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**CHINA'S
FOREIGN
POLICY**

-AN OUTLINE

Compiled by Clark Kissinger

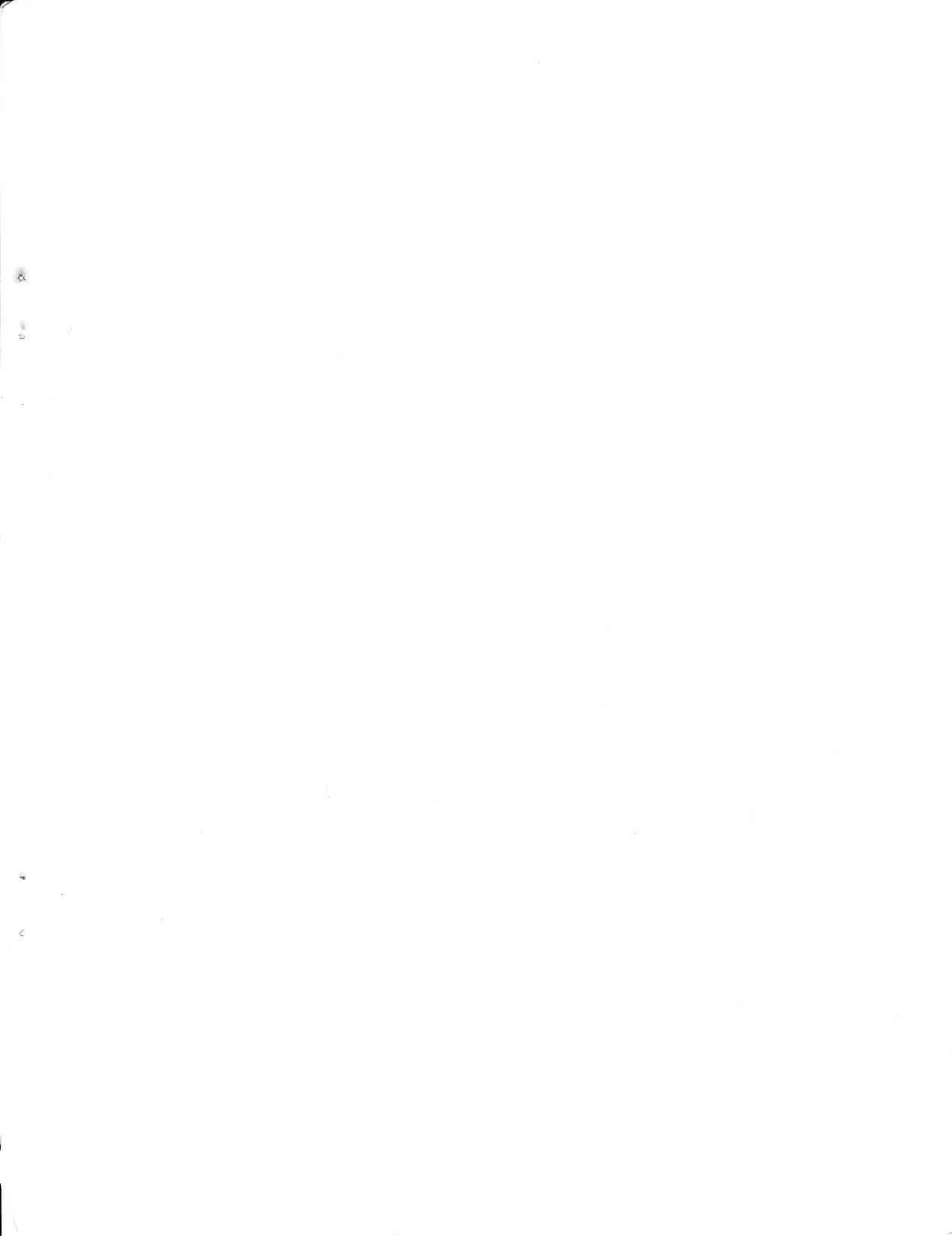


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ABBREVIATIONS USED IN TEXT

PRC People's Republic of China
CPC Communist Party of China
CPSU Communist Party of the Soviet Union
FLP Foreign Languages Press, Peking
PR Peking Review (example: PR 41 (1976) is Peking Review No. 41
 for 1976)
PCGLICM "A Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International
 Communist Movement," by the Central Committee of the CPC,
 March 30, 1963

All source materials cited in this outline available (if still in print)
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INTRODUCTION

At the present time there is a great deal of interest in China's role in international affairs. China's foreign policy has come under open attack from some quarters, while others in discussing China's foreign policy pick and choose and bring out only those aspects with which they personally agree. Both the open attacks (often in the guise of "fraternal criticism") and the incomplete presentations of China's analysis have the objective effect of casting doubt upon the nature of the new China as a whole and throw a pall over the growing friendship between the peoples of the United States and China.

In this situation it becomes the task of the friends of China to speak up, answer misconceptions, slanders and distortions, and uphold the progressive role which China is playing in world affairs. China's record in international relations provides a powerful basis for deepening the ties of unity and friendship between the peoples of the US and China. People are asking questions about China's role in world affairs, and when they learn the details of China's principled stands and actions they are deeply moved. It is, in fact, when we fail to go deeply into events and explain their significance, that questions and doubts about China begin to take hold.

The present outline is intended as a reference and practical aid to activists in the working class movement and the people's friendship movement. It is organized to facilitate readily finding the answers to specific questions, and provides the material needed to answer the questions which actually come up when we are talking to the American people about China. Each section indicates further readings, both from China and other sources. But since the Chinese are the best expositors of their own positions, most of the references are to Chinese source materials.

Rather than attempting to detail China's relations with each and every country in the world, the outline as a whole concentrates heavily on the underlying principles of China's foreign policy. Most people correctly doubt the idealist suggestion that the people of China have some sort of special human nature which makes them selfless, kind, peaceful, and generous in their relations with others. Thus the need to show that China's foreign policy flows from the fact that in China the working class (based on a worker-peasant alliance) holds state power. In contrast to imperialist states, socialist China's system does not require it to expand externally, oppress, exploit, or wage war. In fact, the needs of the class in power in China lead China directly to unity with the oppressed and exploited peoples of the world. Any attempt to gloss over this point simply leads to mystification of what China is about, and leaves room for the bourgeois analysis that China's foreign policy is based on national self-interest "just like every other country."

Omitted from this first edition is the entire topic of US-China relations, which itself could fill an outline this size. But an understanding

of the general contours of China's foreign policy contributes greatly to understanding this particular topic, as the same general principles apply. Extensive materials such as the Shanghai Communique, the statements relating to the visits of US political figures to China, and materials published by the US-China Peoples Friendship Association are readily available. A chapter on US-China relations is in preparation for the next edition of this outline.

The outline does presuppose a certain degree of familiarity with the People's Republic of China and it is intended to serve as a reference rather than a popular introduction. Also, the particular organization of the material should not be taken as an outline for a popular talk on China's role in the world. Such talks should be built on concrete examples which show China's foreign policy in action and exemplify its principles.

The current situation and the particular world events discussed in this outline will, of course, be overtaken by time and newly unfolding events. Yet an understanding of the basis of China's foreign policy should enable the reader to intelligently understand and explain in a popular style China's role in these new situations. Situations change, new tactics are called forth, but the basis of China's role in world events - proletarian internationalism - remains fixed like the North Star.

PREFACE

Some care must be exercised in the use of Chinese source documents. Particular attention must be paid to when the document was written, what the circumstances were at the time, who wrote the document, and to whom the document was addressed and why. For example, some of the Chinese documents cited are government statements in the United Nations addressed to other sovereign states and reflect China's principles of state to state relations. Others are letters by the Communist Party of China addressed to other parties. The language and points stressed will vary accordingly. Some are official congress documents of party and state, while others are signed commentary by individuals in the Chinese press. Some were written when the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was still publicly treated as an erring member of the "socialist camp." Others come later after the full exposure of the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union.

The importance of the older documents, particularly the polemics with the Soviet Union in the early 1960's, is in helping us to understand the principles which underlie China's foreign policy. It is important not to try to take the formulations of an earlier period, in which the conditions were different, and mechanically apply them to the current situation. It is also wrong to latch upon a particular phrase or sentence from a single document to "prove" some sweeping generalization. Every effort should be made to get at the essence of questions.

The use in this outline of phrases like "the Chinese support..." or "China believes..." should not be taken to infer that all 800 million people of China are of a like mind on all questions of foreign policy, or any questions for that matter. Social classes still exist in China, and class struggle there is acute and continual. But the great majority of the Chinese people do, in fact, actively support the foreign policy of their government. The positions described in this outline as China's represent the publicly stated positions of the Party and Government.

Finally, the selection of materials and interpretations presented here are my own, based upon my study of Chinese documents, my conversations with friends in China, and my own practical experience in speaking and answering the questions of the American people. I would greatly appreciate comments and criticisms from those using this outline, especially as to its usefulness in practical work.

C. Clark Kissinger
Chicago, August 1976

I. BASIS AND GENERAL PRINCIPLES OF CHINA'S FOREIGN POLICY

A. Basis

The basis of the foreign policy of the People's Republic of China is proletarian internationalism.

Proletarian internationalism is the outlook of the working class toward international affairs. It places the welfare and advancement of the working class and oppressed peoples world wide above that of any narrow sectional or national interests, and in opposition to the interests of the exploiting classes world wide. As stated by Lenin in 1917, "The foreign policy of the proletariat is alliance with the revolutionaries of the advanced countries and with all the oppressed nations against all and any imperialists."

Concretely, this means that the working class in power in China uses its state power and international relations to create the best possible international conditions for the defeat of imperialism, the liberation of oppressed nations and proletarian revolution world wide, as well as for the consolidation of working class rule and the realization of communism.

At its last National Congress in 1973 the CPC adopted a new Constitution. In Chapter I, entitled General Programme, the stand of the Party is set forth:

"The Communist Party of China upholds proletarian internationalism and opposes great-power chauvinism; it firmly unites with the genuine Marxist-Leninist Parties and organizations the world over, unites with the proletariat, the oppressed people and nations of the whole world and fights together with them to oppose the hegemonism of the two superpowers - the United States and the Soviet Union, to overthrow imperialism, modern revisionism and all reaction, and to abolish the system of exploitation of man by man over the globe, so that all mankind will be emancipated."

Reflecting this general orientation of the party of the working class, the 4th National People's Congress (First Session, 1975) adopted a new Constitution for the PRC which states in its Preamble:

"In international affairs, we should uphold proletarian internationalism. China will never be a superpower. We should strengthen our unity with the socialist countries and all oppressed people and oppressed nations, with each supporting the other; strive for peaceful coexistence with countries having different social systems on the basis of the Five Principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence, and oppose the imperialist and social imperialist policies of aggression and war and oppose the hegemonism of the superpowers."

It is sometimes stated that the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence are the basis of China's foreign policy. This is incorrect. The Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence with Countries of Different Social Systems is one of the principles of China's foreign policy (see below), but not the basis. This question was a point of sharp difference with the Soviet Revisionists. Commenting on it the Chinese have written:

"The second question is: Can peaceful coexistence be made the general line of foreign policy for countries?

"We hold that the general line of foreign policy for socialist countries must embody the fundamental principle of their foreign policy and comprise the fundamental content of this policy.

"What is this fundamental principle? It is proletarian internationalism."

("Peaceful Coexistence - Two Diametrically Opposed Policies", FLP, 1963)

Proletarian internationalism as the basis of China's foreign policy is absolute and not subject to compromise. It would cease to be the basis of China's foreign policy only if the working class were to lose state power in China.

B. General Principles

1) Toward individual states and peoples China's foreign policy reflects the application of proletarian internationalism in three basic situations: a) Those countries where the working class holds state power; b) those countries where exploiting classes hold state power; and c) those nations and peoples subject to colonialism or national oppression (who may have representative national organizations but not sovereign states - for example, the national liberation movements of Azania or Palestine).

The requirements of proletarian internationalism lead to general principles applicable to each of these situations:

a) Toward those countries where the working class is in power China has the warmest fraternal relations.

b) Toward those states of different social systems China pursues a twofold policy of seeking normal state relations on the basis of the Five Principles, while at the same time opposing aggression and war by the imperialist countries.

c) Toward those colonialized and oppressed nations and peoples, China pursues a policy of friendship, support and assistance for their revolutionary struggles.

In all its relations with other countries and peoples China observes the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries and peoples. Revolution cannot be exported, but counter-revolution can. Only the imperialists meddle in the internal affairs of other peoples. Upholding the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries

is objectively anti-imperialist in the real world situation.

China also holds that all countries, big or small, weak or powerful, should be treated with equality and respect.

In his first speech in the United Nations (Nov. 15, 1971), Chiao Kuan-hua summed up China's position as follows:

"We have consistently maintained that all countries, big or small, should be equal and that the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence should be taken as the principles guiding the relations between countries. The people of each country have the right to choose the social system of their own country according to their own will and to protect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of their own country. No country has the right to subject another country to its aggression, subversion, control, interference or bullying. We are opposed to the imperialist and colonialist theory that big nations are superior to the small nations and small nations are subordinate to the big nations. We are opposed to the power politics and hegemony of big nations bullying small ones or strong nations bullying weak ones. We hold that the affairs of a given country must be handled by its own people, that the affairs of the world must be handled by all the countries of the world, and that the affairs of the United Nations must be handled jointly by all its member states, and the superpowers should not be allowed to manipulate and monopolize them. The superpowers want to be superior to others and lord it over others. At no time, neither today nor ever in the future, will China be a superpower subjecting others to its aggression, subversion, control, interference or bullying."

2) In its approach toward the international situation as a whole, China applies the same fundamental tactical approach applied by the working class in all its struggles: "Make use of contradictions, win over the many, oppose the few and crush our enemies one by one." (Mao Tse-tung, "On Policy")

Building upon the objective conditions that exist between the superpowers and the ruling circles of some developing nations (e.g. over the prices of raw materials) and those that exist between the superpowers and the lesser imperialist countries (e.g. over control of markets and transnational corporations), China seeks to develop a world wide united struggle against imperialism, colonialism, and superpower hegemony. This means that China is constantly seeking to unite all who can be united against the main enemy, and judges specific events in the light of the overall world situation.

To quote from Mao Tse-tung again:

"In leading the masses in struggle against the enemy, Communists must consider the situation as a whole, think in terms of the majority of the people and work together with

their allies. They must grasp the principle of subordinating the needs of the part to the needs of the whole. ... Communists must never separate themselves from the majority of the people or neglect them by leading only a few progressive contingents in an isolated and rash advance, but must take care to forge close links between the progressive elements and the broad masses. This is what is meant by thinking in terms of the majority."

("The Role of the Chinese Communist Party in the National War", Mao Tse-tung)

Still another aspect of China's approach to political problems lies in her careful distinction between the immediate strength of the people's enemies and the certain knowledge that in the long run it is the masses who make history and it is the people who are really strong.

"To destroy the rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism in China took the Chinese people more than a hundred years and cost them tens of millions of lives before the victory in 1949. Look! Were these not living tigers, iron tigers, real tigers? But in the end they changed into paper tigers, dead tigers, bean-curd tigers. These are historical facts.

(Mao Tse-tung, Selected Works, Vol. IV, p. 99 footnote)

Frequently criticisms and misunderstandings of China's foreign policy come precisely from a failure to understand these basic principles: take into account the whole world situation, make use of contradictions, unite the many and defeat the few, and despise the enemy strategically but respect him tactically. Yet these are hard won lessons of the international working class struggle - lessons paid for dearly in blood. And only through consistently applying these principles can the people of the world, under the leadership of the working class, prevail.

3) These fundamental principles, while generally applicable, are not absolute in the same sense in which proletarian internationalism is. They are not applied dogmatically or mechanically by China, but always with an eye toward what best advances the overall cause of the international proletariat. For example, there are several states of different social systems with whom China is not seeking to normalize relations (e.g. South Africa and Israel) because of other overriding considerations, as well as their refusal to respect the Five Principles.

Suggested further reading:

"A Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement" (FLP, 1963). 64 pp. Written in reply to a letter from the CPSU, this pamphlet clearly lays out China's attitude on the principles governing relations between the world-wide working class movement and imperialism.

II. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS BESIDE STATE RELATIONS

While the state policy of the PRC is guided by the CPC, the Party itself also has international relations. While guided by the same ideology of proletarian internationalism, these international party relations serve a different function and are not the same thing as China's state relations.

For example, the PRC maintains normal state relations with the governments of numerous countries, while the CPC maintains fraternal relations with Communist parties in those countries which are seeking to overthrow those same governments. Some are even engaged in armed struggle, as in Thailand or the Philippines. An even more interesting example is Poland, where China has normal state relations with the Polish government but party relations with the underground Polish Communist Party - not the governing, revisionist Polish Workers Party. China has made it clear that it will never sacrifice its fraternal relations with other genuine Communists in order to secure state relations.

Through the International Liaison Department of the Central Committee, the CPC maintains fraternal relations with other genuine Marxist-Leninist Parties and organizations, and various people's liberation movements throughout the world. In its relations with other Communist and workers' parties, the CPC upholds the equality of all parties and rejects the idea that one national party can be the "center" of the international working class movement. The CPC does not interfere in the internal affairs of other parties. The CPC holds that the correct application of Marxism-Leninism to the particular conditions of each country must be worked out by the working class and its conscious elements in each country.

While both the State and Party in China carefully observe the principle of non-interference, they do believe that the science of Marxism-Leninism knows no national boundaries and is the property of the people of the world. Thus China actively, especially through its foreign language printing program, promotes the study of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung Thought throughout the world.

In addition to state and party relations, the Chinese people also maintain active people-to-people friendship with friends throughout the world. There are in China a number of mass organizations devoted to promoting people-to-people friendship with the people of specific countries, for example the China-Japan Friendship Association. There is even a China-Soviet Friendship Association, because the people of China consider the people of the Soviet Union to be their friends in spite of the nature of the Soviet government. Perhaps most active is the Chinese People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries. This organization is the active host of many friendship delegations visiting China and promotes among the Chinese people knowledge of foreign affairs and friendship for China's friends all over the world.

The PRC is also represented in numerous international sports federations, although China's seat in the International Olympic Committee has not yet been restored.

III. THE CURRENT WORLD SITUATION

In his report to the 4th National People's Congress, Chou En-lai summed up the world situation as follows:

"The present international situation is still characterized by great disorder under heaven, a disorder which is growing greater and greater. The capitalist world is facing the most serious economic crisis since the war, and all the basic contradictions in the world are sharpening. On the one hand, the trend of revolution by the people of the world is actively developing; countries want independence, nations want liberation, and the people want revolution - this has become an irresistible historical current. On the other hand, the contention for world hegemony between the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, is becoming more and more intense. Their contention has extended to every corner of the world, the focus of their contention being Europe. Soviet social-imperialism 'makes a feint to the east while attacking in the west.' The two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, are the biggest international oppressors and exploiters today, and they are the source of a new world war. Their fierce contention is bound to lead to world war some day. The people of all countries must get prepared. Detente and peace are being talked about everywhere in the world; it is precisely this that shows there is no detente, let alone lasting peace, in this world. At present, the factors for both revolution and war are increasing. Whether war gives rise to revolution or revolution prevents war, in either case the international situation will develop in a direction favorable to the people and the future of the world will be bright."

China holds that the historical era in which we live is the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution. The era is characterized by the maturation of monopoly capitalism in the advanced capitalist countries, the division of the world into colonies and spheres of influence by these countries, constant war and contention between the imperialists, the oppression of whole nations by the imperialists and their resultant struggles for national liberation, and the revolutionary movements of the proletariat of the imperialist countries themselves.

Concretely, at the present time there are two great imperialist countries vying for world hegemony, the US and the USSR. China refers to them as the First World. Clustered around them are the lesser imperialist powers of Eastern and Western Europe, Japan, and several British Commonwealth countries. These countries, who make up the Second World, are mostly imperialist countries who are driven by the same objective laws of capitalist development to expand and exploit as are the superpowers. Yet at the same time they are themselves bullied and exploited by the superpowers, and forced to join into military blocs and pacts with them.

The great majority of the world's people live in the economically backward countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. These countries for the most part have recently emerged from colonialism. Their social systems range from socialist to feudal. Objectively they share many of the same problems in developing their economies, revolutionizing their social relations, and resisting imperialist economic and armed aggression. China refers to these countries as the Third World.

In this world situation China sees several major contradictions: the contradiction between the imperialists and the oppressed nations of the world. The contradictions between the different imperialists, particularly between the US and the USSR. The contradictions between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the imperialist countries. And the contradiction between the imperialist countries and the socialist countries. In the present international crisis all of these contradictions are sharpening, giving rise to vigorous revolutionary movements and the threat of world war. While war between imperialist powers is inevitable so long as imperialism exists, the main trend of this historical era is revolution.

In his report to the 10th National Congress of the CPC, Chou En-lai said:

"Chairman Mao has often taught us: We are still in the era of imperialism and the proletarian revolution. On the basis of fundamental Marxist principle, Lenin made a scientific analysis of imperialism and defined 'imperialism as the highest stage of capitalism.' Lenin pointed out that imperialism is monopolistic capitalism, moribund capitalism. He also said that imperialism intensifies all the contradictions of capitalism to the extreme. He therefore concluded that 'imperialism is the eve of the social revolution of the proletariat,' and put forward the theories and tactics of the proletarian revolution in the era of imperialism. Stalin said, 'Leninism is Marxism of the era of imperialism and the proletarian revolution.' This is entirely correct. Since Lenin's death, the world situation has undergone great changes. But the era has not changed. The fundamental principles of Leninism are not outdated; they remain the theoretical basis guiding our thinking today."

In the global struggle against imperialism, China sees the Third World countries as the main force and the international proletariat as the leading element. In particular China seeks to build a world-wide united front against imperialism, and especially against the hegemonism of the two superpowers. While the countries of the Third World make up the main force of this united front, China also seeks to promote the contradictions between the Second World countries and the superpowers and to break up their blocs. Chou En-lai summed this up to the 10th Congress of the CPC as follows:

"Therefore, on the international front, our Party must uphold proletarian internationalism, uphold the Party's consistent policies, strengthen our unity with the proletariat and the oppressed people and nations of the whole world and with all countries subjected to imperialist aggression, subversion, interference, control or bullying and form the broadest united front against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, and in particular, against the hegemonism of the two superpowers - the US and the USSR."

As between the superpowers, it is the Soviet Union that is on the rise, seeking to force a redivision of the world and to topple the US from its pre-eminent position seized in the Second World War. China sees the greatest danger of war coming from the frenzied efforts of the Soviet Union to overtake the US primarily by military means.

The Chinese frequently point out that the world is in great turmoil and that is a good thing. They see it as a good thing because the turmoil arises out of the economic crisis, the desperate contention between the superpowers, and the struggles of the peoples of the world against oppression and exploitation. It throws confusion into the enemy camp, and tempers the people in struggle. Because in this historical era the main trend is revolution, the future is bright.

Suggested further reading:

1. "Report on the Work of the Government" delivered by Chou En-lai to the 4th National People's Congress, especially pp. 58-62 of the Congress Documents (FLP, 1975).
2. "Report to the 10th National Congress of the Communist Party of China" delivered by Chou En-lai, especially pp. 21-30 of the Congress Documents (FLP, 1973).

Some special points:

Seeing the situation as a whole. Many attacks on China's foreign policy are based on taking some particular incident and judging it in moralistic terms, removed from the international context in which it occurred. Just about everyone who has spoken up for China has received questions like, "How could China not support the right of self-determination of Bangladesh?" or "How can China cordially receive dictators like Marcos and the Shah of Iran and still call itself revolutionary?" Some of these questions will be dealt with in detail later in this outline, but in all such questions one must proceed from an understanding of the overall world situations, China's strategic aims in foreign policy, and why this strategy is in fact the only way the people of the world can actually win.

Imperialism. The term imperialism when used by China refers to a particular stage of development of the capitalist economic system - not just to a form of foreign policy. This is important because the actions of the imperialist countries are governed by particular economic necessities (laws) which require them to expand externally and contend with other imperialist states for world hegemony. China's view of the imperialist states and the contradictions between them is predicated on this reality. For further reading, see "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism" by V.I. Lenin (FLP); also "On Studying World History," a collection of reprints from Peking Review compiled by Yen-an Books.

Third World. China's use of the term Third World is different from several colloquial usages of the term. The term "Third World" was originally popularized by bourgeois nationalists like Tito and Nehru to denote the "non-aligned" countries in between the "first" and "second" worlds of the capitalist and communist countries headed up respectively by the US and the USSR. This usage was reactionary because it tended to equate the imperialist and socialist camps (in the period when a genuine socialist camp existed) and separated the emerging nations from their most important allies.

Later in popular usage "Third World" took on a racial connotation - that is, "Third World" referred to all non-white peoples. This usage is also reactionary in that it blurs the crucial distinctions of class, social systems and level of development. For example, it places the Japanese in the "Third World" in spite of the fact that Japan is a major imperialist power.

China's definition of Third World refers to countries and to a materialist analysis of their state of development and their situation in the world vis-a-vis imperialism. Countries like Vietnam and Brazil, in spite of their differing social systems, stand in some respects in a similar relation to the highly developed countries. Both are forced to struggle for national existence and economic development against imperialism.

In this situation China has vigorously sought to build upon the common points of unity to unite the Third World countries. This has been particularly evident in China's support for the associations of raw materials producers (like OPEC, the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries), the struggles to expand the limits of territorial waters and contiguous economic zones, reform of the structure of the UN, etc. For more information see: "Third World: Great Motive Force in Advancing World History" PR 44 (1974), "Third World Struggle Against Hegemony in the Economic Sphere" PR 39 (1975), and many other articles in Peking Review.

China's policy toward the Second World countries consists in encouraging them to develop their economic and military independence from the superpowers, resisting aggressive acts toward Third World countries, and encouraging economic cooperation between Second and Third World countries on the basis of equality and mutual benefit. See for example, "Third World and Western Europe: Economic Relations Developed" PR 7 (1975), and "The Third and Second World: What does the Lome Convention Signify?" PR 11 (1975).

IV. CHINA AND THE SOVIET UNION

It is not possible to understand China's analysis of the world situation without an understanding of the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union.

While China's policies are not predicated simply on opposition to anything that the Soviet Union does, as some critics charge, the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and its emergence as a hegemonic, imperialist power profoundly influences the world situation in which China's foreign policy operates. It is beyond the scope of this outline to deal in depth with capitalism in the Soviet Union, therefore we shall only briefly outline the main points, suggest further readings, and deal with a couple of particular questions that frequently arise.

China dates the restoration of Capitalism in the Soviet Union from the 20th Party Congress of the CPSU in 1956. Strictly speaking, socialism refers to a specific form of relations of production. But in general usage, we call a state socialist if the working class through a genuine Marxist-Leninist Party holds state power. It always takes a period of years to actually transform the economic relations (for example, China had a private market in grain until 1956). Similarly, the usurpation of the leading positions of the party and state by Khrushchev and his cohorts in 1956 marked the actual loss of state power by the working class, even though it took a period of years to fully develop capitalist economic relations in the USSR. The Soviet Union can legitimately be referred to as capitalist since 1956 in the same sense that China can be referred to as socialist since 1949.

Perhaps the biggest stumbling block for most people on this issue is the fact that industry and land in the Soviet Union is still nominally state owned. This problem arises because bourgeois propaganda always equates socialism with state ownership. Marx and Engels themselves derided this false concept:

"Recently, however, since Bismark adopted state ownership, a certain spurious socialism has made its appearance - here and there even degenerating into a kind of flunkyism - which declares that all taking over by the state, even the Bismarckian kind, is in itself socialistic. If, however, the taking over of the tobacco trade by the state was socialistic, Napoleon and Metternich would rank among the founders of socialism."
(*"Anti-Dühring"*, F. Engels)

The essential differences between socialism and capitalism lie not in the legal niceties of ownership, but in the question of which class actually holds power and whether living labor is the slave to accumulated dead labor (capital), or whether the working class consciously restricts the laws of commodity production and places accumulated value at the disposal of the working class. By dissolving national socialist planning;

selling off state-owned agricultural equipment to local farms; freeing plants to individually retain earnings, sell off equipment, and lay off workers; by allowing individual enterprises to trade freely in commodities; and by holding up "profit" as the benchmark of success, the "new Tsars" have effectively restored the capitalist system of production in the Soviet Union. And together with it have come all the "benefits" of capitalism: crime, economic speculation, unemployment, national oppression, militarism, and great disparities of wealth. ("Disasterous Consequences of Capitalist Restoration in the Soviet Union" PR 8 (1976))

China feels that the Soviet Union in its foreign relations is compelled by the internal necessities of its economic system to continually expand, seek opportunities to invest capital, acquire control of raw material and dominate foreign markets. They describe the Soviet Union as "social-imperialist" - socialist in words, but imperialist in deeds.

Explaining these crucial points often requires some arduous "swimming against the tide" because it is to the advantage of both the Soviet and the United States imperialists to maintain the fiction that the Soviet Union is a socialist country. For the Soviet Union it facilitates their infiltration and influence in national liberation and working class movements to pose as socialist and "the natural ally" of the emerging nations. The US capitalists can tout their theory that "human nature" is the same everywhere, and can point to the social conditions in the Soviet Union and the Soviet Union's actions in the world and say: "See, communism is even worse than capitalism."

Because of the great backlog of good will toward the Soviet Union, from when it was a socialist state and an inspiration to people all over the world, and because of the great confusion that still exists over the nature of the Soviet Union, there is a strong tendency to regard military and economic intervention by the Soviet Union as somehow different than military and economic intervention by the US. In China's analysis, they are precisely the same and occur for the same reasons. If anything, Soviet intervention is seen by China as more dangerous because Soviet imperialism has not been so thoroughly exposed in the world as US imperialism. A major thrust of China's efforts in the UN, in conversations with foreign visitors and in its publications has been to alert the people of the world to the true nature of the Soviet Union and the danger it poses to the people of the world.

Further readings:

1. "How the Soviet Revisionists Carry Out All-Round Restoration of Capitalism in the USSR" (FLP, 1968) out of print. 73 pp.
2. "Social Imperialism", compiled by Yen-an Books. An excellent selection of articles from Peking Review. 28 pp.
3. "On Khrushchov's Phoney Communism and its Historical Lessons for the World" (FLP, 1964) 75 pp.

4. Current Articles in Peking Review. Refer to semi-annual index.
5. "How Capitalism Has Been Restored in the Soviet Union, and What This Means for the World Struggle" Revolutionary Communist Party USA. 156 pp.
6. "The Polemic on the General Line of the International*Movement" (FLP, 1965). 586 pp. This volume is out of print and hard to obtain, but it contains the exchange of correspondence between the Soviet and Chinese parties in the early 1960's, the position of the Chinese delegation to the 1957 Moscow Conference, and a series of comments on the Open Letter of the Central Committee of the CPSU. Many of the articles in this volume have been reprinted as separate pamphlets by the FLP. Check with China Books and Periodicals.
* Communist

Some points of special interest:

The Soviet Union and the threat of war. It is important to understand that the threat of war arises not from some individual "aggressor state," but from the underlying economic competition between imperialist states. In his report to the 10th National Congress of the CPC, Chou En-lai said:

"Lenin said that 'an essential feature of imperialism is the rivalry between several Great Powers in the striving for hegemony.' Today, it is mainly the two nuclear superpowers - the US and the USSR - that are contending for hegemony. While hawking disarmament, they are actually expanding their armaments every day. Their purpose is to contend for world hegemony. They contend as well as collude with each other. Their collusion serves the purpose of more intensified contention. Contention is absolute and protracted, whereas collusion is relative and temporary."

China sees the Soviet Union as the superpower more likely to actually unleash warfare, as it is the Soviet Union that is on the offensive - the party which is striving to alter the status quo. It is also clear that the Soviet Union is massively arming, having long ago abandoned the "peaceful competition" of Khrushchev. Further, the Soviet Union is more dangerous because of its ability to hide behind the facade of a "peace-loving, socialist state."

For further reading see: "Soviet-US Contention for Hegemony Will Inevitably Lead to War" PR 44 (1975), "Economic Cause of Soviet Revisionism's World Hegemony Bid" PR 45 (1975), and "Growing Danger of New World War" PR 2 (1976). Also see the section on The Coming World War in Chapter VIII.

Soviet Union and foreign investment. It is helpful for speakers to have some concrete examples of Soviet foreign investment and exploitation. The best documented examples are in Eastern Europe and India (see numerous

articles in PR and "How Capitalism has been restored in the Soviet Union" by the RCP). Although the Soviet Union makes much publicity over low cost loans, these are attached to trade agreements which provide for the exchange of commodities of greatly unequal value (in the Soviet Union's advantage). The Soviet Union also sets up "joint enterprises," their version of multi-national corporations, and imports cheap labor from client states into the USSR to work. ("New Tsars' Colonial Expansion in Africa" and "Some Facts on Soviet Plunder of Third World" both in PR 7 (1976))

Soviet Union and national liberation movements in the Third World. As the retainer of the status quo, the US is almost universally involved in bolstering its existing client regimes. Conversely, under the banner of "revolutionary internationalism" the Soviet Union is equally busy involving itself in legitimate anti-US struggles, and in fomenting revolts and local secessionist movements where the opportunity to gain advantage arises. One can liken the role of the Soviet Union today to that of the French Empire, who in order to further their contention with the British intervened in the American revolutionary war. Another parallel is the US's move to seize Spain's colonial possessions, masked as aiding the Cuban struggle for independence. China always analyses the Soviet Union's involvement in particular situations in terms of the overall nature and aims of the Soviet Union. (Several detailed examples are given later in this outline.)

State relations with the USSR. The Soviet Union and the PRC maintain "normal" state relations. There are regular rail, air, telephone, and postal links between the two countries, and there is a signed trade agreement. Each has an embassy in the other's capital. There is a China-Soviet Friendship Association in China, because the people of China seek friendship with the people of the Soviet Union. There is no discrimination against the Russian national minority in China.

The Soviet government described as fascist. China frequently describes the Soviet Union's government and economy as fascist. They are quite serious in this description - it is not just overblown rhetoric. In general, there are two forms of the dictatorship of the capitalist class. One is bourgeois democracy, in which the facade of popular participation in government is maintained. Several bourgeois parties contend in elections, and a degree of individual liberties is allowed, while the bourgeois state still represents the interests of the owners of the economy, who make the basic decisions behind the scenes. The other form is the open, militaristic dictatorship of the monopoly capitalists - fascism. In the Soviet Union the monopoly capitalists, lodged in the high government and party posts, exercise a single party dictatorship and allow no organized resistance. The Soviet Union's economy is organized much like that of Nazi Germany, with the major units of each industry organized into national producers associations. (See "Com-bines - State Capitalist Monopolies Wearing a 'Soviet' Tag" PR 8 (1976)) The economy is highly militarized with a much greater percentage of the GNP going to armaments than even the US. ("Soviet Revisionists' Fascist Dictatorship" PR 4 (1974) and "CPSU - A Fascist Party With the Signboard "Party of the Whole People"" PR 10 (1976))

Development of the Relations between the Soviet Union and China. From 1956 to 1960, disagreements between the CPC and CPSU were essentially handled privately and internally in the international Communist movement. In the early 60's, China began a vigorous series of polemics on the question of revisionism. These polemics were with numerous revisionist parties around

the world, but China did not attack the Soviet Union directly or by name. During this period the Soviet Union publicly supported India's border attack on the PRC. In 1963 the Soviet Union published a public attack on China, whereupon China published all of the hitherto private exchanges between the two parties and began a massive international struggle against Soviet revisionism. At the successful conclusion of the Cultural Revolution and the ouster of the pro-Soviet capitalist roaders from power in China, the Soviet Union was clearly identified as imperialist - not just an errant member of the "socialist camp." In the most recent period, China has concentrated on exposing the role of the Soviet Union as a superpower vying for world control and the most dangerous precipitator of a coming world war.

Border Dispute with the USSR. See section on border disputes in Chapter VI.

Loans and Aid. The USSR unilaterally tore up its agreements and suspended all technical and economic aid to China in 1960. China has repaid all assistance loans from the USSR which it received in the 1950's.

V. CHINA'S RELATIONS WITH THE FRATERNAL SOCIALIST COUNTRIES

The last time China publicly listed the fraternal socialist countries, they were Albania, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam, and Rumania. Since that time revolutionary governments have come to power in Cambodia and Laos with whom China has established relations similar to those countries listed above, and the two Vietnamese governments have unified.

These countries represent a spectrum of development from those which have just recently overthrown colonialism and feudalism in New Democratic revolutions to those far more advanced in the development of industry and socialist relations. These states do not necessarily see eye to eye with each other or with China on all questions. But they do have in common a state led by a working class party which is attempting to apply Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions of their own countries and which maintain economic and political independence from the Soviet Union.

Not included among the fraternal socialist countries are the revisionist states of Eastern Europe and Cuba. With these countries China seeks normal diplomatic and trade relations based on the Five Principles, and seeks to encourage their independence from the Soviet Union.

With the fraternal countries China maintains especially close economic ties, rail and air links, extensive cultural exchange programs, political consultation, and military assistance. In response to its proletarian internationalist obligations, China provided massive military and economic assistance to the Indochinese states in their wars of national liberation, and China sent tens of thousands of volunteers to fight shoulder to shoulder with the Korean people in their struggle against US intervention in the Korean civil war.

With the fraternal countries special fraternal institutions have been established, like the joint people's communes, where people from both countries work side by side in agricultural production.

For further reading:

1. Four articles on Albania in PR 49 (1975)
2. "Chinese-Korean Friendship - Deep-Rooted and Flourishing" (FLP, 1975) - documents of Kim Il Sung's visit to China. 67 pp.
3. "The Vietnamese People's Great Victory" (FLP, 1975) 52 pp.
4. "Fighting Cambodia" (FLP, 1975) 60 pp.
5. Further articles in PR, see semi-annual index.

VI. RELATIONS WITH COUNTRIES OF DIFFERENT SOCIAL SYSTEMS

The great majority of countries in the world have social systems different from that of China. While China has certain general principles which apply to relations with all of these states, it is important to see that China does not treat them all the same. There are great differences between a feudal sheikdom in the Persian Gulf, a bourgeois-nationalist government in Africa, an industrialized country of Europe with colonies, and a superpower like the Soviet Union. These differences relate not only to their differing attitudes toward direct relations with China, but also to their role in the international united front against the two superpowers. China makes a concrete analysis of each country: its social system, economic and military strength, its relationship to the superpowers, its international relations, etc.

In general, China seeks to develop relations of peaceful coexistence with other states based on mutual respect and equality. Why? Why would a revolutionary socialist country want to peacefully coexist with imperialist states, for example?

The answer is that seeking relations based on non-aggression and equality serves the interests of the class in power in China - the working class - just as the policies of war and aggression serve the needs of the ruling classes in imperialist states.

Firstly, the reality of the uneven social and economic development throughout the world means that socialist countries find themselves existing in a world together with imperialist states for a considerable period of time. The policy of peaceful coexistence serves to provide the best conditions for socialist development. The working class in power has absolutely nothing to gain through war and destruction. It needs peace. The working class in power develops its economy through its own efforts and not through the exploitation of others.

Second, pursuing the policy of peaceful coexistence with imperialist states is also a form of struggle against them. It can serve to expose and resist their schemes of war and aggression. As Mao Tse-tung points out, "How to give 'tit for tat' depends on the situation. Sometimes, not going to negotiations is tit-for-tat; and sometimes, going to negotiations is also tit-for-tat." Normalizing relations with the masses of emerging nations in the world serves to build the united front and isolate the superpowers. Normalizing relations with the imperialists opens the doors to direct contact between the people of China and the peoples of these countries.

"As for the imperialist countries, we should unite with their peoples and strive to coexist peacefully with those countries, do business with them and prevent any possible war, but under no circumstances should we harbor any unrealistic notions about them."

("On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People," Mao Tse-tung)

In the pursuit of peaceful coexistence with states of different social systems, China has always attached great importance to distinguishing between different types of countries in the non-socialist world. The great majority of these countries are small, recently emerged from colonial domination, and constantly subject to bullying and exploitation by the imperialist states. These countries most often welcome the development of friendly relations with China and wholeheartedly support China's Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. The list of heads of state of newly independent Third World countries who have traveled to the PRC to establish diplomatic relations with China is truly impressive.

China has also made it clear that peaceful coexistence is a category of relationships between sovereign states and cannot apply to the relations between oppressed classes and nations and oppressor classes and nations. There can never be "peaceful coexistence" between the oppressed and the oppressor.

Finally, peaceful coexistence is only one aspect of China's relationship with countries of different social systems (the other being opposition to imperialist war and aggression), and can never be taken as the general line of China's foreign policy:

"In our view, the general line of the foreign policy of the socialist countries should have the following content: to develop relations of friendship, mutual assistance and cooperation among the countries of the socialist camp in accordance with the principle of proletarian internationalism; to strive for peaceful coexistence on the basis of the Five Principles with countries having different social systems and oppose the imperialist policies of aggression and war; and to support and assist the revolutionary struggles of all the oppressed peoples and nations. These three aspects are interrelated and indivisible, and not a single one can be omitted."

(PCGLICM, p. 36)

1) The Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. The Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, first enunciated by China at the Bandung Conference in 1955, sum up what China sees as the most desirable state of relations between herself and states of different social systems. These Five Principles are:

- a) Mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity.
- b) Mutual non-aggression.
- c) Non-interference in each other's internal affairs.
- d) Equality and mutual benefit.
- e) Peaceful coexistence.

Beyond pursuing these goals herself, China has suggested that these principles should guide the relations between all countries in the world.

It is on the basis of these principles that China seeks to normalize diplomatic, trade, communication, and cultural exchange relations with other states. Note in particular that the fourth principle excludes exploitative economic relations and the first and third principles exclude recognition of the Kuomintang (KMT) regime in Taiwan Province. Cessation of diplomatic relations with the KMT is an absolute prerequisite for nor-

malized relations with the PRC.

On the basis of these principles, the People's Republic of China today has normal diplomatic relations with the vast majority of countries in the world, and trade relations with many of those with whom diplomatic relations have not yet been completed. The establishment of diplomatic relations between any country and China in no way signifies either approval or disapproval by China of that country's social system or governmental policies. It signifies only the willingness of that country to undertake mutual relations on the basis of the Five Principles.

There are still several countries with whom China does not have diplomatic relations. These states fall into several categories:

First, there are several reactionary dictatorships who have refused to consider normalizing relations with China. An example is Uruguay.

Second are governmental entities not considered as legitimate states by China. One example is the Vatican. Another group is the "settler states" created by modern imperialism through the forcible subjugation of the indigenous population. These states in general refuse to accept the Five Principles. The most prominent examples are Israel, South Africa, and Rhodesia.

Third are regimes created by foreign intervention and under foreign occupation. Examples are south Korea and formerly south Vietnam. China did not normalize its relations with Bangladesh nor support its admission to the UN until all Indian troops were removed from Bangladesh and it normalized its relations with Pakistan. Another current example is Angola, which is still under Cuban-Soviet occupation.

A final category consists exclusively of the United States. The United States is the only major country in the world which does not have normal relations with the PRC. This is because the US refuses to recognize the sovereignty and territorial integrity of China through its recognition of the KMT regime and the stationing of US forces on Chinese soil in Taiwan Province.

2) Opposition to Imperialist Aggression and War. While China's general approach to the question of war will be treated in a chapter below, it must be pointed out again that striving for peaceful coexistence on the basis of the Five Principles is not the totality of China's relations with countries of different social systems. China also sternly resists imperialist war and aggression.

Perhaps the outstanding example of this was China's fraternal assistance to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) during the Korean War. This was the only time since the formation of the PRC that Chinese troops have fought outside of China. The intervention of the United States in the Korean civil war necessitated the sending of the Chinese People's Volunteers in this instance. Under the cover of the UN flag (the US controlled the UN at that time), the US sought to destroy the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, place the whole Korean peninsula under the administration of Syngman Rhee, and employed My Lai-type massacres, vast aerial bombing and germ warfare, which were not exposed at the time to the American people because of the domestic political climate. The US also bombed targets north of the

Yalu River inside China and it became clear that General MacArthur had no intention of stopping at the Yalu River if he succeeded in overrunning all of Korea.

Chinese volunteer forces intervened at this point to accomplish three goals: First, to assist the patriotic Korean forces in defending their country against a massive invasion. Second, China was the only other socialist country besides the Soviet Union which was actually capable of coming to the aid of the Korean people. China's taking the initiative in this situation removed a possible pretext for a nuclear attack on the Soviet Union by the United States. And third, to protect the PRC from possible invasion by US forces. Today China marks the US invasion of the DPRK as the high water mark of US imperialism, The US defeat in Korea began the inevitable defeat of US imperialism world wide. In 1958 the Chinese People's Volunteers were withdrawn from Korea. US forces still continue their occupation of South Korea.

Beside this one instance of direct participation, the PRC has consistently come to the material support of nations and peoples subjected to imperialist aggression. China's massive aid to Vietnam and Cambodia come to mind immediately (see sections below).

China also uses its considerable diplomatic influence to deter aggression, both in the United Nations and through direct talks with other countries concerned. China has been particularly sharp in calling the world's attention to attempts by the superpowers to "fish in troubled waters" and seek excuses to send their forces of intervention. The Congo, Cyprus, Bangladesh, Angola, and the Middle East have been cases in point.

3. China's foreign trade. Prior to liberation, China had no independent foreign trade - it was exclusively in the hands of foreign countries and corporations. Today China has a brisk and developing trade with countries throughout the world. Unlike most Third World countries which have been relegated by imperialism to the role of suppliers of raw materials, China's exports consisted of 65% manufactured goods by 1973. China, further, is a net exporter of grain and an exporter of petroleum.

In its imports China has made selective purchases of metals, machinery, chemicals, and whole plants with the aim of further developing China's economic self-sufficiency. China imports no consumer goods, allows no foreign investments in China, and accepts no foreign "development loans." China has no foreign debt and China's currency (the Renminbi) is so stable that it is used by over 60 foreign countries in settling their trade accounts with China.

Equality and mutual benefit are the watch words of China's foreign trade program. China holds the consistent view that a country's political independence is inseparable from its economic independence. A great deal of emphasis is laid in China's trade relations on assisting countries in the Third World to develop their economic self-sufficiency. This is done through the export of basic technology, machinery, and commodities at prices that represent an honest exchange of equal values. Not all countries are equally endowed with resources, and starting from the standpoint of equality and mutual benefit, China feels that trade can serve to supply the needs of both parties.

In order to promote its international trade China has greatly developed its shipbuilding capabilities and operates its own merchant marine. During the period 1972-1974 China held exhibitions or took part in trade fairs in 38 countries in the Third World and 27 industrialized nations. During the same period, 17 countries sponsored trade exhibitions in China. The Chinese trading corporations also sponsor the semi-annual Chinese Export Commodities Fair in Kwangchow (Canton). In a new hall with over 100,000 sq. meters display space, tens of thousands of foreign traders do business each year.

Suggested further reading:

1. "China's Foreign Trade" PR 41 (1974)
2. "A Glance at China's Economy" (FLP, 1974), 52 pp.
3. "China's Foreign Trade" (FLP) quarterly, approx. 60 pp.

4. China's Foreign Aid Program. The People's Republic of China is almost unique among Third World countries in that it gives rather than receives foreign aid. During the first few years of the PRC's existence it did receive both gifts and loans from the Soviet Union. But after the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, such aid was abruptly suspended (in 1960). China fully repaid all assistance loans and today considers the cut-off of Soviet aid a blessing in disguise, in that it forced China to embark on a policy of national self-sufficiency.

Like China's foreign trade program, her foreign aid is aimed at developing the economic self-sufficiency of other Third World countries. Perhaps China's best-known foreign aid program is the construction of the Freedom Railway in east Africa. The nature of this project is best described in the words of President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania when he visited China in 1974:

"Tanzania and Zambia are neighboring frontier states in Africa. We both share borders with countries which are still occupied and governed by alien powers in their own interests. Zambia is in much the worse geographical position because it is land-locked and shares borders with three of the colonially dominated areas of Africa. Further, Zambia has copper, which is of great interest to the neo-colonialist forces of the world, who are therefore very active in that state. Yet although the UNIP Government of Zambia, and the TANU Government of Tanzania, recognized their need for solidarity and united action from the moment of their independence, contact and communication was extremely difficult. At the beginning, when President Kaunda and I spoke to each other on the telephone, we were linked up through Salisbury - the capital of a racist minority state! We had one dirt road linking our two territories, and no railway.

"Yet when we looked to the wealthy nations and institutions of the West for help in remedying this situation, we found that their protestations of friendship did not mean a willingness to help us against the danger from the racist and colonialist states of southern Africa. They assured us that a railway was uneconomic and unnecessary - as indeed it was from their point of view. For a railway between Zambia and Tanzania would take traffic from

the railways built by, and run for the benefit of, the imperialist forces. And it would strengthen the economies and the security of both our anti-imperialist states.

"It was in this situation that China demonstrated its true nature. Despite the manoeuvres and machinations of the neo-colonialist forces, an agreement was signed in 1970 under which China undertook to build this railway, and to lend us the money for it. And the terms of the loan and of the technical assistance the work requires are an example to the world of what friendship and revolutionary solidarity really mean. The rich nations of the world talk about aid to the poor nations. A few of them give it, but many attempt to use the concept of Aid as a cover for further exploitation. China, which is not a rich country, has talked about nothing. It has simply made it possible for us to have a railway linking our two independent African frontier states, without profiting out of our need or even making great propaganda out of it - which you would have every justification for doing."

(*"President Nyerere's Speech"* PR 13 (1974))

Such aid programs by China again demonstrate her belief that the revolutionary struggles of the peoples of all countries support each other. Aid becomes not a question of some countries living off the largesse of others, but rather each helping the other in common struggle. China's approach to foreign aid is summed up in her Eight Principles of Foreign Aid:

"1. The Chinese Government always bases itself on the principle of equality and mutual benefit in providing aid to other countries. It never regards such aid as a kind of unilateral alms but as something mutual.

"2. In providing aid to other countries, the Chinese Government strictly respects the sovereignty of the recipient countries, and never attaches any conditions or asks for any privileges.

"3. China provides economic aid in the form of interest-free or low-interest loans and extends the time limit for the repayment when necessary so as to lighten the burden of the recipient countries as far as possible.

"4. In providing aid to other countries, the purpose of the Chinese Government is not to make the recipient countries dependent on China but to help them embark step by step on the road to self-reliance and independent economic development.

"5. The Chinese Government tries its best to help the recipient countries build projects which require less investment while yielding quicker results, so that the recipient governments may increase their income and accumulate capital.

"6. The Chinese Government provides the best-quality equipment and material of its own manufacture at international market prices. If the equipment and material provided by the Chinese Government are not up to the agreed specifications and quality, the Chinese Government undertakes to replace them.

"7. In giving any particular technical assistance, the Chinese Government will see to it that the personnel of the

recipient country fully master such technique.

"8. The experts dispatched by China to help in construction in the recipient countries will have the same standard of living as the experts of the recipient countries. The Chinese experts are not allowed to make any special demands or enjoy any special amenities."

The extreme modesty of the Chinese concerning their aid programs makes it difficult to even learn of them. Chinese publications seldom mention them, and we frequently learn of them only through public statements of appreciation by the recipient country or through foreign journalists. However the following examples demonstrate the breadth of China's aid program:

- a) In Ethiopia China helped to develop a bamboo-weaving class for 14 students. This is an example of practical aid to an extremely underdeveloped country where handicraft industries using existing natural resources and requiring no capital investment can immediately produce useful commodities, and lay the basis for industrial production.
- b) In Nepal, China assisted the Nepalese to construct a 13 km. electric trolley bus line connecting the capital Kathmandu with nearby Bhaktapur. The line utilizes 20 buses made in China.
- c) In South America, China's technical assistance made possible the construction of Guyana's first brick factory. Construction was begun in March of 1975.
- d) In the African country of Sierra Leone, Chinese assistance made possible the construction of the Mange Highway Bridge spanning Sierra Leone's second largest river. The 363 ft. span was completed March 1, 1976.
- e) A cotton gin constructed with Chinese aid began production on March 15, 1976, in the Yemen Arab Republic.
- f) On March 16, 1976, the first class graduated from an acupuncture training course for nurses in Algeria taught by Chinese medical personnel.
- g) An agricultural technical team from China has developed 216 acres of rice paddies in Mono province of Benin.
- h) Chinese assistance is making possible the construction of Khartoum's Friendship Hall in the Sudan. This hall, with 25,000 sq. meters of floor space, will be used for the 1978 African summit conference of the Organization of African Unity.
- i) A new hydro-electric station has been constructed at Bicombo in Equatorial Guinea with the help of China.
- j) With Chinese aid a new farm tool and hardware factory has been constructed in the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen.
- k) On March 20, 1976, an agreement was signed providing for China's technical assistance to construct a highway connecting Tananarive, capital of the Malagasy Republic, with the principle port of Tamatave.

1) China has assisted a great number of Third World countries to develop their own textile industries. China provides complete cotton mills, breaking the dependance of many small countries on imported cloth.

These examples show the thrust of China's aid programs: develop the basic economy, transportation, and social services of the Third World countries. But what is most impressive is the fact that there are no political strings attached to China's aid.

With regard to military aid, China's policy is even more unique in the world. China has consistently supplied arms to countries and peoples resisting imperialist aggression or fighting for national liberation. However, all Chinese military assistance is without charge! In contrast to the huge armaments industries of the United States and the Soviet Union, China seeks to assist the struggles of the peoples of the world - not make money off them. The Chinese have summed up their policy by asking, "If someone is actually fighting imperialism, why should we charge them? And if they are not fighting imperialism, why should we give them arms at all?"

China's military assistance to the peoples of Indochina is well known. China has also sent military aid to the peoples of Angola and Mozambique in their struggle against the Portuguese, to the Palestinians in their struggle against Zionism, and many others. A most interesting example is China's recent gift of jet engines for MIG fighters to Egypt after the Soviet Union refused to sell the parts to Egypt.

Readings:

1. "China's Economic and Technical Cooperation with Friendly Countries" PR 43 (1974)
2. "No Strings Attached" by Susan Warren, New China, January 1976

5. Border Disputes, Hong Kong and Macao. The People's Republic of China borders directly upon a great number of other countries: Vietnam, Laos, Burma, India, Bhutan, Sikkim (recently annexed by India), Nepal, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Soviet Union, Mongolia, and Korea. At the time of liberation, the borders with most of the countries was neither delimited (settled on paper) nor demarked (surveyed and marked on land). Adding to the problem was the fact that during the preceding century China had suffered encroachment by numerous imperialist powers and was forced to sign away vast sections of Chinese territory at the point of a gun. These treaties, called "unequal treaties" by the Chinese, were renounced by the People's Republic upon its establishment. This does not mean, however, that China seeks the recovery of all territory that was at one time part of the old Chinese empire (everything from Indochina to Eastern Siberia). It simply means that China does not recognize treaties that were not freely entered into by both parties as a basis for discussions. In general, China seeks to clarify its borders with its neighbors on the basis of the status quo and what has

clearly been understood to be a part of China proper.

On the basis of rejecting the imperialist treaties and sitting down to discuss problems in a spirit of friendship and compromise, China has successfully and peacefully resolved its borders with all its neighbors except two (Burma 1960, Nepal 1961, Mongolia 1962, Afghanistan and Pakistan 1963). India and the Soviet Union have insisted on the validity of the old imperialist treaties and have insisted that they be the basis for any border resolutions.

In the case of India, Nehru's government laid claim to every inch of territory ever claimed by England during England's rule of India. This included vast stretches of land in the Himalayas, both in the northwest near Afghanistan and in the east (north of Assam) which the British themselves never actually occupied! Nehru repeatedly refused offers from Chou En-lai to negotiate a border settlement claiming that there was nothing to negotiate.

In 1958 India accidentally discovered a road built in western Tibet which crossed a portion of land claimed by India. It is a testament to the remoteness of the area that the road was there for several years before India discovered it. This, together with India's involvement in the insurrection of Lamas in Tibet in 1959 led to several small border clashes. Finally, in 1962, after rejecting all offers by China to settle the border dispute on the basis of the status quo, Nehru ordered the forcible occupation of all disputed areas. India thus initiated the fighting. In several days all of the Indian forces were thoroughly routed, suffering 7,047 killed, wounded, and captured. China announced a unilateral cease-fire, pulled back its troops to a position 20 kilometers behind the line of control when the fighting began, returned all captured Indian troops and military equipment, and offered once more to negotiate a settlement based on the status quo. While the status quo has remained since, the Indians have still refused to negotiate a settlement.

In this whole affair China was particularly resentful of the fact that the Soviet Union not only publicly supported India, but even sent military aid to India during the fighting (along with the United States). This was, however, only a prelude to the Soviet Union's own border dispute with China.

Under an unequal treaty imposed on China by tsarist Russia in 1860, Russia seized all Chinese territory north of the Heilung (Amur) River and east of the Wusuli (Ussuri) River. Afterwards these rivers were considered the border, and the Chinese continued to use the rivers for fishing and transportation. By common consent the border was understood to be the center of the channel.

Although the Soviet government under the leadership of Lenin had formally announced the repudiation of all unequal treaties forced on others by the Tsars, after the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union the Soviet government not only upheld the validity of the old treaty but announced that according to their interpretation of it, the actual border lay on the Chinese side of the rivers and henceforth the Chinese would be denied all access to the rivers and islands lying on the Chinese side of the main chan-

nel. The Chinese, who do not take well to bullying tactics, continued to patrol their half of the river. This led to a series of clashes which culminated in a heavy attack by tanks and troops on China's Chenpao Island on March 15, 1969. The attack was thoroughly repelled and China still occupies the island, but the Soviet Union still refuses to negotiate a peaceful border settlement.

Taiwan was seized from China under an unequal treaty in 1894, but restored to China in 1945. It does not fall under the category of border disputes since everyone, including the KMT, recognizes Taiwan as an integral part of China. US intervention in Taiwan represents a continuation of US intervention in China's civil war of 1945-49.

Hong Kong and Macao (British and Portuguese colonies on the South coast of China) are both considered by China to be Chinese territory. Their presence belongs in the category of unresolved questions left over from the era of unequal treaties. China does not recognize the validity of these "treaty ports" nor of the so-called lease of the New Territories section of Hong Kong. The British remain in Hong Kong at the sufferance of China. Hong Kong is totally dependent on China for its food and water supply.

The existence of Hong Kong has played an historically important role in defeating the US-led blockade of China in the 1950's and 60's. Through Hong Kong Chinese goods found their way through the blockade and into the world market, and books and magazines with favorable commentary on China marked "printed in Hong Kong" could be sold in countries where books marked "printed in the People's Republic of China" could not. Hong Kong was not used as a base for aggression against People's China and British authorities did not obstruct the flow of foreign visitors through Hong Kong into China. In short the continued presence of the small British colony represented a necessary compromise which served to advance the overall goal. Hong Kong and Macao will ultimately be reunited with China when the conditions are ripe.

The only other disputed territories are the South China Sea islands which have historically been a part of China. Only the Hsisha Islands are inhabited, and China swiftly repelled a South Vietnamese invasion of these islands several years ago. Used since ancient times as a fishing grounds by the Chinese, these islands have suddenly increased in importance with the possibility of off-shore oil deposits. China can be expected to defend its territorial integrity in this area.

Some further reading:

1. "India's China War" by Neville Maxwell (1972 Anchor) 537 pp.
2. "The Sino-Indian Boundary Question" (FLP, 1962) 134 pp. plus maps
3. "The Sino-Indian Boundary Question, II" (FLP, 1965) 44 pp.

4. "Down with the New Tsars!" (FLP 1969) 43 pp. plus maps and photographs
5. "Premier Chou En-lai's Letter to the Leaders of Asian and African Countries on the Sino-Indian Boundary Question" (FLP, 1974) 32 pp. plus maps
6. "Statement of the Government of the People's Republic of China" (FLP, 1969) 48 pp.
7. "A Comment on the Statement of the Communist Party of the USA" (FLP, 1963) 20 pp. describes position on Hong Kong and Macao.

VII. RELATIONS WITH OPPRESSED AND COLONIALIZED PEOPLES

Mao Tse-tung has repeatedly stressed that "the just struggles of the people of all countries support each other." The meaning of this is very important, because China looks upon her support for the revolutionary struggles of the peoples of the world as part of a mutual relationship. For China is also a recipient of the support which flows from struggles everywhere which weaken and lead to the destruction of the imperialist system. This is at the heart of the internationalist outlook of People's China. Ordinary people tell you when you visit China that their struggle to maintain and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat and to develop production is not just for the people of China but for the people of the whole world. Similarly, they see the struggles of peoples elsewhere as assisting not only themselves but also the people of China and the whole world.

Elsewhere in this outline some details of China's material support for the movements of oppressed and colonized peoples are given. This section will deal with two questions which are frequently raised concerning China's relations with revolutionary movements in other states and national liberation movements.

A) Is there a contradiction between seeking to normalize relations with states of different social systems and support for popular struggles against these states? In one form or another this question underlies many "controversies" concerning China's foreign policy, ranging from Nixon's visits to China to China's maintenance of relations with the government of Chile. Therefore let us deal with it directly.

First of all it must be pointed out that the program and actions of a state where the working class is in power are not and cannot be the same as the program and actions of the working class in other countries seeking to seize power or of national liberation movements seeking to overthrow colonial rule. Each is faced with a different set of tasks, and each has abilities and opportunities which the other does not. For example, the working class in power in China has the very real ability to provide material assistance to the just struggles of others, and to use diplomatic and trade relations and the forum of the United Nations to struggle against imperialism. On the other hand it is the revolutionary class or classes within particular countries which actually have the ability to achieve national liberation or change the social systems of those countries. This is something which cannot be done from without by China or anyone else. The program and actions of each must correspond to the contribution each is capable of and required to make in the international struggle against imperialism.

Secondly, the establishment of diplomatic and trade relations with a particular government in no way signifies China's support or endorsement for that country's social system or governmental leaders. What it does signify is that that government is willing to enter into a specific set of mutual relations with the People's Republic of China as outlined by the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence.

It is wrong to approach such relationships from an attitude of "moralism"

and say "How could the Chinese even sit down at the same table with such gangsters"? In the last half century the leaders of the Chinese working class, in carrying forward their revolutionary struggle, have sat down, had dinner and shared wine with just about every imaginable sort of gangster in the world scene! Such relationships have entailed compromises by both sides. For China not only entertains diplomatic relations with imperialists, but even negotiates, makes compromises, and enters into agreements with them. To condemn all such compromises "on principle," without examining the concrete conditions and results, is to approach a very serious and complicated matter subjectively. In his report to the 10th National Congress of the CPC, Chou En-lai quoted from Lenin on the subject of compromises with imperialism. The following extended quotation contains the sentences cited by Premier Chou:

"Imagine that your automobile is held up by armed bandits. You hand them over your money, passport, revolver and automobile. In return you are relieved of the pleasant company of the bandits. That is unquestionably a compromise. ... But it would be difficult to find a sane man who would declare such a compromise to be 'inadmissible on principle,' or who would proclaim the compromiser an accomplice of the bandits (even though the bandits might use the automobile and the firearms for further robberies). ...

"There are compromises and compromises. One must be able to analyze the situation and the concrete conditions of each compromise, or of each variety of compromise. One must learn to distinguish between a man who gave the bandits money and firearms in order to lessen the damage they can do and facilitate their capture and execution, and a man who gives bandits money and firearms in order to share in the loot. ...

"To carry on a war for the overthrow of the international bourgeoisie, a war which is a hundred times more difficult, protracted and complicated than the most stubborn of ordinary wars between states, and to refuse beforehand to manoeuvre, to utilize the conflict of interests (even though temporary) among one's enemies, to refuse to temporize and compromise with possible (even though temporary, unstable, vacillating and conditional) allies - is this not ridiculous in the extreme?

("Left-wing Communism, An Infantile Disorder", V.I. Lenin)

Of course not all compromises arise from a situation of weakness. Some arise from a situation of strength in which the imperialists are forced to make the major concession, as for example in 1972 when the United States' anti-China policy collapsed and Nixon went hat in hand to Peking.

Thirdly, regardless of how compromises between China and states of different social systems may arise, they in no way require or suggest that classes or nations oppressed by such states should do the same. As the Chinese frequently point out, different contradictions are resolved by different means.

Mao Tse-tung was quite candid on this point in 1946 when writing a commentary on post-war agreements made between the Soviet Union and the imperialist countries:

"Such compromise does not require the people in the countries of the capitalist world to follow suit and make compromises at home. The people in those countries will continue to wage different struggles in accordance with their different conditions. The principle of the reactionary forces in dealing with the democratic forces of the people is definitely to destroy all they can and to prepare to destroy later whatever they cannot destroy now. Face to face with this situation, the democratic forces of the people should likewise apply the same principle to the reactionary forces."

("Some Points in Appraisal of the Present International Situation")

Or as the CPC Central Committee later wrote in 1963:

"It is necessary for the socialist countries to engage in negotiations of one kind or another with the imperialist countries. It is possible to reach certain agreements through negotiation by relying on the correct policies of the socialist countries. But necessary compromises between the socialist countries and the imperialist countries do not require the oppressed peoples and nations to follow suit and compromise with imperialism and its lackeys. No one should ever demand in the name of peaceful co-existence that the oppressed peoples and nations should give up their revolutionary struggles."

(PCGLICM)

Fourthly, China in normalizing its relations with reactionary states must take into consideration not only the internal situations in that country and the mutual relations between it and China, but also the whole world situation and the development of the united front against the two superpowers.

Let us take the concrete example of China's relations with Iran. Iran is ruled by a feudal monarch who was placed in power by a CIA-sponsored coup in 1953. The government of the Shah of Iran is exceedingly cruel, resorting to torture and executions with regularity. The Shah is afflicted with illusions of grandeur, styling himself as the descendant of Darius the Great of ancient Persia. From his vast oil profits he has purchased massive amounts of US arms with which he represses his own people as well as seeks to establish a mini-empire over the whole Persian Gulf area. In spite of the rich resources of their country, most Iranians live in poverty. People all over the world have joined in the call of the Iranian people for the overthrow of the Shah.

The Shah, in seeking to realize his aspirations, has real contradictions with the US oil monopolists who have long controlled the Iranian oil fields (and the Shah). Pursuing his own personal interests and taking advantage of the decline of US strength, the Shah has jacked up the price of oil. The present crisis permits even petty agents of imperialism to bargain for better terms. At the same time the Shah has been forced to increase his

vigilance and defences against the Soviet Union (which borders Iran), which would very much like to replace the US as the dominant imperialist power throughout the Mideast. Finally, as a result of the struggles of the Iranian people the Shah has been forced to pay greater lip service to defending the Iranian national interests and to put on a progressive face in international affairs.

What has been the result? Iran has joined the strongest Third World producers association, the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (although Iran plays the most backward role in it). Iran almost consistently votes with the rest of the Third World in the UN, giving real setbacks to the schemes of both superpowers. Iran has normalized relations with the People's Republic of China on the basis of the Five Principles. And Iran has championed China's admission to the Olympic Games in the International Olympic Committee:

Taking advantage of the very real contradictions between the Shah and both superpowers, China has consistently supported and united with any actions by Iran which strengthen the international struggle against superpower hegemony. On the other hand the Chinese Communist Party relies in the final analysis on the masses of the Iranian people to liberate themselves and eventually build a socialist society.

Does China fear the overthrow of the Shah as a setback to its international strategy? Of course not. Motivated as he is by his own self-interest, the Shah is as best a vacillating component of the international united front. Faced with overwhelming force, he would be the first to sell out his country and strike a deal to save his throne and remain a puppet administrator. On the other hand, a popular government led by the working class would have no interests in common with any imperialists and would become a firm link in the international united front. Far from there being a contradiction, there is a fundamental unity between the revolutionary struggles of the peoples in each country and the strengthening of the international united front against the superpowers.

Based on China's observed practice, we may conclude several things regarding the "contradiction" between normalizing relations with imperialist and feudal states and support for the just struggles of colonized and oppressed peoples:

First, China will not renounce its support for such just anti-colonial struggles in order to obtain normalized relations with the imperialists. In the 1950's, France offered diplomatic recognition in return for China ceasing aid to Algeria's national liberation struggle. And in the years since others have tried the same ploy. None have succeeded. Nor will the CPC break its fraternal relations with foreign Marxist-Leninists in order to facilitate state to state relations.

Second, China sees negotiations and relations with imperialists as both a form of struggle with them and a path to achieving better conditions for the advance of the world-wide working class movement. Normal relations open the door to people to people contact, deepening the people's knowledge of modern China and of socialism. This in turn creates material conditions which restrict the ability of the imperialists to take aggressive actions against China and other countries. In all its external contacts with imperi-

alist countries, China deals with the governments but relies on the people.

Third, expanded diplomatic and trade relations strengthen the political unity of the Third World especially, and assist smaller countries in developing their economic, military, and political independence from the super-powers.

Fourth, China relies upon the militant revolutionary struggle of the peoples of the Third World as the main force in the struggle against imperialism.

Suggested further reading:

"Apologists of Neo-Colonialism" (FLP, 1963) 37 pp. Written in response to the Soviet Union's betrayal of anti-colonial struggles; outlines China's views on the correct program of socialist states toward such struggles.

B. Why does China support some movements and struggles and not others?
This question is a very complex one and also one about which we have very little concrete information. China's contacts and assessments of different struggles in the world are necessarily kept from the eyes of imperialist intelligence agencies. China also does not publish comments which could be construed as interference in the affairs of other peoples. Finally, China never brags or boasts about its aid to others, and in fact almost never mentions such assistance at all.

Therefore we must infer from secondary evidence what some of the points are which China must take into consideration. First, of course, is the question of whether a movement is genuinely anti-imperialist. This may seem to be a pretty straightforward question, but it is actually very complicated in a world in which both superpowers frequently masquerade their interference and aggression as revolutionary coups or national liberation movements. It has turned out more than once that a "Marxist" revolutionary group was actually a front for Soviet imperialism, while a genuine anti-imperialist struggle can be led by a member of the feudal monarchy (e.g. Prince Sihanouk).

A second consideration is the question of whether a particular movement represents a struggle against external colonialism or aggression, or whether it is a strictly internal matter of a given country which must be resolved by the people of that country themselves. That sounds like an easy question to decide, and it is in cases like Mozambique's struggle against Portuguese colonialism or Vietnam's fight against US aggression. But what about a multinational country like Cyprus where each nationality has strong ties to neighboring countries and both superpowers are trying their best to intervene? What stance should China take? It gets pretty sticky.

Still, several principles can be gleaned from an examination of China's support to revolutionary struggles.

First, China does not apply mechanical formulas, but examines the concrete conditions in each situation in the light of the entire world situation.

China does not take its judgements lightly and engages in extensive direct contact with the movements involved wherever possible.

Second, while movements supported by China need not be under the leadership of the working class through a Marxist-Leninist party, they must be legitimately engaged in an anti-imperialist struggle and have sufficient independence to not be paving the way for a new imperialist power.

Third, where several organizations are engaged in a particular struggle, China's policy is to give assistance to all and to urge the unity of all against the common enemy (as in Angola, for example).

Fourth, where a national liberation movement is led by a single, popularly supported organization or front, China will establish formal diplomatic relations with it (examples: the NLF of southern Vietnam, the PLO).

Fifth, China will support just proposals for the termination of external aggression (e.g. the NLF's Seven Point Programme), but does not endorse the domestic programs of national liberation organizations. This would constitute interference in the internal affairs of other peoples.

VIII. THE QUESTION OF WAR

The question of world war is not an abstract question for the people of China. Everywhere the people of China are digging tunnels, moving facilities underground, and making other concrete preparations for a world war they now believe to be inevitable in the present world situation. As Chou En-lai said in his report to the 4th National People's Congress, "The two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, are the biggest international oppressors and exploiters today, and they are the source of a new world war. Their fierce contention is bound to lead to world war some day."

In general, how do the Chinese approach the question of war? In PCGLICM they begin by quoting Lenin's approach:

"It seems to me that the main thing that is usually forgotten on the question of war, which receives inadequate attention, the main reason why there is so much controversy, and, I would say, futile, hopeless and aimless controversy, is that people forget the fundamental question of the class character of the war: why the war broke out; the classes that are waging it; the historical and historico-economic conditions that gave rise to it."

("War and Revolution," 1917)

They go on to point out that war is basically the continuation of political struggle by violent means and is inseparable from the politics which it represents.

In the current era the threat of world war arises from the existence of imperialism. An essential feature of imperialism is the incessant struggle between the great imperialist powers for world hegemony. In fact periods of peace in the era of imperialism represent little more than periods of manoeuvre and preparation for the fresh outbreaks of hostility. These wars flow from the basic nature of the capitalist system and the need of capital to reinvest and accumulate, or perish. War is just as much a part of the capitalist system as exploitation, unemployment or national oppression, and can never be "reformed" out of the system.

However interimperialist world war is not the only form warfare takes in the contemporary world. There are also imperialist wars of aggression against smaller, peacefully developing countries and against socialist countries, and the armed resistance of these peoples against aggression. And there are revolutionary civil wars within countries. Thus the Chinese make careful distinctions between the unjust imperialist wars and aggression, and just resistance and revolutionary struggles of the people. They oppose and resist unjust wars and support just struggles.

While the Chinese hold to the inevitability of war in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution, they do believe that concrete measures can be taken to delay the outbreak of world war and to thwart particular acts of imperialist aggression. However, effective actions for the preservation of peace come not from appeasing the imperialists or appealing to their "better nature", but from revolutionary struggle against them which exposes

and weakens their system.

Finally, China sees an intimate relation between the questions of war and revolution. First, because the origins of war lie not in "human nature" but in the imperialist system. This means that war can ultimately be eliminated only through the abolition of the imperialist system itself. This in turn can be accomplished only by the armed overthrow of the imperialist class in each country. This is the meaning of Mao Tse-tung's often quoted statement that "war can only be abolished through war, and in order to get rid of the gun it is necessary to take up the gun."

Second, while China has never advocated world war as a means of promoting revolution, she has pointed out the lesson of contemporary history that world war has consistently given rise to powerful revolutionary movements. The Franco-Prussian War gave rise to the Paris Commune, WW I to the Bolshevik revolution, and WW II to working class power in a host of countries. Basically the imperialists are caught in a hopeless contradiction. They are driven to war to preserve and expend their profits and investments, yet war only weakens and exposes their system as a whole and wakens revolutionary sentiment among the people. This is the meaning of Mao Tse-tung's statement that:

"With regard to the question of world war, there are but two possibilities: One is that the war will give rise to revolution and the other is that revolution will prevent war."

The Chinese have further elaborated their views on the question of war through their ideological struggle against the contentions of revisionism and other reactionary ideologies. Summarized briefly, here are some of the major points.

1) China maintains that the threat of war arises out of the objective laws of the capitalist system which are beyond man's will to wish away (they will cease to operate only when the system itself is abolished). Thus real peace can never be secured through international agreements, world conferences or the United Nations. The actual practice of recent years has shown that "detente" is a smokescreen behind which the two superpowers have escalated their war preparations, and the talk of detente has served only to mask from the people the real intentions of the ruling classes. The Chinese cite for example the Vladivostok agreements between Ford and Brezhnev, in which arms ceilings were set which far exceeded the actual arms possessed by either side. In effect what was set were production targets for a renewed arms race. Another historical example cited is the Washington naval arms limitation treaty prior to World War II.

2) China opposes the notion that wars are caused either by the stockpiling of weapons or by factors inherent in "Human nature." While they seek the ultimate destruction of all weapons of war, they oppose both pacifism and disarmament schemes as utopian so long as imperialism exists. In fact these are reactionary in so far as they mislead the people regarding the real cause of war and what must be done to really end it for good.

3) China rejects the idea that all of mankind will be destroyed in a future war and that therefore war is today "unthinkable." They point out

that this idea is promoted by the nuclear powers to terrorize others into submission and they call on all those engaged in just struggles to stand up to nuclear blackmail. They point out that even world war may not be nuclear because of the political risks involved in using nuclear weapons (consider what the world and domestic reaction would have been if the US had dropped nuclear weapons on Vietnam). And the object of the super-powers is to control economically important areas, not destroy them. In any event, fearing a war that is inevitable is of no help. Those who recognize that it is coming and who prepare for it will be in the better position to lessen its destruction and turn its effects toward the destruction of imperialism itself.

4) China points out that it is people and not weapons who ultimately decide the outcome of wars. China points to dozens of examples since WW II where the masses of people in poor and backwards countries have defeated the imperialists armed with tanks, jet planes, and nuclear weapons. Pointing to the example of Hitler, who headed the greatest military colossus of his day, the Chinese conclude that those who unleash world war in the vain hope of preserving imperialism and set themselves against the people of the world "will come to no good end."

5) The Chinese are particularly scornful of those who oppose all wars, even the just struggles of national liberation, on the grounds that any spark might set off nuclear world war. This viewpoint, again fostered by the revisionists and imperialists, serves only to keep oppressed peoples in slavery.

Suggested further readings:

1. "Lenin on War and Peace" (FLP, 1966) 108 pp.
2. "Two Different Lines on the Question of War and Peace" (FLP, 1963) 38 pp.
- 3) PCGLICM, esp. Section 14
- 4) "More on the Differences Between Comrade Togliatti and Us" (FLP, 1963) esp. Section IV on War and Peace. Out of print.

On the approaching world war. China's estimation of the likelihood of a new world war has risen sharply in just the last few years. The reasons for this assessment can be seen from reviewing the development of the contention between the superpowers over the last couple of decades.

At the time of the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, the United States enjoyed great economic and military superiority. US bases ringed the Soviet Union. And as late as the early 60's the US still enjoyed a 5 to 1 lead in missiles. Through a combination of massive financial expenditure and successful diplomatic manoeuvre the Soviet Union has succeeded in achieving military parity with the US in general and superiority in some areas.

For example, in each round of nuclear limitation agreements between the West and the Soviet Union, the Soviet Union has been able to utilize the agreements to close the gap and move ahead. So that by 1974 the US had 1,064 ballistic missiles to the Soviet Union's 1,575.

It is well known that the Soviet Navy has vastly outstripped that of the US. The Soviet Union enjoys an advantage in both nuclear submarines and submarine-fired missiles. The Soviet Union is now building aircraft carriers for the first time and its fleets patrol every ocean on the globe, with new naval docking facilities being sought everywhere.

In terms of conventional weapons, the Soviet Union has superiority over the US in modern tanks (they now have 40,000), and overwhelming superiority in Europe.

In terms of troops, in 1968 the US had 3.6 million and the Soviet Union 3.4 million. But by 1975 the US had only 2.1 million while the Soviet Union had increased its military forces to 4.2 million with 25,000,000 reservists!

In terms of arms exports, the Soviet Union first entered the international arms market in 1955. In the late 1950's the Soviet Union had only 11.3% of the world arms market. By the early 1970's their share of the market had increased to 37.5%. In 1974 alone the Soviet Union exported \$5,500,000,000 worth of arms.

During the recent period, the Soviet arms budget had increased dramatically from 13.1% of their national income in 1960 to 19.6% of their national income in 1974. In 1975 it went to 20%, surpassing the 19% record set by Germany just prior to WW II. In 1975 the US spent \$80 billion on "defense" while the Soviet Union spent \$114 billion on "defense."

To this should be added the consideration that US forces are spread thin throughout the world defending remains of the US empire, while the Soviet Union has been able to successfully utilize concentration to obtain overwhelming tactical superiority at points of its own choosing.

In China's analysis the strategic thrust of the Soviet Union's military ambitions is in Europe. It is in Europe where the single greatest concentration of capital and productive capacities (outside of the superpowers) lies. Control of Europe is key to the control of the world. The great bulk of the Soviet Union's military capacity is concentrated in Europe. Those forces in Asian USSR are primarily arrayed against Japan and US forces in Asia, not against China. The Soviet Union's great interest in the Middle East is based in the key importance of Middle Eastern oil to Europe and Japan.

At the present time the Soviet Union stations 31 divisions with 460,000 men in four Eastern European countries, in addition to their forces in European USSR.

The picture is, however, not completely one-sided. The United States and its allies in Europe and Japan still enjoy relative superiority over the Soviet Union when the strengths of their economies and technology are considered. Not only is the Soviet Union's agriculture a complete disaster, but the Soviet Union is even forced to import steel in order to meet the

demands of war production. To this must be added the growing deterioration of social conditions within the USSR due to the militarization of the economy. The increased exploitation of the working class, the revolt of occupied Eastern European countries, and the renewed oppression of national minorities in the Soviet Union all make for a weak base for the Soviet leaders' world ambitions.

In the end, the Chinese feel, regardless of the relative rise or fall of particular imperialist powers, it is imperialism itself which will be destroyed and the people of the world will emerge victorious.

The relative rise of Soviet strength has been accomplished under the cloak of "detente," preying on the legitimate desires of the people of the world for peace, and buttressed by the insidious efforts of the revisionist parties in Western Europe and the US. The Chinese have also pointed out the similarity of thinking between some Western leaders today and those just before WW II. The great hope of some Western leaders is that somehow through concessions (as in the "disarmament" talks and the Helsinki Conference) the Soviet Union's desires in Europe can be appeased and the Soviet Union can be induced to direct its expansion in the direction of China (just as some Western leaders sought to appease Hitler and induce him to attack the Soviet Union rather than Western Europe). China's assessment is that this will not work. It is the productive and military capacity of Europe that the Soviet Union is after, and like Germany in WW II the Soviet Union could not engage in a protracted war against China without first securing its western flank.

Some have suggested that in pointing out these facts, the Chinese are implicitly supporting certain Western leaders over others. This is not a correct inference. The Chinese have never held the revisionist theory that there are "good, peace-loving" imperialists and "bad, aggressor" imperialists. What they do point out is that some imperialist leaders pursue different policies than others in order to suit their own needs. And certain policies have the potential to speed the outbreak of world war while others have the potential to delay it and give time to increase the strength of popular forces, the unity of the Third World, and the development of the worldwide united front. China is obviously using its considerable diplomatic influence to delay as long as possible the outbreak of the coming world war.

Neither the Chinese nor anyone else is able to predict with certainty the course and nature of the coming conflict. While Europe is the center of the contention, the actual conflict could begin anywhere in the world (South Africa, the Middle East, etc.). It is also quite possible that the war will be fought with conventional rather than nuclear weapons.

The character of the war is also conditional on whether one of the imperialist camps attacks China or the other socialist countries in the course of the war, and this cannot be predicted in advance. In interimperialist conflicts for world hegemony the Chinese uphold the Leninist doctrine that the working class has no stake in the victory of either side, and the progressive forces in the imperialist states should work for the defeat of "their own" ruling class in the war and transformation of the conflict into a revolutionary struggle to overthrow imperialism. This is in contrast to the bourgeois theory that all should unite to defend the fatherland

against the "aggressor" (the rival imperialist power is naturally painted as the aggressor!). On the other hand it is the internationalist duty of the working class world wide to take whatever steps are appropriate to defend socialist states attacked by imperialists, including temporary tactical alliances with rival imperialists, when necessary.

Commenting on the outbreak of WW II, Mao Tse-tung wrote:

"Some people say that now that the second imperialist world war has broken out, the Soviet Union will probably take sides - in other words, the Soviet Red Army seems to be on the point of joining the German imperialist front. I consider this view incorrect. On whichever side, the Anglo-French or the German, the war that has just broken out is an unjust, predatory and imperialist war. The Communist Parties and the people of all countries should rise up against it and expose the imperialist character of both belligerents, for this imperialist war brings only harm and no benefit whatever to the people of the world, and they should expose the criminal acts of the social-democratic parties in supporting the imperialist war and betraying the interests of the proletariat."

Commenting on the German invasion of Poland, Mao Tse-tung goes on:

"By its nature, Germany's war is imperialist and should be opposed, not approved. As for Britain and France, they have regarded Poland as an object of plunder for their finance capital, exploited her to thwart the German imperialist attempts at a world redivision of the spoils, and made her a flank of their own imperialist front. Thus their war is an imperialist war, their so-called aid to Poland being merely for the purpose of contending with Germany for the domination of Poland."

(*"The Identity of Interests between the Soviet Union and All Mankind"*)

But when Germany launched its attack on the Soviet Union, the character of the interimperialist war changed, and the tasks of the working class changed accordingly:

"On June 22 the fascist rulers of Germany attacked the Soviet Union. This is a perfidious crime of aggression not only against the Soviet Union but against the freedom and independence of all nations. The Soviet Union's sacred war of resistance against fascist aggression is being waged not only in its own defence but in defence of all the nations struggling to liberate themselves from fascist enslavement.

"For Communists throughout the world the task now is to mobilize the people of all countries and organize an international united front to fight fascism and defend the Soviet Union, defend China, and defend the freedom and independence of all nations."

(Mao Tse-tung, *"On the International United Front Against Fascism,"* June 23, 1941)

Suggested further reading:

1. "Factors for Both Revolution and War Are Increasing" PR 1 (1976)
2. "Growing Danger of New World War" PR 2 (1976)
3. "Soviet Social-Imperialism - Most Dangerous Source of War" PR 5 (1976)
4. "The Identity of Interests Between the Soviet Union and All Mankind," by Mao Tse-tung. Selected Works, Vol. II.
5. "On the International United Front Against Fascism," by Mao Tse-tung. Selected Works, Vol. III.

Nuclear Weapons and Disarmament. China's position on nuclear weapons has been enunciated many times. China favors the complete prohibition and destruction of all nuclear weapons. But this can never be brought about by China unilaterally disarming herself in the face of the continued existence of imperialism. As is well known, China has no foreign military bases. China's war ships and planes do not roam the globe like those of the superpowers. China's armed forces are trained and equipped for their basic task of defending China from an external attack. China's standing army is not large in proportion to its population, as China depends upon the whole of the people to defend the country. Every commune, school or factory of any size has its own militia unit with its own weapons.

China has developed and will continue to develop whatever weapons they deem necessary for the defense of China against external aggression. And much to the consternation of the superpowers, who had hoped to wield nuclear blackmail over the head of China, China has developed both nuclear and thermonuclear weapons through relying on her own efforts. As a possessor of nuclear weapons, China has unilaterally pledged never to be the first to use nuclear weapons and has challenged both superpowers to undertake the same pledge. Both have declined.

China has refused to participate in "nuclear club" discussions and treaties to "stop the proliferation" of nuclear weapons, i.e. restrict ownership of nuclear weapons to those who already have them - principally the major imperialist powers. Instead China has called for an international conference in which all countries of the world are represented for the purpose of, first, reaching an agreement on the non-use of nuclear weapons, and then an agreement on their ultimate destruction.

Finally, China has supported the proposals of many Third World countries to create "nuclear free zones," for example in the Indian Ocean which is a hotbed of superpower contention.

Suggested further reading:

1. Chiao Kuan-hua's speeches to the 27th and 30th Sessions of the UN General Assembly
2. "People of the World, Unite and Struggle for the Complete Prohibition and thorough Destruction of Nuclear Weapons!" (FLP, 1971)
3. "China's Voice in the United Nations" by Susan Warren. New York, 1975. Especially Chapter 5.
4. "People of the World Unite, For the Complete, Thorough, Total and Resolute Prohibition and Destruction of Nuclear Weapons!" (FLP, 1963) Contains a number of documents: Statements by the US and USSR, and draft treaties. Out of print.

IX. FOUR CASE STUDIES

Bangladesh

In 1971 the Indian Army invaded East Pakistan, announced the creation of "Bangladesh," and installed the leaders of the Awami League in power. The PRC led the fight in the UN against this Indian invasion, which subsequently led to charges that China opposed the "national liberation struggle" of the Bengali people and supported the Pakistani military dictatorship. What were the facts?

After WW II, a weakened England was forced to give up colonial rule of the Indian sub-continent. Having always promoted religious and national strife to rule, England partitioned India into two states, Hindu-ruled India and Moslem Pakistan, with Pakistan itself divided into two parts lying on either side of India. While East Pakistan had the most people, the seat of government and what wealth there was resided in West Pakistan. The Bengali people of East Pakistan suffered economic and political oppression by the central government and there was a great deal of popular resistance.

In December 1970 the military government of Yahya Khan held elections which were supposed to reinstate civilian rule. To Yahya Khan's consternation, in West Pakistan the opposition Pakistan People's Party of Z.A. Bhutto won 60% of the seats, and in East Pakistan the Awami League won 72.6% of the votes and an absolute majority in the combined parliament. The Awami League, the party of business interests and landlords in East Pakistan, called for regional autonomy and opposed the revolutionary left which had boycotted the elections. Its leader Mujibur Rahman was held in jail in West Pakistan and the rest of its leaders were in exile in India.

When Yahya Khan tried to postpone the convocation of the new assembly, there were riots in East Pakistan in which some 3,000 non-Bengalis were killed. Then on March 25, 1971, the day the assembly was to finally convene, West Pakistani troops in East Pakistan unleashed their own terror, killing tens of thousands of Bengalis in several days.

Throughout this period the government of India paid careful attention. The Indian ruling class had never abandoned its desire to forcibly reunite the Indian sub-continent under their rule, and India had already gone to war several times with Pakistan in attempts to seize the disputed Kashmir area. However, now a powerful new element was added - the support of the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union had already supported India in its attack on China in 1962. Now, with the US effectively tied down in Vietnam and unable to come to the aid of Pakistan (a SEATO member), the Soviet Union promised India economic, military, and political support in the UN for the dismemberment of Pakistan. It should also be noted here that the stakes being played for were very large. At the time of its creation, Bangladesh automatically became the eighth most populous country in the world!

During this period China constantly warned the Pakistani government of the folly of its policies and the danger of a Soviet instigated invasion by India. The situation became more acute with the growth of revolutionary and Marxist influence among Bengali guerrilla units fighting the West Pakistani troops. This raised the specter of a revolutionary people's government which would adjoin the Indian state of West Bengal, scene of numerous peasant uprisings against the Indian government itself. In August India signed a treaty of friendship and mutual assistance with the Soviet Union. In September and October talks were announced between Soviet and Indian leaders according to Article 9 of the treaty (which refers to mutual assistance in the event of war). In November Soviet ships loaded with arms began arriving. And in December the Indian army invaded East Pakistan, defeated the Pakistani troops, installed the Awami League leaders in Dacca, and the formation of Bangladesh was announced.

What stance did China take? At no time did China ever support the domestic policies of the West Pakistani government. What China did do was to support the right of the Pakistani people to resolve their own internal problems without outside interference or coercion. It can reasonably be inferred that China had some confidence that the 75 million people of East Pakistan would in the long run be able to deal with the 70,000 West Pakistan troops occupying the larger cities. China's position upholding the territorial integrity of Pakistan was overwhelmingly supported in the UN and a resolution demanding the immediate withdrawal of Indian forces passed 104 to 11.

The aftermath of these events is also instructive. In West Pakistan, Yahya Khan was forced from power and Z.A. Bhutto assumed leadership of the country. Bhutto's government strengthened its ties with China, withdrew from SEATO, and withdrew from the UN Command in Korea. In Bangladesh, the "national liberation" of the country meant only the continued suffering of the masses of people and the replacement of West Pakistani overlords with Indian and Soviet ones. After several years of Indian tutelage and Soviet "aid," Mujibur Rahman was assassinated and a new group seized government control. The new government normalized its relations with Pakistan, and then relations between Bangladesh and China were normalized.

While East Pakistan remained under foreign occupation and control, China refused to support its admission to the UN as a sovereign state. After the overthrow of Rahman, the mutual resolution of differences between East and West Pakistan, China voted for the admission of Bangladesh to the UN.

Suggested further readings:

1. "India's Armed Aggression Against Pakistan" PR 50 (1971)
2. Speech by Chiao Kuan-Hua to the 27th Session of the UN General Assembly (FLP, 1972)
3. Speech by Chiao Kuan-hua to the 28th Session of the UN General Assembly (FLP, 1973)

Cambodia (Kampuchea)

The story of China's massive support to the people of Vietnam throughout their years of struggle against the French and the US is well known. Some of the artillery pieces which reduced the French fortress of Dien Bien Phu were American-made guns captured in Korea. And China's aid during the more recent war included assistance in building a petroleum pipeline from the Chinese border all the way into south Vietnam.

During the recent war the Soviet Union also provided material to the Vietnamese. The Soviet Union publicly called upon China to enter into a joint aid program for Vietnam. China refused, whereupon the Soviet Union cried that China was obstructing the support effort for the Vietnamese people. In point of fact China provided both port and rail facilities throughout the war for the direct shipment of supplies from the Soviet Union to Vietnam. The reason why China refused to enter into a joint aid program with the Soviet Union is simple. China was supplying aid to the Vietnamese for the purpose of assisting their national liberation and defending their country against imperialist aggression. The Soviet Union was supplying material to Vietnam for the purpose of weakening the United States as a part of the Soviet Union's global contention with the US for world hegemony. For China to engage in a joint program with the Soviet Union would have blurred this crucial distinction and given credence to the Soviet Union's claim that it was an ally in the struggle against imperialism.

Throughout its "aid" program to Vietnam, the Soviet Union never provided the Vietnamese with the kinds and qualities of sophisticated weapons which it was willing to sell to Arab countries for hard Western currency. For example, the Soviet Union sold surface to surface missiles to Egypt which allowed Egypt to sink an Israeli destroyer miles at sea with one shot. Yet the Vietnamese were left to suffer years of coastal bombardment by the US 7th Fleet. The Soviet Union's policy was to supply a measured quantity of conventional weapons, sufficient to keep the war going for years without decisive victory and bleed the US white with the Vietnamese doing the fighting. This in turn would free up the Soviet Union to pursue other adventures in the Middle East, Africa, and Latin America, while the bulk of the US mobile forces were tied down in Vietnam.

The Soviet Union's hypocrisy was even more clearly revealed in the case of Cambodia. Prince Sihanouk was actually in Moscow when Gen. Lon Nol seized control of Phnom Penh in a CIA-sponsored coup. Sihanouk promptly announced that the struggle would go on and that his government would continue to function in exile. He told the Russians that he looked to the socialist countries for support, that he took no sides in the disputes between the USSR and China, and that he would like his government in exile to reside six months out of each year in Moscow and six months in Peking. The Soviets appeared to agree, and Sihanouk flew to Peking to make the same proposition.

The PRC immediately accepted Sihanouk's proposal and announced their continued recognition of his government. But no public statement from Moscow was forthcoming. Not only did Moscow refuse to recognize Sihanouk's government in exile, but they retained their embassy in Phnom Penh and began relations with the US-sponsored generals. For the next five years, the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia resided in Peking.

The RGNUC quickly consolidated control over the majority of Cambodia and engaged in a protracted people's war to regain control of the capital. In this struggle the only Soviet arms which the Cambodians got were those given to them by their Vietnamese allies. The Soviet Union loftily proclaimed the whole thing was an internal matter of the Cambodian people! China became the major supplier of support to the Cambodian people in their successful struggle. In one interview with a Western journalist in late 1972 Prince Sihanouk stated that his government was receiving millions of dollars a year from China in US currency, with which they were able to purchase arms directly from corrupt officers of the Lon Nol forces, as well as weapons received free of charge from China.

Algeria, China and others led the fight in the United Nations to oust the representatives of the Lon Nol group and restore the legitimate representatives of the Cambodian people in the UN. The Soviet Union maintained its embassy in Phnom Penh until the fall of the Lon Nol group was imminent - while over sixty countries around the world established relations with the RGNUC.

Suggested further readings:

1. "Fighting Cambodia" (FLP, 1975) 60 pp.
2. Chiao Kuan-hua's speeches to the 28th and 29th Sessions of the UN General Assembly
3. "My Overthrow and Resistance" by Prince Sihanouk, Ramparts, July, 1972
4. "China's Voice in the United Nations" by Susan Warren

Chile

The story of what happened in Chile can be understood only in the context of the struggle between the United States and the Soviet Union for control of Chile and its rich mineral resources.

Allende, a social democrat, was elected president of Chile by a plurality in a three-way race. He was supported by the revisionist Chilean Communist Party, which exerted some influence in his government. While Allende was elected president, the Chinese point out, he never held power. His supporters controlled neither the Congress, the courts, nor the armed forces. The Soviets and the Chilean revisionists widely touted the theory that imperialism could simply be voted out, and that to arm the people and to attempt to destroy the bourgeois state apparatus would be adventurous and "ultra-leftist." Spurred on by the wide popularity of many of Allende's initial reforms, revisionist parties all over the world began extolling "the Chilean road to socialism." At last, a living example of the peaceful transition to socialism!

But at the same time, in their eagerness to replace the US as the prin-

ciple exploiter of Chilean mineral wealth, the Soviets pushed Allende to nationalize the American-owned mines and beyond that to proceed with the immediate nationalization of many smaller enterprises. This was combined with extensive welfare programs for which the resources didn't exist. The United States simultaneously engaged in economic sabotage. Together these things resulted in serious inflation, shortages, and unemployment. The support of the middle forces and the political initiative were lost, counter-revolutionary demonstrations were organized on a large scale, and Allende was killed in a military coup which faced no effective popular resistance.

Salvatore Allende was considered by the Chinese to be a good friend. He had been at one time the president of the Chile-China Friendship Association. And as president of Chile he normalized relations with the PRC. During this period the Chilean foreign minister was invited to China and Chou En-lai personally wrote to Allende. China warned Allende about his policies and urged him not to lose touch with the masses of people, but China's advice was not followed.

Following the US-sponsored coup, the Soviet Union made a great show out of breaking its relations with Chile. Having led the Chilean people into a trap with its phoney theories and get-rich-quick schemes, the USSR sought to cover its responsibility for the debacle with a great display of moral indignation. In the end, only the Soviet Union and a handful of countries under its control broke relations with Chile and their departure from Chile is a good thing. The Chilean people have suffered long enough because of them.

The government of China sent a personal message of condolence to Allende's widow and pointed out to the world the nature of the coup and what had brought it about. China recalled its ambassador and offered asylum to the Chilean ambassador, but retained its diplomatic relations because China's diplomatic relations depend on the mutual observance of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, not on China's approval or disapproval of the other country's domestic policies.

Since this time the Soviet Union and its supporters have heaped much abuse upon China and propagated a number of lies to the effect that China has given military aid or loans to the Chilean junta. China feels that the maintenance of channels of contact between the people of China and the people of Chile is a good thing. And the genuine revolutionary forces in Chile support China's continued diplomatic presence.

Suggested further reading:

1. "Premier Chou Sends Condolences on Death of President Allende" and "Military Coup" PR 38 (1973)
2. "Mrs. Allende: People Must Have Army at Their Service" PR 39 (1973)
3. "Chile: Nationalized US-Owned Companies Returned to Original Owners" PR 13 (1974)

Angola

The recent events in Angola show yet another contrast between the actions and policies of People's China and those of the two superpowers. China has consistently supported the struggle of the Angolan people against colonialism since its inception. The struggle of the Angolan people has been carried on by three different liberation organizations in that country: the MPLA, based mainly among the Mbundu people in the north; the FNLA, based mainly among the Bakongo people in the east; and the UNITA organization based among the Ovimbundu people in the south who make up half of the country's population. The MPLA is the oldest of the groups, and many of the leaders of the other two groups are former members of the MPLA. China considers all three groups to be legitimate national liberation organizations. China has hosted delegations from all three organizations, and has given military assistance and training to all three. As the oldest organization with the longest period of contact with China, the MPLA has received more aid from China than the other two groups. The first reported MPLA delegation visited China in 1965. In July, 1971, Dr. Agostinho Neto, leader of the MPLA, visited China and addressed a banquet given in his honor by the Chinese-African Peoples' Friendship Association.

The history of the three organizations is very complex and they have frequently in their history devoted as much time to fighting each other as the Portuguese. China's policy has been consistently to treat all equally, and urge their unity in the anti-imperialist struggle.

Prior to the coup in Portugal and the granting of independence to Angola, the United States was the principle military supporter of the Portuguese war effort in Angola. The Soviet Union supplied a small amount of arms to the Angolans, mostly to the MPLA, but nothing decisive. After the April, 1974, coup in Portugal a ceasefire in Angola was arranged and through the mediation of the Organization of African Unity an agreement was reached between the three groups and Portugal (the Alvor agreement of January 1975) to establish a coalition government to assume power in November 1975. On January 27, 1975, Premier Chou En-lai cabled identical congratulatory messages to the leaders of all three organizations. In light of the succeeding events, the message was prophetic:

"The signing of the Angolan independence agreement is a major victory for the heroic Angolan people who have persisted in protracted armed struggle for national independence and freedom against imperialism and colonialism, and is an important success for the Angolan liberation organizations that have allied themselves for common struggle on the basis of the principle of national independence. It is a heavy blow to imperialism, colonialism and racism as well as a powerful encouragement to the peoples in southern Africa still under colonialist and racist rule.

"Of course, the agreement is still something on paper, and it takes continued arduous struggle to achieve full implementation of its provisions. Old colonialist forces will not step down from the stage of history of their own accord, and neo-colonialist forces of various descriptions are bound to seek opportunities to make trouble and carry out sabotage.

"The Angolan people's struggle for complete national independence remains long and tortuous. We are convinced, however, that the

Angolan people, who have been tempered in armed struggle, will certainly win total victory for their national independence struggle with the support of African countries and people and the whole world, so long as they further strengthen their unity, maintain constant sharp vigilance, guard against meddling by external forces and persevere in unremitting struggle.

"The Chinese Government and people will, as always, stand firmly with the Angolan people and support your just cause."

(PR 6 (1975))

The coup in Portugal and the breakup of the Portuguese overseas empire set off a mad scramble between the two superpowers for influence and control, in Angola, Timor, the Azores, and in Portugal itself. In Angola the Soviet Union initiated a civil war by declaring only one of the three national liberation organizations to be legitimate, supplying it massively with arms, and urging it to seize sole power. With the fighting against the Portuguese stopped, the first Soviet military advisors began arriving in Angola in January of 1975. By June Soviet and Cuban support for the MPLA began arriving in great force. During March, May, and July delegates from each of the three groups again visited China, and China urged their unity in the face of continued imperialist threat. But in July the MPLA launched attacks on FNLA personnel stationed in Luanda, the capital. The first Cuban troops landed in Caxito, just north of Luanda, in September. Between September 25 and October 23, the Soviet Union brought in five ship loads of munitions and 2,400 Cuban troops.

Using the Soviet-Cuban invasion as an excuse, the US, now piously "defending the sovereignty of the Angolan people," began rushing military supplies to the FNLA and UNITA and instigated the invasion of southern Angola by troops from racist South Africa on October 23. Citing the peril of the South African invasion, the Soviet Union quickly escalated the Cuban expeditionary force to 12,000. Using Russian-supplied armor, artillery, and MIG 21 jet fighters, the Cuban forces defeated the South Africans and the regular units of the FNLA and UNITA. By January 26, 1976, the South Africans had withdrawn to the Angolan border area, and eventually withdrew completely. The MPLA unilaterally proclaimed the "People's Republic of Angola." As of this writing, the Cuban-Soviet forces are still in Angola, and guerrilla warfare is being waged against them in the countryside.

Again China's policy in this situation stood out in sharp contrast to that of the superpowers. While neither superpower had supplied significant aid to the Angolan liberation forces prior to the Portuguese surrender (and the US had backed the Portuguese efforts), with the cessation of fighting against the Portuguese both superpowers, and especially the Soviet Union, suddenly found it possible to supply massive shipments of arms and to bring in foreign troops. China on the other hand had consistently supported and supplied all three Angolan organizations in their fight against Portuguese colonialism, urging their unity against the common enemy, treating them equally and not interfering in the internal affairs of the Angolan people. With the cessation of hostilities against the Portuguese, China welcomed the Alvor unity agreement and suspended military aid to all three organizations. China will not supply arms to the African people to fight each other in a fratricidal civil war.

Internationally, China has assailed all foreign intervention in Angola - Soviet, Cuban, US, and South African - and has consistently urged the Angolan people to unite and expell all foreign imperialists. In the United Nations, China has refused (as in the case of Bangladesh) to vote for the admission of Angola as a sovereign state until the foreign occupation forces are removes.

Suggested further reading:

1. "Speech by Chiao Kuan-hua at the Plenary Meeting of the 30th Session of the UN General Assembly" (FLP, 1975)
2. "China's Stand on Question of Angola" and "What Will Moscow Do After South African Racists' Troop Withdrawal?" PR 15 (1976)
3. "China's Position on Angola" and "Moscow-staged Farce of 'Troop Withdrawal' from Angola" PR 27 (1976)
4. "African Liberation Movements" by Richard Gibson (Oxford University Press, 1972) 350 pp. Gives detailed early history of all three Angolan liberation movements.

X. THE UNITED NATIONS AND OTHER INTERNATIONAL QUESTIONS

In the forum of the United Nations the PRC has set forth its views on a great variety of particular international questions. Since such excellent source materials are available on this area, this chapter will only set forth in capsule form China's position on a number of these questions.

The basic readings on this area are speeches at the opening of each session of the UN General Assembly by Chiao Kuan-hua, Peking Review, and Susan Warren's book "China's Voice in the United Nations" (a revised version of which is in preparation). In the Chiao Kuan-hua speeches, the Chinese delegation sets forth China's general world analysis and China's stand on the particular issues which are expected to come up in that session of the General Assembly.

1) Reform of the UN Charter. In the UN China has given its support to the proposals from numerous Third World countries to revise the UN Charter with the aim of restricting the powers of the Security Council and eliminating the veto provisions which grant special privileges to the major imperialist powers.

See Chiao Kuan-hua's speech to the 30th Session of the UN General Assembly, and PR 50 (1975).

2. Korea. In the UN China supported the dissolution of the so-called "Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea," and supports the repeated resolution by Algeria to dissolve the "UN Command" in Korea. China has repeatedly called for the removal of all foreign troops from Korea (Chinese troops left Korea 18 years ago) and supports the joint statement of the North and South Korean governments (July 4, 1972), which sets up the mechanism for the peaceful reunification of Korea by the Korean people themselves without outside interference. China has opposed the entry of South Korea into the UN as a measure which would tend to perpetuate the division of Korea.

See Chiao Kuan-hua's speeches to the 28th and 30th session of the UN General Assembly, PR 44 (1975), and "China's Voice in the UN, by Susan Warren.

3. The Middle East. China holds the primary cause of unrest in the Middle East to be contention between the two superpowers for control of the Middle East and its vast oil deposits which are so vital to Europe and Japan. China feels that both the US and the USSR have pursued a course of "no war and no peace" in the Middle East, selling billions of dollars worth of arms but not allowing their client states to launch any all-out struggle.

China has consistently supported the Arab countries against Zionist aggression, and hailed the October War as a just attempt by the Arab countries to recover their occupied territories. China vigorously supports the national rights of the Palestinian people, and has opposed any Middle East settlements at the expense of the Palestinians.

See Chiao Kuan-hua's speech to the 29th session of the UN General Assembly, current articles in PR, and "China's Voice in the UN," by Susan Warren.

4) Terrorism. China has always opposed terrorism by small groups of individuals and consistently held that social changes can be effected only by the struggle of the broad masses of people. China's stand on terrorism is so well known that no airplane hijacker has even tried to fly a plane into China! However, China never has and never will support the US-sponsored resolutions to condemn terrorism. China points out that after dropping millions of tons of bombs on the peoples of Indochina, the US is undoubtedly the biggest terrorist in the world, and its hypocritical resolutions seek only to attack the cause of the Palestinian people and support its clients, the Israelis.

See Chiao Kuan-hua's speech to the 27th session of the UN General Assembly.

5) Colonialism. China has consistently supported resolutions to expel South Africa from the UN and support the liberation struggles of the peoples in the former Portuguese colonies and the peoples of Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), Azania (South Africa), and Namibia (Southwest Africa).

See "All Africa is Standing Up" PR 35 (1975).

6. Cyprus. In the recent Cyprus crisis, China supported the independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity of Cyprus, seeking to enable the two communities in Cyprus to resolve their problems without outside meddling and interference. Behind the scenes the US tried to engineer the partition of Cyprus, while the USSR offered troops for a UN "peacekeeping force."

See Chiao Kuan-hua's speech to the 29th session of the UN General Assembly and numerous articles in PR (1974).

7. Economic Development. China has consistently held that the cause of uneven economic development is not the "backwardness" of the Third World countries, but rather the rapacious actions of imperialism. China supports the demands in the UN of the Third World countries for economic independence and a new international economic order. This idea has been bitterly opposed by both the US and the USSR who in turn stress the economic "interdependence" of countries and the "international division of labor." China also vigorously supports the development of associations of producers of raw materials (like the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries) to combat the control of world market prices by the imperialist countries.

Suggested further reading:

- a) Chiao Kuan-hua's speech to the 30th UN General Assembly
- b) "Head of China Delegation Chen Mu-hua's Speech at UNIDO Second General Conference" PR 12 (1975)
- c) "Speech by Chou Hua-min, Head of Chinese delegation at 4th UNCTAD session" PR 21 (1976)
- d) "Third World Wins New Victories in Joint Struggle Against Hegemony" PR 24 (1976)
- e) "China's Voice in the United Nations" by Susan Warren. Details China's stand at the Sixth Special Session of the UN General Assembly on Raw Materials and Development.

8) Law of the Sea. Control of the seas has always been a point of contention between the imperialist powers and the developing nations. China has consistently stood with the other Third World countries in their just demands to a) extend territorial waters beyond 3 miles, b) create a contiguous economic zone of 200 miles in which sovereignty is exercised over fishing and mineral exploration, c) extend national sovereignty over narrow straits which would fall within normal territorial waters (like the Straits of Malacca and Gibraltar), particularly with regard to the passage of foreign warships, and d) divide equally among the countries of the world the mineral resources of deep ocean floors. By contrast, both the US and the USSR have vigorously upheld the "traditional freedom of the high seas" and maintained that the resources of the ocean could be taken by anyone who had the resources to develop them.

See PR 27 through 36 (1974), "China's Voice in the United Nations" by Susan Warren, and PR during late 1976 (for 5th session of the 3rd UN Sea Law Conference).

9. World Food and Population Crisis. China holds that the world food shortage is the direct result of colonialism and imperialism. The example of China itself shows that a country with one fourth of the world's population and relatively little arable land can easily feed itself if there is a revolution in the social relations of production. In order to draw attention away from the real causes of poverty in the world, the imperialist countries promote the idea that poverty results from there being too many people. Again the living example of China itself is refutation. In China's view "of all things in the world, people are the most precious." And it is the imperialist system and not the masses of people who are to blame for poverty.

See:

- a) "How China Solved Its Food Problem" PR 45 (1973)
- b) "At UN World Food Conference: China's Views on Solving World Food Problem" PR 46 (1974)
- c) "Chinese Observer on Population Question" PR 49 (1973)

10. Puerto Rico. China has consistently held that Puerto Rico is a colony of the US, and firmly supports the struggle of the Puerto Rican people for their independence. The Soviet revisionists have attacked China for refusing to support their resolutions in the UN on Puerto Rican independence. China refuses to support these Soviet and Cuban resolutions just as China refuses to support the US-sponsored resolutions on terrorism. China gives neither superpower any "legitimacy by association." China's stand on Puerto Rico was clearly revealed when China refused to receive the Mayor of San Juan, Puerto Rico, as part of a US mayors delegation (He was of course welcome to come as part of a Puerto Rican mayors delegation!).

See "Observations on Cancellation by US Side of Mayors' Visit to China" PR 39 (1975).



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- * Tenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China \$.50
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- * Vietnamese People's Great Victories\$.35
- * On the Chungking Negotiations by Mao Tse-Tung\$.25
- * China's Voice in the U.N. by Susan Warren\$1.95

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