

May-June 1980

**China is NOT  
Selling Out  
SOCIALISM!**



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Report of a  
delegation that  
investigated  
this question

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"We told our hosts we had come to China to ask the controversial questions. Particularly to ask the key question: 'Was China changing colour—as the once socialist Soviet Union had done after the death of Stalin?'"

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"We all went to China with a bias — that China was still a socialist country where the working people controlled a working class state and the Communist Party of China had not abandoned the teachings of Mao Zedong.

"Nothing we saw or heard caused us to change our minds."

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"Let us assure you that we are quite capable of rejecting a wrong bias if the facts run against it. Twenty years ago, we had to come to the painful conclusion that the Soviet leaders had abandoned socialism."

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*Some extracts from this report on China in 1980*

**Now read the full story  
of a delegation of four  
that asked your questions**

## *To Meet.... to Ask.... to See....*

*After the merging in February this year of the original Preparatory Committee for the Formation of the Communist Party of New Zealand (Marxist-Leninist) and the STRUGGLE groups, the combined Preparatory Committee received an invitation from the Communist Party of China to send a delegation to visit China. The delegation consisted of four people, representing a wide range of industrial experience, as well as having had considerable experience of China going back over the last 26 years. The report of the delegation follows.*

We went to China in March this year at the invitation of the Communist Party of China. Between three of us, we had had previous visits in 1954, 1959, 1960, 1962, 1965, 1966 (just before the Cultural Revolution), 1968 and 1977. The fourth member was visiting China for the first time.

But, while we were the guests of the Chinese Communist Party, this did not prevent us from speaking frankly. Nor from asking questions bluntly.

We told our hosts that we had come to China with several points in mind:

- \* To re-establish the warm fraternal relations between the Marxist-Leninists of our two countries, which had always existed in the past but which had been broken when the present leadership of the Communist Party of New Zealand had abandoned Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought;
- \* To ask the controversial questions that were troubling the minds of many progressive New Zealanders — particularly the key question of whether China was changing colour (as the once socialist Soviet Union had done after the death of Stalin);
- \* To see as much as possible of the working people of China in the cities and in the countryside — to really mix with them, and not just be in the hands of local officials showing us around.

Our short answer is that, in all these things, our visit was very, very satisfactory indeed. We shall explain just why this was so.

As to re-establishing warm fraternal relations, it was as though there had never been an interruption to them. We were wonderfully treated as old and trusted friends. Many old friends from past visits came to see us. We were praised beyond our due for our efforts to uphold genuine Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought in New Zealand.

And, though our requests to see this and that made up a virtually impossible programme for the short time our employers would let us stay away from work, we saw everything we asked for but one. (That one was a Sunday morning visit to the Great Wall — the road was blocked by snow!)

Wherever we did go, we were always accompanied by a senior local Party official. His horrifying personal experiences at the far from tender hands of the Gang of Four filled in the bare outlines of all we had heard or read in published documents.

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## *Has China Gone Revisionist?*

To the socialists and other progressive people of the world, this is the \$64 question. We asked it. We pursued it from every angle we could think of.

It is only fair to say here that we all went to China with a bias. We all believed that, despite the ravings of the capitalist press, the trotskyites and the ultra-"lefts" of the Communist Party of New Zealand, China was still a socialist country where the working people controlled a working class state and the Communist Party had not abandoned Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.

*Nothing we saw or heard caused us to change our minds.*

On the contrary, what we saw and heard only served to strengthen our beliefs gained from a close scrutiny of the official documents since the fall of the Gang of Four three and a half years earlier. What we saw and heard did, however, arm us very much better to answer the worried questions that many good people have been asking.

That was why we asked the questions. We explained to our hosts that, in New Zealand, many very good people, who had supported socialism all their lives, had worries about China's diplomatic and economic dealings with the capitalist West. That, while such good people agreed in words that the Soviet Communist Party had gone revisionist, their old loyalties to the first land of socialism made it hard for them to accept that the Soviet Union was now social-imperialist, fascist, treading in Hitler's footsteps.

Also, these good people had seen what happened in the Soviet Union after the death of Stalin and consequently feared the same might be happening in China after the death of Mao Zedong.

We explained that these doubts and fears were held by genuine people, that they were a barrier to the work of forming the broadest united front against the super-powers, particularly against the main aggressor — the Soviet Union.

So what about it, we asked. Has China changed, or is China changing, colour?

The Chinese are good at something we in New Zealand are not good at. They have a sense of history. And the Chinese Communist Party, under the many years of Chairman Mao's leadership, developed a style of looking at problems not just as they are but from the perspective of history.

So, in dealing with the question of socialism in China, they went back over the 30 years and a bit since Liberation in 1949.

Their general conclusion was that, when the political line was correct, great advances were made in building socialism. Conversely, when the political line was incorrect, they suffered setbacks and reverses.

Hence, they said, in the 30 years since Liberation, the political line was generally correct and they had made some progress. But there were times when it was not correct, when there were reverses, so that China had not made the progress that should have been possible.

They spoke of two periods of incorrect line. The first the Anti-Rightist campaign of 1957/8, when the class struggles took a "leftist" turn and too many people had the rightist label hung on them. But this was soon overcome and things went ahead again.

The second period when the political line went haywire, this time going ultra-"left", was the ten years of the Cultural Revolution. It was the decade during which Lin Biao and the Gang of Four seized the opportunity, for the purposes of their own personal ambitions, to push a totally erroneous line that there was a capitalist headquarters in the Communist Party of China. The Gang asserted that very nearly all the veteran leaders had been useful only in the first (bourgeois-democratic) stage of the Chinese revolution.

The Gang said that these fine people were nothing more than anti-feudalists, content with the first stage of China's revolution which allowed some initial freedom to China's capitalists. They said that these veteran leaders of China's liberation had no interest in the second stage of socialist revolution.

It followed, said the Gang, that all the old leaders, the veterans of the war against Japan and the civil war against Chiang Kai-shek and his foreign backers, were in 1966 counter-revolutionaries.

For some time the Gang of Four's line fooled a lot of people. Particularly young people with no experience of the past. The Gang set up groups of young "rebels", armed with clubs, to beat up the old leaders, parade them through the streets with dunce

caps on their heads and throw them into gaol.

They preached other way-out ideas that seemed at first terribly revolutionary.

If school pupils or college students worked hard to absorb knowledge, they were bourgeois. Learning, knowledge of anything but Marxist politics, was counter-revolutionary.

Working hard in factory or on farm was likewise bourgeois, counter-revolutionary. (Though the Gang and their followers didn't at all mind eating well and enjoying the best of those material comforts that in fact come from other people's hard work.)

One example. The No. 3 Steel Mill in Shanghai produces one third of that industrial city's rolled steel. Today it annually makes a profit for the state equal to its own capital value. But, when the Gang of Four's agents took control, all the old administrators were demoted, mill rules were ignored, quality slumped and accidents were rife. Production fell by 10 to 15 per cent every year.

Today, with the old leading staff and the rules restored, production rose 11 per cent last year and quality was excellent. Moreover, the cost of production per tonne was reduced.

A few figures for the first quarter of 1980. China's total industrial production for this period was up 13.8 per cent on the same period of 1979. Of this, the output of light industry — consumer goods — rose 24.2 per cent overall. Production of wrist watches, bicycles, sewing machines, cameras, radios and television sets went up anything from 33 per cent to 120 per cent.

Nor did these things just sit in shop windows. For January and February this year, retail sales were overall 21 per cent up in the cities and 23 per cent in the countryside. Silk and woollen cloth

sold 35 per cent more, synthetics 69 per cent more — television sets a whopping 250 per cent more.

One more example. Shanghai is the most populous city in the world. And it has a big housing problem. More money was invested in new house construction in the three years since the fall of the Gang of Four than in the more than ten years of its heyday. In those last three years, housing construction has comprised one quarter of all housing built in Shanghai in the 30 years since 1949!

Just finally, China's exports in the first three months of 1980 were up by 37 per cent — measured in China's no-inflation currency!

Figures of economic development like those don't come from a country that has sold out socialism. When the Soviet Union was socialist, it could match them. Not today.

As for Marxist theory, they threw that upside down. Truth was not what is discovered by painstaking scientific investigation of the facts. It was what some "geniuses" had written in their books.

Criticism and self-criticism, the fundamental law of development of a genuine Marxist-Leninist party, were not "to cure the disease to save the patient". They were weapons to label and destroy opponents of their phoney policies. They presented those who opposed their mad ravings not just as squares but as enemies of the revolution.

We met plenty of people who had suffered very terribly, including severe physical maltreatment. Yet even they said they had been fooled at first. And they were veterans from right back to the days of the Japanese and Liberation War armed struggle. They were people nurtured in the great ideological and theoretical training of the 1940's.

Yet the Gang of Four were overthrown. They did

not, and could not, fool all the people all of the time.

Getting un-fooled, like every other form of learning, is a process. The core of it is when deeds fail to match words.

Lots of things helped. Very sick and old, Mao Zedong was appalled at the wild excesses. As late as 1974, he urged calling it off. He was ignored even by his own wife who was one of the Four.

But he lived long enough to have a final influence. He threw an enormous spanner in the works of the Gang. Early in 1976, some six months before he died, he saw to it that his successor as chairman of the Chinese Communist Party (and also premier) was NOT one of the Gang of Four but Hua Guofeng. It was a crushing blow to their schemes to seize full power after Chairman Mao's death.

Another factor that constantly stood in the way was the resolute stand of Premier Zhou Enlai. Persistently he opposed them. Repeatedly he saved leading government and party personnel from their fury. And he did all this while he too was desperately ill with cancer.

But central to the ultimate downfall of the Gang of Four was one inescapable fact. They were driving China bankrupt.

People make revolution to enjoy better lives. From 1949 to 1966, the Chinese people were fast becoming better off. Socialism frees the productive forces from the old feudal and capitalist trammels, steps up production and distributes the fruits more equitably.

The Gang of Four said they were the only genuine socialists, saving socialism from the "bourgeois counter-revolutionaries".

But, under their "socialism", the Chinese people were getting colder, hungrier, worse dressed and worse housed — not to mention culturally starved.

More and more people turned to studying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought to find out why.

It was the beginning of the end for the Gang of Four.

And that end laid the basis for the restoration of the Communist Party of China's ideological, political and organisational line. (As for what that means, we shall soon see below.)

Under that correct line, China's socialism is not abandoned. It is on the march again.

In short, China nearly DID change colour — under the influence of an incorrect, "left" revisionist line. (That is, revising Marxism by being more "revolutionary" than Marx — in plain English, by throwing out the baby with the bath water!)

We totted up three whole days of talks, questions and discussions on these matters.

*We ended them convinced that China is changing colour in one direction only — it is getting redder again after a terrible set-back.*

The Chinese people and the Chinese Communist Party admit they have learned some bitter lessons. But, they say, the price was too high.

## *Is There 'Demaioification'?*

That's a word the capitalist press loves. We did not use it. But the Chinese did. They thought it was a great joke.

Dealing with the matter seriously, they said the accusation of "de-Maoification" was rubbish. The truth was exactly the other way round.

Far from tossing out Mao Zedong Thought, the integration of the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism with the actual conditions of the Chinese revolution, they were restoring it to its rightful place.

The Gang of Four had preached that Mao Zedong Thought was the highest pinnacle of Marxism, that every word of Mao Zedong was, so to speak, revealed truth. The Chinese Communist Party says this was a gross distortion of Mao Zedong Thought itself.

Anyone who cares to read what Chairman Mao himself actually said would see that he always proclaimed that Marxism developed as the changing world developed. Truth, he said was not something that some genius had written in a book. Finding one's way in the changing world was not a matter of finding the



right quotation in the book. Had not Mao Zedong himself written an article called "Oppose Book Worship"?

Marxism holds — and Chairman Mao never failed to say so — that whether something is true or not can be tested only in one way, in practice. In fact, he wrote an important essay about that which is called "On Practice". Correct ideas, he said, could come only when they accurately reflected the actual objective conditions around us. But, even then, the only test of whether they were correct or not was to try them out in practice.

Then even the best ideas usually have to be modified as the result of the practical test, Mao said. He summed it all up in two expressions he made famous in China: "Practice is the sole criterion of truth" and "Seek truth from facts".

It is this essential spirit of Mao Zedong Thought that the Communist Party of China is restoring to its rightful place after the Gang of Four had tried so hard to wipe it out.

Mao Zedong, our hosts said, was a great Marxist. Without him, the Chinese revolution could not have been successful. But even the greatest of Marxists are humans, not gods. Like all humans, they make mistakes at times. Marx and Engels did. Lenin did. Stalin did. So did Mao Zedong. But that did not stop them from being great Marxists.

The basic truths of Mao Zedong Thought will continue to guide the Chinese Communist Party and people forward. But Marxism did not stop growing when Marx died. Nor when Lenin died. Nor will it now that Chairman Mao has died.

Marxists in China — and in all countries, if it comes to that — have the task of further developing Marxism, of integrating it with new conditions and new tasks.

## *Close Ties With the People*

Over a century ago, Marx said that even the very clearest understanding of the world was not enough. Correct ideas had to be able to give the correct lead in changing the world. He devoted his life to developing those correct ideas and making them the property of the industrial working class — the class destined by history to end exploitation of man by man.

Mao Zedong helped found, and ultimately led, the essential guiding organisation of the Chinese working class, the Communist Party of China. Many, many peasants and intellectuals joined the party of the Chinese working class. Mao Zedong poured tremendous practical effort into seeing that ALL Party members were re-moulded in their outlook.

It was the people who made revolution, he said. The Communists were only a tiny minority. Unless the people could be won around and organised into revolutionary action, there would be no revolution. He summed it up in another famous phrase: "Serve the People".

To do that, the Communists had to be wholly de-

voted to the people's cause, putting their own personal interests aside when there was any clash. At the same time, they had to be of the people. They had to feel at ease among all sections of the revolutionary people, and the people had to feel at ease with them.

This required an exemplary standard of behaviour. All members, high and low, were constantly educated within the Party to acquire it. Chairman Mao compared this effort to develop the spirit of putting the people's interests first with the daily task of keeping one's face clean.

Just as you can't clean your face properly without a mirror, he said, so you can't clean up your ideas and outlook without a mirror that looks into your head. That mirror was self-criticism of your less than selfless thoughts and getting your fellow members to point out your less than selfless habits.

That, said Mao Zedong, was how Communists should use criticism and self-criticism to develop a really high standard of outlook and behaviour that was essential in a party of the working class.

Those criticised are expected to examine what they know of themselves and what other people tell them, even if they think some criticism from others is unfair.

Those criticising must consciously try to use their criticism to help people upwards, never to put them down.

Again, Mao Zedong summed up this indispensable process in the famous words: "Cure the disease to save the patient".

The excellent code of behaviour of the Communists and of the armies they led was crucial to the success of winning the revolution. It was also crucial to taking China forward to socialism after Liberation.

ion. Indeed, on the eve of Liberation, Mao Zedong urged the Communists not to forget their style of hard work and plain living and to beware of "sugar-coated bullets", of the complacency of success and power.

And, again, the Gang of Four, who were motivated by nothing but plain old-style capitalist self-interest and personal ambition, did tremendous damage to this concept. They could not kill it so easily among the experienced veteran leaders, but they were able to play havoc with the outlook of a lot of the youth.

Hence, a vital task of the Chinese Communist Party today is to restore what they correctly call "the Party's fine traditions and style of work". It has been pursuing this task steadily ever since the overthrow of the Gang of Four. What it had done in those three years laid the basis for stepping the campaign up to a new height.

Not long before we arrived in China, the Party's Central Committee had endorsed a set of twelve "Guiding Principles for Inner-Party Political Life". In the good style of their Party's leadership, the Central Committee had not just laid these down from the top. In fact, the draft document had been put before the whole Party, from top to bottom, since February 1979. It had been completely revised ten times as over 1,800 suggestions for improvements had poured in from all over the country as a result of repeated discussions.

Since these guiding principles are really at the very root of whether China is changing, or will change, colour or not, we give them in full right here. They show not the least sign of "de-Maoification". Quite the contrary. They aim to restore what he taught.

# Guiding Principles for Inner-Party Political Life

**T**HE Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China decided to shift the focus of the Party's work on to socialist modernization. In the new historical period, we must conscientiously uphold the Party's rules and regulations, establish a good Party style of work in real earnest, strengthen and improve the Party's leadership and create a Party-wide and nationwide political situation in which we have both democracy and centralism, both freedom and discipline, both personal ease of mind, liveliness and unity of will, stability and unity. Only in this way can we give full play to the revolutionary enthusiasm and activism in work of the broad masses of Party members and unite with the whole Party and people of all nationalities in the country to successfully fulfil the great tasks of realizing the four socialist modernizations.

Through prolonged revolutionary struggles, especially through the Yanan rectification movement and the Seventh National Congress of the Party, our Party summed up in an all-round way the positive and negative experience in handling inner-Party relationships and gradually formed the guiding principles for inner-Party political life, the main contents of which are seeking truth from facts, integrating theory with practice, maintaining close ties between Party members including Party leaders and the masses, carrying out criticism and self-criticism, and upholding democratic centralism. Following these principles, comrades of the whole Party united as never before, took concerted action

and thus won victories in the War of Resistance Against Japan and the War of Liberation.

During the socialist revolution and construction since nationwide liberation, the broad masses of Party members have basically retained the Party's fine traditions and good style of work. But owing to victory in the revolutionary struggle and the Party's position as the ruling political party in the whole country, some comrades became conceited and complacent. Owing to imperfections in the democratic centralism of the Party and state, and owing to the influence of feudal and bourgeois ideas, unhealthy tendencies, such as isolation from reality and the masses, subjectivism, bureaucratism, arbitrariness and privilege seeking somewhat developed within the Party. At the same time, because of the shortcomings and mistakes in guiding inner-Party struggle, normal inner-Party political life was impaired to a certain extent. During the Cultural Revolution in particular, Lin Biao and the gang of four, out of their needs in usurping Party and state leadership, took advantage of serious mistakes made by the Party at that time, feverishly engaged in feudal-fascist, anarchist and factionalist splitting activities, wilfully trampled underfoot the Party's rules and regulations and abolished the Party's leadership. As a result, Party organizations, the Party spirit of the membership, and the Party's fine traditions and style of work were seriously impaired. Since the overthrow of the gang of four, thanks to the great efforts of the Party Central Committee to rectify the Party style and discipline, the Party's fine traditions and style of work have been revived. But extensive education and complicated struggle are still needed in order to heal the wounds inflicted on the Party by Lin Biao and the gang of four. With a view to completely restoring and further developing the fine traditions and style of work of the Party, improving its democratic life, safeguarding its centralized leadership, strengthening its unity

consolidating its organization and discipline and enhancing its fighting capacity, the Party Central Committee, proceeding from the present situation of the Party, re-issues to the whole membership the following guiding principles for inner-Party political life.

### (1) Adhere to the Party's Political Line And Ideological Line

Adhering to the Party's political line and ideological line is the most fundamental among the guiding principles for inner-Party political life. The basic contents of the political line put forward by the Party Central Committee are to unite with the people of all nationalities throughout the country, mobilize all positive factors, work with one heart and one mind, go all out, aim high, and achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results in building a modern, powerful socialist country.\* This Marxist-Leninist line that reflects the supreme interests of the people of the whole country must be firmly carried out by comrades of the whole Party.

The ideological line is the basis upon which the Party formulates and carries out its political line. The Party's ideological line calls for persisting in the socialist road, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Party's leadership and Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. The essential points of the dialectical materialist way of thinking and method of work which the Party has consistently advocated are to proceed from reality in all cases, integrate theory with practice and seek truth from facts. Lin Biao and the gang of four for a long time distorted and tampered with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong

\* The official formulation of the Party's political line will be that stated in the General Programme of the Party Constitution which will be adopted at the 12th National Congress of the Party.

Thought, violated its essence, departed from the criterion of practice, regarded every word of Comrade Mao Zedong as truth, as law and dogma, and thus seriously trammelled people's thinking. It is therefore necessary to emphasize doing away with blind faith, emancipating the mind, taking practice as the sole criterion for testing truth, conscientiously studying the new conditions and solving new problems. Only thus can we develop Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and truly defend and uphold the great banner of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.

To uphold the correct political and ideological lines, it is necessary to oppose two erroneous tendencies:

First, it is essential to oppose ossified thinking and the practice of proceeding in all cases from books. The idea that once something is written in a book it cannot be changed, whatever is not in books cannot be mentioned, cannot be done, is an anti-Marxist idea, a tremendous obstacle to the implementation of the Party's political line. In taking stock of the situation, considering problems and handling affairs, we must proceed from objective reality, combine the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism with current developments at home and abroad and with the concrete practice of socialist modernization; we must integrate the Party's line, principles and policies with the specific conditions of our own regions and units and engage in realistic study so as to solve the various theoretical and practical problems which arise in the course of the current revolutionary struggle and modernization.

Second, it is essential to oppose and repudiate the erroneous views and revisionist trends of thought that negate the socialist road, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Party's leadership and Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. **Socialism is the only correct road that**

will lead China to prosperity and strength; the dictatorship of the proletariat is the guarantee for victory in socialist revolution and construction; the Party is the force at the core leading the entire Chinese people in accomplishing the four modernizations; Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought is the theoretical basis guiding our revolution and construction. In the struggle for the four modernizations, we must steadfastly adhere to these four fundamental principles.

## **(2) Uphold Collective Leadership, Oppose the Making of Arbitrary Decisions by Individuals**

Collective leadership is one of the highest principles of Party leadership. Party committees, from the Central Committee down to the grass-roots, must follow a system of combining collective leadership with division of labour and individual responsibility in accordance with this principle. All major issues touching on the Party's line, principles and policies, on the planning of important tasks, on the major appointments, removals, transfers of cadres and other questions on the handling of cadres, on important questions involving the people's interests, and on matters which leading organs at higher levels assign to lower Party committees for collective decision — all these issues, on the merits of each case, should be submitted to the Party committees concerned, to their standing committees or secretariats, or to the leading Party groups for collective discussion and decision, and no individual is allowed to make arbitrary decisions.

Under no circumstances is it permissible to replace the leadership of Party committees and their standing committees by any other form of organization.

Within the Party committees, the principle that the minority is subordinate to the majority

must be strictly observed in deciding issues. The relationship between the secretary and the members of the Party committee is not one between superior and inferior; the secretary is a member on an equal standing with other members of the Party committee. The secretary or the first secretary should be good at concentrating the committee members' opinions, and is not allowed to make a practice of "what I say goes" or behave in a patriarchal manner.

There should be mutual support, mutual understanding and close co-operation between the leading members. All committee members should consciously safeguard the prestige of the collective leadership of the Party committee. While carrying out criticism and self-criticism, they should uphold principles and make criticisms with the aim of helping others.

In discussing major issues, the Party committee should allow the committee members to speak out freely whatever they wish to say. If differences arise during the discussion, the Party committee should take the opinions of the minority into serious consideration but avoid endless discussion which does not reach a decision and thus holds up the progress of work.

Upholding collective leadership does not mean diminishing or negating the role of the individual; collective leadership must be combined with division of labour and personal responsibility.

In division of labour with personal responsibility, the secretary or the first secretary should shoulder the principal responsibility for organizing the activities of the Party committee and handling its day-to-day work. The important role of the secretary or the first secretary in the Party committee should not be scaled down or denied under the pretext of collective leadership.

It is necessary to understand and handle the relations between leaders, Party, class and

masses correctly according to Marxist principles. Publicity in relation to leading members should be realistic and no unprincipled glorification of them is allowed. It is impermissible to praise leading members of the proletariat in the sycophantic terms used by the exploiting classes, nor is it permissible to distort history or cook up facts in publicizing the contributions of leading members. There should be no celebration of the birthdays of leading members, nor should they be sent gifts or congratulatory messages. No memorial hall should be built for any living person, and not too many such halls should be built for late leaders. No street, place, enterprise or school should be named after a leading member of the Party. Except for diplomatic occasions, when a leader is out on official business it is forbidden to organize welcomes and send-offs, put up slogans, beat drums and gongs and hold banquets in his honour.

### **(3) Safeguard the Party's Centralized Leadership and Strictly Observe Party Discipline**

Democratic centralism is the Party's fundamental principle of organization. By pushing an ultra-Left line and practising anarchism, Lin Biao and the gang of four sabotaged both democracy and centralism; both freedom and discipline. This pernicious anarchic influence has not been eliminated to this day. For this reason, it is necessary to seriously reiterate the principle that "the individual is subordinate to the organization, the minority is subordinate to the majority, the lower level is subordinate to the higher level, and the entire membership is subordinate to the Central Committee." Every Party member should take the safeguarding of the Party's centralized leadership and strict observance of Party discipline as the principle guiding his own words and deeds.

All Party members, especially members of the Party committees at all levels, must firmly carry out the decisions of the Party committee. They may reserve whatever dissenting views they have or state them to the Party committee at a higher level; but before the Party committee at their level or a higher level makes any change in the decision, they must unconditionally carry out the original decision except under special emergency conditions in which serious consequences will immediately arise from its implementation.

Decentralism must be opposed and prevented.

If there are dissenting views on matters concerning the fundamental interests of the Party and state, or major political questions of theory and policy that affect the overall situation, they can be discussed on appropriate occasions within the Party. But when and how these should be discussed in the newspapers and magazines should be decided by the Party Central Committee. The Party's journals should unconditionally publicize the Party's line, principles, policies and political views.

Every Party member or Party leader must handle his personal affairs according to the principle that the Party's interests stand above everything else, and consciously accept the assignment, transfer and arrangement of work given him by the Party organization.

Every Party member must strictly guard Party and state secrets and fight resolutely against the practice of divulging Party and state secrets.

All Party members, especially leading cadres at all levels, must be models in observing the state laws, labour discipline, work discipline, and communist morality.

Party members must at all times and in all cases pay attention to the overall interests of

the whole Party, the state and the people, and educate the masses in the spirit of giving consideration to the overall situation.

#### (4) Uphold Party Spirit and Eradicate Factionalism

As a unitary combat collective composed of the advanced elements of the proletariat, the Party must uphold its solidarity on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and oppose all forms of factionalism and factional activities that undermine the Party's solid unity.

Organizing secret groups within the Party is a criminal action of splitting and subverting the Party.

Factionalism is incompatible with the proletarian Party spirit. Going in for factionalism and forming factional setups to pursue selfish interests are manifestations of extreme individualism of the exploiting classes and of anarchism and reflect within the Party, the guild mentality of the feudal classes and small producers.

There are no open factionalist cliques within the Party at present, but factionalism still exists among cadres and Party members who were fairly deeply affected by Lin Biao and the gang of four and some are even engaged in factional activities.

Party organizations at all levels and all Party members must uphold Party spirit and wage unremitting struggle to eradicate factionalism. Serious disciplinary measures must be taken against those who persist in factionalism and refuse to mend their ways despite repeated admonition. Such people should not be admitted into the leading bodies; they must be removed if they are already in leading posts.

In handling inner-Party relationship, cadres of the Party, especially leading cadres, must follow the principle of "dealing with comrades on an equal footing regardless of where they come from." That is to say, they must unite with all comrades who are loyal to the Party's interests and unite with the majority. Party members must have the communist breadth of vision, they must be strict with themselves and broad-minded towards others. In handling relations between comrades, they should be concerned only with whether he or she is resolute in carrying out the Party's line and observes Party discipline. They should not bear personal grudge and discriminate or retaliate against others, nor should they treat people differently on account of personal likes and dislikes. Factional activities and banding together in cliques are absolutely forbidden. It is impermissible to draw some in and push others out, to favour one group of people while suppressing another. They must not get tangled up in settling old scores.

In the relationship between the Party and the masses, it is equally necessary to guard against and oppose sectarian tendencies. Party members must play an exemplary role among the masses, be the first to bear hardships and the last to enjoy comforts. They must enthusiastically unite with non-Party comrades in work.

In cadre work, they must uphold uprightness and impartiality, persist in the practice of appointing people on their merits and oppose favouritism. Party members should be loyal to the Party's organizations and principles, they should not pledge loyalty to any individuals. No one is allowed to regard the Party's cadres as his private property, nor is he allowed to turn the lower-level cadres into his personal appendage.

### **(5) Speak the Truth and Match Words With Deeds**

Loyalty to the cause of the Party and the people, honesty in words and deeds, being an honest person and being open and aboveboard, — these are the fine qualities that a Communist should have.

Party members should be honest and frank, they should not conceal their own mistakes, thoughts or views from the Party organization.

It is necessary firmly to oppose the way of bureaucrats and politicians and the practice of the philistines — exchange of flattery and favour, boasting and touting, obsequiously complying with the humours of the leaders, bartering away principles, grasping at opportunities for self-advancement and asking for fame and position from the Party.

Party members should at all time and in all circumstances respect facts both in regard to themselves and to others and make truthful report to the Party on the situation. Party discipline must be enforced upon those who practise fraud and thus cause great harm to the interests of the Party and the people, those who seek honour and position through deception, those who conceal their serious errors and achieve their personal aims by lying, and those who connive at and induce and coerce their subordinates to tell lies. Those who are not afraid of retaliation and who dare to tell the truth in defence of the interests of the Party and people should be commended.

### **(6) Promote Inner-Party Democracy, Take a Correct Attitude Towards Dissenting Views**

Promotion of inner-Party democracy requires first of all that Party members are permitted to present differing views and engage

in thorough discussions of matters so as to bring about a situation in which one can say all one knows and say it without reserve. Those who have made mistaken statements or written erroneous articles due to their mistaken understanding must not be punished for violating Party discipline, provided they do not oppose the Party's basic political stand, do not scheme, intrigue, engage in factional or splitting activities among the masses, make remarks among the masses contradicting the Party's line, principles and policies, or divulge Party and state secrets. The principle of the "three not's" must be strictly enforced — that is, do not seize on another's shortcoming and blow it up, do not put labels on people and do not use the big stick. The "three not's" forbid the wilful exaggeration of anyone's mistakes, cooking up charges against him and attacking him politically and organizationally and even persecuting him. The patriarchal style of work maintained by a number of leading cadres who lack a democratic spirit, turn a deaf ear to criticism or even suppress it must be corrected. Criticisms and opinions put forward by Party members should be adopted and accepted so long as they are correct. If there are really mistakes in them, they can only be pointed out in a matter-of-fact way: it is impermissible to try to track down the Party members' so-called motives and background.

We must pay attention to this distinction: opposition to a certain view of a certain comrade cannot be equated with opposition to this comrade; opposition to a certain comrade of a certain leading body cannot be equated with opposition to this organization, with opposition to the leadership, still less with opposition to the Party.

Those who committed such serious crimes against the law as imposing charges of counter-revolution on comrades daring to uphold the truth, as arbitrarily using dictatorial



means against them and savagely persecuting them, must be severely punished according to Party discipline and state law.

It is normal that there should be different understanding and controversies over matters of ideology and theory within the Party. Matters of right and wrong in ideology and theory can be solved only by the method of presenting facts and reasoning things out and conducting democratic discussions, and on no account should the method of coercion be adopted. If some matters of right and wrong concerning ideology and theory cannot be solved for the time being, except for those of important political and immediate significance, they must be reserved for further discussion and solved through practice and no hasty conclusion should be drawn.

The practice of wilfully putting such political labels as "abandoning the Party standard," "poisonous weed," "bourgeois," and "revisionist" on matters of understanding, wilfully calling them issues of a political nature between ourselves and the enemy, not only impairs normal inner-Party political life and gives rise to ossified thinking but is apt to be utilized by anti-Party careerists and disrupts the democratic order of the socialist state. A check must be put to this practice.

#### **(7) Guarantee That the Party Members' Rights Are Not Encroached Upon**

Party organizations at all levels must effectively safeguard the rights of Party members. Encroachment on Party members' rights is a serious violation of Party discipline.

Party members have the right to take part, at Party meetings and in Party journals, in discussions on formulating and implementing Party policies; and also the right to criticize any Party organization or individual at Party meetings. Party members can put forward at

Party meetings their differing views on the Party's principles, policies and resolutions and can submit verbal or written reports on these to Party organizations at all levels up to the Party Central Committee. The Party organization should welcome criticism and proposals from Party members and encourage them to put forth their creative ideas and views on promoting the cause of socialism.

Party members have the right to propose removing or replacing cadres who have committed serious mistakes and refuse to correct them or who are incompetent.

With regard to the handling of cases concerning themselves or others by the Party organization, Party members have the right to put forward their statements, appeals, accusations and defence at Party meetings or to Party organizations at higher levels right up to the Party Central Committee. Both accuser and accused are forbidden to bring false charges against one another. Whoever does this must be dealt with seriously according to Party discipline and state law.

Any decision made by a Party organization on the appraisal, verdict and punishment of a Party member must be made known to the member concerned. When a decision on punishment is to be adopted, the Party member concerned, except in special circumstances, should be asked to attend the meeting. The Party organization should listen carefully to and consider the opinions of the Party member. If the Party member concerned has dissenting opinions, the decision of the Party organization and the opinions of the Party member should be reported to the Party organization at a higher level for examination and approval.

#### **(8) Give Full Expression to the Voters' Wishes in an Election**

A competent leading body enjoying prestige'

among Party members and the masses can be established only through genuine democratic elections within the Party.

Party organizations at all levels should, in accordance with the Party Constitution, call regular general membership meetings and congresses. Party committees at all levels should be re-elected at a specified time. There should be replacements of a definite number of congress and committee members at each session. Full scope should be given to democracy in an election so as to give genuine expression to the voters' will. The lists of candidates should be drawn up by Party members or their representatives in the course of full consultations and discussions. In the election, the number of candidates should be greater than the number elected; or the candidates may be first chosen in a preliminary election in the same way and then enter the formal election. Basic information about the candidates should be made known to the voters. Secret ballots should be adopted in all elections.

It is impermissible to stipulate that a certain person must be or must not be elected.

When the Party congresses at all levels are in recess, the Party committee at a higher level can appoint, remove or transfer responsible members on the Party committee at a lower level according to the needs of the work.

### **(9) Fight Against Erroneous Tendencies, Evildoers and Evil Deeds**

Party organizations at all levels should give full play to their role as a combat bastion, lead the rank and file and the masses to resolutely expose and crack down on counter-revolutionaries, grafters and embezzlers, criminals and serious law-breakers.

It is necessary to seriously criticize and fight against such erroneous tendencies as factionalism, anarchism, extreme individualism, bureaucracy and privilege-seeking.

It is essential to criticize and struggle against malpractices, erroneous ideas and reactionary trends of thought.

Party members, especially leading cadres at all levels, in their struggle against erroneous tendencies, evildoers and evil deeds, should display a dauntless revolutionary spirit and dare to step forward, unafraid of offending others, of hurting their feelings or of being attacked and persecuted.

### **(10) Adopt a Correct Attitude Towards Comrades Who Have Made Mistakes**

In inner-Party struggle, it is necessary to adopt the principles of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones, curing the sickness to save the patient" and of "unity-criticism-unity" in dealing with comrades who have made mistakes so as to achieve the aim of clarifying ideas and uniting the comrades. This is our Party's fine tradition. As for those comrades who have made mistakes, it is necessary to appraise their merits and demerits from an historical and overall point of view, and not to totally negate a person as soon as he makes a mistake. One must not get tangled up in problems which arose in the past but have been clarified or haggle over mistakes that were made in the past but have been corrected. Having clarified the facts, one must make a concrete analysis of the nature and seriousness of their mistakes and, with an enthusiastic and comradely attitude, help them understand the causes for their mistakes, point out the way to correct these mistakes and encourage them to make necessary self-criticism. One should have faith that the majority of erring comrades can correct their mistakes and one should create necessary conditions for them to correct their mistakes and continue to work for the Party.

In analysing the mistakes committed by a comrade, it is necessary first of all to make a strict distinction between the two types of con-

traditions which are different in nature. One must not describe an ordinary mistake in work or a mistake in understanding as a political mistake; nor must one describe an ordinary political mistake as a mistake in political line; or mix up a mistake in political line which is still in the nature of inner-Party struggle with a question of a counter-revolutionary nature involving attempts to subvert the Party and the socialist state. As to conspirators, careerists and counter-revolutionary double-dealers who attempt to subvert the Party and the socialist state, their contradiction with the Party and the people is one between ourselves and the enemy. But such people are very few in number. It is necessary to distinguish between those who follow their higher-ups or principal leading members in committing a mistake of political line and those who engage in subversive activities aimed at usurping Party and state leadership.

In inner-Party struggle, it is impermissible to wage ruthless struggle and deal merciless blows. Within the Party, it is impermissible to transcend Party discipline and violate state law in dealing with Party members. It is absolutely forbidden to solve inner-Party problems by resorting to feudal-fascist means such as those used by Lin Biao and the gang of four. It is strictly forbidden to use the so-called method of "ferreting out and struggling" against people, to resort to personal insult and personal persecution or to obtain confessions by inducement and compulsion.

It is necessary to be very prudent in handling a person's case. If, for the time being, it cannot be determined whether a contradiction is one between ourselves and the enemy or one among the people, the case should be handled as one among the people. Prudence is all the more necessary in handling a case which involves deciding that the contradiction is one between ourselves and the enemy, expelling the person concerned from the Party and relegating

the case to the judicial department for disposition. Under no circumstances is it permissible to implicate innocent family members or relatives of the person involved.

Those comrades who have erred should sincerely accept criticism and education from the Party organization and comrades and disciplinary actions taken against them. They should learn from their mistakes, conscientiously correct them and improve their service to the Party. Those who commit serious mistakes but refuse to admit them and persist wilfully in making trouble should be punished more heavily.

#### **(11) Accept Supervision From the Party And the Masses; See That Privilege- Seeking Is Not Allowed**

Leading cadres at all levels are the servants of the people. They have only the duty of serving the people diligently and conscientiously and no right to seek privileges either politically or in respect to living conditions. Providing leading members with certain reasonable conveniences and ensuring their safety in accordance with the needs of work is necessary; but it is absolutely impermissible to seek privileges in violation of the regulations.

In our country, people differ only in the kind of work they do, and are not classified into superior and inferior, high and low. No one is a lowly slave or an exalted aristocrat. The idea of those who regard their power as something free of all restrictions belongs to a moribund feudal "special privilege" mentality, and must be criticized and corrected. Party members and cadres should regard the urge to seek privileges and personal gains as the greatest disgrace.

It is necessary to uphold the principle that everyone is equal before the truth and before Party discipline and state law. There must not be any special Party members who are not bound by the restrictions of Party discipline and state law and who place themselves above the Party organization. It is absolutely impermissible for Party members to abuse their functions and powers in pursuing their own selfish interests.

No leading cadre is allowed to transcend the limits of power given by the Party organization, or to encroach upon the power of a collective or an individual. All Party members are comrades and comrades-in-arms on an equal footing; leading cadres of the Party should treat others as equals, they must not think that others should comply with whatever they say, whether correct or not, still less should they put on official airs and go in for reprimanding and rebuking others. If problems in work arise at the lower levels as a consequence of the shortcomings and mistakes of the leading members at the higher levels, the higher authorities should take the initiative to shoulder the responsibility for the lower levels and should first of all make self-criticism.

Leading cadres at all levels must maintain and carry forward our Party's glorious traditions of hard struggle and sharing joys and sorrows with the masses. It is necessary firmly to overcome the abominable tendency existing among some leading cadres to seek special treatment for themselves and their family members. It is forbidden for leading members to wilfully approve the use of public funds and materials in violation of financial and economic discipline. They are forbidden to use their position and power to seek preferment for their family members or relatives in regard to such matters as enrolment in schools and colleges, transferring from one to another, promotions, employment and going abroad. The use of public funds for banquets, gifts and residences for leading

members in violation of rules and regulations is forbidden. It is impermissible to mix public and private interests, use public service for private gain, appropriate and squander state and collective property under any pretext or by any means.

Leading Party cadres at all levels must consciously and strictly observe the regulations regarding their living arrangements and at the same time pay more attention to educating their children. Those who have violated regulations in these matters and who refuse to mend their ways despite criticism and education must be punished according to Party discipline.

No leading cadre is permitted, in violation of the Party's organizational principles and criteria for the selection of cadres, to promote his family members or relatives to leading positions. He must not allow them to overstep their authority and meddle in Party and state affairs, nor should he place them in key posts on his staff.

In order to maintain close ties between the Party and the masses of the people, and see to it that the leading Party cadres and Party members who are the people's servants do not turn into lords sitting on their backs, it is necessary to strengthen supervision by the Party organization and the masses over the leading Party cadres and Party members. This requires adopting a method which includes combining supervision "from bottom to top" and "from top to bottom" and from both "inside the Party" and "outside the Party."

It is necessary, on the basis of steadfastly following the mass line, to establish and improve the whole system for the examination, review, award and punishment, rotation, retirement and dismissal of cadres. Application of this system should bring to light the genuine distinction between cadres' merits and demerits, and between who should be commended and who should be punished, so as to encourage the advanced and spur on the less advanced.

Leading cadres at all levels should, at regular intervals, listen to the opinions and comments of the Party members and the masses in their own units. Party organizations at all levels should attach importance to the criticism and opinions expressed by the masses, in their letters or during their visits, about the leading cadres and Party members.

Every Party member, whatever his post, must be assigned to a Party organization and take part in its activities. Party committees at all levels and their standing committees should call regular "meetings of democratic life" to exchange views and carry out criticism and self-criticism.

### **(12) Study Hard and Become Red and Expert**

To accomplish the arduous tasks of the four modernizations, it is necessary to train and foster a mighty contingent of cadres who persist in the socialist road and who have vocational knowledge. It is also necessary to boldly promote to leading posts middle-aged and young cadres (including Party and non-Party members)

All this is in the tradition that made the Chinese Communist Party great, correct and successful. It is in the spirit of winning round those who fell under the influence of the Gang of Four. It has nothing in common with labelling and destroying those who have made mistakes or who have disagreed with the present leadership.

*In the opinion of our delegation, it is exactly what one would expect from a Communist Party that is not going, and has not gone, revisionist.*

## *China's Socialist Modernisation*

Nothing worries many good people more than China's drive to modernise. This is not unnatural. There are so many elements in capitalist modernisation that progressive people find detestable. They see it accompanied by so many evils from pollution to ecological destruction and the destruction of decent moral values. They fear that modernisation will inevitably bring the same evils to China, will lead to the destruction of socialism.

But why? Is socialism only to be associated with economic backwardness and a low standard of living? If that is the outlook, then a socialist revolution would hardly be worthwhile.

In fact, does not capitalist propaganda often enough say, at its most liberal, that socialism is all right for poor countries "but it wouldn't work here with our high standard of living".

This is very far from the Marxist theory of socialism. Marxism says that a revolutionary change of economic systems takes place when the old relations of people in production can no longer get the best out of the newly invented means of production.

It says new relations between people in production are then needed to liberate potential productive capacity.

Even such successive exploiting societies as slavery, feudalism and capitalism all helped this development in their time. Yet each was overthrown and superseded when its type of production organisation outlived its usefulness and held back further advance.

But socialism is something different. It ends all forms of productive relations that depended on exploitation of man by man. It brings a system in which all can work according to their ability and share out what is produced according to the contribution they make in producing it.

The only limit to how well off the working people can be under socialism lies in how bad a start they got and how hard they work to increase production.

Already the Chinese people have a standard of life they could not have dreamed of forty years ago. Why shouldn't they have better housing, better amenities, better clothing, better cultural and sporting facilities still?

The answer is that they should. And they mean to have them. They have built the base to get the things that make life more comfortable. They mean to get much more — and faster.

*Good on them. That is what socialism is for.*

But what about foreign technology, concessions, foreign loans and such aid? Foreign means capitalist. Won't that bring foreign, capitalist, ideology with it?

Why should it? If that was the only factor in China's modernisation, there might be grounds for fear of the consequences. But the fact is that

China's modernisation is based almost entirely on self-reliance, on their own efforts. Foreign technological contribution is a very small percentage of the process.

Of course, foreign capitalists do not want to help China out of the goodness of their hearts, out of their love of socialism. They never do anything except for profit. For what they get from them, the Chinese people will have to pay a bit. They will have to learn not to be cheated, not to pay too much.

So why not just get along with self-reliance alone? It would be slower, but they would get there in the end.

There are several good reasons why China needs the most rapid modernisation possible.

Firstly, there is the factor of war. The better you are armed, the less likely you are to be attacked. And World War III is in the air!

Secondly, there is the poison left in some minds, especially young people's minds, that perhaps socialism is not as good as capitalism in providing the things they know are for sale in capitalist shops. Winning their minds is so much the easier if these things are in socialist shops too and at a price working people can afford. (We saw Japanese radio/cassettes and television sets in many shop windows in Chinese cities, so foreign trade is already providing things not yet available Chinese-made.)

Tourism also can leave the Chinese people with an idea that people are better off under capitalism. They see tourists living it up as they cannot as yet. But tourism is a very rich source of foreign currency to help in more rapid modernisation which will overcome that gap. And, as for Coca-Cola, you can take our word that the Chinese are not under

its allegedly irresistible spell, and that their own lemon and orange soft drinks, which we had each day for lunch are quite equal to Leed or Fanta.

Thirdly, there is the terrible effect of the anti-education policy of the Gang of Four. Ten years of being told it was bourgeois counter-revolution to study, learn and qualify have left China with a great gap in its supply of scientific and technical personnel. Getting foreign help in this aids in the more rapid overcoming of this lost ten years.

On this whole question, from our observations and discussions, we say: Don't let the negative possibilities worry you. The Chinese are also aware of them and are actively combatting them. Rather you should rejoice that they have overcome huge problems and are on the bright road of great successes.

Their modernisation will be socialist modernisation. Their modernisation will strengthen socialism. It will not destroy it. On the contrary, it will bring it to the full flowering that no other socialist country has achieved.

We are not trying to suggest that it will be a pushover. It will be twenty years of plain hard work. And there are, as we have said, plenty of immediate problems — with no doubt plenty of as yet unforeseen problems to arise.

What we are saying is that our "meet, ask and see" visit has convinced us that the goal is good and that the Chinese people will achieve it.

The tragedy of the once socialist Soviet Union is not for China. Of course, as the Chinese say, the sole criterion of this truth, as of any other, is practice. But, from what we saw and heard, we are confident they are on the right road now — and all the present signs are that they will stick to it.

So long as they do, socialist modernisation, even with some capitalist help they are buying, will not see China change colour.

Have you read

THE BULLETIN

or

STRUGGLE

?

*These journals, one of news and Marxist comment on the news and the other a Marxist theoretical magazine, can be got from P. O. Box 77077, Mt. Roskill, Auckland; or from P. O. Box 50232, Porirua, Wellington.*

## 'Soft on Imperialism'

We told our Chinese hosts that the ultra-"lefts" in the Communist Party of New Zealand and the Trotskyites said China was a revisionist super-power, wooing U.S. imperialism so that it would go to war with Soviet social-imperialism -- and China could pick up the pieces and dominate the world.

What they replied was, not unnaturally, a short summary of Mao Zedong's Theory of the Differentiation of the Three Worlds. And they confirmed that Chairman Mao himself WAS the author of this strategic appraisal of the forces at work in today's world. He had outlined it to a visiting African head of state in 1974, and this outline had been no more than filled out by others since.

The basic Chinese view of the international scene in the coming decade is that the 1980's will be stormy. It will be filled with the danger of a new world war as the two super-powers intensify their struggle for world hegemony.

But, beside the conflict of interests of the two super-powers, both of them also have contradictions between themselves and the newly independent third

world countries and between themselves and the other fully developed capitalist countries of the second world. Moreover, their own internal stresses are intensifying.

Both U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism have global strategies to dominate the world. The nature of U.S. imperialism could not change and has not changed. But U.S. imperialism has been considerably weakened after the Korean and Viet Nam wars.

Hence Soviet social-imperialism is on the move to replace U.S. imperialism in world power.

The two super-powers talk a lot about disarmament and detente. But what is happening is the exact opposite. In the 1960's, the Soviet Union was not as militarily powerful as the United States, but now it has beefed up in an all-out effort to be the stronger.

There are mounting class struggles in the established capitalist countries and in the newly independent countries where a capitalist class is arising. The Soviet Union fishes in these troubled waters.

Soviet social-imperialism also aims to tighten its control over East Europe, which wants to break the Soviet grip and develop economic relations with the West. The Soviet Union tries to soften and divide the West European countries, to sow dissension among them and between them and the United States.

It tries to encircle and outflank Europe via the Middle East and by using the instability of African countries. In Asia, its naval base in Cam Ranh Bay in Viet Nam links with Vladivostok to encircle China and to intimidate Japan. It uses Viet Nam and Cuba to carry out its strategic aims in different parts of the world.



But the naked aggression against Afghanistan is going a step further. It is escalation that is, for the first time, carried out by Soviet, not puppet, forces.

It has opened a lot of eyes.

Afghanistan's neighbours, Iran and Pakistan, can now see the real source of the threat to their independence. Just as the ASEAN nations, seeing Viet Nam's Soviet-inspired and -supplied invasion of Kampuchea, realise whence comes the deadly danger to them.

Through all this, U.S. imperialism tries to use detente to keep trade going, hoping not to irritate the Soviet Union too much. It aims to keep things in balance — that is, to appease the Soviet Union so that it can keep what it has without war.

The essence of appeasement is to be nice to the aggressor, even give him a little bit, but always steering him to understand that you'll be even nicer if he'll only turn his guns against a socialist country.

There are people in America, and in New Zealand, who would like to appease Soviet aggression; who would not mind at all if Russia attacked, say, China. They have some influence in America's foreign policy — and New Zealand's.

Similarly, Britain, supported by the United States, sought a political solution to the Afghan question. Not to mention Kampuchea. This is pitiful back-peddling compared, for instance, with the firm UN and Islamic resolutions for unconditional withdrawal of Soviet-backed Vietnamese forces from Kampuchea and of Soviet forces from Afghanistan.

The Soviet Union won't withdraw of its own choice from Afghanistan. And Viet Nam will similarly not withdraw from Kampuchea. These moves were part of

Soviet social-imperialism's global strategic plans.

As for Chinese-American relations, these have been developed diplomatically, in trade and in scientific, sporting and cultural exchanges.

In the face of the Soviet threat, each has its own approach. U.S. imperialism wants China on its side but does not want to give the Soviet Union any impression that ties are too close. U.S. imperialism certainly does not support Chinese socialism, but it sees the Soviet Union as its main enemy and China, at this stage, as a secondary matter.

China, on the other hand, works, as a socialist country should, to play the fullest possible role in building a great world united front against all hegemonism — and particularly against the active aggressive Soviet social-imperialism.

So China and the U.S. approach this problem of Soviet aggression from widely different positions. Where these positions intersect, they form part of uniting all who can be united. But they certainly do not constitute an alliance. And they certainly do not mean that China is blind to the essential hegemonism that is in the very nature of the U.S. imperialist super-power.

That, in short, is what the Chinese told us. We would like to add a few words of our own.

In the 1930's, the world still consisted almost entirely of imperialist powers and their colonies. There was only one socialist nation. There was one imperialist power that was the No. 1 aggressor, together with its two imperialist allies. (Hitler Germany, Italy and Japan.)

Hitler's Germany prepared for World War II. Its aim — the word not then in vogue: hegemony.

The then socialist Soviet Union played the role

a socialist country should. It worked in and out of the League of Nations to build a united front — then called collective security — against this aggression. In the end, the trend of events and the real relation of forces in the world led to the achievement of this collective security. But, regrettably, that did not happen till AFTER World War II was in full swing.

Three of our delegation took part in the New Zealand army overseas in that collective security. At that time, we do not remember any criticism of Stalin for "going soft on Churchill". Yet Churchill had very, very different war aims from Stalin! And his anti-Soviet record was notorious!!

Some people talk about being equally opposed to both super-powers. We would like to ask such people: Didn't the collective security of World War II become a historical necessity precisely because the forces at that time didn't exist to overthrow all imperialisms? And didn't the outcome of that united front, as well as defeating the fascist aggressor, also enormously weaken ALL imperialisms?

These people, who only a year ago said Chairman Mao was the greatest, now call him a revisionist. However, they have not, as yet, had the gall to so downgrade Lenin.

And, at the time when the Communist Parties of the world were coming into being in the early 1920's, did not Lenin tell them this: That, when your forces are as yet too weak to overthrow all your enemies, you must make use of the conflicts of interests between them to knock them down one by one?

*And how soft was Lenin on ANY imperialism?*

If anyone had said British and U.S. imperialism were equally to be opposed together with German imperialism in the 1940's, such a person might have felt very revolutionary. But, objectively, he would

have been carrying out the historically counter-revolutionary role of aiding Hitler.

Today, if anyone says both super-powers are to be equally opposed, then objectively he is helping Soviet social-imperialist preparations for a war to re-divide the world.

Today, whoever berates socialist China as revisionist, that person is sabotaging the development of a world-wide united front against aggressive fascism, this time doubly dangerous because it conceals itself under the cloak of socialism.

*Those who hold back the work of tearing off that cloak are the ones who are really soft, no matter how much they beat their chests and bare their teeth.*

## *Plenty of Problems*

We have said that we went with a bias in favour of China. And that nothing we heard or saw caused us to abandon that bias. But let us assure you that we are capable of rejecting a wrong bias if the facts run against it.

Twenty years ago we had to come to the painful conclusion that the Soviet leaders had abandoned socialism. And, since then, we have equally painfully had to come to the conclusion that the present leaders of the Communist Party of New Zealand have abandoned Marxism-Leninism.

However, having said that what we saw and heard has not in the least shaken our support for socialism in China and the Communist Party of China, we would not in the least like to suggest that China has overcome all problems and everything is going swimmingly.

Our Chinese hosts did not hide the very great problems they faced. The biggest of all, they said, was "whateverism".

Never heard of it? Neither had we. But the

"whateverists" are people who don't investigate facts to get at the truth. They investigate the books. Then, "whatever is in the book must be right".

People like that we do know. Mao Zedong warned against them long ago in "Oppose Book Worship". The problem they create for China today is arrested thinking, which kills the ability to look ahead, to integrate the basic truths of Marxism with the world in change.

There is also a certain fall in the morale of the Chinese people and the prestige of the Party. For so many years, the Communist Party of China, led by Chairman Mao, was always right. If it did make some mistakes, it always boldly corrected them. But, for the Party and the people, the ten years of the Gang of Four's line in the Party were a disaster. Now the Chairman is dead and there is some doubt, even some cynicism, as to whether the mess left by the Gang of Four can be cleaned up.

For instance, in the years of terrible natural disasters, 1960-62, the economic problems were even worse than they are today. But the Chinese people were rallied under Party leadership. They responded with an all-out physical effort to overcome the droughts, floods etc.

But now, when the task is to overcome the economic damage done by the Gang of Four, it is harder for the Party to rally the people. This is because of the damage done to morale and to the prestige of the Party that is also a legacy of the Gang.

There are quite big special problems with that section of the young people roughly between 20 to 30 years old. Their secondary schooling and either early university or work years took place in an atmosphere where it was right to rebel against everything, including learning and productive work. And, with the lack of economic development over those

ten years, a new crop of youngsters is coming out of school without enough jobs to go to immediately.

It is not surprising that some of these young people are disoriented. Not surprising that a small percentage of them worship the West and do express their doubts about socialism. After all, they are not able to compare old China with new China. They see only the difference between still backward China and those advanced western countries whose standard of living grew out of the exploitation of Asia, Africa and Latin America — including China itself up to 1949!

So there is apathy. There is even delinquency. Our hosts saw it as a problem that required extra hard work in ideological education. They have, as we saw, revived the method of holding up youthful heroes as examples to follow. So, the day we went to visit the beautiful Beijing Railway Station, we saw groups of school kids sweeping and polishing as their voluntary contribution. And, as kids do, they were having fun at the same time.

A further problem was that this generation of young people were precisely the ones needed as qualified scientists, engineers, electronic experts, technicians and specialists to modernise China. And those were just the qualifications they lacked as a result of the ten disastrous years in education.

But, Vice-Premier Ji Pengfei told us, the economic problems were comparatively easy to overcome. The poison left behind in people's minds was a problem that would take longer.

Yet everyone told us that, while all their present problems tied back to the ten years of the Gang of Four, the key link in overcoming those problems lay in the programme to modernise China.

This is not just a question of getting modern means of production. For the productive forces that

socialism liberates are not only the means of production. They include the people who have to work them. So it is not just a question of production first and ideology nowhere. The two are indissolubly interlinked and interwoven.

The struggle to eradicate the outlook of the old exploiting classes is aided by economic development as well as being the key to achieving it. Thus, when the Chinese leaders say that the centre of their work is now the Four Modernisations, they are not abandoning class struggle in the affairs of the mind. What they are passing from is waging class struggles against classes which no longer exist as such, because they have totally lost their ownership of the means of production that made them an exploiting class.

Understanding this essential interconnection between the objective, economic questions and the subjective, ideological processes is the key to grasping what the Chinese are doing today. Understanding this essence puts the new, and sometimes confusing, things that come and go on the surface into proper perspective.

Some people think that because the Chinese say that modernisation is the new focus of Party work that this means they have abandoned ideological work — or at least have relegated it.

Not so. It is just that ideology is not a thing in itself. It can be compared with the horsepower an engine can develop. But an engine develops such horsepower for no other reason than to carry out the job.

At any particular time, the engine will be turned to the task of the day. But how well it performs in carrying out that task depends on how well it has been tuned.

When winning the war against Japan and later the

war against Chiang Kai-shek were the successive central tasks, did that mean that developing proletarian ideology was neglected? No way.

At any time, the central task is set by objective conditions. For success in carrying it out, paying the strictest attention to the correct ideology is the indispensable subjective factor — the factor of human willpower.

## *Lessons for New Zealand*

Delving into the nitty gritty of what has happened and is happening in China is not just an academic exercise.

On the contrary. Finding out which way China is going is very important for the people of New Zealand. After all, China has a fifth of the population of the world. What happens there has to have a huge influence on what happens in the world.

And all this century has shown that New Zealand is not all that isolated in our small corner of the South Pacific.

But what is really happening in China is not easy to learn from New Zealand's press, radio and television. After all, they are capitalist news media. Their reports on socialist China are, consequently, not always objective — to put it mildly.

Both immediately, and in the long term, China is important to New Zealand from the angle of trade and from the angle of World War III.

For both these reasons, New Zealand, even as a

capitalist country, has very good reason to become very much more friendly with China. And, within those limits, New Zealand officially HAS got a lot more friendly. Trade is increasing all the time. Inter-government visits are taking place fairly frequently. There are increasing sporting and cultural exchanges.

All this is very good. It should be encouraged and welcomed.

But what is the most important question in the world today? It is more than inflation, more than recession, more than unemployment — though it is connected with all these.

Starkly, it is the question of another world war.

The cause of such wars in the twentieth century is imperialism. Imperialism is capitalism grown to the stage where the export of goods is no longer as important as the export of capital (by direct investment or by loans); where competition has given way to monopoly and to great multi-nationals; where there is an all-out struggle to control the less powerful countries, directly or through puppets, so that the imperialist master can seize control of the world's raw materials and exploit its labour.

Imperialist countries have formed alliances and fought each other already. World War I was such a war. World War II was meant by its initiators to be such a war — but it got away from them into being an anti-fascist war.

Today, only two imperialist countries any longer have the economic, and hence the military, power to wage such an imperialist war for the control of the world. Those two are America and Russia.

World empires grow, become mighty, have their day and fade away. It was so in the slave days of the Roman Empire. It was so with the feudal might of

Spain, which once dominated most of the Americas and a good deal of Europe. It was so with the capitalist British Empire on which once the sun never set.

The latest empire to reach its peak and start to go down hill has been the United States of America. Its decline has been so comparatively recent that a lot of people still find it hard to believe. But where now is its Monroe Doctrine, its Truman Doctrine, its ability to send in the marines?

It is enough just to say Iran.

But U.S. imperialism still has a very great grip on the world. It still has the world's greatest economic power. It does not mean to let this dollar empire go without a fight.

However, when an empire fades, another rises up eager to take its place. The contest for being top dog, for seizing control, is waged by every means. But, in the end, such matters can be decided only by war.

The newly arising imperialism is becoming the stronger, is taking the aggressive stand, is ever moving into strategic positions, ready to strike when it feels the moment is right.

That rising, aggressive imperialism today is Soviet social-imperialism. The description "social" is used to pinpoint the fact that Soviet imperialism hides behind the socialist past of that country.

It is socialist in words only. In deeds, it is fully imperialist. Actually, its pretence of still being socialist makes it a very dangerous imperialism. It is harder for some people to see.

However, facts are facts. After Afghanistan, a lot of eyes have been opened. A lot more people can see that Soviet social-imperialism is an aggressor

bent on world domination.

If you live near to Russia, or to her puppet ally Viet Nam, your country has already been attacked. Or you're terribly aware it's not far down the list.

New Zealand may seem a long way off. But we did not feel that way in 1942!

You may think America saved us from invasion then. It was certainly part of the anti-fascist alliance that did. But the much less trumpeted truth is that Mao Zedong's guerrilla forces in China tied up even greater Japanese forces than America ever engaged. And the then socialist Soviet Union kept Japan's largest land forces tied down in northern China all the time — and eventually wiped them out in 1945.

In a Third World War, at any rate, America could in all likelihood no more "protect" New Zealand than Britain could "protect" Singapore in 1941. And for the same reason. They'd have their hands full elsewhere.

So New Zealand's biggest problem of all is the protection of our independence from the growing menace of Soviet imperialist aggression.

True, New Zealand's independence has certain limits left over from colonial days. Foreign multinationals dominate our economy and, consequently, dictate policies to our governments. In this, the dominant foreign imperialism is American.

But Soviet social-imperialism isn't going to free us. It isn't going to widen our independence. Its only aim is to replace the present foreign influences.

*In fact, Soviet social-imperialism is the greatest threat to New Zealand since World War III!*

As against that threat, a threat to all the nations and peoples of the world, China stands like a rock. China's policy is on all fours with the collective security policy before World War II. It is for building the widest possible world united front of nations and peoples against the war threat that arises from the contest between the two superpowers — and particularly against the aggressive superpower, the Soviet Union.

Is that policy a good thing? Or a bad thing? There can be only one answer. It is a good thing.

Are the nations and peoples of the world interested in just relying on America to defeat Soviet aggression so that American domination may be preserved? Of course not.

China supports a policy of a world united front against ALL domination, particularly a policy of a world-wide rally of all who are opposed to Soviet aggression — the main threat of World War III.

There should be protests, opposition, sanctions — every possible form of exposing, and making it hard for, the aggressor.

The other side of that opposition can be something positive. We should organise and demand all-out support for the courageous people who are standing in the front line against the Soviet guns, tanks, 'planes, napalm and poison gas — the guerrilla fighters of Afghanistan and of Kampuchea.

Our daily papers like to hang down-grading labels on these heroic fighters. They are "Moslem guerrillas". Or they are "Khmer Rouge". They are thus pictured as not quite nice, even very bad.

Forget it. They are patriots defending their own countries from wanton and totally unprovoked invasion. Even if our papers and television pump out what is, in fact, Soviet propaganda against them,

don't fall for it.

These people are patriots willing to die for their countries' independence. They pit their rifles against all the modern weapons of war.

But they are more than just local patriots. They are holding the line for the rest of the world. For New Zealand.

As Spain did in the years just before World War II.

Be eternally grateful to them. Give them all the support we can get to them. Material support, if possible. But at least moral support.

If you were a Russian leader scheming aggression and world war, what would be your attitude to China? Obviously to blacken it. If that couldn't be done with the truth, then you'd make up lies.

In this respect, then, lies about China are a hidden Soviet weapon, a help to aggression. Such lies, therefore, should be corrected. The truth about Afghanistan, about Kampuchea, about China puts road blocks in the path of the aggressor.

A true socialist country can never be an aggressor. That is incompatible with socialism. A true socialist country is the truest of champions against aggression.

China is such a true socialist country, playing a major role in thwarting Soviet war plans, delaying them, helping prepare the peoples of the world to win such a war when it breaks out.

China is New Zealand's most important friend when it comes to preserving and extending our national independence.



Preparatory Committee for the Formation of the Communist Party of  
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