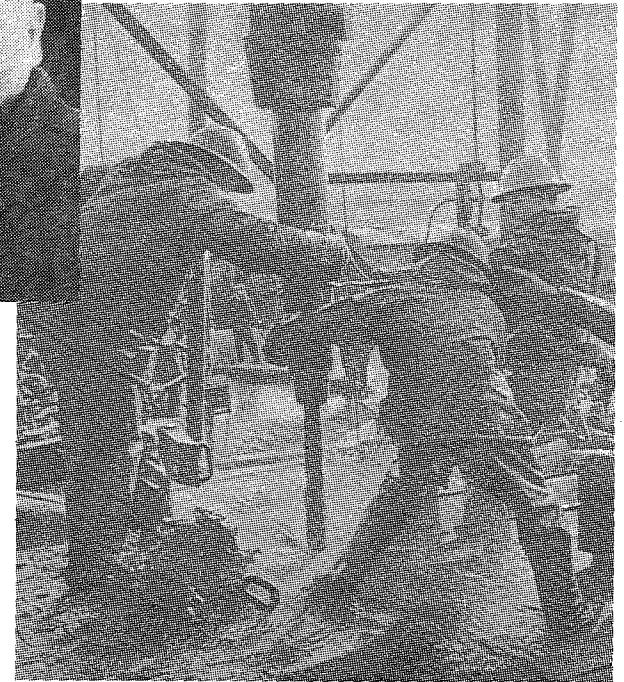


Normalization of U.S.- China relations and Deng Xiaoping's U.S. visit: A victory for socialism



An analysis by the League of
Revolutionary Struggle (M-L)



Also included from *UNITY* newspaper:
China's modernization serves socialism
and
China's poster campaign is
socialist democracy in action



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Normalization of U.S.-China relations and Deng Xiaoping's U.S. visit: A victory for socialism

On January 1, 1979, normal diplomatic relations were established between the U.S. and the People's Republic of China, ending the U.S. imperialists' 30-year old policy of hostility towards socialist China. The normalization of relations was quickly followed by an historic state visit to the U.S. by China's Vice-Premier Deng Xiaoping (Teng Hsiao-ping), from January 28 to February 5. Deng's visit further advanced U.S.-China relations on diplomatic, political and economic matters, and also greatly enhanced the friendship between the U.S. and Chinese peoples. All these accomplishments were a victory of China's socialist foreign policy and helped to strengthen socialism in China.

The new relations between the U.S. and China have sparked much discussion in the United States. Many people have raised questions such as, why did the U.S. normalize relations with China now? How does normalization benefit socialism? Why does China desire advanced Western technology, and what is the significance of U.S.-China relations for the international situation?

Normalization — why now?

China has always sought normal diplomatic relations with the United States, as part of her socialist foreign policy towards countries of different social systems. China's relations with capitalist and imperialist countries — including the U.S. — is based on the principles of mutual non-interference in each other's internal affairs, mutual respect for each other's sovereignty and territorial integrity, trade and other exchanges based on equality and mutual benefit.

Normal relations help reduce the threat of imperialist aggression towards the socialist countries and opens up avenues for increased exchanges and trade. These all contribute to more favorable conditions in which to build socialism.

At this time in particular, normalization contributes to combating the danger of world war, as it strengthens stability and peace in the Asia region and the world. This gives the Chinese people, and the world's people, more

time to strengthen their forces and prepare for the outbreak of war.

As for the United States, normalization with China was the inevitable outcome of historical developments in the world. For 30 years, the U.S. practiced a hostile policy to isolate and encircle socialist China. But in the last period, U.S. imperialism has declined in relative strength as a world superpower, no longer able to dictate its way to the world. By the early 1970's, nearly 100 countries had already recognized People's China and severed ties with the illegal U.S.-backed Chiang regime on Taiwan. China was restored her rightful seat in the United Nations in 1971, and in 1972, the U.S. was forced to admit in the Shanghai Communique that there was but one China, and Taiwan is part of China.

The U.S. still tried to stall normalizing relations with China, but the inevitable cannot be stalled forever. Several factors contributed to the U.S. agreement to normalize relations now.

One reason is the U.S. capitalists' desire to develop more trade with China. Without normal diplomatic relations, trade of any significance would be impossible.

U.S. corporations see increased trade with China as a boon to the faltering U.S. economy. The U.S. ruling class has not been able to resolve its mammoth economic problems, such as inflation, the international decline of the dollar, increased competition from second world countries in major industries such as steel, and an all-time high in the balance of trade deficit.

Most recently, the U.S. became increasingly worried about its own prospects for trade with China. In 1978, China signed several major trade agreements with second world countries. The 10-year Japan-China Peace and Friendship Treaty, signed in August 1978, has provisions for trade starting out with a volume worth \$20 billion. A 7-year agreement was reached with France in December, worth \$12 billion. Also in December, Britain established bank depository facilities in China to facilitate British loans and investment in China. These agreements are all part of China's efforts to utilize advanced western technology to modernize its industry and speed up socialist construction.

With normalization, the U.S. already expects \$70 billion in China trade over the next few years, although it is still unclear how much it will actually be. As part of his trip, Deng visited auto and aerospace plants, oil drilling sites, and a space technology center. While in the U.S., he signed agreements to purchase a \$100 million atomic particle-separator for developing nuclear energy, and a \$500 million satellite system for television and telephone communications.

China's foreign trade serves socialism

Deng stated many times during his visit that he had come to the U.S. to learn from its advanced technology and industry. Some bourgeois media claimed that China has fallen in love with capitalism. Nothing could be further from the truth. Deng and other Chinese officials stated on various occasions that China desired to learn from what is advanced in the U.S., and that it wanted to take the good but reject the bad. A *People's Daily* editor who visited the U.S. last summer explained, "a country which is scientifically advanced can be

philosophically backward. We should acquire their science but not their philosophy."

Of course the capitalists dream of corrupting China. They hope that every Chinese will drink Coke and eat McDonald's hamburgers. They hope increased trade will bring capitalist influence to China and ultimately capitalism itself. But these are idle dreams. China today is a strong socialist country and is not the China of 75 years ago which the imperialists preyed upon, plundered and forced to sign unequal trade agreements.

Today, socialist China controls its own foreign trade, through the proletarian state. The state Ministry of Foreign Trade gears import trade to the country's needs in production and construction; and makes sure that export takes into account the domestic material supplies. China upholds Mao's principle that China should develop its economy mainly through the efforts of the people, and secondarily with foreign assistance. Most foreign assistance from the U.S. and second world countries is going to the construction of whole factories. China regulates wages and working conditions and once the factories are built, they will be taken over by China. China carefully maintains a favorable balance of trade and has stated that she will not purchase or take loans that she cannot repay.

International views

During his trip to the U.S., Deng took the opportunity in his speeches to comment on the danger of a new world war, and warned that the Soviet Union



Deng Xiaoping visited Hughs Tool Company on his trip to Houston, Texas. Here, the President of Hughes explains the use and function of oil drilling bits.

is the most dangerous source of war. Deng pointed out that while China and the U.S. are of two different social systems and have differing views on a number of matters, they also have some common ground in that both desire peace and stability in the world at this time. China opposes hegemonism and war because of the harm it brings to the world's people. The U.S., on the other hand — being the Soviet Union's rival — desires peace and stability in order to hold onto what it already has. As the rising superpower making its bid for world domination, the Soviet Union has the most to gain by pursuing a blatant policy of war. While China consistently opposes any aggression on the part of both the two superpowers, she also utilizes the contradictions between the superpowers to aid in combating the danger of war.

Normalization itself contributes to this process. This is why the Soviet Union, which is stepping up its own aggressive expansionism in Asia, attacks normalization.

Due to a tendency within the U.S. ruling class towards appeasement of the Soviets, many U.S. officials — while wanting more China trade — continue to worry over the Soviets' displeasure with normalization. Deng's statements on the danger of the Soviet Union embarrass some U.S. officials who are still pinning their hopes on detente. They do not want to upset Moscow because they are hoping for a SALT II agreement this year.

A joint U.S.-China communique issued on December 15, announcing the agreement to normalize relations, stated that both countries opposed hegemonism; and a press communique from Deng and Carter at the conclusion of Deng's visit also stated that the two countries oppose "hegemonism and domination." However, there are still strong appeasement tendencies in the ruling class. Carter tried to water down the press communique statement against hegemonism by adding the word "domination." He also tried to disassociate himself from Deng's statements, saying he could not tell Deng what to say or not say.

Normalization has ended 30 years of nonrecognition, benefiting socialism in China and the world's people. At the same time, the U.S. still interferes in China's affairs by continuing to sell arms to Taiwan. Right now, 25 senators are backing a resolution, proposed by Senators Cranston and Kennedy, which would pledge U.S. "support" for Taiwan's "security" and continued arms sales.

But while the U.S. still clings to some of its anti-China policy by continuing this interference, it will be forced sooner or later to face fully the "simple reality" that Carter admitted when he agreed to normalize relations. Normalization, both Carter and Deng agreed, is part of an "irreversible trend." Deng's visit helped advance this trend, opening up, as he stated when he left the U.S., "a new era of U.S.-China relations."

China's modernization serves socialism

China is in the midst of an unprecedented drive to fully modernize its industry, agriculture, national defense, and science and technology. By the end of the 20th century, China aims to achieve nothing less than putting its economy in the front ranks of the world. It aims to reach or surpass advanced world levels in agriculture and industrial productivity. This will be a remarkable accomplishment, considering that today a peasant in China produces only about one-fiftieth as much as a farmworker in the U.S., and energy efficiency is less than 50% that of many capitalist countries.

Recognizing the monumental nature of the goals it has set, China is calling the movement to realize the "four modernizations" the new Long March. It is an integral part of the general task to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat and make China a powerful socialist country by the year 2000. This was a goal established by Mao Zedong (Mao Tsetung) and Zhou Enlai (Chou En-lai) themselves.

China has undertaken the "four modernizations" today due to the very favorable conditions created by the first Cultural Revolution. Through the struggle to defeat the revisionism of Lin Biao (Lin Piao) and the "gang of four," the Chinese people accumulated rich revolutionary experiences and heightened their understanding of Marxism-Leninism.

The "gang of four" were a particularly big obstacle to modernization. They counterposed revolution to production and fostered the idea that economic construction and raising the masses' living standards was incompatible with socialism. The "gang of four" encouraged the idea that one could be revolutionary only if one remained poor. One makes a revolution not to stay poor! In fact, the exact opposite is true.

Socialism allows for the rapid development of the economy since revolution destroyed the fetters of capitalist anarchistic production. Socialism is able to rationally direct all the resources of the society to advance production in the most efficient and rapid way possible. And socialism brings the steady improvement in the livelihood of the masses of people.

The proof of this is the great economic and social progress made by the Soviet Union when it was socialist, under Lenin's and Stalin's leadership, and during the first three decades of People's China. In 1949, the newborn

socialist China started out 100 years behind the technically most advanced countries, but it quickly closed the gap. This gap widened in the 1970's due to the obstruction of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." From 1974 to 1976, when the "gang of four's" destruction was the greatest, it is estimated that China lost \$50 billion in industrial output! The activities of the "gang of four" gravely endangered socialism.

Modernization strengthens the dictatorship of the proletariat

The ultimate aim of the proletarian socialist revolution is to eliminate all classes and realize communism. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, this will require a long process of struggle to advance the material and mental aspects of society. Modernization of the Chinese economy will be a tremendous contribution to this endeavor and will enable the class struggle to take place on an even higher level.

Modernization will help reduce the differences between town and country, industry and agriculture, and mental and manual labor. Mechanization of agriculture, for instance, will transform more and more peasants into industrial and agricultural workers. Introducing more advanced industrial equipment and methods will also raise the technical and scientific level of the workers.

Modernization will also improve the living and working conditions of the masses. More and more of the tedious and dangerous jobs will be eliminated by modernization. The masses of people will also enjoy an improved material and cultural life due to a strengthened economic base.

Modernization will also help raise the collective ownership system to higher levels as production will be on a larger and larger scale.

Overall, modernization will greatly enhance the material base of socialism. This is an important revolutionary task in fighting against internal and external enemies who want to overturn the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism.

Dictatorship of the proletariat ensures socialist orientation

Modernization will strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat. In turn, the dictatorship of the proletariat is what enables China to embark on such a grand modernization campaign, and in a way that will benefit the masses of people.

China fully intends to keep to its socialist orientation in its modernization campaign. It is continuing the wide promotion of the study of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and encouraging the broad mobilization of the masses to participate in the new Long March. It is persisting in continuing the class struggle against the remnants of the "gang of four's" influence.

China is also reinforcing the great traditions of its Communist Party, such as its mass line, its integration of theory and practice and its practice of criticism and self-criticism, to improve its ability to be the leading revolutionary element in society.

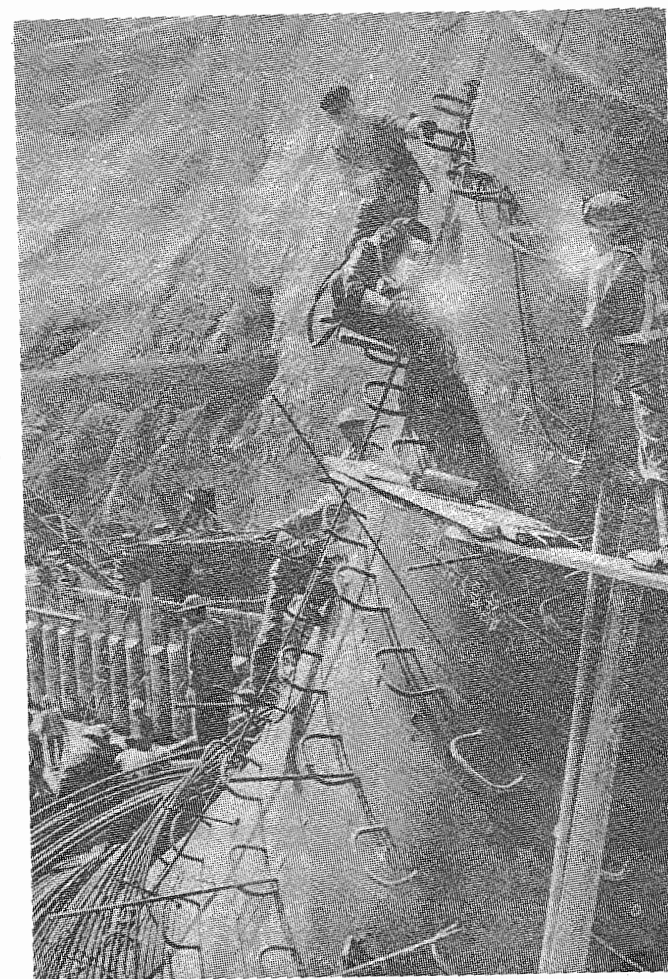
The modernization campaign is already showing great success, one indication of the correctness of the decisions that China has made. Industrial output in 1977 was 14% higher than in 1976, and it was 24% higher still in the first six months of 1978. Capital construction is up 44% compared to a year ago. All

this is just the beginning of the new Long March.

A recent editorial in the *People's Daily* summed up the excellent situation, "We can now declare with pride that the question facing us is not just one of bringing about the four modernizations by the end of the century, but one of quickening our pace and striving to reach the great goal in a shorter time."

A powerful, modern socialist China will be a great achievement for the Chinese people. It will also be an inspiration for the people of the world, who will be able to see even more clearly the superiority of socialism over capitalism. China too will be able to provide greater and greater assistance to the peoples and countries of the world fighting against domination and oppression. For all these reasons, people around the world are paying great attention to the developments in China, and wishing the Chinese people further successes in their new Long March.

(Reprinted from UNITY, Vol. I No. 5, Dec. 1, 1978)



Building a hydro-power station in Wuchiangtu, Kweichow province.

China's poster campaign is socialist democracy in action

Since mid-November, tens of thousands of people throughout China and particularly in Beijing (Peking) have been engaged in a massive "big character poster" debate to express their views on a wide variety of topics. The posters have attracted much attention and stimulated widespread discussion. The campaign reflects the confidence and enthusiasm which the masses have for the present situation in China.

The majority of the posters encourage support for the efforts to modernize the country and recent decisions of the Communist Party such as the reevaluation of the Tien An Men Incident, which took place in 1976 as a memorial to Zhou Enlai (Chou En-lai). The "gang of four," who had opposed Zhou, had the incident labeled reactionary and a number of the participants persecuted. With the fall of the "gang," the Communist Party has rejected the past decision and now upholds the 1976 events as revolutionary.

But the posters that have been given the most attention by the western capitalist press have been those that criticize Chairman Mao, Chairman Hua and others in the Party leadership, or that attacked socialism itself in China. Accompanying the newspaper reports were all sorts of speculation about changes in the Chinese leadership and even in its political system.

In fact, the very opposite is the case: the current poster debate is an indication of the strength and stability of socialism in China today. This was emphasized by Vice Premier Deng Xiaoping (Teng Hsiao-ping) in an interview with American journalist Robert Novak on November 27.

Countering speculation, Deng commented on the poster campaign:

"This is a normal thing, and shows the stable situation in our country. To write big character posters is allowed by our country's constitution. We have no right to deny this or to criticize the masses for making use of democracy and putting up big character posters."

At the same time, Deng said:

"Not all the opinions of the masses are carefully thought out, nor can we demand that they are all correct. That is nothing to be afraid of. It is wonderful to see the ability to distinguish right from wrong and the conscientious care for the destiny of the country shown by the overwhelming majority of the masses of Chinese people who have been tempered in the Great Cultural

Revolution."

Deng also reiterated the Party's stand that Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong (Tsetung) Thought is the guiding ideology of China in her drive for modernization. He made it clear that Chairman Mao's contributions to Chinese history were immense. "Every Chinese knows that 'without Chairman Mao there would have been no New China.'"

Deng stressed that "Present-day China is stable and united, concentrating on the four modernizations from the Central Committee down to the localities. The Party Central Committee, headed by Comrade Hua Guofeng, (Hua Kuo-feng) is united and fully confident of carrying through the four modernizations." The four modernizations refers to China's program to modernize its industry, agriculture, science and technology and national defense by the end of the century.

Immense expansion of democracy

Wall posters are not something new in China, but have been a part of the modern revolutionary movement from its very beginning. Especially since liberation in 1949, wall posters have developed as a form of freedom of speech for the masses and an important aspect of socialist democracy.

Through these posters, everyday people can put up their opinions for all to see on whatever topic they choose. This method of expression became particularly popular during the Cultural Revolution. The country's constitution specifically upholds the masses' right to "speak out freely, air their views fully, hold great debates and write big character posters."

The current poster campaign and the defense of it by the Communist Party, confirm Mao Zedong's lesson that "socialist democracy is democracy in the broadest sense such as is not to be found in any capitalist country." ("On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People," *Selected Readings of Mao Tsetung*, p. 436).

The masses enjoy such democracy under socialism because political power is in their own hands. In the old society, the privileged few enjoyed democracy *at the expense* of the masses. The 1949 Revolution turned this upside down, for now it is the masses who enjoy democracy because they exercise dictatorship over their former and would-be exploiters. Dictatorship over the enemy and democracy among the people — this is a fundamental Marxist tenet for socialism.

What does democracy for the masses mean? It means basically that the masses of people led by the working class determine the future of their socialist country through broad participation in the political life of the society. It means that the masses administer commune, factory and neighborhood life and make use of big character posters, and other means, to express their opinions. This is what Lenin meant when he said that socialism results in an "immense expansion of democracy, which for the first time becomes democracy for the poor, democracy for the people." (Lenin, *State and Revolution*, Foreign Languages Press, Beijing, p. 103).

Democracy necessary for socialism

Socialism brings a great expansion of democracy for the masses and at the same time, democracy is vitally necessary for the construction of socialism.

Democracy is required to help unleash the enthusiasm of the masses and utilize their ideas. Without these most valuable resources, socialism can never be successful. Mao stressed this point in opposition to those who stifled the masses with bureaucracy, arrogance and intimidation. Let the masses speak out, criticize and debate. Only in this way could the correct and revolutionary emerge in struggle against the incorrect and anti-revolutionary.

Mao always maintained that the Party had to combine democracy with centralized leadership. Without democracy, without the full expression of the ideas and sentiments of the masses, how could there be correct political leadership? Mao once stated, "It's the method of democratic centralism, the method of mass line: first democracy, then centralism; from the masses, to the masses" (Mao, "Talks at an Enlarged Working Conference Convened by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China," *Peking Review*, July 7, 1978, p. 7).

Of course, in practicing democracy the masses may express some incorrect ideas, such as seen in the current poster campaign. But this should cause no worry. There are always contradictions among the people, and as Mao had often pointed out, such differences should be struggled out in a democratic fashion, by discussion and persuasion. Clearly, this is the method which the leadership of the Communist Party of China is using today. It is encouraging the full expression of ideas and debate to sort out right from wrong. At the same time, the Party is making its own stand clear on the key issues to help lead forward the discussion.

The situation today is different than that several years ago when the "gang of four" had much influence. At that time they damaged the Party's practice of the mass line. The "gang of four" attempted to exert their own dictatorship of a small group over the masses, even labeling whole sections of the masses as part of the enemy camp. Their practice violated the principles of socialist democracy.

The current poster debate is a result of the attempts of the Party to restore the democratic methods of leadership by encouraging the flourishing of "a hundred flowers" in the arts; by revitalizing the mass organizations (such as the Women's Federation and the trade unions) to more widely incorporate the masses into organized political life; and to promote the study of the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialist democracy, such as by printing Mao's important article, "Talks at an Enlarged Working Conference Convened by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China," (*Peking Review*, July 1978, p. 7).

Overall, the objective is to achieve in China what Mao called "a political situation in which we have both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness."

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