up of the nuclear missile potential and of rearming ground, air and naval forces.

The widespread territorial claims of the Chinese leadership point to the war they are preparing; one of leadership, not of defence.

#### **How did all this come about?**

The answer to this question is deeply rooted in the whole history of China and the kind of society and the social forces at work in China at the time of the revolution.

Despite the fact that China has had a longer continuous history than any other nation, it remained relatively isolated and immune to the great advances in human thought and scientific development which profoundly influence almost every other country today. It is almost as though China had stood still for thousands of years based on a peasant economy with low technology and feudal relations dominating over all.

Her history is marked off by successive feudal emperors, the last of which fell only in 1911. Contrary to popular belief the emperors and warlords engaged in frequent aggression and wars of domination. For example, the territory now known as Vietnam, has been invaded many times by Chinese forces and suffered centuries of occupation.

The spread of European imperialism brought China suffering, war, occupation and savage exploitation. The struggle against the foreign imperialists brought into existence a national liberation movement which was finally victorious with the proclamation of the People's Republic of China in 1949. However in the course of this struggle and together with the strong Sino-centrist tendencies which were inherited from her long past, a strong nationalism developed. It was a nationalism which regarded itself as superior to all others.

It was the kind of nationalism which led Deng Xiaoping to arrogantly declare and assume the right to "teach the Vietnamese a lesson."

It is the kind of nationalism which has led the Chinese government to make territorial demands on no less than 17 of her neighbours.

Another important factor was the relative smallness of the Chinese working class and the preponderance of the peasantry, a petty-bourgeois class. But even this would have been overcome had the leadership of the Communist Party of China, and Mao Tse-tung in particular, upheld Marxism-Leninism.

The CPC was formed in July 1921 under the influence of the October socialist revolution in Russia. The CPC was based on Marxism-Leninism and stood for the principle of working class leadership of the peasantry.

The Party was strongly connected with the working class and played a significant role in the working class struggles of the twenties, struggles which reached a high level in 1927, particularly in South China. In December 1927, the Canton commune was established, the first example of the dictatorship of the proletariat on Chinese soil. In that year the CPC had 58,000 members, more than 50 per cent of whom were industrial workers. Only 19 per cent were peasants.

The Communist International (Comintern) in which the Communist Party of the Soviet Union played a significant part, was extremely helpful to the CPC. The Comintern, pointed to the possibility of the bourgeois democratic revolution

which had been victorious under the leadership of Dr Sun Yat Sen going over to a socialist revolution. The Comintern proposed unity between the Kuomintang and the CPC. Dr Sun Yat Sen stood for an alliance between China and the Soviet Union and co-operation with the Communist Party of China. However, after Dr Sun Yat Sen died and Chiang Kai-shek became leader of the Kuomintang these policies were reversed and savage attacks were launched against the CPC.

When the workers' movement was suppressed in 1927, the CPC lost many members killed and the revolutionary forces had to retreat from the big cities. This did not mean, however, that the Marxist-Leninist theory of working class leadership of the revolution lost its significance. One of the main reasons for the proletariat's defeat in South and Central China was its isolation from the peasant movement which had entered the democratic revolution late, although a strong movement of peasants developed later, inspired by the working class struggle. (Mao was in charge of a peasant army at the time of the Canton commune but refused to go to the assistance of the commune).

After the defeat of the workers and the isolation of the Party from the industrial centres, many peasants joined the Party. The recruitment of industrial workers practically stopped. This provided the social base for Mao's ideas in the Party.

As early as 1927, Mao, in a report entitled *Study of the Peasant movement in Hunan Province*, idealised the peasants and, in fact, made no mention of the working class. In his article *The Chinese revolution and the Chinese Communist Party* written in 1939, Mao openly denied the working class leadership of the revolution and named the peasantry as the decisive force.

The Comintern in the 20s and 30s emphasised the importance of the peasant struggle but in alliance with the working class. The Comintern correctly maintained that it was necessary to continue the work among the working class in the cities but also, to build up the revolutionary movement in the rural areas.

Mao has been presented as a creative developer of Marxism putting forward the idea of the village marching on the city to bring about a revolution. Although the Chinese revolution was eventually successful as a result of long struggles inside China and the favourable circumstances created by the defeat of fascism in Europe and by the Japanese militarists in Asia, the ultimate disastrous consequences of petty-bourgeois leadership of the

revolutionary movement and of the Communist Party are now fully revealed.

It is necessary to pause a moment and give some characterisation of the petty-bourgeoisie, the small producers and businessmen to be found in society. In China this class was mainly represented by the peasantry which comprised 90 per cent of the population in 1949.

The petty bourgeoisie is that class which stands half way between the working class and the capitalist class. On the one hand it is exploited by the big monopoly producer and is constantly driven back into the ranks of the working class where the exploitation by the capitalist continues. It therefore opposes and struggles against the big capitalist. On the other hand the petty capitalist continues to aspire to be himself a big capitalist. His outlook is basically a capitalist one. Someday he hopes to liberate himself, not through the general struggle to end all exploitation, but by climbing the capitalist ladder.

Lenin said that the small production of the petty-bourgeoisie "engenders capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously and on a mass scale..." (Selected Works Vol 10 p.60). He said that the petty-bourgeoisie was noted for its wavering.... "This wavering flows in two 'streams': petty bourgeois reformism, i.e., servility to the bourgeoisie, covered by a cloak of sentimental democratic and 'social' democratic phrases and fatuous wishes; and petty bourgeois revolutionism — menacing, blustering and boastful in words, but a mere bubble of disunity, disruption and bralessness in deeds." (Lenin Collected Works Vol 33 p. 21).

#### The ideology and politics of Mao Tse Tung

The ideology and politics expressed through Mao Tse Tung and his supporters and followers have influenced this disastrous change.

Within the Communist Party of China there has been a continuous struggle between Marxism-Leninism on the one hand and nationalist, reformist and "left" revolutionary ideas consolidated into the "thoughts of Mao Tse-Tung" on the other and has been fought out on many issues of theory and practice.

The 7th Congress of the CPC held in May '45 decided that the Party was "to be guided in all its activities by the thought of Mao Tse-tung." The 8th Congress in 1956 laid down in the Rules that "in all its activity the Communist Party of China shall be guided by Marxism-Leninism."

The 9th Congress in 1969 reversed this decision to make the "thought of Mao Tse-Tung" the Party's ideological base, but it had been applied in practice well before that time, to some extent even in 1957-58.

#### Conditions of formation

The conditions of the formation and development of the Communist Party of China influenced the history and the present outcome of this struggle between Marxism-Leninism and Maoism. The Communist Party of China was formed when the people, 90 per cent peasantry, were waging a bourgeois-democratic and national liberation struggle. The example of the October Socialist Revolution in Russia inspired the revolutionary movement in China, and was strengthened by the assistance the Soviet Union gave to the Communist Party of China and the Chinese national liberation struggle.

The Chinese proletariat was very small and weak as a class. The socialist concepts in China were mainly of a social utopia, of a perfect society, with peasant ideas of social justice. At that time there was very little Marxist-Leninist literature translated into Chinese, and Mao who did not know any foreign language, could not study the Marxist classics. The Communist Party of China largely came from the peasantry and the petty-bourgeoisie and the numerous handicraftsmen and artisans. Mao himself admitted that recruits to the Party were "often liberals, reformists, anarchists, Blanquists, etc." *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung Vol 4 p. 212*

#### Tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution

The slogans and concepts of that part of Marxism-Leninism that applied to the tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution and national liberation struggle were used by Mao and his supporters without any deep understanding of Marxism-Leninism. The ideological political and organisational issues before 1949 did not sharply raise the fundamental differences between Marxism-Leninism and Maoism as they did later. Nevertheless, there were basic differences on the strategy and tactics and the most important forces in the carrying out of the bourgeois-democratic and national liberation revolution.

Mao wrote. "It is the merchants who have to take upon themselves the more vital and important part of this work for the sake of the national revolution rather than the rest of the people" (*Hsiangtao No 31/32 July 11, 1923, p. 233*). And again in 1940, "The Chinese revolution is actually a peasant revolution, the peasantry

constitutes the main force of the Chinese revolution."

#### Village liberates cities

Mao formulated the strategy of the revolution for the village (the peasantry) to liberate the cities (the proletariat). With the slogan "Political power grows out the barrel of a gun," (*Quotations from Mao Tse-tung p. 61*) Mao set

Mao set out to make the guerrilla Red Army of the village and the revolutionary base in the rural areas the only vehicle of the revolutionary struggle. Political struggle on a nationwide scale was replaced by military operations of the armed forces. Mao summed up: "The seizure of power by armed force, the settlement of the issue by war is the central task and the highest form of revolution. This Marxist-Leninist principle of revolution holds good universally." (*Quotations from Mao Tse-tung p 61/62*).

In 1964 this idea was even more clearly stated: "Marxists openly declare the inevitability of violent revolution...the mid-wife without which no socialist society is born...the universal law of proletarian revolution." (*Jenmin jihpao March 31, 1964*)

In some statements he took a different stand, but Mao's leadership of the revolution, in practice, was based on these ideas.

Actually, the Chinese revolution of 1924-27 was begun and carried out by the Chinese working class in the cities, but with its defeat in 1927 and the decimation of the cadre force dropped from 300,000 to 40,000 retreated into the countryside where it merged and led the growing peasant revolt against feudalism. The policy of Mao, of non-reliance on the leadership of the working class, as well as the difficulty of contact, led to the practical cessation of party work and organisation in the cities.

Lenin always insisted that the Party had to be based on the working class, as the only true revolutionary force. He wrote:

"There is no doubt that without this, without revolutionary violence, the proletariat would not have triumphed. Nor can there be any doubt that revolutionary violence was a necessary and legitimate weapon of the revolution only at definite stages of its development, only under definite and special conditions, and that a far more profound and permanent feature of this revolution and condition of its victory was, and remains, the

organisation of working people. And it is this organisation of millions of working people that constitutes the best stimulant for the revolution, its deepest source of victory." (*Lenin Selected Works Vol 29 pp 89/90*).

#### Nationalist outlook

Mao, relying on the peasantry and armed struggle, the downgrading of political work, went no further in his thinking in the whole revolutionary movement than the bourgeois-democratic revolution and the national liberation struggle. This put the national issues in the foreground. It played a progressive role when it was connected with the Chinese people's traditions of struggle against the Manchu aristocracy and the feudal lords, in their struggle against the imperialist powers and the war of liberation against Japanese imperialism.

Mao also drew on Great-Han chauvinism which aspired to return China to its former position in ancient times when China was the leading country in the Far East, the cultural leader of the neighbouring "barbarians." This chauvinism saw the role of China as the "liberator of the barbarians."

The Maoists, in basing themselves on the nationalist line, did not fight against its chauvinist aspect. Indeed, they silently, though not openly, supported it. For them, the winning of power in 1949 was the completion of the tasks of the national revolution and they saw further tasks in the light of nationalism. For them, proletarian internationalism has been buried.

In 1961, Mao, in discussion with a Japanese delegation told them they were of the same race and had a common written language: "We share the same destiny, which is why we are united. We must gather...together in a unity the people of the whole of Asia, Africa, and Latin American and the whole world."

#### Export of revolution

The 9th Congress of the Communist Party of China in 1969 put in the rules the task of "emancipating the whole of mankind" when "socialism (was moving) towards victory all over the world." But the socialism Mao and his followers accepted was their own national kind, so that the call was for Great-Han domination of the whole of the world, to be carried out by a violent and "revolutionary" war. It comes back to the export of revolution proposed by Trotsky but opposed

by Lenin and the Bolshevik Party. The ten thousand Chinese soldiers and advisers leading the Pol Pot attacks on Vietnam and then the invasion of Vietnam in February '79, is the logical application of Great-Han chauvinism of the Maoist leadership.

#### Opposing peaceful co-existence

Maoist leaders put forward the doctrine of the two super-powers, the USA and the Soviet Union, struggling for the division of the world. They see China "towering over the East as a giant" in the role of uniting small and weak states to confront these superpowers. (Strauss, leader of the West German neo-Nazis put forward this doctrine two years before the Chinese.)

The main purpose of this doctrine is to promote atomic war between the USA and the Soviet Union at the expense of hundreds of millions (as coldly forecast by Mao in 1957) with China then in the position to "liberate the world."

For this reason Chinese leaders oppose peaceful co-existence between the socialist and capitalist states.

The Maoists gave their reasons saying "it meets the needs of imperialism and plays into the hands of imperialist policy of aggression and war." In fact there has been a longer period without war in Europe than for many years previously and the imperialist states are finding it increasingly difficult to intervene against national liberation movements. The USA has been forced to sign a second agreement on the limitation of strategy arms with the Soviet Union.

#### Economic problems

More than 80 per cent of the population lived in the country-side. An overall state market had not been developed. There was a semi-natural economy, with commodity production only partially developed, with a very low technical level and extremely low labor productivity. This functioned satisfactorily in the large liberated areas, but with the need to move to the planned development of socialist production, this greatly increased the problems, particularly as there was no stable source of capital accumulation.

Mao regarded the semi-natural character of the agricultural economy as an advantage to be preserved. Markets, commodities, money, value and price were condemned as symbols of "accursed capitalism."

The 8th Congress of the CPC in 1956 recognised that the principal contradiction in China was "between the advanced social system and the backward productive forces," and set out to develop the productive forces in a planned and realistic way, for gradual advance over fifteen years.

But in 1957-58 the Maoists re-established their leadership of the CPC and in mid-'58 Mao announced that socialism had been built and started the Great Leap Forward into Communism, to be completed within three years.

They stepped up the collectivisation of agriculture without being able to provide the necessary technical equipment. In 1957 peasants' house and garden plots that provided a quarter of their income were confiscated, but had to be returned in 1960 following the failure of the Great Leap Forward.

In Mao's opinion "The changeover from individual to socialist collective ownership, and from capitalist to socialist ownership in private industry and commerce is bound to bring about a tremendous liberation of the productive forces." (Quotations from Mao Tse-tung p. 26). He declared the urge for higher wages and better living conditions to be expressions of an unhealthy style and of bourgeois mentality, claiming that workers and peasants had to be induced to do better by means of ideological influence and administrative pressure. Mao neglected the improvement of society's material and technical base. He ignored Lenin who said: "Without highly developed large-scale industry, socialism is impossible anywhere; still less is it possible in a peasant country." (*Lenin Collected Works* Vol. 32 p. 408).

The realistic and central planning of production and the whole economy has been shown in practice to be essential for the development of socialist economy.

Mao, however, in 1957 said, "Grain is the only item that needs to be planned centrally — other items will be determined by local social organisations or the masses themselves."

This lack of leadership and planning resulted in the disastrous fall in production in the Great Leap Forward. In 1957 average peasant consumption of grain and potatoes was 229 kilos a year; in 1966 it was down to 200 kilos. The 9th Congress, despite this obvious failure, reiterated that "production may be stimulated by a revolution in the super-structure."

#### The dictatorship of the proletariat

Mao wrote: "Revolutionary dictatorship and counter-revolutionary dictatorship are opposite in character, but the first emerges as a result of a study of the second. If a revolutionary people has not studied the method of supremacy over counter-revolutionary classes, it cannot retain power, its power will be overthrown by the forces of internal and external reaction."

Lenin wrote: "The dictatorship of the proletariat is not only the use of force against the exploiters, and not even mainly the use of force. The economic foundation of this use of revolutionary force, the guarantee of its effectiveness and success is the fact that the proletariat represents and creates a higher type of social organisation of labour compared with capitalism. This is what is important, this is the source of its strength and the guarantee that the final triumph of communism is inevitable." (*Lenin Selected Works* Vol 9 p. 431).

Mao ignored the constructive tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the state of the working people, that as the suppression of the class enemy is carried through, the main creative function of the dictatorship, the creation of a new socialist society, receives increasingly full attention and development.

Mao's concept of the state and class dictatorship is limited to armed force. He wrote: "Our principle task is to strengthen the state machine of the people — what is primarily envisaged here is the people's army, the people's police and the people's courts." (*Quotations from Mao Tse-tung* p. 37).

The 9th Congress of the CPC in 1969 declared: "The People's Liberation Army is the mainstay of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Mao Tse-Tung has repeatedly said that from the Marxist standpoint the army is the main component part of the state." (*Hsinhua Press Release* April 27, 1969).

#### Who is the enemy?

Lenin always said that the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie was an antagonistic one, that the bourgeoisie, as a class, was the enemy the dictatorship of the proletariat had to suppress.

Mao in his article *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions among the People* wrote: "The con-

traditions between ourselves and our enemies are antagonistic ones. Within the ranks of the people, contradictions among the working people are non-antagonistic, while those between the exploiters and the exploited classes have, apart from their antagonistic aspect, a non-antagonistic aspect... In our country, the contradiction between the working class and the national bourgeoisie is a contradiction among the people. The class struggle waged between the two is by and large, a class struggle within the ranks of the people. This is because of the dual character of the national bourgeoisie in our country."

He therefore claims that the contradictions between the working class and the big national bourgeoisie in China is non-antagonistic (the reservations are immaterial). But the vital interests of the working class and the national bourgeoisie of China are irreconcilable, because the bourgeoisie do not want socialism on any terms.

Mao defines the people and its enemies: "At this stage of building socialism, all classes, strata and social groups which approve, support and work for the cause of socialist construction belong to the category of the people, while those social forces and groups which resist the socialist revolution and are hostile and try to wreck socialist construction are enemies of the people." (*Quotations from Mao Tse-tung* pp. 45/46).

The judgement of who opposes socialist construction is in the hands of the Maoists, so that any opponent to any activities of the Maoist leadership are "enemies of the people."

The newspaper *Chungkuo chinnew pao* (June 23, 1966), wrote: "Those who oppose the thought of Mao Tse-tung are counter-revolutionaries."

Enemies were deemed not to have any rights and are subject to suppression and there are no constitutional, democratic legal norms. "Mao Tse-tung's precepts are the supreme law."

In 1965, in the "campaign of socialist education" the politico-legal organisation had the following instructions: "All the purely juridical precautions and superfluous ceremonies, which bind the masses and do not correspond to the revolutionary struggle, and do not correspond to the slightest regret, must be discarded without the slightest regret. It should be clearly understood that all the necessary normative regulations and procedural rules are designed to help to fight the enemy and not to

letter ourselves. We must apply the revolutionary standpoint of the class struggle, and not take a metaphysical view of various legal statuses." (*Chengta yanchiw No 1 1965*).

In August '66 the CC of the CPC released "revolutionary" students from any criminal and administrative punishment for any crimes committed in the course of the "revolution."

### **China and imperialism**

The Maoist ambitions to retore the "greatness" of China by expanding her borders to cover all those territories occupied at any time by Chinese emperors or warlords has led China into alliance with American imperialism and the most reactionary circles in every capitalist country.

Mao's connections with US imperialism go back a long way. Alan Whiting, a former US State Department employee, testified before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on June 28, 1971, that Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai informed President Roosevelt through secret channels in January 1945 that they would be willing to go to Washington for talks.

Whiting said that in March 1945, Mao Tse-tung formulated his plans for the development of Sino-American relations. In the plan, Mao said that America and China supplement each other economically. America needs a market for the output of its heavy industry and it needs opportunities for capital investment. China has raw materials and farm produce to pay for foreign trade and to cover the outlays connected with capital investments.

After the establishment of the People's Republic of China, Chinese and US Ambassadors held regular meetings in Geneva in 1955 and later this series of meetings was switched to Warsaw.

### **Maoism and the future**

While the economic, social and political background of each country and the action of the masses of the people are the main determinants of historical development the leadership and personality of individuals may also have considerable influence. This is certainly the case in China under Mao.

Mao Tse-tung came from a well-to-do peasant family and absorbed the environment and ideology of the small property owner which was so much

a part of backward, semi-feudal China. He was influenced by the great power ideas which had been cultivated by the emperors of China and remain an influence today.

In 1936, Mao Tse-tung told Edgar Snow, the famous American writer, that at the time he finished teacher training school in Changsha in 1918, his mind was a mixture of "liberalism, democratic reformism and utopian socialism." Mao said he had read pamphlets on anarchism and had been impressed by them. Besides corresponding with anarchists, Mao had considered organising an anarchist society. Mao told Snow he had changed his ideological views seven times, progressing from Buddhism, through monarchism to socialism.

Mao was not closely connected with the working class movement. After joining the CPC in 1921 his contacts were limited to bourgeois intellectuals and the petty bourgeois environment. However, at that time, his close ties with bourgeois politicians exerted such an influence on him that he was removed from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.

As very few of the classics of Marxism had been translated into Chinese, he had little to do with communist literature except through popular pamphlets on philosophy and political economy by Chinese authors, publications which were quite inadequate and contained many mistakes.

However, the petty-bourgeois environment not only affected Mao as an individual, it also affected the masses and the party. As a result of the conditions in which the Chinese party worked, and the deliberate policies of the petty-bourgeois nationalists, there was a domination of small property owning elements in the CPC. We have already mentioned that in 1921 the membership of the CPC comprised 50 per cent workers. Official Chinese figures showed that in 1956 industrial workers then constituted only 14 per cent of the membership while peasants comprised 69 per cent.

Even with this influx of small property owners into the party, the proletarian character of the party could have been preserved if the leadership had remained loyal to Marxism-Leninism and internationalism, but Marxism had been effectively replaced by the "Thoughts of Mao."

There is no doubt that the progressive and revolutionary China of the fifties has disastously changed direction. In international relations it has

lined up with the most reactionary aims and actions of imperialism. Internally, the basic interests of workers and peasants have been betrayed.

Many of the workers and peasants have expected more from liberation and the promise of socialism. They have rebelled against the Chinese leadership which has become a bureaucratic-military dictatorship.

Wang Ming, a veteran leader of the Communist Party of China, a member of the political secretariat of the Comintern Executive, in a pamphlet written in 1969 *China — Cultural Revolution or Counter-Revolutionary Coup?* gave some details of the opposition to the cultural revolution of '66-67.

"At the close of 1967 he, (Mao Tse-tung) sent paratroops and warships to strike at the garrison of the Wuhan Military District and to take bloody retribution against the working people of Wuhan. He followed this up by sending the 40th and 47th Armies and another five divisions against the revolutionary workers and revolutionary

military units in Canton, causing enormous bloodshed among the revolutionary masses with such heavy weapons as artillery and tanks."

In April 76, a huge demonstration of a hundred thousand in Peking, was followed by nation wide demonstrations of millions. In early '77 martial law was proclaimed in seventeen provinces, including, Fukien, Hopeh, Hunan, Shansi and Honan with fierce fighting in Wuhan and civil war in Szechwan.

The *Strait Times* of February '79, reported that five thousand young people refusing to go back to the countryside took over Shanghai railway station and halted all rail traffic.

While the attack on Vietnam was in progress, all demonstrations, meetings and posters on the Vietnam situation were banned, but despite this many Chinese showed their opposition to the war.

The Chinese people will have the last say.



Tens of thousands of people living in the border provinces of Vietnam were forced to flee south to escape Chinese artillery and advancing tanks and troops. This photo shows Meo people from Muong Khuong district in Hong Lien Son province fleeing from the invading forces.

Photo: Vietnam News Agency  
by courtesy Australia-Vietnam Society



The victims...  
and a defender



American prisoner...

In their David and Goliath contests the heroic Vietnamese people defeated the technically superior US invaders .... the same fate awaits the numerically superior Chinese aggressors.



Chinese prisoners...

Photo: Vietnam News Agency  
by courtesy Australia-Vietnam Society

# Memorandum on Chinese provocations and territorial encroachments upon Vietnamese territory

Published by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam on March 15, 1979.  
(Slightly abridged).

Nearly 100 years ago, the French Government and the Chinese Tsing Dynasty signed the 1887 and 1895 conventions to solve the frontier question between Viet Nam and China, officially recognizing in the main, the existing border. The delimitation of the borderline was carried out jointly by the two parties section by section from January 1886 to March 1887. On June 26, 1887, the two Governments signed a border-delineating convention in Peking.

The planting of border-stones was carried out from early 1890 to June 1897. A system of over 310 border-stones concretized the borderline on the terrain. Generally speaking these border-stones still exist now.

Thus, the whole border-line between Viet Nam and China on land and in the Bac Bo Gulf has been clearly delineated in the conventions signed in 1887 and 1895 between the French Government and the Tsing Dynasty and officially marked out (on land). This is a complete border-line both on land and in the Bac Bo Gulf, having a historical position in the age-old political life of the two nations, a solid international legal value and all practical elements for recognition on the terrain.

In November 1957, the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party (Now the Communist Party of Viet Nam - Ed) proposed to the Chinese side that the two sides maintain the status-quo on the border-line left by history; the national border question, in view of its importance, should be settled in accordance with the existing or reaffirmed legal principles and decisions should be made by the two Governments; all eventual border or territorial disputes should be settled through negotiations.

In April 1958, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China answered that it agreed to the Vietnamese proposal.

The aforesaid agreement between the two parties has a great significance, in principle and in practice, not only for the settlement of border and territorial differences, but also for the building of a border-line of lasting friendship between the two countries. This is the sincere thinking and real desire of the Party, Government, and people of Viet Nam. That is why the Vietnamese side has always strictly honoured the agreement between the Central Committee of the two parties.

The Chinese attitude is, however, just the reverse. The Chinese side has violated this agreement more and more seriously and failed to respect the principle of maintaining the status-quo on the border-line left by history. It has encroached since 1949 on Vietnamese territory in other places along the whole border-line between Viet Nam and China.

In the past quarter-century, the Chinese authorities carried out encroachments on one area after another of Vietnamese territory, from smaller to larger ones, from militarily important to economically important ones. They resorted to every trick, including odious ones, that had not been used even by China's previous reactionary regimes.

Hereunder are a number of main tricks:

## 1. From encroachment for cultivation and settlement purposes to land grabbing

Turning to account the special feature that in many places, the two countries have continuous mountains and are watered by the same rivers, and that the inhabitants on the two sides of the

border-line are linked by bonds of parenthood and nationality, the Chinese side sent Chinese to cultivate lands in Vietnamese territory and settled them on the spot, and then the Chinese authorities arrogantly considered these areas to belong to the Chinese territory.

The Trinh Tuong area in Quang Ninh province constitutes a typical example of this type of encroachment. This area has been clearly determined by documents, maps and border-stones to belong to the Vietnamese territory. This historical border-line which passes here through a range of high mountains clearly indicates that Trinh Tuong village and the surrounding area belong to the Vietnamese territory. In practice, for generation after generation, the Trinh Tuong inhabitants and the Chinese who came and practiced cultivation in Trinh Tuong paid taxes to the Vietnamese authorities. But since 1956, the Chinese side has tried to extend control over the Chinese who had been earning their living in Trinh Tuong by supplying them with ration-card to purchase sugar, cloth and other commodities, and enlisting them into Tung San commune, of Kwangsi province. Thus the Chinese authorities overtly shifted a Vietnamese territory 6km in length 1.3 km in width into the collective ownership of a Chinese commune, and turned it into a Chinese territory. Then they drove away the Vietnamese inhabitants who for many generations had been earning their living in Trinh Tuong. They set up telephone lines, arrogated to themselves the right to patrol the area, and unilaterally shifted the border-line to Vietnamese Khau Thuc hill. Subsequently, they indulged in beating and kidnapping of members of Viet Nam's armed security forces patrolling along the historical border-line, and destroyed crops of the local population. Trinh Tuong is not an isolated case. Over 40 other places have been encroached upon by the Chinese side with similar tricks.

It can be said that this is a silent type of landgrabbing.

## 2. Turning to account the construction of friendship projects to remove the border-line deep into the Vietnamese territory

In 1955, in the Friendship Gate area, when helping Viet Nam restore the railroad from the Viet Nam - China border to Yen Vien near Hanoi, the Chinese side abusing Viet Nam's trust, laid the junction of the Viet Nam - China railways over 300 metres deep inside Vietnamese

territory as compared with the historical border-line and it came to consider this railway-junction to be a point on the border-line between the two countries. On December 31, 1974, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam proposed that the two Governments instruct the two railway services to readjust the railway junction in conformity with the historical border-line, but the Chinese side flatly refused by promising examination of this question when the whole border problem would be discussed by the two sides. Up to now, it has still brazenly contended that this area with the 300 metres of railroad was Chinese territory, claiming that "there cannot be a railroad of one country on the territory of another."

Also in this area, the Chinese side wrecked border stone No. 18 on the national highway, 100 metres away from the Nam Quan gate in order to remove all traces of the historical border-line, and planted the zero-kilometre milestone over 100 metres inside Vietnamese territory, considering this a point on the national border-line between the two countries.

Thus the Chinese side has encroached on a whole area stretching from the railway to the highway in Bao Lam village, Van Lang district, Lang Son province, grabbing 3.1 km long and situated half a kilometer deep inside Vietnamese territory.

In 1975, in the area of border stone No. 23 (Bao Lam village) a similar attempt was made in the course of the joint laying of a pipe-line across the border. The Vietnamese side proposed that the junction of the pipe-line be located right on the border-line, which was rejected by the Chinese side. The project was therefore left unfinished.

In the construction of bridges across border water courses, the Chinese side drew up engineering projects so as to shift the current towards the Vietnamese side, and ensure for China an advantageous border-line.

The Hoanh Mo fording in Quang Ninh province was built in 1968 with Chinese aid. Over a long period after its completion the border-line along the medial line of the river was honoured by both sides spare building materials for repair work was stored on either side in equal quantities as calculated on the basis to the border-line running along the medial line of the river. But as China with ulterior motives had built only one water culvert

close to the Vietnamese bank, the current shifted its course totally towards the Vietnamese side; then the Chinese side moved the border-line on the fording further toward Vietnamese territory. This trick was also used with regard to the Po Hen forcing (Quang Ninh), the Ai Canh dam (Cao Bang), the Ba Nam Cum bridge (Lai Chau)...

### **3. Unilateral construction of works at the border encroaching on Vietnamese territory**

Both at portions of the border on continuous ground and at those running along water courses, the Chinese side has undertaken its own construction works with a view to gradually encroaching on Vietnamese territory.

In the vicinity of border stone No. 53 (Dam Thuy village, Cao Bang province), the Ban Gioc Fall on the Quy Thuan river has long been Vietnamese, and the Peking authorities have also recognized this fact. On February 29, 1976, the Chinese side mobilized over 2,000 people, including members of their armed forces, to establish a dense defence ring round the whole area of the Ban Gioc Fall on Vietnamese territory, and sent Chinese workers there to hastily build a solid concrete Dam across the border river. With this fait accompli, it encroached on Vietnamese territory on the river and at Con Po Thoong and then cynically claimed that this islet belongs to China.

The township of Ai Diem (opposite Chi Ma, Lang Son) and Pinh Meng (opposite Soc Giang, Cao Bang) situated close to the border stones Nos. 43 and 114, have been expanded by the Chinese side by encroaching on Vietnamese territory from tens to hundreds of metres with houses, schools and streets...

By establishing forest exploitation sites, afforestation work, and setting fire-belts, high voltage electric lines, telephone lines encroaching on Vietnamese territory, China has turned many other areas of Vietnamese territory into Chinese ones.

### **4. Borrowing Vietnamese territory and then turning into Chinese**

In a number of areas, complex topographical features cause difficulties to the Chinese population; at the request of the Chinese side, Viet Nam has lent China highways, water points, pasturing lands, firewood sites, grave-yards.

However, abusing this good-will of Viet Nam, the Chinese side has gradually come to regard these borrowed lands as Chinese. The Phia Un area (border stones Nos. 94, 95) in Cao Bang province, is a typical example of this type of encroachment. At first the Chinese side borrowed a trail which was later expanded into a motor road leading to Chinese mines, electric wire was fitted, the population grew up and new villages were established. Basing itself on this fact the Chinese side has come since 1956 to deny that the historical border-line runs over the top of the Phia Un mountain, but instead claimed that the border-line runs quite a distance south of the above-mentioned trail, over 500 metres inside Vietnamese territory. It argued that "were it not Chinese territory, how could they have built a motor-road and established a telephone line," etc... The main reason for its encroachment lies in the existence of a manganese deposit in Phia Un area.

### **5. Removal and legal distortion of national border stones to change the border-line**

In addition to illegal occupation of Vietnamese territory under cover of the shifting at an earlier stage of border stones at variance with the principle of maintaining the status-quo of the historical border-line, the Chinese side has also shifted, on its own, border stones at various places. Further, it has secretly destroyed or taken away those border stones which are unfavourable to them such as in Chi Ma (Lang Son) and at the border stone No. 136 in Cao Bang province... In such cases, it has turned down all Vietnamese proposals for joint investigation to establish records of the facts.

### **6. Building border roads to encroach on Vietnamese territory**

To prepare for aggressive attacks against Viet Nam, the Chinese side has carried out for many years on end, a big plan of building border roads, allegedly for the purpose of "mechanizing agriculture." Especially since 1974, it has undertaken massive projects of road building. In some places 8,000 people were mobilized at a time for this job. While building these roads, they destroyed vestiges of the historical border-line and in many places they have encroached upon Vietnamese territory. From October 1976 to 1977 alone, they encroached into Vietnamese territory at dozens of points,

some with an area of over 32 hectares, one kilometre deep inside Vietnamese territory.

### **7. To draw wrong border-lines on maps printed for Viet Nam**

In 1955-1956, Viet Nam requested China's aid for the reprinting of maps of Viet Nam. Abusing Viet Nam's trust the Chinese side drew some portions of the border-line further towards the Vietnamese side, thus turning Vietnamese into Chinese territories. For instance, it changed the drawing in the area of the Ban Gioc Fall (border stone No. 53) which it wanted to occupy in parts along with Con Po Thoong (Cao Bang province).

### **8. Resorting to threats of armed force and stationing troops to occupy land**

In some important areas, the Chinese side has openly used armed forces for encroachment purposes. In Tra Man - Suoi Lung area (border stones Nos. 136-137), Bac Lac district, Cao Bang province, China in 1953 sent a number of Chinese families to settle on Vietnamese territory and stay there with Vietnamese people. Later on, it continued sending out more people, thus establishing three hamlets (with 16 households and 100 persons) called Si Lung after the name of a nearby Chinese village. However, up to 1957, the Chinese side still recognized this area to be Vietnamese. From 1957 onwards it built schools, installed a loud-speaker network, exploited graphite, then brazenly hoisted flags as a sign of Chinese territorial sovereignty. In June 1976, Chinese armed forces were impudently sent in to suppress the struggle of the people and to obstruct Viet Nam's patrolling activities in the area, occupying a Vietnamese area of over 3.2 km and possessing a graphite deposit.

A similar situation occurred in the area between border stones Nos. 2-3 in Nam Chay village, Hoang Lien Son province. In 1967-1968, a number of Meo families from Ma Kwan district, Yunnan province (China) came to settle down here. The Vietnamese side requested the Chinese side to take these people back to China, but the Chinese side turned a deaf ear, and further increased the number of households to 36 comprising 152 persons. It levied taxes and supplied the people with ration cards for the purchase of cloth. This Meo hamlet was called "Sin Sai Thang". This Meo hamlet was called "Sin Sai Thang" 3 km from the area, on the other side of the border. In spite of repeated protests from the Vietnamese

side the Chinese side failed to take these people home. Instead, Chinese armed forces were sent in early in 1976 to occupy the area. The Chinese side has now established telephone lines, installed loudspeakers, built schools, and set up production teams, regarding the area as a Chinese territory.

### **9. Occupying the Hoang Sa islands (Parcels) of Viet Nam**

The Hoang Sa islands (Chinese name: Si Sha) is about 120 miles East of Da Nang. The Vietnamese side possesses documents fully showing that both these islands and the Truong Sa islands (Spratly Islands) further to the South are Vietnamese territory. The Vietnamese people have, for a long time now, discovered and exploited the Hoang Sa islands, over which the Nguyen Dynasty officially exercised Viet Nam's sovereignty. After establishing its protectorate over Viet Nam in the middle of the 19th century, France, in the name of Viet Nam, set up on the islands two administrative units and one weather station which has supplied the world Meteorological Organisation with data on a continuing basis over the past decades under the code name of Hoang Sa (Pattle). Viet Nam has always exercised sovereignty over these islands. This is clear and undeniable.

However, after the US withdrawal from Viet Nam under the Provisions of the January 27, 1973 Paris Agreements, and at a moment when the Vietnamese people were stepping up their struggle for the liberation of South Viet Nam and the puppet regime in South Viet Nam was about to collapse, the Chinese authorities brazenly used armed force to occupy the Hoang Sa islands.

The way they occupied the Hoang Sa islands was the same as the way they had used to encroach on the territory of neighbouring countries. This was an odious betrayal in view of their boasts of being "a reliable rear area of the fraternal Vietnamese people." Following is an account of the event:

On December 26, 1973, the Foreign Ministry of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam informed the Government of the People's Republic of China of Viet Nam's intention to prospect for oil in the Bac Bo Gulf, and proposed negotiations to be started in order to officially delimitate the border between the two countries in the Bac Bo Gulf.

On January 11, 1974, the spokesman of the Chinese Foreign Ministry stated that the Tay Sa (Hoang Sa) and Nam Sa islands (Truong Sa) were Chinese territory, and that China would not tolerate any encroachment on its sovereignty and territory.

On January 18, 1974, an answer came from the Chinese Government, saying in substance that it agreed to the proposed negotiations regarding the Bac Bo Gulf, but did not agree to the involvement of any third country in the exploration and exploitation of the Gulf. In fact, it wanted to prevent Viet Nam from cooperating with Japan, France, and Italy in the exploration and exploitation of the Vietnamese continental shelf in the Bac Bo Gulf.

On January 10, 1974, mobilising great naval and air forces, China attacked the Saigon administration's troops stationed on the Hoang Sa islands. This aggressive military operation was dubbed "a counter-offensive in self-defence."

Prior to 1973, the Chinese side has made encroachments and provocations in many places on the Viet Nam — China border. Since its occupation of the Hoang Sa islands, border incidents and land encroachments provoked by the Chinese side against Viet Nam have been increasing in number:

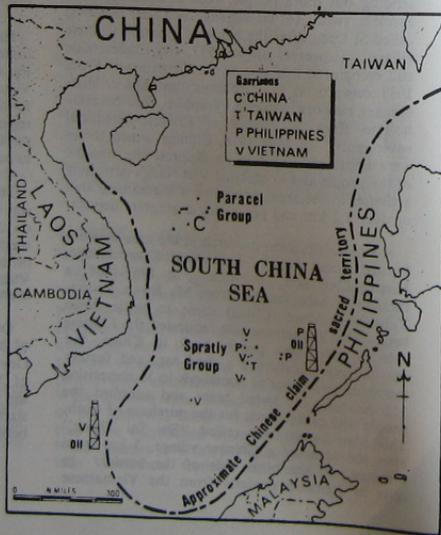
1974 + 179 cases;  
1975 + 294 cases;  
1976 + 812 cases;  
1977 + 873 cases;  
1978 + 2175 cases.

### Chinese provocation of the Hoa people

From early 1978 to August 1978, the Peking authorities provoked, through enticement or constraint, an exodus to China of Hoa people who were leading a peaceful life in Viet Nam, mainly in border provinces, in an attempt to create

political, social and economic disturbances in Viet Nam which had then to cope with the heavy aftermath of natural calamities without precedent in the past one hundred years. At the same time, they prepared the formation of a number of agents required for future aggressive operations. With this perfidious scheme, they enticed about 170,000 Hoa people to go back to China.

The most despicable trick was their sudden decision to close the border while Hoa people were pouring in a steady flow to China. This was to serve as a pretext to instigate these people to oppose the Vietnamese authorities. That was the situation they brought about at the Bac Luan border bridge at the Friendship Gate. While large numbers of Hoa people were blocked, they sent out their agents along with hooligans to indulge in acts of violence and create disturbances at the Bac Luan bridge on August 8, 1978 and at the Friendship Gate on August 25, 1978, killing two members of the Vietnamese security forces and wounding 25 others.



## Pol Pot's death factory

A dispatch by Guardian correspondent  
Wilfred Burchett

... A "death factory" had been sat up in the former Tuol Sleng high school in the outskirts of Phnom Penh. There meticulous details were kept of the numbers killed every day for several years. The victims, horribly tortured before they died, included virtually every Cambodian diplomat or intellectual, known abroad, who was unwise enough to respond to the 'consultations' invitation. In 16 spacious rooms of the former school the torturer-executioners were at work for seven days a week. Each seems to have disposed on the average of at least eight victims a day. A long list of guidelines, personally drawn up by Pol Pot in his own handwriting, stipulated that victims once in the torture chamber, must know they are going to die so might as well make a full confession and get it over with quickly. But they must not be killed until a full confession had been extracted.

The period between arrest and being led into the torture execution chamber was only a few days, during which the victims were confined two at a time, in cells three feet wide by six long, chained by the legs. A favourite type of torture was plucking out head hair with pincers, tufts of it lie at the head of each bedstead and copious bloodstains underneath. Executions were carried out the axes, hammers, short handed spades and jungle knives.

In the neatly handwritten lists of each day's proceedings is noted the age and profession or

education of each victim and the date of arrest and death. In some cases a notation in red ink is made of any exceptional form of execution. The small staff available for processing the great volume of data (which includes separate files on their 'confessions') had started classification under headings such as 'students invited to return from France' (the number of those listed as killed, together with nature of their studies or competencies was 147); 'former diplomats invited to return' and "members of original sihanouk-led resistance government," (among those names were virtually all Cambodians I had known during four years' residence in Pnom Penh, and Cambodian leaders and diplomats abroad who had accepted Pol Pot's blandishments to return).

In a haphazard selection of the daily lists of killed were August 6, 1976, one 104, 21st of the same month, hundred 91, 31st, 92, November 11, same year, 100, June 20, 1977, 266.

On the day that troops of the new government of Kampuchea burst into the extermination centre, they found 14 of the 16 bedsteads occupied by corpses in various states of mutilation.

No one knows and no one ever will know how many people were killed in Kampuchea, the Tuol school was merely the extermination ground for intellectuals and others, who might become prestigious political opponents of Pol Pot.

## The following letter was sent by the Socialist Party of Australia to ALP Federal and State members of Parliament and to trade union leaders throughout Australia.

Dear Sir,

Over the last few weeks the world has faced a most severe and dangerous crisis. It was brought about by the Chinese invasion of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. This irresponsible act of aggression has been met by world-wide protests and the resolute defense of their country's independence and sovereignty by the government and people of Vietnam.

After suffering very heavy casualties the Chinese leaders have been forced to announce a withdrawal but they are, in fact, still manoeuvring and attempting to find new ways to pursue their long term aims which have been thwarted for the time being.

We write this letter in the strong belief that the Chinese leaders, having embarked on a course of open aggression, will launch new acts of aggression in the future either in South East Asia or elsewhere.

For many years the Chinese leaders have pursued a policy of hostility towards Vietnam. Even at the time of the US aggression the Chinese attempted in many ways to put pressure on Vietnam, to push her off her own chosen independent course.

For example, as far back as 1968, the Chinese leaders threatened to break off relations between the Chinese Communist Party and the Vietnamese Workers' Party if the Vietnamese opened up negotiations (in Paris) to bring an end to the US intervention. At that time the Chinese wanted to fight the Americans to the last Vietnamese.

While the whole of the Australian labor movement was demonstrating its demand for an end to the US and Australian invasion of Vietnam, the Chinese leaders were holding up military supplies crossing their territory from the Soviet Union to Vietnam.

Just as the Vietnamese were finally liberating their country the Chinese seized the Paracel Islands which belong to Vietnam.

As far back as 1954 a book was published in Peking called "Historical Sketch of Contemporary China" which depicted the whole of Indo-China as being part of Chinese territory. In the same book territorial claims against a total of 17 countries, which have a common border with China, were put forward.

These expansionist aims have been associated with repeated assertions of the inevitability of war and an unbelievably irresponsible and callous attitude towards nuclear war.

At a world meeting of Communist and Workers' parties held in 1957 Mao Tse-tung said:

"Can anybody suggest how many lives a future war would take? It will likely be one-third of the 2.7 billion people of the world population, that is, altogether 900 million people. But I think even this figure is too low if atom bombs really come into effect. Of course this is terrible, on the one hand. But on the other, it would not be annoying if it were half of mankind...if half of mankind is killed, the other half still remains... within half a century or within one century the population will grow again, and even by more than half of it."

Needless to say, such attitudes have nothing in common with the yearnings of the people of the world for peace and security, and are resolutely repudiated by every genuine socialist and communist.

It has been claimed that the "invasion" of Kampuchea by Vietnam and Vietnamese incursions of the China border triggered the Chinese aggression. What are the facts?

The Pol Pot regime which seized power in Kampuchea in 1975 was one of the most barbarous and bestial in the whole of human history. It not only murdered millions of Kampuchians but at the instigation of China and with its active support, launched repeated attacks on Vietnam from 1975 onwards. These attacks were often reported in the daily press here.

By the end of 1978, the Pol Pot regime had mobilised many divisions on the Kampuchean/Vietnam border ready for further attacks. The Chinese aim was to make Vietnam fight on two fronts. A third front was internal, created by the Chinese who deliberately incited panic among the many ethnic Chinese living in Vietnam.

The Vietnamese engaged and routed the Pol Pot divisions on their border. It was at this time that the patriotic Kampuchean people rose up and destroyed the murderous Pol Pot clique which was so lacking in popular support that it collapsed in three weeks. There was no "invasion" of Kampuchea by Vietnam but a border war and a popular uprising. The Vietnamese did give the Kampuchean people solidarity support which is not a crime but a duty to every oppressed people.

Is it likely that Vietnam would have set out to deliberately provoke its high northern neighbour? Such a suggestion defies common sense.

The Vietnamese people have suffered 30 years of war against successive invasions by the Japanese, the French and the American (including Australian) imperialists. Their country is poor and devastated.

In 1978 Vietnam also suffered some of the most severe floods in her history. There were huge crop losses and 6 million people rendered homeless. It was the Chinese who sought to take advantage of these difficulties.

We would like to recall to mind the fact that the justification for the US invasion of Vietnam was the so-called Tonkin Gulf incident in which Vietnamese craft were alleged to have attacked American ships in the area. The Pentagon Papers, however revealed that the incident had never taken place. It was entirely fabricated by the American authorities. Chinese propaganda, justifying their aggression is a similar fabrication.

During the course of his US visit Deng Xiaoping repeatedly spoke of "teaching Vietnam a lesson", of "punishing" Vietnam. Firstly, it must be said that this is the language of an international gangster reminiscent more of a feudal warlord than a responsible statesman and leader of a big country. Secondly, one must ask the reason why Vietnam should be punished? Is it because the Vietnamese are not prepared to submit to China's diktat?

It is an inescapable conclusion that the Chinese leaders have now embarked upon their long held expansionist aims. Their actions and lying propaganda bring to mind similar strivings and similar loud proclamations of no territorial ambitions by figures in Europe in the 1930s.

The role of the Australian Liberal government in these events has been a most craven one. The government knew of and connived at the Chinese aggression. It has failed by any statement to condemn the aggression, but Mr. Peacock speaks about a Vietnamese "invasion" of Kampuchea but a Chinese "incursion" into Vietnam.

Furthermore, the Federal Liberal government played an active international role as part of the plan concocted by Deng Xiaoping and the US leaders at the time of Deng's visit to the US in January. The Australian government's role in trying to prettify the Chinese aggressors earned it a personal letter of thanks from President Carter.

The Chinese leaders are seeking modern arms and technology to pursue their expansionist aims. Feeding the flames of aggression is a discreditable role which can only have very serious consequences for all the people of the region and the world, including Australia. At a time when the people of the world call for and need peace and disarmament those who make millions from weapons and the domination and exploitation of others are madly stoking a new arms spiral and fanning every conflict. Those who are sowing this field of dragons teeth will most certainly reap the inevitable consequences, but the price in human life may be enormous.

The open alliance between the Chinese leaders, the most rabid warmongers in the USA and reaction everywhere has created a very dangerous international situation which holds the most serious threat to world peace since the cold war.

The Australian labor movement has a big responsibility to the Australian people at this critical time to clearly discern the real source of the threats to world peace which will remain until sanity prevails and countries take significant steps towards disarmament and mutually agree to outlaw the use of force to settle disputes. It is a fact that many such proposals have been advanced at the United Nations, at the special UN Session on Disarmament held last year, before the European Disarmament Commission and elsewhere by the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries. It



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is also a fact that the governments, of the US, Britain, Australia, China and a number of other countries repeatedly reject such proposals.

The gathering storm clouds represented by the piling up of ever new and more destructive weapons systems, acts of aggression and threats of aggression in S.E. Asia, the Middle East and southern Africa, must be dispersed, before it is too late. This is the only sane course for humanity to take.

We ask that you oppose the expansionist aims of the Chinese leadership and their irresponsible policies which constitute such a serious danger and the continual threats of aggression in the Middle East and southern Africa.

We appeal to all spokesmen of the labor movement to vigorously speak up for detente and disarmament and lead Australia once again on to an independent foreign policy course contributing to world peace — a course which was so boldly opened up by the Whitlam Government.

Yours sincerely,

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