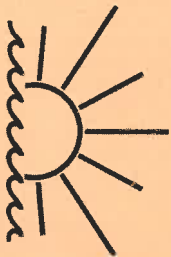


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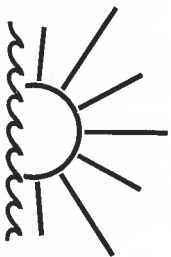
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CHINA'S FOREIGN POLICY

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PREFACE

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For the People's Republic of China, the process of history is that of humanity's struggle for its liberation and dignity. The misery that we witness about us — a down-trodden and bleeding humanity, in hunger, ignorance and fear; millions, their backs/broken in forced labor; millions of others, their spirits stultified by religion and drugs or on the verge of madness; hundreds of thousands napalmed and tortured, others degraded in prostitution, servility, serfdom and wage-slavery — for the People's Republic of China this is not due to fate or human nature but the result of social systems based upon exploitation, wherein oppression is the chief means of ensuring the material privilege of an elite few.

But where there is oppression, there is resistance.

One day this struggle will result in the creation of an egalitarian community, a society without classes, of material plenty, wherein all human beings will voluntarily and consciously affirm their humanity in selfless cooperation with one another.

The world today is divided into a series of nation states. A few are socialist — Albania, Cambodia, Democratic People's Republic of Korea, People's Democratic Republic of Laos, People's Republic of China, Romania and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam — where relationships of exploitation have been abolished.

For the most part, however, we find the social systems of semi-feudalism and capitalism. The former is based upon the exploitation of the peasant by the landlord, the latter of labor by capital. Both these two systems are sustained by the existence of imperialism. How so? And what, moreover, is imperialism?

Imperialism is a system of international competition and domination rooted in capital's need for increasing profit. It is the highest state of capitalism. Its fear of labor and its desperate search for new markets, raw resources, and cheap labor lead to the tactics of armed intervention, territorial division, annexation, unequal treaties, indebtedness of governments and the ransoming of entire populations. Superprofits amassed from its economic plunder create a labor aristocracy at home, and puppet regimes abroad — thus forestalling economic, social and political crises while at the same time exacerbating world contradictions. The armies of the imperial powers, like international gendarmes, patrol the world, bolstering local elites in their suppression of liberation struggles.

Three Worlds and Five Principles

The world is full of contradictions. How does China analyze the international situation at this moment?

For the People's Republic of China there are four fundamental contradictions that characterize our present era:

Firstly, the contradiction between the oppressed nations on the one hand and imperialism and social-imperialism on the other.

Secondly, between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the capitalist and revisionist countries.

Thirdly, between the imperialist and social-imperialist countries and among the imperialist countries themselves.

And fourthly, between the socialist countries on the one hand, and imperialism and social-imperialism on the other.

The sharpest is between that which opposes the oppressed nations on the one hand and imperialism and social-imperialism on the other.

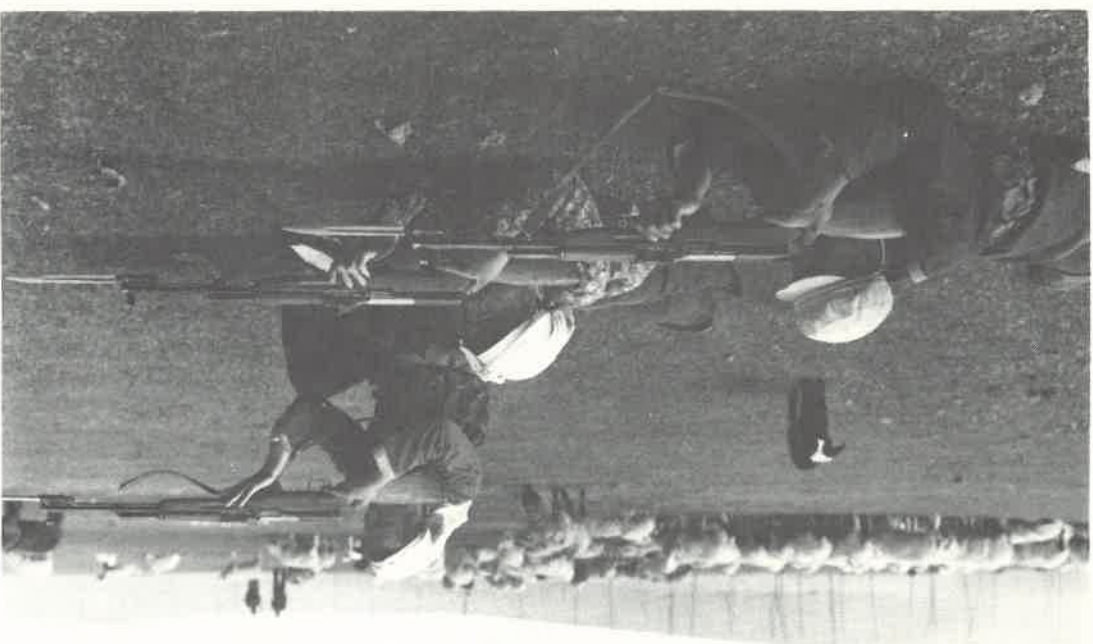
For the People's Republic of China the struggle between these four contradictions has led to the division of the globe into three worlds:

The First World is composed of the United States and the USSR — the former a wounded lion, the latter a young tiger and the main danger; the two superpowers struggling between themselves, contending for global hegemony and threatening a new world war.

The Second World is composed of the states of Western and Eastern Europe, Japan, New Zealand, Australia and Canada — on the one hand the junior partners of the US and the USSR, but on the other hand increasingly the object of their expansionist designs.

The Third World is composed of the states of Africa, Asia and Latin America — the major victims of imperialist domination, but also its Achilles' heel, and thus the principal force in world revolution.

Today the strategy of the People's Republic of China is to unite the forces within both the Third and Second Worlds in a global



Chinese people's militia. China has no troops outside its own borders.



Sportsmen of Taiwan Province's Kaoshan nationality residing on the mainland happily greet overseas Taiwanese at the formation of the Taiwan Province sports delegation to China's National Games.

united front against the superpowers of the First World.

Thus China has attempted to establish diplomatic relations with all nation states, regardless of their politics, on the basis of the following Five Principles:

1. mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty;
2. mutual non-interference in internal affairs;
3. equality and mutual benefit;
4. mutual non-aggression;
5. peaceful co-existence.

Faithful to these principles, China has steadfastly insisted upon the right of reunification for Vietnam and Korea. In the exchange of its own ambassadors, China demands that it entail the recognition that Taiwan is an integral part, a province of the People's Republic of China.*

In the conference on the Law of the Sea, China has constantly upheld the right of nations to a two-hundred-mile fishing and exclusive economic zone, and the right of all nations to share in underwater resources in international waters.

She has consistently condemned aggression whether it be the Soviet occupation of Poland in 1956, and Czechoslovakia in 1968 or American intervention in Guatemala, Santo Domingo and In-

* Taiwan is a province of China and the largest island off the South-west coast of the People's Republic.

By AD 607 Taiwan was already governed by a Chinese dynasty, the Sui. In 1360, under the Yuan dynasty Taiwan became a part of Fukien province. In 1684, its status was raised to that of a prefecture. And in 1885 Taiwan became a province.

For more than 1,000 years people from the provinces of Fukien and Kwangtung have lived and worked alongside the native Kaoshan on Taiwan. In fact the dialects spoken today in Taiwan province are either south-Fukien or the Hakka from Kwangtung.

The Kaoshan nationality belong to the Chinese community of national minorities and all of the inhabitants of Taiwan province are a constituent part of the Chinese people.

These facts were attested to by the Treaty of Cairo signed on December 1, 1943. Article 8 of the Potsdam Agreement signed between China, United States and Great Britain (the Soviet Union later added its signature) on July 26, 1945, reaffirmed Taiwan's status as a province of China.

This fact was even admitted by Harry Truman, President of the United States, on January 5, 1950, and later in the same year, on February 9, by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee of the US Congress.

Of late, the Shanghai Communiqué signed on February 28, 1972, by United States President Richard Nixon and Chou En-lai, Prime Minister of the People's Republic of China, states clearly that the People's Republic is the only legal government of China, that Taiwan is a province of China and that its liberation is an internal affair of China.

Lastly, the population of Taiwan has shown countless times their desire to rejoin their compatriots. Hadn't 50,000 Taiwanese given their life for this cause in the insurrection of February 28, 1947?

The people of Taiwan are the flesh and blood of the Chinese people.

dochina as well as India's partition of Pakistan and its annexation of the Kingdom of Sikkim.

Both the American 'Alliance for Progress' and the Soviet 'Council of Mutual Economic Aid' have been thoroughly exposed as props for the institutionalized plunder of its members. And countless protests have been lodged against the subversive activities of the CIA and the KGB as well as the establishment of American and Soviet military bases in the Philippines, Panama, Somalia and Cuba.

With regard to the Second and Third Worlds, China encourages national independence and supports the establishment of multinational coalitions, as the European Common Market or the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries, in order to increase these states' ability to strengthen their political sovereignty and protect their natural resources.

The establishment of diplomatic relations should not be understood as an end in itself, but as a precondition, a potential means of transforming the international balance of forces.

Isn't the struggle for the establishment of relations based upon mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, mutual non-interference in internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, mutual non-aggression and peaceful co-existence between states, a positive step towards the goal of an egalitarian world?

Isn't the very nature of imperialism and social-imperialism rapacity? Aren't its favourite weapons annexation, subversion and war?

Doesn't the application of the Five Principles undermine the foundation of imperialism, expose its true character, accelerate its downfall, and re-open the horizons of human liberation?

Doesn't the call for national independence facilitate the struggle for national liberation? Isn't national liberation a potential catalyst for social revolution?

Moreover, aside from the establishment of state to state relations (which, by the way, in no way imply approval of the government), China has established people to people contacts to facilitate mutual understanding, as well as party to party relations based upon the most militant solidarity.

China's strategy consists in a united front against American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism. Is this really possible?

Soviet Social-imperialism

But before anything else, isn't the Soviet Union a socialist country?

No, it is not.

Let us not be deceived by the red flags flying over the Kremlin, the memorization of Marxist-Leninist works in the schools of the Soviet Union or the existence of a party called the 'Communist Party of the USSR'. There is an enormous gap between theory and practice.

'The stones are crying out again in Holy Russia.' A new managerial class has arisen that runs factories on the basis of quotas and material incentives and appropriates the means of production through the signature of state contracts geared to yield the highest rate of profit rather than the most socially necessary goods. The division of labor and wage differentiation is increasing. The right of strike is non-existent. Inflation and unemployment have once again become the norm. The black market is rampant.

Russian culture is imposed upon nations and the flames of anti-semitism are officially fanned. Criticism is conceived either criminal or the mark of mental illness. An alienated population turns increasingly to alcohol and drugs.[†]

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, under control of revisionists, is increasingly a social-fascist organization. Far from comprising the most conscious and devoted elements of the working masses, it represents the most corrupted and the privileged. The secret police are omnipresent, and daily the militarization of society increases.

But what does China mean by calling the USSR 'social-imperialist'? Essentially, it means that the Soviet Union is socialist in words and imperialist in deeds — that its nature is the same as that of the United States.

Let us look at the facts. Doesn't the Soviet Union control the countries of Eastern Europe and exploit the African, Asian and Latin American peoples? Don't its military boats patrol the waters of the world? Does it not hire mercenaries to do their dirtiest work? Doesn't it finance political parties abroad, engage in espionage?

Even though it avowedly struggles for peace and the ideals of an egalitarian world, aren't its principles the same as the US imperialists — the limited sovereignty of other nations and the superiority of its own people — whether under the cover of the World Congress for Peace or the Warsaw Pact? Hasn't it subdued its satellites through a 'rational division of labor'? Isn't opposition to its policies muffled in the mental hospitals of Moscow, the kangaroo courts of Odessa and in the streets of Prague?

[†] In the USSR 30% of all construction workers are laid off annually; from 1960-1973 the price of meat rose 29%, animal oil 23%, flour 48% and beet 33%. In 1974, 59 million working days were lost due to absenteeism. Salaries in national minority regions are considerably lower than in Russia. For example, wages in Byelorussia and Moldavia are 16% and 21% lower than in Russia itself.

Isn't the strategy of the USSR a carbon copy of that of the United States — the subordination of the Third World, the subversion of Europe, the sabotage of revolutionary movements and the destruction of the socialist countries?

For how else can one explain Soviet arms sales to the Fascist government of Indonesia in 1965, the invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968, the arrest of Burmese patriotic students in the German Democratic Republic in 1969, the refusal to support or even recognize the Royal Cambodian Government of National Unity from 1970 to 1975, the refusal to send the SAM-6 surface-to-air missiles to the people of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in 1972, their cessation of arm deliveries to Egypt at the very height of the October War, their abandonment of the Korean struggle for reunification, their plots against the People's Republic of Albania, and the massing of more than one million troops along the Chinese border? How else can one explain the facts that:

- the Soviet Union takes 100% or Hungarian bauxite, Czechoslovakian uranium, Polish zinc and lead, and Mongolian fluorine?
- that 80-90% of all iron and wood, 75% of laminated metals, fertilizers and oil products, 60% of all cotton and coal used by the countries in Eastern Europe is imported from the USSR?
- that under the burden of export contracts with the Soviet Union, countries like Bulgaria, once self-sufficient in vegetables, must now import these products to provide for its own people?

Doesn't this depletion of raw resources and dependence upon the Soviet Union for finished goods signal their loss of their economic independence and political sovereignty? Yes, it does.

Moreover, how can the apologists of Soviet social-imperialism explain the facts that:

- the USSR has invested 200 million US dollars in Brazilian bituminous mines?
- Soviet floating fish-factories steal the resources of the Japanese, Nordic and Canadian peoples?
- Czechoslovakia is 2.5 billion dollars in debt to the Soviet Union, Egypt 5 billion and Cuba 6 billion dollars?
- the USSR bought oil from its 'ally' Iraq at 6 million pounds sterling and resold it to the Federal Republic of Germany for 18 million pounds sterling?
- coffee beans bought in India reappear in Europe, under a new label and at higher prices?
- railway wagons bought dirt cheap, also from India, were sold to France and Great Britain at 30% higher prices?
- the Soviet Union sold its 'friend' India nickel at 30,000 US dollars a ton and paper at 3,640 dollars a ton while the world

market prices were only 15,000 and 2,848 dollars a ton respectively?

How will they explain an increase of 50% in its military budget since 1964, the reality of 500,000 Soviet troops upon the soil of the German Democratic Republic, the existence of 4,200 combat aircraft, and military expenditures for the year 1975 totalling 114 billion US dollars?

In the name of 'disarmament' has it not increased its strike capability? Under the cover of 'detente', has it not expanded its frontiers? In the name of 'socialism', does it not practise 'imperialism'? Don't its wild ambitions betray its Hitlerite tendencies?

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is a wolf in sheep's clothing. It is a greater danger than the American imperialists.

Detente and the Danger of a New World War

Today both superpowers are engaged in a feverish arms race, the purpose and consequence of which can only be the outbreak of a new world war.

Essentially competitive by nature and ruthless in character the US and the USSR are bolstering their 'defence' capacities in order to protect their markets and resources abroad. Both are arming themselves to the teeth, each one seeking to outdo the other.

In the field of military research the United States leads in integrated circuitry, highspeed bypass-turbo fans, alloys, inertia instrumentation, precision guided weapons, numerically controlled machine tools and far outpaces the USSR in air to air missiles, avionics and satellite sensors. However, the Soviet Union leads in high pressure physics, welding, anti-ship missiles, chemical warfare, lasers, artillery technology, magnetic hydro-dynamic power generation, and is considerably advanced in titanium fabrication and radio wave research.

There is equality in nuclear weapons research and general aerodynamics.

In terms of actual hardware, the Soviet Union is leading the race. Whereas the US military budget for 1975 was some 90 billion US dollars, that of the USSR was 114 billion. The Soviet Union has 4.8 million troops as compared with 2.1 million of the United States, 35,000 tanks vs. 9,000 American tanks, 40,000 armed personnel carriers to 14,000 US, 1,610 ICBM to 1,054 American, 784 submarine carrying ICBM vs. 656 US. In Europe this is even more pronounced where you have for example 11,000 Soviet planes to 800 of the US, 2.4 million troops vs. 289,000 for the US.

The Soviet navy is expanding at 4 times the rate of the US navy, building tactical aircraft 70% faster than US. Its military budget has increased 50% between 1968 and 1973, a 7 fold use in construction of nuclear submarines, 2 fold rise in construction of nuclear



Chou En-lai in the midst of friends from Asia, Africa and Latin America.



Mao Tsetung in the midst of friends from Asia, Africa and Latin America in 1959.

warheads since 1968. One third of state budget is geared to defence; 60% of all factories are geared for war production. To improve its strike capacity Soviet Union replaced its SS4 and SS5 mobile middle distance nuclear weapons with SSX20 capable of striking Middle East, Asia and Europe and recently replaced its long distance multiple-warhead model the SS9 with the SS18. A call for 'detente' in this context is nothing but a manoeuvre calculated to gain a tactical advantage in preparation for a strategic strike.

Yes, the USSR is the main danger in the world, but in each particular country either one or the other superpower can be the principal enemy.

The Other Two Worlds

Let us come back to the strategy put forward by China concerning the united front between the Second and Third Worlds against hegemonism and reaction.

Can one seriously expect the countries of Western and Eastern Europe, Oceania and Canada to sever their relations with the United States and the USSR? Yes. As the struggles of the Third World increase the pressure upon the superpowers as US and USSR's fear of domestic revolt deepens, and as their need to expand economically increases, the exploitation by the two superpowers of their junior partners in the Second World will intensify and their underlying antagonism will be revealed.

Hasn't Europe become a zone of contention between the superpowers? How else can one explain their financing of political parties in Portugal, France and Italy? Are the 10,000 American troops in Italy and the 75,000 Soviet troops in Czechoslovakia there to safeguard 'democracy' or 'socialism'? As the people of Western and Eastern Europe realize more and more that political sovereignty and economic independence is the precondition for peace and prosperity, their governments will be increasingly obliged to dissociate themselves from superpower domination. The example of the Third World acts as a catalyst and the struggle of these countries pushes those of the Second World to take their distance from the superpowers. This is what happened during the oil crisis when France broke with the tradition of negotiating with the oil-producing countries as a member of the Western bloc dominated by the United States. For the first time, France concluded a bilateral contract with Saudi Arabia, thus breaking the American hold on the countries of the Second World in the US orbit who, before, were obliged to follow prices established by the US.

Today an alliance between the Second and Third Worlds implies an alliance between the newly independent states and their former colonial masters, between countries like Algeria or Guinea Bissau and others like Sudan or Iran. Is this really possible?

Yes! *Circumstances change and today's enemies can be tomorrow's allies.* To the degree that the imperial powers of the Second World uphold the banner of national independence, dissociate themselves from the hegemonic designs of the superpowers, and support the cause of the Third World they objectively become allies.

Is this a new question? No. Didn't the revolutionaries and peoples of former colonies fight alongside their imperial masters during World War II? Yes, they did. Was this an error in judgment? A betrayal of principle? Not at all. For at *that moment*, the principal contradiction was between the people of the world and the forces of Nazi Germany and Japanese fascism. Moreover, it was precisely this battle that accelerated the anti-colonial struggles in Africa, the independence movements in South Asia and led to the liberation of Korea, Vietnam, Romania, Albania and the People's Republic of China itself.

Furthermore mustn't we re-assess our notions of progress and reaction? Can one call a government progressive if it sells out its people's destiny for a few pieces of silver? Are automobiles, tractors, television sets and telephones an adequate exchange for the right of self-determination?

Isn't it true that a government, *internally* backward yet resisting foreign domination, is progressive, while a benevolent regime tied to either US imperialism or Soviet social-imperialism is reactionary? For doesn't the latter strengthen their hegemony and thus prolong the misery of its own people and all the people of the world?

It should thus be noted that for the People's Republic of China, the criteria for inclusion in the united front is not exclusively a state's *internal* policy, but essentially its *external* policy: not a product of a government's nobility but of its own objective interest; not an automatic result of the establishment of diplomatic relations with China nor necessarily a factor of the class or party leading the country, but of the objective results of its action, i.e., do they strengthen or weaken the position of either superpower?

The policy of such a united front consists in distinguishing between allies, friends and enemies and between primary and secondary enemies in 'uniting all forces that can be united', in 'developing the progressive forces, winning over the middle and isolating the die-hards', in 'making use of contradiction, winning over the many, opposing the few, and crushing one's enemies one by one by waging a just struggle, to one's advantage and with restraint.'

It is on the basis of these principles, tested in its own struggles, that China has undertaken the battle against hegemonism and international reaction.

It was on the basis of these policies that the Chinese Communist

Party was able to lead the Chinese people to victory against Japanese aggression, Kuomintang reaction, and American intervention through the stages of the new democratic revolution up to the consolidation of proletarian power through the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

Mao Tsetung rejected the Trotskyite theory of fighting on all fronts. To do so would be self-defeating, he realized. No doubt abstract principle would have been upheld, but such a policy would have led directly to the loss of the revolution itself.

In 1936, the Chinese Communist Party formed a united front against Japan based upon an alliance between workers, peasants and intellectuals on the one hand, and patriotic landlords, capitalists and the Kuomintang on the other. 'Casting the net as wide as possible', all those who upheld an independent China were mobilized — regardless of their class position, party affiliation, interest or motivation.

In August 1939 Stalin signed a non-aggression pact with Nazi Germany. In February 1941, a neutrality pact was signed between the Soviet Union and China's enemy, Japan.

Were these actions a violation of principle, a betrayal of the Chinese revolution? No, they were not. They were the able application of flexible tactics, destined to assure the preservation of the then socialist Soviet Union, and thus maintain her support for revolutionary causes throughout the world. What was the purpose of the two pacts? The first was to prevent an Anglo-German alliance against the Soviet Union; the second, to prevent fighting on both the eastern and western fronts.

For the Third World to permit superpower tactics to succeed or to refuse to consciously cultivate an alliance with the Second World is only to increase its isolation and prolong the suffering of its people.

For the Second World to reject an alliance with the Third World for the creation of a new world order is to act in a shortsighted manner. It is to sacrifice the possibility of building an independent, prosperous and stable society for a couple of fast bucks and it will only lead to the perpetuation of their crises.

In fact, the future of humanity lies in the success of an alliance between the Second and Third Worlds.

It is in the alliance of the Second and Third Worlds that the success of the united front against superpower hegemonism lies. And this fact is understood by both the US and the USSR. Both are desperately trying to deny the very existence of the Third World — either by talking about a fourth or fifth world or by dividing up the Third World into reactionary and progressive regimes and fostering conflict among them. Both superpowers are attempting to maintain the integration of the Second World into their own orbit by



Chinese and Togolese friends meet for the second time to participate in a tennis tournament.

proposing joint-investment ventures into Africa, Asia and Latin America or by propagating racist theories propounding the 'inferiority' of the peoples of the Third World.

Proletarian Internationalism

Upon what principle does this united front strategy base itself? What is the fundamental principle of Chinese foreign policy? It is proletarian internationalism. What does it mean? And how does it manifest itself?

It means that even though the working class takes power in one country, no worker can be totally free until all of humanity has been emancipated.

And if humanity is still enchained, we know that this is primarily due to the existence of imperialism, which maintains oppressive and exploitative societies throughout the world.

Thus the cornerstone of a revolutionary government's foreign policy must be the destruction of this system. Its essence is an alliance with oppressed nations and the revolutionary workers of the capitalist and revisionist countries in a world-wide front against imperialism and social-imperialism. Though every effort must be made to enhance the possibility of this victory, this does not mean that a socialist country must destroy itself. On the contrary, it has a duty to preserve itself. Didn't Lenin sign the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk in 1918 with Imperial Germany, ceding to it a part of the Soviet Union? Yes. Was this a compromise? Yes. Was this a violation of principle? No. On the contrary, it was the affirmation of the principle that the only standard by which one can judge the foreign policy of a country is not one of abstract definition, but a concrete evaluation of its consequences upon the totality of international relations.

Let us analyze the character of Lenin's compromise, the purpose for which it was signed. Was it an act of capitulation? No. On the contrary. The Treaty of Brest-Litovsk was signed out of necessity, not to abandon the Russian revolution, but to consolidate it, thus permitting it to continue and to increase support for global liberation. Had the Soviet Union persisted in the war, its internal weaknesses would have assured its destruction.

The test of the revolutionary character of one's actions is not destruction by one's enemies. Vindication of correct policy does *not* reside in *permanent defeat* but lies in the accomplishment of one's tasks culminating in final victory.

But given the duty of a socialist country to forestall the *inevitable* attack by imperialist powers against itself, isn't there a *danger* that this concern can transform the basis of its foreign policy from internationalism into big-power chauvinism? Yes, and all the more so in a country like China where the feudal rulers of the past encouraged chauvinism in order to divide the people.



Chairman Mao and comrade Chou En-lai in Yenan, 1945.

What then is the guarantee against this danger? Only the constant awareness of this possibility, vigilance against revisionist forces and the reaffirmation of revolutionary ideals through mobilization of the masses.

Did not one million Chinese volunteers sacrifice their lives in defence of the Korean revolution? Wasn't China openly the rear base for the liberation struggles in Indochina? Aren't Chinese children taught the songs and dances of the national minorities and to greet foreigners as Aunt and Uncle? Isn't the entire population studying Lenin's notes on *Imperialism*? Didn't the campaign against Confucius and Lin Piao deal with questions of Foreign Policy?

However, the ultimate guarantee for the existence of a socialist country, of obtaining the breathing space necessary for defence preparations lies in its indissoluble unity with other socialist countries, the exposure and neutralization of the aggressive tendencies of imperialism and social-imperialism, the mobilization of the maximum number of governments against hegemonism, and above all, the expansion of revolutionary forces throughout the world. Does this mean that China should export revolution? No. Genuine liberation is not a gift from the Gods, or from foreign armies, but a process involving great courage and enormous sacrifices, by which an actively mobilized and politically aware people *emancipate themselves* by relying upon their *own* forces.

A revolutionary government can alter the international balance of forces, isolate die-hards or even create new social forces amenable to revolutionary goals, it can perhaps accelerate certain processes and thus enhance the *potential* for revolution. It can never, however, be the primary force in the liberation of another people, let alone substitute itself as their saviour!

Between socialist countries China has established relations of proletarian selfness. Grain is bought in Canada to permit annual rice contributions to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Foreign currency received through the export of Chinese goods buys machines on the capitalist market for Albania to ensure the independent character of its economy.

Between the newly independent states China has established the charter of economic and technical assistance containing the following eight principles:

1. equality and mutual benefit in trade;
2. no strings attached;
3. *no-interest* loans with *optional* repayment;
4. no dependent relationship: all aid must build up the independent character of the recipients' economy;
5. no long gestation period: all investments must be short term and provide quick returns;
6. no second best, i.e., all goods must be top quality;



Workers at the Landhi machine-tools factory in Karachi, Pakistan, welcome warmly a Chinese delegation.



Chinese and Tanzanian workers greet the opening of a section of the Tan-Zam Railway.

7. no mystique: recipient countries are taught not only to repair but also to reproduce the goods themselves;

8. no privileged status for Chinese technicians sent abroad.

One of the most well-known projects is the Tan-Zam Railway — built in defiance of American and Soviet engineers to free land-locked Zambia from dependence upon South Africa and increase logistic support to freedom fighters in southern Africa.

After five years and eight months of back-breaking effort the Tan-Zam was officially opened on July 14, 1976. 1,860 kilometres in length, it comprises 300 bridges, 21 tunnels, 140 stations and more than 102 locomotives. It has a daily capacity of 20,000 tons. China estimated the cost at 500 million US dollars, and she has assumed all costs higher than this amount. The loan of 500 million itself is not due until 2013.

The railroad was built by 40,000 African workers helped by 14,000 Chinese technicians and laborers. The Chinese workers lived in the same conditions as the African workers, without any special privileges. In order not to be a burden, the 14,000 Chinese grew their own vegetables, and raised chickens, thus providing more than 80% of their food requirements. Medical clinics installed by the Chinese for their work team were open to the Africans and the Chinese doctors took the time to learn the local languages.

The development of the Tan-Zam involved the creation of a furniture factory, a sawmill, a spare-parts factory for the railway machinery, and a technical school for African students. All these served the construction of the railway but they will remain in place after the departure of the Chinese work team. The technical school, by the way, was not part of the original contract. It was a gift from the Chinese.

During the construction of the railway the African workers learned how to work as the Chinese do, that is to say in teams, and they came to reject privileges amongst themselves. This class consciousness will perhaps be the most precious gift China will have given to new Zambia and Tanzania.

In support of national liberation struggles China supported the peoples of Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde, Mozambique and Angola, and supports the people of Azania and Namibia against South Africa, and the right of the Palestinian people to their homeland against Zionism.

On the question of Angola, China supported morally and materially all three liberation movements, the Movement Populaire pour la Liberation d'Angola, the Front National pour la Liberation d'Angola and the Union Nationale pour l'Independence Total d'Angola, in their just struggle against Portuguese colonialism.

Upon the signing of the Agreement of Alvores in January 1975 between three liberation movements and Portugal, confirming in-

dependence of Angola, all new aid was halted in uniformity with the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries. As of November 11, Independence Day, all aid had ceased. At that time China reaffirmed its belief in a government of national unity to safeguard territorial integrity, heal the wounds of colonial division and begin the construction of an independent economy.

Simultaneously, China criticized all external forces seeking to utilize the Angolan people for their own ends — the United States, South Africa and especially the USSR who under the cover of socialism sought to provoke a civil war by promoting one particular movement, and this in order to transform it into a client, thereby gaining access to the raw resources and natural bays of Angola.

But why didn't China support Bangladesh against the government of Pakistan in 1971? Isn't support for the right of self-determination unconditional? Not at all. It depends upon the consequences of that struggle. If it is genuine, i.e., if it undermines the forces of imperialism and social-imperialism, it will be supported regardless of the movements' leadership. If it is fraudulent, a trick to deliver the people into the hands of new colonialists it will be shunned or exposed. If it is led by proletarian forces, it can surpass the limits of national liberation and will benefit from fraternal aid.

The right of self-determination is not an abstraction; if *any* truth is applied to *all* concrete situations, it becomes an empty phrase. Thus, on the question of Pakistan, China upheld the just struggle of the Bengali people but refused to support the Awami League which sought merely to facilitate India's annexation of East Pakistan, and this, in the interests of Soviet social-imperialism.*

The struggles of the Indochinese peoples against US imperialism, on the other hand, were supported to the hilt. China served as the rear base for the Vietnamese revolution and sheltered the Government Royal d'Union Nationale de Cambodge after the American coup of 1970.

Did China then betray the Chilean Revolution by refusing to break diplomatic relations with the Junta in 1973. Not at all. Let us first clarify the facts.

China's first action at the time of the coup was to denounce it, expose American interference and praise the noble ideals of

* This analysis was confirmed, moreover, on August 15, 1975, when the Bangladesh Minister of Commerce and Foreign Trade, Mushtaque Ahmed, seized power in order to halt India's control and constant blackmail. Since that time Bangladesh has reaffirmed her status as a non-aligned country, her support for the national liberation struggle of the Palestinian people, and has normalized relations with Pakistan.

On November 3, 1975, the USSR and India instigated an attempted coup d'etat. It was crushed on November 5 by the Commander-in-Chief of the Army, General Ziaur Rahman, who retook power in the name of the Bengali people.

President Allende. This was immediately followed by a downgrading of diplomatic contacts, from the level of ambassador to charge d'affaires. Simultaneously, China criticized the revisionist leadership of the Chilean Communist Party and the complicity of the USSR for insisting that Allende take the 'peaceful road to socialism' in face of historical fact. Hadn't the Paris Commune proven tragically the bankruptcy of this theory 100 years earlier? Hadn't recent events in Indonesia and Indochina confirmed this judgment?

Yes, China refused to enter the charade of diplomatic wrist-slapping. For who broke all relations with the Junta? For the most part, the very countries responsible for the massacre — on the one hand the revisionist countries of Eastern Europe, like Poland, who peddled the idea of the 'peaceful road' while their own experience was to the contrary.* On the other hand, certain capitalist countries of Western Europe also broke relations, but only to save face in the wake of their own complicity in Indochina.

Moreover, what would the breaking off of all relations accomplish? Was there a government in exile as in Cambodia? Was there a proletarian party leading mass struggle? Was there a people's army capable to defend its gains? Was part of Chilean territory liberated?

The refusal to recognize that the Fascist Junta is the government of Chile, that it indeed has authority over the territory and population, is an infantile gesture.

Should China, then have no diplomatic relations, isolate itself completely, minimize its utility to the world's people and increase its vulnerability to imperialist attack by breaking all diplomatic relations whether with Chile, or other fascist regimes or their masters, the governments of the United States and the USSR?

One must as always distinguish state-to-state relations and the commerce it entails from approval of the regime.

Did not Lenin once remark that 'there are different kinds of compromises. One must be able to analyze the situation and the concrete conditions of each compromise, or of each variety of compromise. One must learn to distinguish between a man who has given up his money and fire-arms to bandits to lessen the damage they can do and facilitate their capture, and giving bandits money and guns in order to share in the loot?'

In support of popular revolution, China has consistently exposed the socio-economic foundations of the world's problems in Conferences on Food, Development and Population as well as before the United Nations Organization.

China sent volunteers to Korea, organized gigantic demon-

* The conductor of this orchestra, the Soviet Union, was negotiating a contract with I.T.T. at the very time of the coup d'etat.

strations in support of May 1968 in France, encouraged the struggle of black Americans, and has constantly affirmed its faith in the creative power of the peoples of the world.

Concerning genuine revolutionary movements, China extends moral, technical and diplomatic aid, depending upon the stage of struggle and the maturity of the forces in combat.

However, China's chief aid to revolutionaries lies in the struggle of the Chinese Communist Party against opportunism in the international workers movement, in its defence of Marxism-Leninism against revisionism, in its continuation of the revolution at home, in the propagation of its own historical experiences, in its insistence upon equal relations between proletarian parties, in its affirmation that compromises between itself and capitalist countries do *not* require the people in those countries to follow suit, in its understanding that peaceful coexistence refers not to relations between oppressed and oppressor nations or peoples nor to those between classes but to relations between independent nation states, in its awareness that socialist revolution is not merely a change of personnel in power, in its demand that true revolutionaries fight against all forms of injustice regardless of the colour of the flag waved, and finally in its reaffirmation of the fundamental revolutionary principle that neither God nor the Czar nor a hero will liberate humanity, that 'the emancipation of the working class must be the work of the working class itself'!