

China Policy Study Group

BROADSHEET

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'IF YOU DON'T HIT IT, IT WON'T FALL'

The disintegration of the puppet regime it installed five years ago is not the least of the worries of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, and of Kissinger and Ford. At the time Nixon directed first the coup d'état and then the invasion of non-aligned Cambodia, he thought he had only to brazen it out for a short time to bring Cambodia securely under U.S. control. As usual, the creators of pro-imperialist public opinion—the newspapers, radio and television and the scholars—tried hard to present the U.S.-maintained Lon Nol regime as *the* government of Cambodia, and the National United Front of Cambodia, the Cambodian people and Sihanouk as 'rebels'.

Now, in beleaguered Phnom Penh, the regime which the U.S. ambassador there is in fact governing is in pieces. Hundreds of thousands of people, driven there from their farms and homes by years of savage U.S. bombing, are starving. Neither the gruesome truth about the harm U.S. imperialism has done to yet another nation nor Kissinger's impotence can any longer be hidden. The establishment press is abating its lying propaganda.

The Cambodians did not submit to the Americans in 1970. Even though they were caught unprepared by the treachery of Lon Nol and Sirik Matak, they rallied behind Sihanouk, united and organised to resist the U.S. aggression, and dared to engage a superpower in the supreme test of armed struggle. Because of that, genuinely anti-imperialist forces all over the world have supported them. The Chinese in particular, acting consistently with their principles, have given them unstinting and unconditional assistance in their just war: giving all material resources asked for and working to unite all struggling against superpower domination and oppression.

Cynical betrayal

At the very moment of the coup in Phnom Penh, Sihanouk was in Moscow, and in touch with Brezhnev and Kosygin. He believed they would support his government and its resistance against the traitors who had tried to sell out Cambodia's independence. The Soviet Union, after prevaricating, 'recognised' Lon Nol! Cynically refusing to back revolutionaries leading a national resistance to U.S. aggression (a refusal which could have jeopardised the Vietnamese struggle), the self-proclaimed 'socialists' in Moscow showed by this action that nations and classes oppressed by imperialism could not rely on Soviet help.

For the Third World the struggle in Cambodia has shown who the friends and enemies of the imperialist order are. Under the leadership of the National United Front the Cambodians have shown that it is not Soviet patronage but, rather, a correct appraisal of the world balance of forces, reliance on the mass of the people, and solidarity with genuinely socialist states and anti-imperialist forces in all countries, that decide who wins in the end. In April 1970, at their summit conference in South China, leaders of the four Indochinese peoples united in their

resistance to the U.S. and its allies. As Chou En-lai, their host, put it, by taking action which intensified the war of resistance, Nixon had put an extra noose round the neck of U.S. imperialism.

Celebrations to come

For the Cambodian People's Liberation Armed Forces to be on the verge of defeating the mighty U.S. forces is a momentous event. By hitting boldly and resolutely at imperialism and reaction, the Cambodian people have shown how rotten and corrupt these are; they have also brought capitalism and its allies closer to their final fall. It is not only in Phnom Penh, but in Washington, too, that the oppressors are in disarray, and looking for a way of escaping from a trap of their own making. Puppets are expendable. The total political and military defeat of U.S. superpower in five years by its intended victims is, however, unprecedented. Kissinger is trying desperately to prevent worldwide recognition of the fact that if the oppressed peoples rouse themselves, rise up and hit them hard the mighty superpowers will cease to be held in awe, and will fall. At its second Congress, in February, the N.U.F.C. named the seven traitors who alone have been condemned to death, and called on the people in Phnom Penh to get rid of them. When, as we may expect, Khieu Samphan and other leaders of the United Front retake Phnom Penh, their revolutionary victory will call for worldwide celebration, just as the rescue and relief of the innocent victims of the United States will call for worldwide effort. The Chinese have never used their advantageous position to interfere in the political decisions of the Cambodian liberation forces. In the reconstruction that must begin after Phnom Penh's liberation, their assistance can clearly be counted upon. The future of Cambodia will be decided again by its own people, under leaders whom they will choose to follow.

U.S. IMPERIALISM DID THIS!

Cambodia, before the war, was a country so rich in food produce that even the very poor rarely went hungry. Everyone had a piece of land and there were bananas and other fruit growing wild and a river or stream where fish could be caught easily.

Now, it is a country of nomads with empty stomachs, human flotsam living amid damp and filth in the flimsiest of shanties and thatched shacks.

The countryside is a charred wasteland. The population huddle in the cities and towns, doing marginal jobs that never pay enough to feed a family adequately.

When people can put together enough money to buy rice, they have nothing left over for the supplements to balance their diet—fish, beef, vegetables and fruit.

(Sydney C. Schanberg, *The Times* (London), 27 Feb. 75.)

THE NEW CONSTITUTION: EXTENSIVE DEMOCRACY

The Constitution adopted by the Fourth National People's Congress in Peking, in January this year, replaces that approved at the very first N.P.C. session, in 1954.

In the West we are always being told of the 'long-established tradition of parliamentary government' and of 'the permanence of our institutions'—ideas naturally dear to a ruling class concerned above all to delay fundamental change. In China, on the other hand, the framework is different; a new, developing class is in power, there is no permanence and the new Constitution is recognised as temporary, reflecting a society in transition.

Mass involvement

The Preamble refers to the victories won in socialist revolution, socialist construction and the Cultural Revolution, which have 'consolidated and strengthened the dictatorship of the proletariat'. The Cultural Revolution was the greatest of a whole series of movements in which the masses were directly involved: the 'five-antis' campaign, rural collectivisation, the workers' movements in the factories, the Great Leap Forward and the Socialist Education movement. All these were victories won by the working people and, from 1970, these same people discussed the new Constitution, making and revising their drafts on the basis of their experience since 1954. The new Constitution is 'the outcome of combining the ideas of the leading organisations and those of the masses'.

Such nationwide discussions will continue and develop. Article 13 says:

Speaking out freely, airing views fully, holding great debates and writing big-character posters are new forms of carrying on socialist revolution created by the masses of the people. The State shall ensure to the masses the right to use these forms to create a political situation in which there are both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness.

Notice that it is the job of the State to 'ensure to the masses' their right. The phrase 'personal ease of mind and liveliness' too is worth pondering; it describes the spirit of China today.

Worker and peasant leaders

The new N.P.C., with its 72 per cent of worker, poor peasant and soldier deputies, its worker Vice-Chairmen and its worker and peasant Vice-Premiers, and the new Constitution, have grown out of, been created by, the mass movements which the Communist Party of China, under Mao Tse-tung, has directed during the last 20 years. From 1949 on the New Democratic Revolution led step by step, under working class leadership, to the Socialist Revolution and both industry and agriculture were transformed. But not everyone, not even everyone in the leadership of the Party and State in 1954, understood the struggles that lay ahead. Others tried to sabotage them in advance. Liu Shao-chi, introducing the draft of the 1954 Constitution, said that to believe it was still possible for China to take the capitalist road was 'a mistaken and dangerous illusion . . . the road along which China could change into a capitalist state is barred'. Teachings like this were attempts to induce people to lower their guard and prepared the ground for capitalist restoration. In 1960 the withdrawal of Soviet technicians opened the eyes of the people but even then, as the Cultural Revolution showed, many were insufficiently alerted to the danger.

During the turbulence of the Cultural Revolution some sympathisers of China misunderstood the call to 'bombard the headquarters', believing it to be an attack on the very existence

of the Communist Party. Similarly the stress on Revolutionary Committees led some to conclude that the Party had been downgraded. The new Constitution ends all such speculations: the C.P.C. is 'the core of leadership of the whole Chinese people' (Article 2), the Chairman of the Central Committee of the Party 'commands the country's armed forces' (Article 15), the National People's Congress 'is the highest organ of state power under the leadership of the Communist Party of China' (Article 16). In 1954 the masses would not have understood the need for such formulations; the difference now is not that the masses have been induced to accept them but that they have demanded them.

Many Articles of the Constitution can be used in this way as examples to illustrate the road travelled since 1954. The Constitution adopted then was an inspiring and timely document, accurately reflecting the needs of the coming period. It helped the masses gradually to play a bigger part in the affairs of the nation and eventually it made the 1975 Constitution possible. The present Constitution would have been impossible in 1954.

For instance, Article 5 describes the two main kinds of ownership of the means of production at present: socialist ownership by the whole people (as in industry) and socialist collective ownership (as in the People's Communes). Non-agricultural individual labour is permitted (as in handicraft cooperatives), but 'these individual labourers should be guided on to the road of socialist collectivisation step by step'. Capitalist ownership of any sort is no longer allowed for, as it was in 1954, instead the present situation, with its diversity rooted in history, is fully recognised while clearly indicating the next step forward.

The way forward

Article 7 defines the organisation of People's Communes (unknown in 1954) and permits the farming of small plots for personal needs, as it does limited household sideline production and in pastoral areas, livestock for personal needs. Although some of the more advanced brigades have already abandoned individual plots they are clearly expected to remain elsewhere for some time. Nevertheless, what a distance this is from mutual aid teams and the early cooperatives!

Article 10, which must be quoted in full, defines the tasks of the State under the dictatorship of the proletariat:

The State applies the principle of grasping revolution, promoting production and other work and preparedness against war; promotes the planned and proportionate development of the socialist economy, taking agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor and bringing the initiative of both the central and the local authorities into full play; and improves the people's material and cultural life step by step on the basis of the constant growth of social production and consolidates the independence and security of the country.

These words, which to some might seem a mere repetition of slogans, are a succinct expression of how to continue the revolution and their embodiment in the Constitution shows that they are expected to hold good for a considerable period. We in the West shall find the Chinese Revolution easier to understand if we mark them well.

Study and revolution

State personnel are required by Article 11 to study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung thought, to combat bureaucracy and maintain close ties with the masses. 'Every organ of State must apply the principle of efficient and simple administration. Its leading body must be a three-in-one combination of the old, the middle-aged and the young'. The study of Marxist theory

by those actually taking part in revolution is the best way to ensure that revisionism and elitism are avoided and progress is steadily maintained. During the Cultural Revolution the staff of many enterprises was drastically cut, rules and regulations were simplified and the 'three-in-one-combination' was widely adopted. Professional China-watchers predicted that such immature ideas would be forgotten once 'normality' returned, but now they are enshrined in the Constitution! The Cultural Revolution's achievements are significant and durable.

NEGATIVE EXAMPLE

The main criticism against Kadar is focused on his economic reforms, which have produced a new prosperity, but, at the same time, have widened the gap between the poor and the well-to-do. The most explosive issue is likely to be the emergence of a new privileged class of managers in industry and commerce.

(Lajos Lederer on the 11th Congress of the Hungarian C.P., in the *Observer*, 16 March 75.)

The references to Revolutionary Committees, in Articles 22 and 23, are another example of how the gains of the Cultural Revolution have become a permanent feature of Chinese life. Born in sharp struggle, these Committees proved themselves in the following years, to become recognised as 'the permanent organs of the local People's Congresses and at the same time the local People's Government at various levels . . . elected and subject to recall by the People's Congress at the corresponding level'. They have wide powers: to ensure the execution of laws, lead socialist revolution and construction, approve local

economic plans, budgets and accounts, maintain revolutionary order and safeguard the rights of citizens.

As well as showing the distance which has been travelled since 1954, how the dictatorship of the proletariat has been strengthened and reliance on the masses increased, these Articles clearly indicate that the next 20 years will be a time of continuing revolutionary struggle against inequalities and deficiencies which still remain, that class struggle will go on and even be intensified, that there must be not the least slackening of vigilance. The Constitution is distilled from the struggles and experience of the past, giving confidence that the next stage will be tackled successfully.

Marxist theoretical discussion and study over recent years have enabled the revolutionary masses to grasp the historical tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat, so that the Constitution can now define these tasks in concrete terms. The application of the mass line and the involvement of more and more people enables their initiative to be developed, after widespread and thorough discussion, into actual policies. Democracy is not an end in itself but a means by which industry and agriculture and the whole of Chinese society will be transformed. It is the weapon which, in the hands of the people, will eventually transform the world.

The much richer and more extensive democracy the Chinese have now strengthens their State, led by the working class, and furthers the revolution. The democratic centralism which is practised strengthens both democracy and centralism, encourages both individual initiative and united action. As Chang Chun-chiao said in his report to the N.P.C.:

Without ample democracy, it is impossible to have a high degree of centralism, and without a high degree of centralism it is impossible to build socialism.

CHINA AND THE PHILIPPINES

We give below a synopsis of an article published in the U.S. Guardian of December 4, 1974, by a Filipino journalist, Felix Razon, and reprinted in leaflet form by the U.S. Radical Forum. Subheads are ours.

The recent formal meeting between Chairman Mao Tse-tung and Imelda Marcos, wife of the Philippine dictator, has aroused questions about China's foreign policy in general and her attitude towards reactionary Third World governments.

One can say at the outset that this event indicates a major victory for China's long-range strategy of the united front against the superpowers: U.S. monopoly capitalism and the revisionist leadership of Soviet social imperialism.

Linked to this, the establishment of full diplomatic relations between China and the Philippines indicates a significant victory for the progressive, democratic and nationalist forces in the Philippines in their fight against the firmly entrenched Kuomintang camp in Philippine political and economic life, the most diehard reactionary wing of the ruling class. . . .

Thus, what the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship has done, in the wake of Nixon's 1972 visit to China, may be properly viewed as a culmination of the Filipino people's unrelenting struggle to overcome the anti-China/anti-communist plot, break the U.S.-Kuomintang stranglehold on Philippine foreign policy, and advance the revolutionary process to a new and higher stage.

Rabid and lying anti-communism has been the keystone of Philippine government, a satellite of U.S. imperialism. A vital role in compelling this economic and political subservience has been played by the Kuomintang party, which claims to control the large Chinese minority and is 'an hysterical enemy of all progressive movements'. The Chinese in the Philippines have

been subjected to racist and chauvinist persecution against which they have fought, and many of them are now in the ranks of the New People's Army, committed to the cause of national democracy for the masses and proletarian internationalism; but some have become factory owners, large-scale merchants closely linked with feudal landlords, high-ranking officers in the army and police; one a Supreme Court Justice. Practically all Chinese voluntary organisations are managed by this 'tiny stratum of comprador bourgeoisie'. All Chinese schools are administered by the Kuomintang and they in turn are involved in most of the 'criminal activities and political gangsterism in Manila and other cities'. Examples are given of Kuomintang involvement with U.S. bankers, in Philippine finance capital, and with wealthy relations in Taiwan.

Given this tremendous financial power, expertise and experience, is it any wonder that the Philippines has for so long been a Kuomintang stronghold, for whom any relation with China other than absolute hostility is anathema?

It was then a signal victory for China and the progressive, democratic forces in the Philippines when Marcos, faced with an unprecedented economic and political crisis as well as rapid isolation from the Afro-Asian bloc, was forced to accept the changed world situation and to seek ties with China.

Weakening imperialism

The Marcos economy is in desperate straits, with enormous foreign and internal debts, 27 per cent unemployment, 40 per cent inflation, along with generally declining world prices for her export crops and raw materials. Marcos is therefore trying

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to diversify the market and attract foreign investment and will now sell sugar to China. China, in accordance with the principle of equality and mutual benefit, will supply the Philippines with about 750,000 tons of crude oil in 1975. On the verge of collapse, the Marcos regime has been compelled to carry out tactical changes in foreign policy.

Is China then trying to shore up with material support the internally decaying dictatorial regime?

Not at all. On the contrary, these trade and other commercial relations help weaken the trade monopoly of the U.S., Japan and Kuomintang interests, wipe out the lingering mistrust in many Filipinos (especially the national bourgeoisie) of the 'Maoists' as the 'Yellow Peril' inculcated by both blatant and sly anti-communist propaganda (doled out by the U.S. Information Service, Peace Corps, Voice of America, etc.) and isolate the most diehard reactionaries entrenched in Manila, the Kuomintang party, as soon as diplomatic relations with Chiang Kai-shek are severed.

Winning allies

Making use of contradictions, winning over the many and opposing the few, the People's Republic of China has widened antagonisms between Marcos technocrats and Kuomintang agents, between sugar barons and bureaucrats and generals.

Some may ask: If Mao allows himself to be embraced by the dictator's wife, doesn't this give a seal of approval to a most criminal and bloodthirsty regime? At the very least, doesn't it confuse people about the repressive nature of the dictatorship?

Not at all. Only people who have no understanding of the concrete realities in the Philippines and the principled united front strategy of the proletarian leadership in China can mistake the Peking Review photos as communist endorsement of the dictatorship. Contrary to malicious innuendos, Mrs. Marcos was given the usual treatment accorded to foreign dignitaries.

The Chinese are not 'hinting that there are saving qualities in Marcos', but are using 'whatever resistance the dominated countries are showing against the superpowers to win these countries even as tactical, vacillating allies. . . .' Marcos has had to discard the bankrupt Kuomintang line and adopt 'what is in effect another trend of U.S. foreign policy towards China.'

Enforced changes

The Filipino people's resurgent nationalism has pushed the dictator's government to align itself with the 'Group of 77' which drew up the Algiers Charter and to join the Afro-Asian group in the United Nations which demanded the expulsion of racist South Africa. This could not have been done without China's bold revolutionary position at the United Nations and the united front against the superpowers, and 'thanks to the sacrifices of the Indochinese, Palestinian, African and other peoples'—all of which have brought about momentous changes of alignment in the world scene. Conditions are now improved for appealing to world opinion about the Philippine revolution.

One final point: state-to-state relations between China and the Philippines do not mean that emancipation struggles should cease, still less

that the Filipino workers, peasants and other democratic forces should surrender their weapons—as the revisionist clique recently did—and categorically acclaim Marcos as a patriot engaged in a peaceful and parliamentary road of transition to a more 'democratic' system. . . .

In the last analysis, it is not the Chinese leadership (from whose exemplary practice we derive useful and positive guidelines) who will liberate the Philippines from the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship. It is the heroic masses of Filipinos led by their vanguard, the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army which today form the core of the National Democratic Front, that will surely liberate the Philippines from U.S. imperialism, feudalism and all reaction.

PICKAXE AND RIFLE—The Story of the Albanian People by William Ash. Howard Baker Press Ltd. Price £3.75.

In 1969 and 1971 William Ash toured Albania. This book is an account not only of his perceptions of a socialist society and the quality of life but also a synopsis of Albanian history and the events which led to the emergence of the only socialist state in Europe.

In the opening chapters the author traces the development of Albania from its subjection to the Turkish Empire to the 20th century, focussing on the Italian invasion in 1939, an attempt to consolidate fascist rule which initially aroused only sporadic resistance but finally united the Albanian people and culminated in their victory under the leadership of the Albanian Party of Labour.

Having furnished the reader with such an informative historical account the author devotes the remaining chapters to describing the nature of socialist society, which is 'not simply created for the working masses; but created and preserved by the working masses'. The role of the Party and the meaning of the dictatorship of the proletariat are clearly outlined not merely as a theoretical exercise but to portray how a socialist state develops and functions.

Any reader of this book will be aware of the split in the world communist movement and of Albania's alliance with China. A chapter is devoted to examining and explaining the split, thereby enabling the reader to understand the true nature of Soviet intentions.

The book would not be complete without its description of the quality of life in Albania and William Ash provides much invaluable information on topics varying from education and art to women and health—topics which are likely to touch and concern most readers. Before the adoption of the Constitution which guaranteed women equal rights in the political, economic and social life of the country, women in Albania were oppressed and dominated. But it is emphasised that it is not simply a feminist movement which has permitted the emancipation of women but the development of socialism and the breakdown of the old customs and ways.

The title of the book originates from the revolutionary slogan of the Party of Labour of Albania: 'To build socialism holding a pickaxe in one hand and a rifle in the other'. All those who read this book will understand its meaning. We commend it to readers of BROADSHEET especially, for they will be aware of the clarity and correctness of the political statements made by Albanian leaders over recent years and of the way in which China and Albania have supported each other.

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