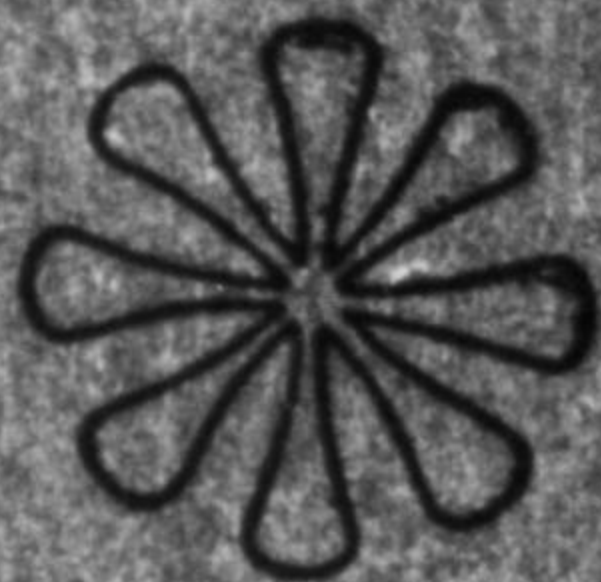


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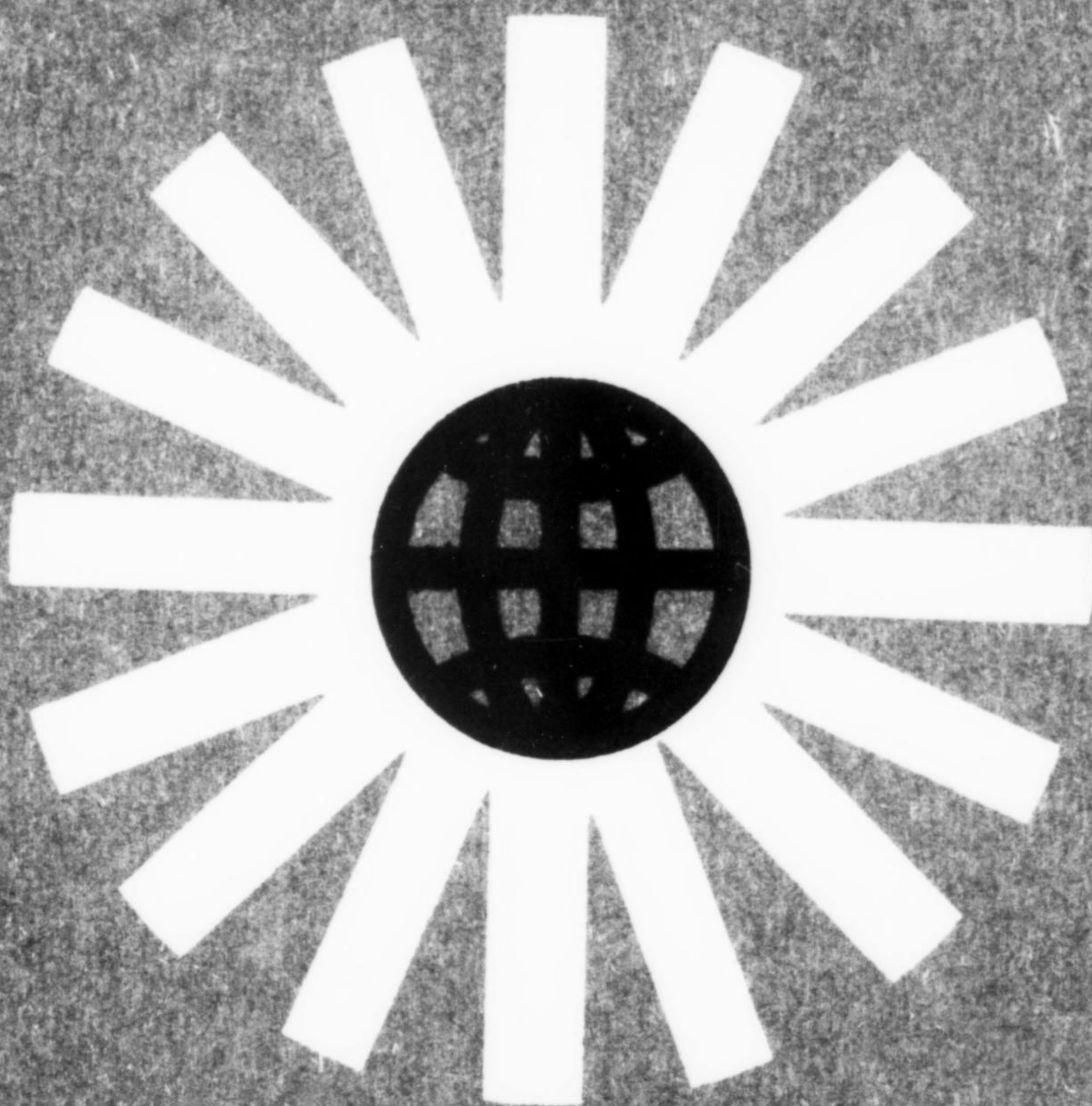


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BULLETIN

Issued by

**WORLD MARXIST
REVIEW
PUBLISHERS**



**THE MAOIST
REGIME
AT THE
NEW STAGE**

22

(302) • 1975

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information bulletin — 22 (302) Vol. 13

*Appears twice monthly in English, Arabic,
French, German, Greek and Spanish*

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Published by PEACE AND SOCIALISM PUBLISHERS—Prague
North American edition published by

PROGRESS BOOKS

487 ADELAIDE ST. WEST, TORONTO, ONTARIO, CANADA
M5V 1T4

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PRINTED IN CANADA
NOVEMBER 30, 1975



MULTILATERAL MEETINGS

MEETING OF EDITORIAL COMMISSION ON PREPARATIONS FOR CONFERENCE OF EUROPEAN COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES

The editorial commission on preparations for the Conference of European Communist and Workers' Parties met in Berlin from November 17 to 19. Taking part were delegations from the following fraternal parties: Communist Party of Belgium led by Deputy Chairman Jean Terfve; Bulgarian Communist Party led by Central Committee secretary Konstantin Tellalov; Communist Party of Denmark led by Political Bureau member and Central Committee secretary Ib Nørlund; German Communist Party led by Presidium member and secretary of the Board Willi Gerns; Socialist Unity Party of Germany led by Political Bureau member and Central Committee secretary Hermann Axen; Communist Party of Finland led by member of the Secretariat Olavi Poikolainen; French Communist Party led by Political Bureau member Jean Kanapa; Communist Party of Greece led by Political Bureau member Konstantin Lulis; Communist Party of Great Britain led by Assistant General Secretary Reuben Falber; Communist Party of Ireland led by General Secretary Michael O'Riordan; Italian Communist Party led by Leadership member Giancarlo Pajetta; League of Communists of Yugoslavia led by secretary in the Executive Committee of the Presidium Aleksandr Grlic-kov; Communist Party of Luxembourg led by Deputy Chairman Rene Urbany; Communist Party of Norway led by Deputy Chairman Rolf Nettum; Communist Party of Austria led by Political Bureau member and Central Committee secretary Erwin Scharf; Polish United Workers' Party led by Central Committee secretary Andrzej Werblan; Portuguese Communist Party led by Central Committee member Carlos Aboim Ingles; Rumanian Communist Party led by alternate member of the Political Executive Committee and Central Committee

secretary Stefan Andrei; San Marino Communist Party led by Chairman Ermenegildo Gasperoni; Left Party — Communists of Sweden led by member of the Board and Central Committee secretary Urban Karlsson; Swiss Party of Labor led by Political Bureau member and Central Committee secretary Jakob Lechleiter; Communist Party of the Soviet Union led by Central Committee secretary Konstantin Katushev; Communist Party of Spain led by Executive Committee member Manuel Azcarate; Communist Party of Czechoslovakia led by Presidium member and Central Committee secretary Vasil Bilak; Communist Party of Turkey led by Political Bureau member Ahmed Saydan; Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party led by Central Committee secretary Andras Gyenes; Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin led by member of the Board Bureau and secretary of the Board Bruno Kuster; Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus (AKEL) led by Political Bureau member Christos Petas.

The representatives of all the 28 participating European Communist and Workers' parties spoke at the meeting. The editorial commission discussed the draft document for the conference prepared by the Socialist Unity Party of Germany in accordance with the agreement reached between the fraternal parties.

The participants in the meeting instructed the editorial group, in which all fraternal parties wishing to do so can take part, to continue the work on the draft, taking into consideration the remarks made during the discussion. The edited text of the draft will be presented at the next editorial commission meeting to be held in January 1976, which will also examine the question of the date of the next conference.

The meeting of the editorial commission was held in a fraternal communist atmosphere.

CONGRESSES

THE 34TH CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

The 34th Congress of the Communist Party was held in Saint Pancréas, a working-class district of London, on November 15-18. For the 34th time in over half a century of the Party's existence the highest British Communist forum met to discuss vital political, economic and social problems, assess the prospects of the class struggle of the British working people in the present world situation and chart the main guidelines for Party activity in the coming period.

Around 450 voting delegates took part in the work of the Congress. Together with the non-voting delegates and guests there were over 600 people present.

Party Chairman Irene Swan made a short opening speech. The main political report, "Crisis, Left Unity, and the Communist Party" was delivered by General Secretary Gordon McLennan.

Our Congress, McLennan said, meets in a political situation dominated by capitalist crisis. We call on the whole labor movement to campaign for left policies to tackle it and put Britain on a new course.

Britain today is an indictment of monopoly capitalism, he said. One and a quarter million unemployed; millions more in poverty; general living standards falling; housing, health, education and social services in crisis; old age pensioners fearing the onset of winter; and the bright hopes of tens of thousands of young people blighted in the harsh reality of the dole queue.

The alleged cures for Britain's ills had for too long left the basic cause of the crisis untouched. We are faced with the crisis of the capitalist system, and to solve it decisive inroads must be made into the power of big business.

The economic crisis affecting all capitalist countries is particularly deep and profound in Britain. This is because the successive governments have, in alliance with big business, pursued imperialist aims. Striving to preserve London's role on as the world's financial center,

they encouraged big capital investments abroad to the detriment of developing and modernizing the domestic industrial base, and spent huge sums on armaments.

The economic situation in Britain and the capitalist world stands in sharp contrast to the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. At this moment of deep capitalist crisis, the superiority of the socialist economic system becomes ever more evident and this assists us in our activity to chart our own way to socialism in Britain.

The British capitalist class is powerful and will use that power, including economic power, for its narrow class interests. The forces trying to preserve capitalism must be counterposed by the powerful force of a united working-class movement at the head of a broad alliance of democratic anti-monopoly forces of society.

The central feature of the international situation, the rapporteur noted, is the continuing drift in the world balance of forces in favor of socialism, national liberation, peace and progress. In this situation the working-class and trade union movement together with the Communists and other progressives demand that the government follow a progressive foreign policy. They hail the historic victory of the Vietnamese people.

The European Conference on Security and Cooperation marks a new stage in the struggle for peace and détente in Europe. Its successful outcome is the product of years of activity by world progressive forces, in which the peace policy and initiatives of the Soviet Union were decisive. The Helsinki Conference opened up a new stage in the struggle for peace and détente in Europe. It does not mean, of course, ideological détente and the preservation of capitalism in Western Europe. In all the countries of capitalism, the struggle for socialist advance will be stepped up as capitalism's crisis deepens.

Gordon McLennan dealt with the question of preparations for a conference of the European Communist and Workers' parties. We are confident, he said, that the conference will make a big contribution to the fight for peace, security and cooperation in Europe, and for the fulfillment of the Helsinki decisions.

The defeat of imperialism in Indochina and the new situation in Europe weakens imperialism, but does not prevent it from attempting to thwart new advances in other parts of the world. All the more reason for concern that China's foreign policies play into the hands of imperialism, and could place in jeopardy the socialist gains of the Chinese people.

Looking at world developments as a whole, McLennan em-

phasized, we are confident that imperialism's aggressive plans can be defeated and lasting peace and social progress ensured. It is our duty, together with other labor and progressive forces, to ensure Britain the opportunity of playing its role in the historical process.

McLennan dealt at length with the problems of strengthening unity in action of the left forces, and called for actions leading to a bigger Communist Party, Young Communist League, and *Morning Star* circulation.

The report was followed by a discussion. The delegates stressed that they see the central task of the present Congress in discussing how to develop, in unity with other left and progressive forces, a tremendous mass movement needed to push the government on a left course, to stop the inflation, mass unemployment, raise living standards, broaden democracy, and to wrest Britain out of the economic crisis and open the road to socialism.

Not a single serious economic, social and political problem facing Britain was solved by the 1975 referendum on the country's participation in the Common Market. On the contrary, the decision to remain in the EEC will further deepen the crisis.

To fight the crisis the Communist Party calls on all left forces to demand in common that the Labor government implement such measures as an immediate price freeze; import controls; stop the export of capital; increase investments in the processing industry; cut military expenditures by half; increase trade, especially with the socialist and developing countries.

The historic changes in Britain and the world, the delegates noted, compel the working class and labor movement to ever more insistently challenge the big monopolies and multinational corporations. The British workers have to fight not only against their immediate employers but also the unjust laws of the state apparatus, in other words, against the entire ruling class and its system of political power.

At the same time, the delegates said, dissatisfaction with government policy, the growing despair caused by the inflation and economic crisis, demagoguery and lies of the mass media, the splitting activity of racists and fascists are fraught with the danger of a move to the right. Therefore the left forces must strengthen their unity and demand that definite goals be set in order to frustrate the right wing and win the working people's support for their political line.

All-round strengthening of the unions at workplace level is crucial to the mass struggle and future left policies. The scale of the working-class movement, its potential force and wide influence in the

country urgently demand more Communist participation in the movement.

The fact that some 30,000 Communists have won successes in the struggle for left unity, the resolution notes, should not create the impression that decisive changes in this direction can be brought about by a bigger Party.

Factory Party branches are of long-term importance. Delegates from a number of branches stressed the need to do much more to improve the work and increase the membership and influence of the existing factory branches, and to set up many more.

Executive Committee member Gerry Cohen introduced the draft resolution "Communist Electoral Policy."

The aim of the British Communists at the present stage, the document stresses, is the election of a Labour government that would submit to mass pressure and conduct a left policy; to increase the Communist vote, extend the prospects of Communist Party representation, to strengthen the Party and Young Communist League and increase *Morning Star* circulation.

Communist electoral policy is closely linked with the struggle for a bigger Party. This coupled with a bigger *Morning Star* circulation would raise the Communists' prospects at the elections. At the same time, more effective electoral work resulting in more votes would be a powerful tool in the struggle to strengthen the Party.

British political experience shows, the delegates emphasized, that to develop a powerful and united mass movement necessary for the success of a socialist direction, we need a strong Communist Party, active on a countrywide scale, explaining its policy to all groups of working people and playing its role in all political spheres, including Parliament and the local authorities.

In the course of the principled discussion, shortcomings in the activities of various Party links were criticized. Concern was expressed with regard to the drop in membership during the past two years (there are now 28,519 members, 1,400 less than during the previous congress), and also less votes for Communist candidates at elections. It was noted, however, that during this period Party organization carried out a number of measures in defense of the people's vital interests; the Communists rightly enjoy prestige among trade union members and other mass organizations as staunch fighters for the working people's cause.

After a short discussion Congress approved a resolution demanding extension of self-government in Scotland and Wales.

Executive Committee member Irene Brennan moved the resolution "Britain and Northern Ireland." Congress denounced London's repressive policy against the people of Northern Ireland. She said that the present crisis has its roots in the partition of Ireland by British imperialism in 1921. After a half century of intentional fanning of religious hatred and strife, time, patience and understanding by all sides is needed to heal the wounds inflicted by former and present conflicts, and to disperse the accumulated fears and suspicions. The British people and especially the working-class movement have the responsibility of helping the people of Northern Ireland to democratize their society.

The strangling of democracy in Northern Ireland, it was noted, threatens democracy in Britain as well. The emergency law in Northern Ireland was followed by the equally dangerous prevention of terrorism act in Britain. Experience shows that a country which oppresses another jeopardizes its own freedom. Therefore the British working-class and progressive movement must extend the campaign for a basic review of government policy toward Northern Ireland. As an immediate step in this direction, congress called for the release of all the interned; for a law on rights for Northern Ireland; repeal of all repressive laws; restriction of the British troops to barracks until their final withdrawal from Northern Ireland, etc.

On behalf of the Communist Party of Ireland, its Chairman, Andry Barr, addressed fraternal greetings to the Congress. There were cheers for his closing words: Imperialism's days are numbered, the era of socialism is here. The peoples of the world are on the march to freedom. The working people of Britain and Ireland are proudly taking their place in the ranks of that great army. Due credit goes to the leadership of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Long live the unity of the international communist movement!

Congress adopted a resolution of solidarity with the heroic people of Chile.

The speeches of representatives of the Communist parties of Portugal, Spain, Chile, Cyprus and South Africa were given a warm fraternal welcome.

Congress received numerous greetings from brother parties. The response to the addresses from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Polish United Workers' Party, Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, Working People's Party of Vietnam, Communist Party of Cuba, French Communist Party, Italian Communist Party, German

Communist Party and many others read at the Congress grew into a display of proletarian internationalism.

Congress elected a new Executive Committee.

The present Congress of the Communist Party of Great Britain, its main political resolution emphasized, took place in a situation of major successes won in the struggle for world peace and national independence, of big gains scored by the left in Western Europe, and of a sharp contrast between the crisis of the capitalist world and the progress of the forces of socialism.

The victory in Vietnam, coupled with the liberation of Cambodia and Laos, mark the further fundamental and irreversible change in the relation of world forces in favor of peace, democracy, national liberation and socialism. The victory of the peoples of Indochina have been largely due to the extensive material and moral support on the part of the socialist countries, especially the Soviet Union, and also the solidarity of the peoples in the capitalist world.

The European Conference on Security and Cooperation, the Congress resolution says, marks a new stage in the struggle for peace and détente in Europe, which has become possible thanks to the efforts of the peoples. The key role in this belongs to the socialist countries, primarily the Soviet Union.

Peking's approach to European problems, its encouragement of NATO and the EEC can only give satisfaction to the imperialists. Such is the indisputable logic of the anti-Soviet policy being pursued by the Chinese leaders, the Congress of British Communists stressed.

In the ever more tangible climate of détente and national liberation, fascism has been overthrown in Portugal and Greece, and changes are clearly in sight in Spain. Opportunities for progress are appearing in France and Italy. The general relation of forces in Europe is changing in favor of progress.

Against the background of a profound economic crisis in the capitalist world, Congress noted, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries are steadfastly forging ahead, experiencing neither spiralling inflation nor mass unemployment. This has been due to public ownership and the planned character of the socialist economy.

The international communist movement has played an important role in the gains of the anti-imperialist forces on a world scale. The conference of European Communist and Workers' parties, in which the CPGB will take an active part, will make its contribution to the process.

The Labour government, the Congress resolution notes, improved

relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, but a decisive turn in foreign policy has yet to be made, and it continues to adhere to EEC, NATO and to an alliance with the USA.

In a special resolution, Congress warns against the danger still existing in the Middle East as a result of imperialist activity.

In his concluding remarks, General Secretary Gordon McLennan, on behalf of the delegates and all British Communists, expressed heartfelt gratitude to former General Secretary John Gollan for his big contribution to the Party's cause, in heading its leadership during almost two decades.

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STATEMENTS, RESOLUTIONS

LEONID BREZHNEV AWARDED THE GOLD PEACE MEDAL

The Presidium of the World Peace Council adopted a decision to award L.I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee, Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Frederic Joliot-Curie Gold Peace Medal, the highest honor of the peace movement. This was announced at the World Conference of representatives of national peace movements by the Council's General Secretary Romesh Chandra.

The resolution of the World Peace Council Presidium on decorating L.I. Brezhnev with this highest distinction notes that peace champions are deeply grateful to L.I. Brezhnev, an outstanding political figure of our time, for his purposeful and untiring work in implementing the grandiose tasks set forth in the Peace Program adopted at the 24th CPSU Congress. The resolution notes his enormous and unrelenting effort in the struggle for world détente, for the principles of peaceful coexistence, international security and cooperation between states and peoples. The success of the historic Helsinki Conference is in large measure connected with L.I. Brezhnev's name.

The awarding of L.I. Brezhnev, the World Peace Council resolution states, expresses the high appraisal by the peoples of the Soviet Union's special contribution to the struggle for peace.

Pravda, November 23, 1975.

POPULAR UNITY STATEMENT

The overwhelming majority of the Chilean people are longing for the downfall of the fascist junta, but this cannot come about on its own. The junta must be overthrown and this can only be the result of organized struggle by the whole people.

The mounting popular resistance and protests, international condemnation of the junta's crimes, the crisis and poverty of the country, are precipitating the erosion of the junta. As a result, the principle concern of imperialism and the big Chilean bourgeoisie now is to find a substitute, i.e., to replace the fascists in power by others, white-wash the dictatorship's face in order to continue, with hands less blood-stained than Pinochet's, the same old policy serving the self-same anti-national and anti-popular interests.

While some are making attempts on people's lives and resorting to even more brutal repressions in recent weeks, in a vain attempt to consolidate Pinochet's leadership through terror, others from the same reactionary quarters are hatching conspiracies against the former.

Neither terror nor changes devised in the corridors of Washington or in the salons of the Chilean monopolists present a real solution to Chile's drama.

Popular Unity is categorically rejecting maneuvers to give a face-lift to the dictatorship while keeping its essence intact.

Popular Unity rejects all attempts made by collaborationist politicians to "negotiate" a false solution with senior army officers.

Any attempt to find a way out by excluding or deceiving the people, or ignoring them, is doomed to failure. Only the working class and the whole people can serve as the basis of a broad anti-fascist front capable of overthrowing the dictatorship. Only a revolutionary and popular alternative of all the consistently anti-fascist forces is the real road to victory over the dictatorship. The Popular Unity parties and other left forces have chosen the difficult path of active resistance. We call on the whole people and their organizations for unity in this struggle. We want the broadest possible unity against the dictatorship, but we did not wait and shall not wait until this unity is achieved to start our struggle.

We call on the Popular Unity to redouble their energies on all the mass fronts so as to create from grass roots the broadest alliance essential for constructing the anti-fascist front.

In face of the maneuvers of imperialism and the big bourgeoisie, we reaffirm our indomitable faith in the workers, in the Chilean people and the popular movement. We hail our parties that are active in our Motherland, their rank and file leaders, and reaffirm our indissoluble connection with the heroic struggle they are waging at present, heading the resistance to the dictatorship.

TO THE SOLDIERS OF CHILE

Having installed an unjust, sanguinary regime which has led the country to ruin and the people to misery, Pinochet and his accomplices have trampled underfoot all the values of the army founded by O'Higgins.

Pinochet, Merino, Leigh and Mendoza have not only betrayed the Motherland, they have betrayed you. They have tried and are trying to turn the soldiers, sailors, airmen and carabineros into jailers and torturers of the people. They have forced officers and men to attack and murder innocent men, women and children.

We know that many of you are opposed to this state of affairs. We clearly distinguish between the fascists and those who are not, between the assassins and torturers, on the one hand, and, on the other, those who do not accept the cowardly degradation of man.

The camarilla of traitors has abused your position to prostitute the concepts of subordination and discipline.

The people of Chile are aware that not everyone in the armed forces is a fascist or an assassin. They harbor no sentiments of base vengeance.

The hour of retribution will come, and the assassins will have to pay for their crimes. Those who did not torture or murder should have no fear. Their place is with the people, with the workers. Those who died defending the Constitution, who have been tortured or arrested, or who have been discharged from your ranks, will be duly honored and have their rights restored.

The soldiers of Chile,

The junta is against you. The dictatorship is tantamount to a negation of the army, and Pinochet, of the soldier's dignity. The junta personifies cowardice, treachery.

Popular Unity calls on all honest officers worthy of the name and enlisted men to disobey the fascists' orders, to realize that they are heirs to O'Higgins, to join in the common struggle of our entire people for the Motherland, for freedom, dignity, tranquility, security and honor, and the sovereign exercise of democracy in our country.

Documents realized at a meeting of the
Popular Unity Political Committee Abroad,
held in London on October 14-16, 1975.

LETTER OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, CP OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

On November 15 *Rude Pravo* published a letter of the CPC Central Committee to Party committees and organizations and all Communists on preparations for the 15th Party Congress, approved at the October (1975) Central Committee meeting.

The Central Committee noted that the country set about preparing for the Party Congress (April 1976) in a favorable domestic and international climate. It is gratifying to note, the letter said, that the main objectives set forth at the previous congress will be fulfilled and in many respects overfulfilled.

Undeniably, after the 14th Party Congress our socialist society has, under the leadership of the Party, achieved unprecedented all-round development. The socialist system in Czechoslovakia has become considerably stronger and its international prestige has grown. This confirms the correctness of the 14th Congress line.

The successes achieved, the letter said, are the result of the principled Marxist-Leninist policy of the CPC Central Committee, unity of the Party and people, purposeful implementation of congress decisions and systematic control over their fulfillment.

Noting that the Party had to carry on a large-scale and tense struggle to implement the line of the 14th Congress, the Central Committee stressed: The active support for Party policy from the masses has helped overcome the aftereffects of the crisis development, the profound political, economic and spiritual dislocation of the late 60s caused by the right-opportunist and anti-socialist forces, and ensure the further progressive development of society.

The fact that the CSSR is a member of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and actively participates in the implementation of the comprehensive program for socialist economic integration has greatly facilitated the successful development of our economy, the Central Committee stressed.

We must not for a minute forget, the letter said, that the successes in implementing the 14th Party Congress program were only possible because the CSSR is a firm link of the socialist community, and the forces of socialism and progress are able to preserve peace. Decisive credit for this goes to the Soviet Union.

Consistent implementation of the Peace Program adopted by the

24th CPSU Congress has resulted in lessening international tensions, as reflected in the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. We are gratified that our Party, our republic have made their contribution to this. In all our activity we proceeded from the fact that the decisive conditions for the successful development of our socialist homeland are the preservation of peace, making détente irreversible, firm alliance with the USSR, all-round strengthening of the unity of the socialist community and the world communist and working-class movement, the letter stressed.

The 15th Party Congress, the Central Committee further noted, will work out a program for the further all-round development of socialism in the country.

To ensure further development of our country, the letter said, we must still more closely integrate our national economy with the economy of the CMEA member-states, and the Soviet Union in the first place.

The letter further noted that an important part of the Party's ideological work is to foster socialist patriotism and internationalism, pride in the socialist homeland, pride in belonging to the socialist community, and to deepen friendship and fraternity with the Soviet people. It is imperative to carry on an uncompromising struggle against all manifestations of nationalism and chauvinism, all forms of anti-Sovietism, which is the most concentrated expression of anti-communism.

In preparing for its 15th Congress, the Central Committee stressed, our Party is united ideologically and organizationally, enriched with new experience, firmly united with the people and marked by high political activity.

Its prime task remains as before to work actively to develop and strengthen the unity of the socialist community, for closer all-round mutual cooperation with the Soviet Union in the first place.

The Soviet Union is shouldering the main burden in the fight for peace and progress the world over, for the freedom of peoples and democracy. Without the Soviet Union, its all-round assistance, we would be unable to implement the program which we have set ourselves.

Defense and further development of our relations and friendship with the Soviet people respond to the basic interests of our peoples. Alliance and fraternal cooperation with the USSR is the foundation of our confidence and of the happy development of our socialist homeland, the Central Committee emphasized.

FROM THE PARTY PRESS

THE MAOIST REGIME AT THE NEW STAGE

Current Problems of China's Domestic and Foreign Policy

The fundamental change in the world balance of forces in favor of socialism is a salient feature of present-day international development. The steadily growing might of the socialist world system makes it possible to exclude war as a means of resolving contradictions between the two opposite social systems. Détente is becoming the prevailing trend, and the principles of peaceful coexistence, a recognized rule of international relations between states with different social systems.

Of vast importance for the successful development of these positive processes are the implementation of the Peace Program, mapped out by the 24th CPSU Congress and unanimously approved and supported by all peace forces, the coordinated vigorous action by the fraternal states on the world scene, the fruitful foreign-policy activities of the Central Committees of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist community countries, and the great personal contribution by General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Comrade L.I. Brezhnev to the struggle for the unity of all revolutionary forces of our time, for the cause of peace and socialism.

The successful conclusion on August 1, 1975 of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe reaffirmed the vitality of the Leninist principles of peaceful coexistence and cooperation between states with different social systems. The summit meeting in Helsinki was a vivid expression of the process of détente and of the success of the Peace Program.

The consolidation of peace and security is creating a favorable situation for fresh successes in the struggle for socialism, national independence and social progress, for the development of the revolutionary process. Historic victories have been won by the heroic people of Vietnam and by the patriots of Cambodia and Laos. The German Democratic Republic is now universally recognized. The Republic of Cuba — the outpost of socialism in the Western hemis-

phere — has broken through the imperialist blockade and is growing stronger. An anti-fascist national-democratic revolution has been carried out in Portugal, and the regime of the "black colonels" has been overthrown in Greece. Many states are finding membership of the NATO, CENTO and SEATO political blocs intolerable and are seeking a way out. In Africa, imperialist policy is collapsing, new free countries have appeared on the map of the world, and there is increasing struggle in these countries for social changes and for a socialist orientation. Class battles are raging all over the capitalist world. All this confirms that far from hampering the revolutionary and national liberation struggle of the peoples and the class struggle of the working people, peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems and détente actually create favorable conditions for them.

The offensive of the forces of socialism, revolution and peace is constantly coming up against sharp opposition on the part of the most rabid representatives of imperialism. Their partner, to all intents and purposes, is the Maoist leadership which now openly leagues with dyed-in-the-wool reactionaries. The Mao Tse-tung group has betrayed the revolutionary principles on which the People's Republic of China was built, betrayed friendship and cooperation with the socialist countries and forsaken its internationalist duty to the world revolutionary movement.

Opposition to détente and the line provoking a world war and establishing a so-called "united front" against the world socialist system — such, essentially, is the policy of the Chinese leadership on the international plane. Behind the smokescreen of "struggle against superpower hegemony," the Maoists are striving for world hegemony, and their specious calls "to fight the policy of aggression and war pursued by imperialism and social imperialism," are designed to create "colossal disorder and upheavals" — seats of tension, war and conflict.

The actions of the Chinese leadership in the international arena after the 10th Party Congress, the hegemonistic and expansionist foreign policy line that has been elevated into a law by the Maoist constitution, the toughening of the regime and the military-bureaucratic dictatorship signify *a new stage in Peking's drive to carry out its geopolitical plans.*

The dangerous and adventurist nature of the Maoist leadership's policy lends special urgency to the Chinese problem. Maoism as a policy and an ideology is no longer merely an internal matter or that of

the world socialist system and international communist movement, but has become a factor concerning all peace-loving states irrespective of social system, all progressive forces, because it represents an increasing danger to everyone. *Maoism has now joined forces with anti-communism, opposes détente, and is in fact a proponent of a new world war.* The Chinese problem is increasingly becoming one of the most acute political issues of today.

A distinctive feature of the new stage of the Maoist leadership's struggle against the socialist countries and the world communist and national liberation movement is the intensification of its attempts to split the revolutionary, anti-imperialist front, to exclude the USSR and other socialist countries and their allies from it, counterposing them to the rest of the world. Peking's intention, as seen in the Maoist leadership's "three world theory," is to establish a "united front" against world socialism under China's aegis, ranging from ultra-right imperialist circles to the extremist "left."

Another feature of this new stage is that in their struggle against international détente the Maoists advocate revising the results of the Second World War and postwar development, and oppose the principles of the inviolability of frontiers and refraining from the use of force.

China is making territorial claims on the Soviet Union, India, Japan, Vietnam and other countries. It systematically violates Burma's frontiers and encourages the most blatant revenge-seekers in the West and the East. The Chinese leadership persists in annexationist designs against the Mongolian People's Republic.

Still another trait of the new stage is that the Maoist leadership has gone over from political and ideological confrontation with the socialist community to *inter-state confrontation* all along the line, especially against the USSR.

The firm and consistent stand taken by the Communist and Workers' parties of fraternal socialist countries in the ideological and political struggle against Maoism, the coordinated efforts of the socialist states and their concerted rebuff to Peking's subversive activities and vigilance against its intrigues on the world scene have led to important positive results. There is growing cohesion of the fraternal countries on the principled basis of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism, and their collective organizations — CMEA and the Warsaw Treaty — are gaining in strength.

The international communist movement is further closing its ranks, with its contingents stepping up their struggle against the theory and

practice of Maoism. Attempts by the Maoist leaders to undermine the ties of the national liberation movement with the socialist countries and to use this movement for their hegemonistic aims are meeting with failure. Peking's inability to oppose international détente is becoming ever more obvious; Maoism is increasingly being exposed as an opponent of peace and the security of nations.

The Maoist leaders at present come out as implacable adversaries of the socialist community. So in addition to the struggle against imperialism, the socialist countries have to contend with a "second front."

A correct assessment of the events in China and a principled attitude to the domestic and foreign policies of the Maoist leaders now acquire special significance in view of the divisive attempts by the Mao Tse-tung group to disrupt the unity of the international communist movement and to harm the cause of world socialism, détente and the anti-imperialist struggle.

I

MAOIST REGIME GROWS TOUGHER

The anti-socialist process in the People's Republic of China is deepening. As a result of numerous measures designed to give ideological and political backing to, and legitimize, the Maoist regime, China has entered a peculiar new stage in its development. Inside the country, the main elements of that process were: the political campaign known as "criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius"; the session of the National People's Congress and adoption of the new constitution of the People's Republic of China; the campaign "to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat."

"CRITICISM OF LIN PIAO AND CONFUCIUS"

The main objective which the 10th Congress of the Communist Party of China put forward was to "consolidate and multiply the achievements of the great proletarian cultural revolution." This objective is being pursued by the "criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius," which has been under way since early 1974 and is presented by the Maoists as a continuation of the "cultural revolution." The campaign is designed to validate the cult of violence and brutality, and to secure the implicit and blind obedience of the entire population to the top rulers and their anti-popular policy. This campaign reflects, in a

sense, the sharp struggle between two tendencies — the Maoist and the anti-Maoist — which manifests itself in spontaneous resistance on the part of the masses, including some cadre workers. It is also associated with the rivalry within the Maoist group itself, at the very top of the Maoist clique.

The political campaign of "criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius" is ultimately an expression of the contradictions between the basic interests of the working people and the anti-popular course followed by the Maoist leadership that is bent on using every means to preserve and strengthen its domination.

On a wider plane, the main target of the campaign is the Chinese people, their wish for a better life. In a more narrow sense, it is apparently the fairly widespread opposition to the Maoist instructions in the Party and state apparatus, in the Army, at enterprises and offices, in various groups of the population.

An analysis of the political campaign of "criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius" reveals that the Mao Tse-tung group sets itself the following tasks:

To overcome the negative attitude to the "cultural revolution." Addressing a closed seminar for executives of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on January 14, 1974, Wang Hung-wen emphasized that "within the party" there are spreading sentiments censuring the results of the "cultural revolution." The main exponents of such sentiments, Wang Hung-wen said, are the leading personnel of the higher and middle levels who, according to him, consider the "cultural revolution" "reactionary" and "erroneous" and deny its necessity both in the past and in the future.

To enhance control over the provinces from the center. The "criticism" campaign was preceded by reshufflings in the command of eight out of 11 big military districts. As a result, the commanders lost their posts as first secretaries of provincial party committees and chairmen of the "revolutionary committees." During the campaign, local leaders, including the military, were sharply criticized, and the question was mooted of liquidating "local militarists" and "independent princes," of stripping them of political power.

To promote "new" or "young" cadres. The slogan of raising a "multi-million army of continuers of the revolution" was announced as Mao Tse-tung's "great strategic plan." The Maoist top men see in the consolidation of the positions held by these cadres, the most active and consistent advocates of the "cultural revolution," an earnest of the realization of their goals. But implementation of the

plan has come up against the resistance of the middle-aged and older cadres. The Chinese press notes: "... We have found many obstacles to the promotion of new cadres who have the courage to go against the current. A handful of class enemies fears that it will see difficult times when such cadres assume responsible posts ..." (*Chiehfang Jihpao*, March 15, 1974).

To enlarge the ideological basis of Maoism by stirring up extreme nationalism. The Maoists' appeal to the traditional Sinocentric teaching in tackling this task is characteristic. The "criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius" campaign is being conducted in a specific way, drawing on historical parallels, allegories and references to the history, ideology and culture of ancient and medieval China. The Maoist "theoreticians" have undertaken a general revision of all national history in order to create a new concept of the "national destiny" of China, rooted in the ideas of the exclusive, ever-lasting and world-historic importance of the Chinese nation. According to this premise, any, indeed the most barbarous, actions aimed at expanding Chinese territory, building up its economic and military potential and enhancing its political influence are to be lauded and glorified. These criteria are used for creating a new system of values in assessing political activity, and a new pantheon of heroes is being erected, heroes distinguished for their cruelty, ruthlessness and treachery. The ancient despotic Emperor Chin Shih-huang* has become the ideal of such a "hero."

To turn the "Lin Piao affair" against those disagreeing with Maoism. The former "heir apparent to Mao" is portrayed as a sworn enemy of the "cultural revolution," as an embodiment of anti-Maoism. Official propaganda keeps repeating that Lin Piao was the "greatest national traitor" and "super-spy," intended to set up a "fascist dynasty of the Lin family," to re-establish big landowner and bourgeois power in the country, and to turn China into a "colony" of the Soviet Union. This interpretation enables the Maoists to declare any dissident an "accomplice" of Lin Piao and to bring the same charges against him.

Under the cloak of frenzied anti-Sovietism the "criticism" campaign was, in fact, from the very outset, anti-socialist in character. The Maoists have programmed anti-Sovietism as one of the essential elements of this political campaign. Peking propaganda does not deny that the campaign "to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius" is directed

*Chin Shih-huang (259-210 BC) was notable for his brutal rule. (He buried more than 400 Confucians alive and burned the Confucianist books.)

against the Soviet Union and aims to "eradicate" its influence in China. What it boils down to is the final uprooting of all influence of the Marxist-Leninist theory of socialist construction and of the experience of the socialist countries.

The "criticism" has resulted in an atmosphere of intellectual terror in which any criticism of the "Mao line" is qualified as "national betrayal," as an attempt to "restore capitalism." Potential opponents of Maoism are outlawed in advance, and in dealing with them violence is encouraged and justified. What is more, it is precisely what remains of socialism in China that is demagogically presented as a departure from the "Mao line," as contradicting the national interests of the people and hostile to the cause of socialism in China.

Thus, in its aims, the "criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius" campaign was indeed a continuation of the counter-revolutionary upheaval begun by the "cultural revolution," the essential difference being that now the anti-socialist process is going on within the framework of the new regime, using the apparatus of coercion it created. On the whole; the "criticism" campaign, according to the Maoists' calculations, had an important role to play in the efforts to prepare the ideological and political conditions for the consolidation of their regime.

THE MAOIST REGIME LEGITIMIZED

An important stage in China's development after the "cultural revolution" was the January 1975 session of the National People's Assembly which adopted the new constitution of the PRC, sanctioning the anti-popular and anti-socialist policy of Mao Tse-tung.

Reports delivered at the session on the work of the government (Chou En-lai) and on amendments to the constitution (Chang Chun-chiao) were subordinated to that aim. They justify and laud the fundamental socio-political changes that came in the wake of the "cultural revolution" while the Maoist regime it produced is presented as a natural result of Chinese society's development. The strengthening of this regime is directly linked with the continuation of the "criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius" campaign. As Chang Chun-chiao said in his report, the "main task" in the present revision of the constitution was to "sum up our latest experience and to record our new victories." The "eight-year cultural revolution," he stressed, was the most important of these "new victories."

Although Chang Chun-chiao claimed that the 1975 Constitution "is a continuation and development of the 1954 Constitution," actually it

differs basically from the latter. The 1975 Constitution is built mainly on these advanced at one time or another by Mao Tse-tung and is largely a compilation of his quotations and statements given without quotes. The fundamental law of the PRC has proclaimed Maoism as the "theoretical basis which determines the ideas" of the Chinese state.

The words "socialist system," the "dictatorship of the proletariat," "Marxism-Leninism," etc., abounding in the constitution, are only designed to camouflage the anti-socialist character of the Maoist regime. They reflect the continued endeavor of the Mao Tse-tung group to parasitize on socialism and on its prestige among the working people. The constitution records such "initiatives of the popular masses" as "wide discussions" and "tatsupaos," which enable the Maoists to use these methods of managing the state and party machinery for the purpose of preserving "Mao's line."

The new fundamental law of the PRC has legalized mass-scale public trials which took place during the period of the "cultural revolution."

Far greater rights have been given to the Maoist security bodies, which are not limited to punitive functions but also include procuratorial supervision. The elimination of the procurator's offices and exclusion from the fundamental law of the democratic principles of court organization and functioning offer wide scope for Maoist arbitrary practices.

The 1975 Constitution of the PRC amounts to a serious retrogression compared with the 1954 Constitution as far as civil rights regulation is concerned. The passages on material guarantees, political and socio-economic rights of citizens have been deleted. The anti-democratic nature of the new constitution is also to be seen in that it says nothing about a system of general election of representative bodies.

The great-power character of the nationalities policy of the Maoist regime has been reaffirmed in the constitution. It not only deprives the non-Han peoples of the right to self-determination, but also greatly limits regional national autonomy. It has dropped the previous constitution's point that "in all regions where ethnic minorities live in compact groups, regional autonomy is exercised."

The fundamental law of the PRC is in effect a manifesto of outspoken militarism. It stipulates: "The state pursues the line of ... stimulating preparations for the event of war." The constitution fails to mention which state body is empowered to decide the questions of

war and peace, but it makes a reservation that Mao Tse-tung as Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China "heads the armed forces of the entire country." The Maoist constitution provides the ruling top men with a mandate to launch unbridled reprisals against any opponents of the present regime. It is evidence that the Chinese leadership intends in the coming period to place emphasis on toughening the military-bureaucratic dictatorship, on further suppression of democracy, on more intensive brainwashing of the population in the spirit of Maoism and on the extensive use of administrative coercion for maintaining the population's labor activity while keeping consumption as low as possible.

The constitution proclaims three times the task of struggling against "social-imperialism," as the Maoists call the USSR and its allies. It stresses that this struggle will go on for "quite a long historical period." Thus, Mao Tse-tung's anti-Soviet line has been legitimized as a long-range state policy.

The new fundamental law of the PRC is designed to make the Maoist course irreversible. In addition to legalizing the practice and results of the "cultural revolution," it also puts up formal barriers to China's return to the path of genuine socialist development and friendship with the socialist countries.

MAOISTS' ECONOMIC POLICY

The National People's Congress session set the task of making China into a "mighty power" by the end of the century, i.e., of creating economic prerequisites to implement the Maoists' great-power and hegemonistic plans.

To achieve this objective, "two steps" are envisaged: (the "first step") to establish before 1980 an "independent and relatively integral system of industry and of the whole national economy"; and during the next 20 years (the "second step") to advance China to "the first ranks of countries" on the basis of "all-round modernization of agriculture, industry, science and technology."

It may be recalled that the PRC's economy is actually divided into two spheres. One covers a group of branches directly or indirectly concerned with armaments production. These branches receive the bulk of state appropriations (more than 40 per cent). The other comprises branches of civilian production, mainly farming, as well as middle, small and local industries. They function on the "self-reliance" basis, without any substantial assistance from the state.

The surplus product created in them is syphoned into the arms branches.

The Maoist policy is one of the main reasons for *China's economy, remaining, on the whole, at a comparatively low development level*. It produces approximately 21 million tons of steel, 400,000 tons of coal and 63 million tons of oil. Grain harvest (plus sweet and common potato included in a 4:1 ratio) amounted to 230 to 240 million tons in 1974.

Taking into account the population growth, per-capita production remains low, and there has been virtually no improvement in living standards.

Workers' wages remain actually at the level of the late 1950s, not exceeding an average of 50 to 60 yuans a month. The incomes of the peasants — who make up the bulk of the population — are considerably below those in the cities. The PRC is still rationing many foodstuffs and manufactured goods including grain, potatoes, vegetable oil, meat, cotton fabrics and their derivatives. For example, the per-capita grain ration (which includes equivalents in potatoes, groats, etc.) is between 11 and 20 kilograms a month, the monthly ration of vegetable oil is 125 to 250 grams, and meat — 0.5 kilogram. Cotton fabric is rationed at 4.5 to 8 metres per person a year.

Wage- and salary-earners in the PRC pay for many services which in other socialist countries are provided free, out of the public funds, including medical care and school education. The housing problem is growing worse and worse, because practically no new housing is being built. There is virtually no system of paid leaves in the PRC.

Food shortages and the meager rations of the population are further aggravated by the fact that the Maoist leadership, under the slogan of "preparing for war," is busy with stocking up large strategic grain reserves.

The political campaigns of the recent period have adversely affected the country's economy. Discipline in industry has sharply deteriorated, labor productivity declined, and there have been instances of sabotage and strikes (Kwangchow, Hangchow, Wuhan and other cities).

At the same time, in spite of economic difficulties, the PRC's economic potential is growing, if slowly. In value terms, the gross output of industry and agriculture in 1974 increased by an estimated 5 per cent. As Chou En-lai reported, at the National People's Congress, overall production over the past 10 years had grown by 51 per cent in agriculture and by 190 per cent in industry. These figures are undoub-

tedly exaggerated, but in the coming decades China can make substantial progress in its economic development.

Still, the economic policy of the Maoists is based on lopsided development: it relegates to second place such important tasks inherent in a socialist economy as improvement of the material and cultural standards of the working people and easing working conditions in industry and agriculture through broad industrialization and introduction of scientific and technical achievements. The main goal of this policy is still the creation of a powerful military industrial potential, and preparations for war.

NEW MEASURES TO STRENGTHEN MAOIST DICTATORSHIP

The campaign of "studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat," started after the National People's Congress session, is aimed at putting into practice the Maoist provisions of the new constitution, at brainwashing the entire population in the spirit of Maoism.

Officially, the new campaign was publicized as a component of and a "stimulator" for the development of the "criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius." But it started playing an independent role in a number of aspects. From the start the new "movement" was sanctified by Mao's authority by circulating his "important direction" on the question of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The signal to launch the campaign was the editorial in *Jenmin Jihpao* of February 9, 1975: "How to Master the Theory of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat." The importance of the new movement was also emphasized in the articles by Yao Wen-yuan, member of the Politbureau of the CPC Central Committee, and Chang Chun-chiao, member of the Standing Committee of the Politbureau of the CPC Central Committee (*Hungchi*, 1975, Nos. 3 and 4).

Speculating on the term of the "dictatorship of the proletariat," as the Maoists demagogically call their regime, the ruling clique ascribes to the conscious or spontaneous opponents of this regime the striving for the "restoration of capitalism." The so-called "vestiges of bourgeois right" in the form of the eight-category wage system, distribution according to work, and money exchange are referred to as the ground constantly breeding "capitalist tendencies" and a "new bourgeoisie."

The Maoists' attempts to depict their regime as a dictatorship of the proletariat are untenable, inasmuch as by its very nature it is the

antipode of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The dictatorship of the proletariat is — guidance of the construction of socialism by the working class and its advanced guard, the Marxist-Leninist party. The main creative tasks the dictatorship of the proletariat is tackling are to strengthen and constantly improve socialist state power on the basis of the alliance of the working class with the peasantry and the other sections of the working people; to set up a socialist economy based on public ownership and developing according to a single plan in the interests of improving the material and cultural welfare of the people; to develop socialist democracy; to perform a socialist revolution in the ideological and cultural spheres; to carry out a policy of proletarian internationalism, envisaging under the present conditions an active struggle for the cohesion of the socialist countries and the strengthening of the anti-imperialist front. The Maoist grouping has long defied all these tasks.

It is not fortuitous that the campaign of “studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat” started immediately after the completion of the National People’s Congress session. Having formed the highest state organs, assigned government posts and adopted the Maoist constitution, the session summed up, as it were, a definite period, including the “cultural revolution,” and posed the question of the ways of the country’s further development.

Under the cover of the respectable slogans of “strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat” the new campaign is to serve as a means of further toughening of the Maoist dictatorship and attacking the Chinese people’s vital rights.

Manifestations of this campaign are the instability of and strife in the top echelon, and the difference of views on the ways of attaining the goal advanced by the National People’s Congress: the conversion of China into one of the mightiest world powers toward the close of the century. As the extreme leftist part of the Maoist clique sees it, the way to achieve this is to intensify the methods of non-economic coercion, which is what the criticism launched against the “vestiges of bourgeois right” is primarily aimed at.

The working people are called upon to “eliminate the birthmarks of the old society,” meaning by this the principle of material incentive. Some enterprises started a movement for “voluntarily” working longer hours without extra pay. The household plots of agricultural commune members are forcibly reduced and the food surpluses of “well-to-do families” are requisitioned.

Chinese propaganda praises in every way the “examples of Tach-

ing and Tachai" in which the question of the "vestiges of bourgeois right" has been resolved "radically" in the Maoist sense of the word: in Taching the "worker-peasant" system is being implemented and the principle of distribution according to work is being ignored; in Tachai the peasants have been fully deprived of household plots and subsidiary economy. Just as persistent is the propaganda of Mao Tse-tung's socio-economic guidelines which envisage an artificial merger of industrial and agricultural production and of mental and physical work, the all-round militarization of society and the introduction of uniform distribution.

It seems that the initiators of the limitation of "bourgeois right" hope to extend the social basis of the Maoist regime by attracting to their side the low-paid categories of the working people. It is not an accident that the problem of the struggle against the "vestiges of bourgeois right" is associated at industrial enterprises mainly with the question of the eight-category wage system. The point is to reduce the number of wage categories, amounting to levelling the wages of workers of different skill categories. This arouses discontent among a part of the workers. Highly indicative is that in the current campaign there is no sign of the formerly so often repeated Mao pronouncement that in the ranks of the working people there is no cause for the emergence of opposing groupings. On the contrary, his "direction" about the possibility of the appearance of "new bourgeois elements" among the workers is being repeated endlessly.

The Maoist leftist grouping has not so far succeeded in overcoming the opposition and going over on a large scale from slogans to practical measures in the struggle against the "vestiges of bourgeois right." A series of press statements condemn those who "without mastering theory properly are hastening to tackle concrete practical questions." This opposition comes both from the working people and the economic managers. The Maoists themselves fear that the over-hasty implementation of the proposed principles may result in a drop of labor productivity and the slowing down of the rate of economic development.

The campaign of "studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat" is in the process of development, and some or other shifting of emphasis is possible. But it is already clear that this campaign is a reflection of the infighting in the top echelon of the leadership, a reflection of the leftists' attempts to strengthen their position, to "eradicate" the vestiges of socialist elements in the

superstructures and the basis and to assure the "Maoist model" of social development.

MAIN FEATURES OF THE SOCIO-POLITICAL SITUATION

The policy of the Maoist leadership in the sphere of social relations rests on the artificial stratification of Chinese society. The ruling clique resorts widely to the tactics of social maneuvering, using for the purpose facts like the relatively small numerical strength of the working class, the political passivity, backwardness and illiteracy of the Chinese peasants and the weakening of the worker-peasant alliance.

In spite of the constantly repeated calls to "unity and cohesion" a new aggravation of social contradictions is observed in China. There is growing discontent among wide sections of the Chinese people with the low living standards and anti-democratic practices. This is most clearly seen in the unrest among railwaymen and workers of a number of industrial enterprises. Numerous tatsupaos raised a demand for a better life and protested against lawlessness and oppression.

The positions of the Chinese working class in society have weakened. The "cultural revolution" has deprived it of its political vanguard, a Communist Party expressing working-class interests. At present the working class is stratified and does not come out in a united front as yet.

The *peasants*, accounting for about four-fifths of the population, have been drawn into the latest political measures to a lesser extent. In the course of the campaign of struggle against the "vestiges of bourgeois right," the leftist Maoist grouping has lashed out against the economic interests of the agricultural population as well. Criticism is levelled at such "capitalist tendencies" as auxiliary occupations, preservation of household plots, etc. The countryside is passive on the whole so far, although open manifestations of discontent, mainly caused by excessive requisitioning of grain, have already taken place in some rural areas. The Maoists are taking steps to secure the division among the peasants, singling out "the poor and the lower middle peasants" into a separate section so as to prevent united action of the peasants against the Maoist regime and to continue to use agricultural production for pumping out a part of the national income created there for militarizing the country.

No tangible change has occurred in the position of the *Chinese intelligentsia*. The Peking clique distrusts this social stratum as before

and the Maoists have failed so far to enlist the active cooperation of the intelligentsia.

Forcible sending of educated young people to the countryside is continued in China. According to official information, over 1,000,000 secondary school graduates were banished from towns in 1974, bringing the total number of this category of people to 10,000,000.

Maoism is an enemy to the centuries-old Chinese culture. The decline of cultural life in today's China, the liquidation of artistic associations, the Maoists' nihilistic attitude to knowledge and the regress of education after the "cultural revolution" — all this runs counter to the principle of socialism, which envisages that conditions should be provided for the all-round development of the individual, and leads to the spiritual impoverishment of the people.

In the *nationalities policy* the Chinese leadership continues the course for a forced assimilation of the smaller peoples. At the same time, compelled to count with the growing discontent of the population in national hinterlands, the Maoists seek to ease contradictions between the Hans and the other nationalities. They have stepped up training of Maoist cadres from among non-Han nationalities and began to assign them to leading posts in provinces on a somewhat wider scale. The further militarization of PRC's national areas (particularly such as Sinkiang, Inner Mongolia and Tibet) is going on under the slogan of the implementation of Mao Tse-tung's "great strategical course" for "preparing for war." Practically all men were mobilized into militia detachments there. The Maoists have drastically increased the anti-Soviet conditioning of the population in national hinterlands. With the growing militarization and military psychosis an important role in the national areas is assigned to the army which has established control over all aspects of life. Special "detachments for work among the masses" have been set up in the People's Liberation Army. They are sent to places populated by non-Han nationalities to carry out political campaigns there. The military organizes "criticism meetings" and interferes in production activity. But all these measures cannot overcome the difficulties caused by the Maoists' nationalities policy.

The process of the growing discontent with the Maoist regime is unavoidable, for the working class is essentially infringed upon both economically and politically; the peasants have been turned into an object of exploitation in the name of building up the military and industrial potential; the intelligentsia is doomed to vegetation in the atmosphere of spiritual slavery, is deprived of the opportunities for

truly creative work; the young people have been deceived and denied the freedom of choosing their life's work.

The growth of people's discontent is a source of the weakness and of the ultimately unavoidable collapse of the military-bureaucratic dictatorship. The Maoist leadership has managed so far to deal with the organic weaknesses of the system. But the development of events in the PRC proceeds through acute crises like the "case of Lin Piao" in September 1971, for instance. It is not accidental therefore that at the 10th Congress and in the constitution the Maoist leadership envisaged the possibility of fresh upheavels in the regime. But under the specifically Chinese social conditions — characterized by the prevalence of the peasantry, the political immaturity and backwardness of a considerable part of the population, the dominance of the ideology of the Mao personality cult, the division of the working class which is deprived of an independent political organization to express its genuine interests, and the presence of a powerful apparatus of coercion — the Maoist regime can for a long time deform social development in the PRC, hampering the operation of the objective laws of socialism which conform to the national interests of the Chinese people.

The Maoist regime is growing tougher at this stage. The Maoists are trying to consolidate their regime with the help of the 10th CPC Congress decisions and the 1975 PRC constitution with its ideological foundation and system of "driving belts" (the Maoist-controlled army and newly re-formed militia, "revolutionary committees," reorganized Communist Party, newly constituted trade unions and other public organizations), with its anti-democratism (liquidation of the electivity in all links of the state and party mechanism) and undisguised staking on war and reactionary international policy.

MECHANISM OF THE MILITARY-BUREAUCRATIC DICTATORSHIP

One of the main political slogans advanced now by the Peking top men says: "The Party directs everything," which, in its Maoist interpretation, actually means unreserved subordination to Mao Tse-tung. *Hungchi*, the organ of the CPC Central Committee, writes: "United leadership of the Party is, above all, the leadership of Chairman Mao."

The situation in the CPC remains complex, and the Party's organizational and ideological development continues to meet with serious difficulties. The campaign of the "criticism of Lin Piao and Con-

fucius" has intensified the ideological and political disorientation of both Party rank-and-filers and functionaries.

Practice shows that oppositional sentiments exist in the Party in respect to some aspects of the Maoist political course, imposed upon the Party by the leftists. According to Wang Hung-wen, the leading Party organs in the localities had from the beginning tried to hinder the development of the campaign of the "criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius." They either ignored the corresponding guidelines coming from the center, did not send the Central Committee's instructions to the localities, or interpreted them in their own way, emasculating their essence. Many tatsupaos asserted that local Party committees frequently suppressed the actions of the activists of the campaign. All this caused serious concern in the center which accused the Party leadership in the localities of provoking "a very acute struggle" and of "setting masses against masses." "Document No. 21 of the CPC Central Committee" criticized leading cadres in the localities for their unwillingness to follow the guidelines of the campaign, desertion from their posts before "they were attacked by the masses," etc.

In these circumstances the Maoist leadership's leftist grouping concentrated its efforts on the provincial and district Party committees, the conductors of the general ideological-political line on a national scale. Following the reshuffling of the commanders of military areas who were, concurrently, the first secretaries of the provincial Party committees, and as a result of the purges carried out in the course of the campaign of the "criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius," the leadership of nearly a third of the provincial Party committees was changed. Many first secretaries and secretaries of the provincial Party committees were subjected to fierce attacks. As a result of ideological pressure and organizational measures applied to provincial leadership, the Party committees on this level mainly followed the course dictated to them from the center.

Under the cover of the "united leadership of the Party" slogan, mass organizations (trade unions, the youth union, the federation of women and the unions of poor and lower middle peasants) have been turned into an instrument of the ideological and political indoctrination of the population in the spirit of the Maoist guidelines.

Recent events again confirm the conclusion that the CPC Central Committee cannot determine and work out the political course of the country on the basis of democratic centralism. the CPC Central Committee and the Party in general are only instruments of implementing the so-called "line of Mao Tse-tung."

The army remains the main support of the Maoist regime, although the advocates of oppositional sentiments can be found there as well.

After the 10th CPC Congress, the Mao Tse-tung group took a number of steps to strengthen its control over the activities of the military command. This found its expression in the wide-scale campaign of the "criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius" in the People's Liberation Army. The campaign passed under the slogan of "study of the military works by Chairman Mao and criticism of the bourgeois military line of Lin Piao." The main aims of this campaign were the eradication of the still considerable influence of Lin Piao and the affirmation of "Mao's line," the further purge of the command personnel, the strengthening of the positions of the cadres who were not connected with the former Minister of Defense and of people promoted during the "cultural revolution." This work was conducted under the slogan of the "Party's absolute leadership of the army."

The purge in the army, camouflaged by the campaign of the "criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius," caused the covert resistance and discontent of career officers, many of whom doubted that Lin Piao was a "traitor to his country." In this connection emphasis was laid on the necessity of further deepening the criticism of "Lin Piao's bourgeois military line" and the demand to discrown him as a military leader and to expose Lin Piao's supporters in the army. Propaganda intensified calls for strengthening the unity of the Party and the army, and the cohesion of the army and the people.

In January 1975 Teng Hsiao-ping was appointed Chief of the General Staff, and Chang Chun-Chiao — Chief of the Main Political Department of the Chinese Army. These two appointments contradict the PRC practice of appointing army cadres to these posts and are evidence of Mao Tse-tung's distrust in the supreme military leaders since the "Lin Piao affair."

Under the new constitution, the Chairman of the CPC Central Committee was proclaimed the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, and they now include the militia (minping) which is regarded by the Maoist leadership, especially by its leftist grouping, as an "important force" of strengthening the Maoist regime, and is designed to help implement all the regime's measures in the ideological, political and economic fields, suppressing the "reactionary classes" and frustrating the "undermining activities of the enemies."

The militia has been invested with punitive functions, and its tasks include maintenance of "public order," "public and guard duties," etc.

The Maoists' line in respect to the development of the armed forces testifies to their further attempts to expand and improve the apparatus of violence and suppression, and make it a more reliable and obedient tool of the ruling clique. They proclaim "protection of the gains" of the present regime, and struggle against China's foreign enemies, including "social-imperialism" as the main task of the army and the militia.

The new PRC constitution has legislatively formalized the state structure that has been set up in China as a result of the "cultural revolution." A distinguishing feature of the present regime is that many state, Party and military posts are held by one and the same person. The military makes up nearly half of the State Council formed at the session of the National People's Assembly.

Under the new constitution, state institutions and their personnel are obliged to seriously study "Mao's ideas" and "always put" Maoist policy at the "commanding height." In this way, the state apparatus has been constitutionally placed at the service of Mao Tse-tung and his entourage.

The local "revolutionary committees" have been provided with a constitutional foundation. They have been invested with the functions of "permanent organs of the local people's assemblies and, at the same time, of the local people's governments." Although under the new basic law the "revolutionary committees" are elected and removed by the local people's assemblies of the corresponding echelons, since the adoption of the constitution the peoples' assemblies have not been convened and the "revolutionary committees" have not been elected in any of the PRC's administrative units. The punitive functions of the "revolutionary committees" have been substantially expanded. They now appoint and dismiss the chairmen of courts.

The concentration of Party, state and military posts in one and the same hands, and subordination of the state apparatus to the aims of the policy of the Maoist top men lead to the further strengthening of the dictatorship of Mao Tse-tung's military-bureaucratic grouping.

From the viewpoint of the interests of socialism, the domestic situation in China continues to worsen. The anti-socialist process which in the second half of the 1960s took the form of the "cultural revolution," which replaced people's democratic power by the dictatorship of the military-bureaucratic grouping, is expanding. Through the fault of the Maoist leadership, the Chinese people experience serious difficulties in economic, social and political de-

velopment, in raising their material well-being. The policy of the Maoists discredits the ideals of socialism, democracy and legality are grossly violated in the PRC, and the Marxist-Leninist teaching has been replaced there by the social-chauvinistic "ideas of Mao Tse-tung," which have been declared "state ideology."

In the historical prospect, the Maoist regime is inevitably doomed to perish because it is incompatible with the interests of the Chinese people and the demands of progress. However, it would be unrealistic to expect a radical change in China's present domestic and foreign policy only as a result of one or two more crisis phenomena or other events in the political life of the country.

In China, the repressive apparatus designed to suppress all non-conformists has been considerably strengthened, and the brainwashing of the population has been intensified in the spirit of "Mao's ideas," with emphasis on Sino-centrist racial prejudices and chauvinism. The situation in the country is characterized by increasing ideological disorientation of Chinese society, intensification of repression and the policy of setting some groups of the working people against others, and suppression of the spontaneous actions of the working people.

Therefore, it is not simply a question of the deformation of socialist development and the "erosion" of the foundations of socialism laid in the first decade of the PRC's existence, but of legislative formalizing of the dictatorial regime of the military-bureaucratic grouping.

On the whole, the evolution of the policy of Mao's military-bureaucratic group is leading the PRC further away from socialism, on to the road of chauvinism, adventurous and ambitious great-power designs.

II

MAOISM, ARCH ENEMY OF SOCIALISM, DEMOCRACY AND PEACE

The session of the National People's Congress of China formalized the principal objectives of Mao Tse-tung's foreign-policy line which consists in: frustrating détente, openly promoting "upheavals and disorder" and aggravating international tensions to a point not excluding a new world war. Peking's foreign policy also aims at expanding cooperation with advanced capitalist countries, aligning, regardless of principle, with any reactionary forces that are ready to do so, at

supporting imperialistic military and economic blocs and stepping up expansionist activities with regard to China's neighbors, particularly in Southeast Asia. The Maoists are counting on the nationalistic reactionaries in the developing countries, seeing them as a special reserve force and a tool in Peking's foreign policy. This policy is based on a drawn-out and explosive confrontation with the socialist community and is intended to impair the world's revolutionary movement and use the struggle against "hegemony" as a cover for encouraging and building up military and political alliances in the cause of anti-socialism and anti-Sovietism.

The aim of Maoist foreign policy is to make China the hub of the world with its own sphere of influence. To achieve this objective the Chinese leadership is bent on aggravating the differences between the two socio-political systems and goading them to armed clashes, which, in their reckoning, would exhaust both world socialism and imperialism.

Peking has for a long time been making futile attempts to force its extremist and, essentially, provocative line on the world's anti-imperialist front. In the early 70s it even tried to goad the most bellicose imperialistic circles into creating "universal chaos." The Maoists' policy of aligning with the most reactionary imperialistic circles presents a real threat to universal peace.

PEKING SHIFTS TO THE POSITIONS OF IMPERIALISM AND EXTREME REACTION

At present the Chinese leaders ever more openly give priority in their foreign policy to relations with the capitalist world. The process of expanding relations between China and the West has gone beyond the bounds of ordinary normalization and is actually an accommodation between China and the reactionary imperialistic forces on the principles of nationalism and anti-socialism.

Such a policy is an inevitable ramification of the Chinese leaders' great-power and hegemonistic ambitions. This policy is in marked contradiction with the objective laws of development of the anti-imperialist class struggle in the international arena and with the need for uniting and strengthening the socialist community. This contradiction becomes even more apparent since in their attempt to exploit the contradictions between the two socio-economic systems the Peking leaders regard the socialist community as their main enemy and the reactionary imperialistic circles as their ally in the struggle against world socialism.

The Chinese leadership have definitely shifted to the positions advocated by the most reactionary elements of imperialism. This shift is manifest in the common anti-socialist foreign-policy objectives set out in the Maoist concepts and imperialist doctrines, in the parallel actions of Peking and the reactionary forces in the West seeking to impair world socialism, in the support they give to the imperialist military and political blocs and to the policy pursued by the ultra-Right monopolistic bourgeoisie. The Maoists are intent on thwarting international détente and preventing the principles of peaceful co-existence from being established in relations between states with different social systems, and refuse to set a seal on the results of the Second World War. They are bent on setting the Third World nations against the socialist community and divesting the non-aligned movement of its anti-imperialist character. The Maoists' policy is designed to restructure international economic relations in order to reinforce world capitalism and weaken the socialist community.

The "three worlds" doctrine, which does not recognize the existence of the two socio-economic systems and advocates the "broadest united front" against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, is a cover used by the Maoists to camouflage their renegade foreign-policy line. The Maoists include the imperialist powers in this "front."

To achieve their great-power and hegemonistic objectives, the Maoists resort to the traditional diplomacy employed by the Chinese emperors: they goad their most powerful opponents into clashing with one another, in order to "sit on a mountain and watch two tigers fight."

Regarding the Soviet Union and the socialist community as a whole as its main strategic enemy, imperialism, for its part, capitalizes on the Maoist policies and tries to use China as a "counterbalance" to offset the socialist community.

Of late, Peking has been trying, by exploiting this coincidence of interests, *to knock together an anti-socialist, anti-Soviet alliance of all the most rabid reactionary forces of the capitalist world.*

The Maoist leadership is openly advocating the consolidation of the NATO bloc and the Common Market and the greater political and military integration of Western Europe, urging the European capitalist countries to build their own nuclear forces.

The Maoists are making efforts to aggravate the Cyprus issue, trying to help NATO in the Balkans and in the Eastern Mediterranean. The Paris *Le Figaro* wrote during Teng Hsiao-ping's visit to

France that the present Chinese leaders "prefer ... a capitalist Europe, even if it is Atlantic, united and tough."

Also indicative is the Maoists' insistence on including the "struggle against hegemony" clause in its anti-Soviet interpretation in the treaty of peace and friendship between Japan and the PRC. The logic behind this maneuver is to create prerequisites for involving Japan in Peking's aggressive anti-Soviet policy.

The PRC leadership comes out for continued American military presence in various parts of the world, including Europe and Asia. It is concerned about the U.S. withdrawal from South Vietnam, the weakening of American positions in Southeast Asia, and the desire of Thailand, the Philippines and other Southeast Asian countries to rid their countries of American troops. This was recently confirmed by U.S. Defense Secretary Schlesinger, saying that the Chinese who had for years been trying to oust the Americans from the Western Pacific were now interested in their staying, because they see in the USA a reliable counterweight to the Soviet Union (*U.S. News & World Report*, May, 1975).

The Chinese leadership, blinded by its anti-socialism, is actually opposing the peoples' struggle for national independence, against imperialist enslavement.

Peking's adoption of the positions held by extreme Right-wing imperialist circles is graphically borne out by its mounting attempts to frustrate at all costs the improvement of the international climate, to hinder the turning of détente into an irreversible process and to prevent the creation of collective security systems in Europe and in Asia.

The Chinese leaders, by totally distorting the main trends in present-day international developments wish to lead all countries to believe that a third world war is inevitable. The Peking leaders are telling the West that "peace in the world cannot last the lifespan of one generation," and that "each generation will have its own war" (a statement made by Teng Hsiao-ping to an FRG Bundestag delegation in October 1974). The fatal inevitability of a world war was predicted by Chou En-lai in his report to the National People's Congress session; he also asserted that "in this world there is no détente." In July 1975, Teng Hsiao-ping again declared that a "third world war of vast dimensions cannot be avoided" and that "this war is not all that bad."

Peking waged a frenzied campaign against the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and is opposing the negotiations to

reduce armed forces and armaments in Central Europe. The Chinese leaders are trying to discredit in every way the very idea of European security, sowing doubts concerning its possible materialization, claiming that détente in Europe is only advantageous to the "Warsaw bloc." They supply the opponents of all-European security with "arguments" to the effect that the socialist countries want to lull the vigilance of the West European countries, thus establishing their "undivided control" over the whole of Europe. It was in this spirit that Peking vigorously tried to prevail upon the leading circles of the West European states, as is clear from numerous invitations to politicians from this area to visit China, and from trips by Teng Hsiao-ping and the PRC's present Foreign Minister, Chiao Kuan-hua, to the European capitalist countries. But the Maoists' attempts to foil the all-European conference ended in complete failure.

With equal, and perhaps even greater, frenzy, the Maoist leaders are fighting the idea of collective security in Asia. Here they feel on safer ground and so resort to crude pressure, open blackmail and "arm twisting." Thus, the Maoists pressured a delegation of the Socialist Party of Japan which visited China last May to agree to include in the joint communique slanderous inventions about collective security in Asia.

Proceeding from its hegemonistic plans, the Maoist leadership is preventing the establishment of a lasting peace in the world and is supporting the reactionary forces that want a resumption of the cold war.

In the field of international economic relations, Peking's actions are aimed at further increasing contacts with the leading capitalist states while simultaneously diminishing ties with the socialist countries.

China's trade with the capitalist countries increased in 1974 to 8,300 million U.S. dollars, as against 5,600 million dollars in 1973. As a result, these countries account for two-thirds of China's foreign trade, while the share of trade with the socialist countries fell in 1974 to 13.5 per cent (compared with 16 per cent in 1973).

The PRC has placed orders in capitalist countries for equipment destined for up to 90 modern enterprises. In this way China's losses from its reduced economic cooperation with the socialist states are compensated for to a certain extent by the expansion of its commercial and economic ties with the developed capitalist countries. The imperialists are in fact paying for the Maoists' anti-Soviet, anti-socialist course.

In May 1975, China established official relations with the Common

Market, which not only indicates the wish of the Chinese leadership to promote economic exchanges with the leading capitalist countries, but also reflects Peking's interest in greater military and political integration of the Western countries and in using them against the interests of the socialist community.

Crisis phenomena which the capitalist economy has run into have also affected China, influencing its balance of trade: the deficit of China's trade with the developed capitalist countries amounted to about 1,300 million U.S. dollars. The Peking leaders are persistent in their efforts to encourage individual socialist and also many developing countries to re-orient their commercial and economic ties to the capitalist world to the detriment of their relations with the socialist community.

Peking is in effect pursuing a line that is helping to consolidate the position of the Western monopolies in the world market and to strengthen neo-colonialism.

The Chinese leadership masks its open switchover to the positions of the most reactionary sections of imperialism by its anti-imperialist demagoguery. This purpose is served, among others, by the latest Maoist political map of the world, according to which there are now three groups of states: the USSR and the USA that make up the "first world"; the developed countries, except the above two, which constitute the "second world"; and the developing countries that comprise the "third world." This Maoist "theory" totally rejects the class principle in assessing the foreign policies of states. The only main-spring of world development, the Maoists declare, is the struggle of the countries of the "third" and the "second" worlds against the "super-power hegemony." Recognizing that U.S. imperialism "is on the decline," the Maoists persist in repeating that it is "social-imperialism" which constitutes the main threat. This is the meaning the Chinese leaders read into the theoretical proposition on the "struggle against hegemony," contained both in the Chinese-U.S. and the Chinese-Japanese communiques.

In the Peking scheme of the alignment of world forces, socialism is only designed as a certain tendency in the development of the "third world," supposedly introduced there by China which is a "developing socialist country." These indeterminate in class content and deliberately vague Maoist assessments of the nature of the forces at conflict in the world arena, clearly indicate Peking's intention to justify its actions aimed at creating military-political blocs and alliances with imperialist and any other reaction.

As a matter of fact, the thesis about the "joint struggle against hegemony" is nothing but an ideological and political substantiation of the Maoists' "crusade" along with the reactionary forces of imperialism against the USSR and the socialist community as a whole, and against international détente.

International reaction seeks to take advantage of the Maoists' anti-socialist policy and to turn China into its docile tool.

The facts show that *the so-called "anti-imperialist struggle" of the Maoists leads, not to the weakening, but to the strengthening of the front of the international anti-socialist forces.*

MAOIST MANEUVERS IN THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

The Chinese leadership's policy in relation to the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America is determined by its hegemonistic designs.

China's Maoist leaders weigh up and attempt to use in their interests the complexity of the situation in the developing countries: the contradictory nature of socio-political processes, the presence, along with progressive trends, of reactionary-nationalistic and pro-Western trends in their policy; the huge stocks of strategic raw materials alongside economic backwardness; the real difficulties of strengthening the independence of these states and their discontent with their role in the international arena.

The Maoists have produced a system of ideological guidelines in respect to the third world which is counterposed to world socialism and the international communist and working class movement. It is presented as the main revolutionary force which turns the wheels of world history and as the main force in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and "hegemonism" (*Jenmin Jihpao*, May 9, 1975). Most of the sober-minded politicians in these regions realize the time-serving and speculative character of Peking's course and do not intend to follow in its wake. However, the nationalistic, mercantile-pragmatic approach of individual leaders of the developing countries to their relations with the PRC, and the striving to use these relations to strengthen their international positions impel these leaders to support the theses of the Chinese leadership.

The present Maoist course in respect to the developing countries includes the following main directions: to counterpose the third world to the world socialist system, to prod the developing countries to take measures which lead to their self-isolation, limiting international

cooperation, and to the isolation from the USSR and the socialist community as a whole. At the 29th Session of the UN General Assembly the PRC delegation was emphatically against granting the socialist countries the same conditions of trade with the developing nations which are enjoyed by the developed capitalist states.

The Chinese leadership actively supports the expansion of economic ties between the developing states and the capitalist world, and calls for cooperation with the "second world," i.e., the former colonial powers, which actually implies support for imperialism's neo-colonialist policy. The concept has been advanced concerning the coincidence of interests, in the course of the anti-hegemonistic struggle, of the developing countries and such capitalist states as Japan, Britain, the FRG, France, etc. (*Jenmin Jihpao*, May 5, 1974).

The Chinese leaders discredit the idea of the developing countries' socialist orientation and the non-capitalist road of development. Maoist propaganda hushes up the fact that progressive social changes can be effected only in the countries which have embarked upon non-capitalist development, and that this road is not only the sole alternative to neo-colonialist subordination but also ensures radical socio-economic transformations. The evolution of the developing countries toward scientific socialism and toward closer cooperation with the socialist community would have been much faster but for Peking's disorienting activities.

An important element of Peking's strategy in the third world is *the foisting of the Maoist concepts of economic development upon the developing countries.* The Chinese interpretation of "self-reliance," which is extremely nationalist and isolationist in character, and China's refusal to cooperate with socialist countries does not coincide with the interpretation of this idea by many developing nations. Imposing the Maoist schemes of economic development upon the third world, the Chinese leaders and their propaganda simultaneously discredit the course of developing heavy industry. Peking would like to use the economic backwardness of the developing countries for its own selfish aims.

Considering the importance of the raw materials problem in the world today, the Chinese leaders are trying to strengthen their position in those developing countries which are rich in strategic raw materials, and to penetrate into the corresponding sectors of their economies. What is indicative in this connection is Peking's heightened interest in the oil-rich zone of the Persian Gulf, the PRC's commitment in connection with the construction of the TANZAM

railway, providing an outlet to the Zambian Copper Belt, the maintenance of relations with Chile (after the seizure of power by the military junta) which is a source of strategic raw materials, etc.

Peking continues to actively use *economic assistance* to penetrate into the developing states and to spread its influence there. By the beginning of 1975 this assistance had totalled, since 1956, 3,000 million roubles. However, as before, PRC leaders give first place to promises of assistance in order to tie recipient countries hand and foot and display much less concern about fulfilling their commitments. At present, China has fulfilled only 35-40 per cent of its commitments.

The Maoist leadership's policy in the third world does not correspond to the genuine national interests of the peoples of the developing countries. It is in contradiction to their struggle for greater independence from imperialism as well as the requirements of their socio-economic progress.

Peking applies different policies to individual developing countries and regions, especially so where there are acute contradictions.

Southeast Asia. Throughout the conflict in Indochina the PRC leadership played the shameful role of a renegade, refusing to participate in joint actions with the socialist countries so as to bridle the imperialist aggressors, thereby undermining the worldwide front of solidarity with the embattled peoples of Indochina. By their great-power policy the Chinese leaders are seriously damaging the revolutionary movement in this region.

Peking's ruling clique deliberately belittles the role played by the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in the victory of the peoples of Indochina. The Chinese leaders are now clearly alarmed by the prospects of the emergence of a united, powerful, socialist Vietnam because this would considerably hinder the implementation of their great-power policy.

At the same time, the actions of the Maoists in this region show new features. Until recently, Peking resorted mostly to methods of ideological expansion, to undermining activities effected via the pro-Chinese dissident groupings in local Communist Parties and organizations connected with these groupings, as well as through the sizable Chinese communities residing in these countries. Of late the Chinese leadership has been increasingly resorting *to the direct use of force* for its expansionist purposes.

The Indian Subcontinent. The Maoists are forced to consider the big political changes which have taken place in South Asia. Normalization of relations between the countries of this region has limited

Peking's possibilities to capitalize on the existing contradictions, primarily those between India and Pakistan. While making occasional conciliatory gestures toward India, the Chinese leadership is, at the same time, continuing and even intensifying its hostile actions. Peking speculates on the problems of Kashmir and Sikkim, making persistent efforts to undermine India's relations with other states, to depict India's policy as "expansionist," and impeding its friendship with the Soviet Union. The Maoists grossly interfere in the domestic affairs of India, acting in unison with the ultra-Right forces of that country.

Intensifying its seditious actions among the Naga and Mizo tribes in India and the anti-government forces in Burma and Bangladesh, so that these countries would be fully embogged in and weakened by their domestic problems, Peking is doing everything to prevent the consolidation of the states of this region and to create more favorable conditions for its own expansionist policy.

The Middle East. The Maoist leadership is actually conducting a pro-imperialist policy and fanning Right extremist and anti-Soviet sentiments in the Arab countries. While verbally supporting the peoples of the Arab countries and Palestine in their struggle against Israeli Zionism, the PRC leadership continues to oppose the just solution of the Middle East problem, thus playing, to all intents and purposes, into the hands of the Israeli invaders.

Latin America. Peking's policy on this continent has become noticeably more active. The Chinese leadership is trying to use for its purposes the specifics of the social, political and economic development of the Latin American countries, and in the first place the strong nationalist trends prevailing there. To all intents and purposes, the Maoists want to use the Latin American countries in their political game with the United States for undermining the international position of the socialist countries on this continent and to pressurize those states of the third world which favor cooperation with the socialist world system.

Peking's relations with the military regimes in Chile and Brazil have lately become still closer. While militarizing their own country, the Maoist leadership welcomes stronger militarist tendencies and the reactionary military's interference in politics on the South American continent.

The Maoists have as yet met with no serious opposition on the part of the ruling circles of most South American countries. The bourgeois press in Mexico, Venezuela, Ecuador, Guyana and other countries sometimes serves as Peking's mouthpiece.

Nor does the United States try to stop the spread of Maoist ideology in Latin America, seeing it as a weapon against the local Communist Parties and against the influence of revolutionary Cuba's example and the policy of other socialist countries.

In this way the regional policy of the Maoist leadership vis-à-vis the developing countries also runs counter to these countries' true interests, undermines the unity of the anti-imperialist forces, hinders the revolutionary process, and does harm to the cause of socialism and peace.

MAOISTS' OPEN OPPOSITION TO WORLD SOCIALISM AND THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

Anti-socialism camouflaged by anti-Sovietism and by "struggle against hegemonism" remains the cornerstone of the Maoist leadership's foreign policy. At present all Peking's moves in the international arena are made, primarily, with a view to weakening world socialism.

In early 1974 the Maoist leadership announced: "The socialist camp has already ceased to exist owing to the advent of social imperialism." The Maoists trot out this "theoretical" proposition as the rationale behind their siding with the enemies of socialism and Marxism-Leninism. Peking uses it as a pretext to free itself and its supporters from any obligation to world socialism, if only stemming from their socialist phraseology, and to justify the use of any means in the struggle against the USSR and its allies.

The new PRC constitution states that China "must strengthen cohesion with socialist countries" but remains silent as to what socialist countries. At the same time, the constitution calls for "struggle against social imperialism" which in practical terms means struggle against the Soviet Union and the entire socialist community. In their attempts to split off individual countries from the socialist community the Chinese leaders employ pressure, blackmail, flattery, economic "baits," etc., and try to erode the ideological basis of the socialist system's unity by fostering substitution of nationalistic ideological and political conceptions for Marxism-Leninism. The Maoists want to arouse anti-Soviet sentiments in the countries of the socialist community and slander the CMEA and the Warsaw Treaty Organization.

The Mao Tse-tung group is engaged in open subversion against the national interests of the socialist states.

Peking's attempts to prevent the strengthening of European security are directed against the interests of all the European socialist countries. The Maoists call for the consolidation of NATO, flirt with the West German revenge-seekers and speak about the temporal character of the postwar European borders. Apparently wooing such West German revenge-seekers as Strauss and other Western reactionaries, Chinese officials stubbornly harp on "the unsolved German problem," "the need to unite the German nation," etc.

Peking subjects the Mongolian People's Republic to constant political and economic pressure, laying claims to her territory. The PRC leaders create tension on the Sino-Mongolian border, including demonstrations of force and open preparation for war, not even hesitating at espionage and sabotage.

The Chinese leaders' "advice" to Washington not to withdraw its troops from the Far East and Southeast Asia and to strengthen the U.S.-Japanese military alliance is detrimental to the interests of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and her security.

Peking tries to undermine the influence of the socialist camp in the non-aligned movement and induce the leaders of a number of non-aligned countries to form a bloc against the "superpowers," which in effect means against the socialist system.

Maoist foreign policy moves indicate that Peking directs its main blow against the socialist community and the national interests of each member of this community, and tries to disrupt relations between the socialist countries and the Soviet Union.

The present stage of the Maoists' subversive activity in the international communist movement is, as before, characterized by their attempts to turn Maoism into an international trend, weaken, the international solidarity of the fraternal Parties, to oppose general, international objectives with specific, national ones, to incline Communist Parties of various countries toward national isolation and cause ideological differences in the communist movement.

At present the ideological and "theoretical" activity of the Maoists is above all centered on distorting Marxism-Leninism as a single internationalist doctrine and eroding the ideological and theoretical basis of unity of the socialist countries and the communist movement.

The Mao group tries to instil a neutralist attitude to Maoism. It attempts to present its struggle against Marxism-Leninism and the common ideological platform of the international communist movement as a "dispute" with the CPSU alone and calls upon others not to interfere in the "dispute." Under the guise of tolerance to the ideo-

logical concepts of the Maoist leadership, pro-Maoist elements try to inculcate Communists with views that are alien to Marxism-Leninism. In this context particularly important is the struggle against the spread of the ideas of "neutralism," which, in effect, is pro-Maoist opportunism in the communist movement. Those who come out against exposing the harm done by Maoism, against criticizing the fundamental errors of the Peking leaders, against joint strategy and tactics in the struggle for the unity and cohesion of the socialist system and the international communist movement, those who try to present Maoism as a specifically Chinese "national model of socialism," whether intentionally or not, render help to the Peking splitters.

Maoist attacks on scientific socialism and proletarian internationalism activize the anti-communists, all sorts of renegades, Trotskyites, anarchists, extremists, Right and Left opportunists, who in their attacks on Marxism-Leninism often side with the Maoists.

Departure from scientific socialism, pro-Maoist opportunism, and the activization of anti-communists and renegades appealing to nationalistic prejudices prove once more the danger of nationalism, particularly in combination with varieties of Right and "Left" opportunism, for the world socialist system and the communist movement.

In these conditions, the struggle against the spreading of the idea of "neutrality" toward Maoism, a variety of opportunism, acquires particular importance.

"Neutralism" or, worse still, a conciliatory attitude toward Maoism and Mao Tse-tung's policies, whatever the form, objectively promote the anti-Marxist, anti-socialist aims of the Chinese leadership.

Peking's tactics in relation to different Communist parties varies.

Some Communist parties in Southeast Asia got isolated from the international communist movement under the influence of the Mao Tse-tung group. Until quite recently, these parties wholly followed Maoist conceptions, in particular the policy of carrying out a "people's war" in their own countries. Now Peking uses these parties as a tool, as a pawn in its political gambling with the ruling circles of the respective countries. However lately, under the influence of recent victories in Indochina, especially in Vietnam, internal struggle is in evidence in these parties regarding their further orientation.

In relation to the Communist parties of developed capitalist countries, particularly in Western Europe, Peking's tactics are aimed at preventing joint actions by Marxist-Leninists in the struggle against the theory and practice of Maoism.

The Peking leaders continue to give active support to pro-Maoist groupings abroad, but for many reasons are unable to consolidate them. These Maoist groupings include unprincipled elements of various hues. The pro-Peking organizations have no clear ideological platform and lack theoretical grounding. That is why Maoists in other countries often differ with Peking owing to its unprincipled policies, or are politically defaulted in its eyes, like the pro-Chinese groupings of J. Grippa in Belgium, J. Shatilla in Lebanon, A Jayasuriya and S. Ranasinghe in Sri Lanka, etc.

The Mao group's foreign-policy turnover from ultra-revolutionary demagoguery to overtly siding with imperialism resulted in new sharp vacillations among Maoists outside China. This caused Peking to tighten its control over its henchmen abroad in an attempt to consolidate them, unify their ideological platforms and create stable "leading nuclei." In doing this the Peking leaders take care not to reveal their association with terrorist or anarchist groupings, nor do they extend their protection to include all leftists.

The Chinese leaders help to re-establish or activate Maoist groupings in Western Europe, using them for splitting and weakening Marxist-Leninist parties and for stepping up propaganda against the policy of détente and international cooperation pursued by the USSR and other countries of the socialist community. The activity of Maoist groups serves the interests of reactionary anti-communist forces in Western Europe.

Though the persistent efforts by the Maoist leaders to create an international Maoist movement have failed to bring the desired results, one should by no means underestimate the corrupting influence of Maoism and the further intensification of the Mao Tse-tung group's subversive activity against the international communist movement.

The foreign policy of the Chinese leadership aimed at splitting the revolutionary anti-imperialist front, at confrontation with the socialist countries and alliance with the most reactionary imperialist forces, and at undermining the cause of peace is *counter-revolutionary in essence*.

Though Peking has failed to frustrate détente and bring about an aggravation of relations between the USSR and leading capitalist states, above all the USA, the Chinese leadership continues to act hand in hand with the cold warriors and rabid anti-communists. The Mao Tse-tung group's actions help the aggressive imperialist circles in opposing the consolidation of the results of the Second World War

in the interests of world peace and the principles of collective security in Europe and Asia.

Far from diminishing, the Maoist danger is growing both through being a virtual ally of imperialism and as a source of disorganization, disorientation and schism of the revolutionary forces. At present the Maoists are no less active than the imperialists in attempting to undermine the influence of the international forces of peace and socialism, frustrate détente and provoke international conflicts.

The agreed and coordinated policy of the socialist countries and growing unity of action of the international communist and national liberation movements effectively frustrate the designs of the imperialists and the present Chinese leaders now in league with them. *The main achievement here is that imperialism has failed in its attempt to use the Maoists' treachery to change the alignment of world forces in its favor. On the other hand, the Peking leaders have failed in their attempt to set up a united anti-socialist front led by China. To be sure, this does not eliminate the need for resolute struggle against Maoism, which clearly has become an enemy of the socialist community, the communist and national liberation movements, and which is increasingly coming out against détente and for a new war.*

By now, the utter groundlessness of Peking's claims to present "Mao Tse-tung's ideas" as the "highest achievement of Marxism-Leninism in the modern epoch," their complete rupture with Marxism-Leninism and their theoretical bankruptcy have been convincingly proved. Most of the quasi-socialist ideological camouflage of the Chinese leaders has been torn off, the danger and adventurism inherent in their foreign policy line revealed, and the truly anti-popular essence of their military bureaucratic dictatorship exposed. Nowadays no serious political party or prominent public figure dare associate themselves with Maoism.

The struggle against anti-Marxist, anti-Leninist views of the Chinese leadership and their anti-Soviet policy has greatly helped to strengthen the cohesion of Communist parties, in raising the ideological level of party cadres and in improving ideological and propaganda activities. *The great theoretical work of the Marxist-Leninist parties has made it possible not only to preserve the purity of Marxism-Leninism but to make a stride forward in its creative development. This is undoubtedly a historic achievement of the CPSU and other Marxist-Leninist parties.*

Within the socialist community, fraternal parties have opposed the

Maoists' subversive activities by jointly elaborating problems of socialist and communist construction, perfecting economic and other cooperation and by coordinated action in the international arena. Close cooperation in the political and ideological struggle against the Maoists made possible the timely exposure and frustration of designs aimed at splitting the socialist community. The struggle against Maoism has effectively promoted the cohesion of the fraternal countries, who come out vigorously in defense of Marxism-Leninism. On the whole, the socialist community is now incomparably better united and more active in the struggle against Maoism.

In the international communist movement there is a growing tendency to criticize the splitting activities of the Chinese leadership. This tendency originated at the 1960 meeting of the representatives of 81 Communist and Workers' Parties, and turned into an open censure of the Maoists' positions by the majority of the participants of the 1969 meeting.

In the national liberation movement, Marxist-Leninist parties and the countries of the socialist community counterposed the hegemonic course of the Mao group by a consistent Marxist-Leninist stand of support for the peoples struggling for liberation from colonial oppression, of help to the newly-free states in strengthening their political and economic independence and in resolutely rebuffing imperialist aggression and interference in the internal affairs of the developing countries. The CPSU and the fraternal parties of the countries of the socialist community consistently advocate peaceful political settlement of the problems existing between these countries.

As a result, the fallacy of many of Mao Tse-tung's and his entourage's adventuristic and inflammatory appeals has been proved, and the realization of the Maoists' hegemonistic plans to seize leadership in the third world, i.e., in the national liberation movement and thus mislead it, has been thwarted. At present not one of the developing countries would openly and unconditionally state its desire to be guided by "Mao Tse-tung's thoughts" and Chinese experience.

The Maoist leaders, however, have not renounced their goals and have recently concentrated their efforts on trying to sever the national liberation movement from the world socialist system. Therefore, there is a growing need to step up the struggle against this aspect of Maoist activity.

In present-day conditions, when more and more countries declare themselves in favor of socialism, Maoism can disorient them, and if its complete theoretical and practical bankruptcy and harm are not

exposed, some units of the national liberation movement may find themselves in a blind alley. "Now, in the epoch of revolution," stressed V.I. Lenin, "evasiveness or lack of principle in theoretical questions is tantamount to utter ideological bankruptcy; for now of all times a socialist requires a well-thought-out and consistent world outlook, so that he may control the events and not the events him" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 8, p. 316).

The Chinese leaders are stepping up attempts to frustrate détente and aggravate the international situation. The PRC is increasingly becoming a source of military danger and expansionism. The policy of preparation for war has been set down in the CPC Rules and in the PRC Constitution.

The present international situation and the interests of peace and security of the peoples demand the tireless and consistent exposure of Maoism, as it opposes détente, preaches the inevitability of a new world war, and stirs up tensions. That is why *nowadays Maoism presents a danger for the peoples of all states, whatever their social system.*

In the international class struggle the Maoist leaders of China have opened a "second front" against world socialism and the anti-imperialist and revolutionary forces of today. Struggle against Maoism is a struggle for greater unity of the socialist countries and for the triumph of the cause of peace and security of peoples.

Therefore the ideological, theoretical and practical activity of the Marxist-Leninists is now aimed at defeating Maoism, theoretically and politically, as an anti-Marxist and anti-Leninist trend hostile to the entire present-day revolutionary movement.

The theory and practice of Maoism run counter to the aspirations of all peoples, the Chinese included — hence it has no future. This is a dark page in the history of China and in her relations with the socialist countries, and there is no doubt that the Chinese people themselves will turn it over.

The struggle against the theory and practice of Maoism is a struggle for the principles of scientific socialism, for the purity of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, for the defense of the gains of the Chinese revolution and the interests of the world revolutionary movement. Such activity by the fraternal parties is essentially a *form of international help to the revolutionary cause of the Chinese people* and has nothing in common with an arrogant attitude to the Chinese people, its revolutionary traditions, history and culture.

It is not a question of "excommunicating" the Chinese Com-

munists from the international communist movement, or the PRC from socialism, but to struggle against Mao Tse-tung's doctrine and the resulting policy of the Maoist leadership of the PRC which run counter to the vital interests of the Chinese working class and all working people and to the interests of socialism and peace. The struggle waged by the Marxist-Leninists against Maoism is a way of supporting the Chinese revolution in the present period, a struggle for a socialist outlook for the People's Republic of China and to bring the country back into the ranks of the fighters against imperialism.

In his report on the 50th anniversary of the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Leonid Brezhnev, outlining the position of the CPSU and the Soviet Government toward China, stressed: "We want to see China a flourishing socialist power, and to work shoulder to shoulder with her for peace, against imperialism. But when this will come about depends on China herself. Nothing, of course, will make us depart from our principled Marxist-Leninist line, from our firm defense of the state interests of the Soviet people and the inviolability of Soviet territory, from our determined struggle against the divisive activities of the PRC leadership in the socialist world and the liberation movement."

Communist. No. 12, 1975.

PRICE: 10 CENTS

