CHINA'S PLAN TO BECOME A SUPERPOWER

In the beginning, while analysing the global strategy of US imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism for world domination, while analysing the emergence and development of the different variants of modern revisionism, as well as the struggle of all these enemies against Marxism-Leninism and the revolution, we also dwelt on the place and strategy of Chinese revisionism.

China styles its political line Marxist-Leninist, but the reality shows the opposite. It is precisely the true nature of this line that we Marxist-Leninists must lay bare. We must not allow the Chinese revisionist theories to pass for Marxist theories, we must not allow China, on the course it has adopted, to pose as if it is fighting for the revolution, whereas in reality it is against it.

With the policy China is pursuing, it is becoming even more obvious that it is trying to
strengthen the positions of capitalism at home and to establish its hegemony in the world, to become a great imperialist power, so that it, too, occupies, so to say, the «place it deserves».

History shows that every big capitalist country aims to become a great world power, to overtake and surpass the other great powers, and compete with them for world domination. The roads the big bourgeois states have followed to turn into imperialist powers have been various; they have been conditioned by definite historical and geographical circumstances, by the development of the productive forces, etc. The road of the United States of America is different from that followed by the old European powers like Britain, France and Germany, which were formed as such on the basis of colonial occupations.

After the Second World War, the United States of America was left the greatest capitalist power. On the basis of the great economic and military potential it possessed, and through the development of neo-colonialism, it was transformed into an imperialist superpower. But before long another superpower was added to this, the Soviet Union, which after Stalin's death and after the betrayal of Marxism-Leninism by the Khrushchevite leadership, was transformed into an imperialist superpower. For this purpose it exploited the great economic, technical and military potential built up by socialism.
We are now witnessing the efforts of another big state, today’s China, to become a superpower because it, too, is proceeding rapidly on the road of capitalism. But China lacks colonies, lacks a large-scale developed industry, lacks a strong economy in general, and a great thermo-nuclear potential on the same scale as the other two imperialist superpowers.

To become a superpower it is absolutely essential to have a developed economy, an army equipped with atomic bombs, to ensure markets and spheres of influence, investment of capital in foreign countries, etc. China is bent on ensuring these conditions as quickly as possible. This was expressed in Chou En-lai’s speech in the People’s Assembly in 1975 and was repeated at the 11th Congress of the Communist Party of China, where it was proclaimed that, before the end of this century, China will become a powerful modern country, with the objective of catching up with the United States of America and the Soviet Union. Now this whole plan has been extended and set out in precise detail in what is called the policy of the «four modernizations».

But what road has China chosen so that it, too, will become a superpower? At present, the colonies and markets in the world are occupied by others. The creation of an economic and military potential equal to that of the Americans and Soviets, within 20 years, and with their own forces,
as the Chinese leaders claim they will do, is impossible.

In these conditions, in order to become a superpower, China will have to go through two main phases: first, it must seek credits and investments from US imperialism and the other developed capitalist countries, purchase new technology in order to exploit its local wealth, a great part of which will go as dividends for the creditors. Second, it will invest the surplus value extracted at the expense of the Chinese people in states of various continents, just as the US imperialists and Soviet social-imperialists are doing today.

China’s efforts to become a superpower are based, in the first place, on its choice of allies and the creation of alliances. Two superpowers exist in the world today, US imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism. The Chinese leaders worked out that they must rely on US imperialism, on which they have pinned great hopes of getting assistance in the fields of the economy, finance, technology and organization, as well as in the military field. In fact, the economic-military potential of the United States of America is greater than that of Soviet social-imperialism. This the Chinese revisionists know well, though they say that America is declining. On the course which they are following, they cannot rely on a weak
partner, from which they cannot gain much. Precisely because it is powerful, they have chosen the United States of America to be their ally.

The alliance with the United States of America and the accommodation of the Chinese policy to the policy of US imperialism also has other aims. It contains in itself the threat against Soviet social-imperialism, which is plain from the deafening propaganda and the feverish activity the Chinese leaders are carrying out against the Soviet Union. With this policy it is pursuing, China is letting the revisionist Soviet Union know that its links with the United States of America constitute a colossal force against it, in case an imperialist war breaks out.

The present-day Chinese policy is also aimed at establishing friendships and alliances with all the other developed capitalist countries, from which it seeks political and economic benefits. China wants and is trying to strengthen the US alliance with these countries of the «second world», as it calls them. It is encouraging their unity with, or more accurately, their subjection to, US imperialism, which it regards as its senior partner.

This is the explanation for all those close links that the Chinese government is bent on establishing with all the wealthy capitalist states, Japan, West Germany, Britain, France, etc., this is
the explanation for the frequent visits to China of
government economic, cultural and scientific de-
legations from the United States of America and all
the other developed capitalist countries, whether
republics or kingdoms, as well as the visits
of the Chinese delegations to those countries. This
is the explanation for China's systematic actions
to demonstrate its stand in favour of the United
States of America and the other industrialized cap-
italist states at every opportunity, by trying to
bring to notice everything that is written, said and
done in these states against Soviet social-impe-
rialism.

This policy of the Chinese leaders cannot
fail to attract attention and find due support from
the United States of America. As is known, at the
time of the Second World War in the American
State Department there were two lobbies over the
Chinese issue: one pro Chiang Kai-shek and the
other pro Mao Tsetung. Of course, at that time the
Chiang Kai-shek lobby triumphed in the Amer-
ican State Department and Senate, while the Mao
Tsetung lobby triumphed on the spot, in mainland
China. Among the inspirers of this lobby were
Marshall and Vandemeyer, Edgar Snow and
others, who became friends and advisers of the
Chinese, the instigators and inspirers of all kinds
of organizations in new China. Today the threads
of those old ties are being revived, strengthened,
intensified and materialized. Now everybody sees
that China and the United States of America are drawing ever closer to each other. Some time ago, one of the best-informed American newspapers, «The Washington Post» wrote: «There is now an American consensus which is supported even by the Right, even by those who have little sympathy for Peking. According to this consensus, whatever might have happened in the past, there is no longer any reason for China to be considered a threat to the United States of America. Except for Taiwan, there are few things on which the two governments are not in agreement. In fact, both sides have agreed to put aside the Taiwan question with the aim of gaining advantage in other fields».

The issue of Taiwan which is raised in the relations between China and the United States of America, has remained something formal. China is not insisting on this question now. It is not worried about Hong-Kong and is not in the least concerned that Macao is still under the domination of the Portuguese. The Chinese government does not accept the offer of the new Portuguese government to restore this colony to China, saying that «a gift is not taken back». The existence of these colonies is an anachronism, but this does not upset the pragmatic policy of the Chinese leaders. So long as Hong-Kong and Macao remain colonies, why should Taiwan, too, not be a colony? Apparently China is greatly interested.
that Taiwan should remain as it is in the future, too. Besides its open relations it carries on in the light of the day, it is interested in developing its disguised trafficking with the American imperialists, the British, Japanese and other imperialists, through these three doors. Therefore, the nonsense Teng Hsiao-ping and Li Hsien-nien try to put across that Sino-American relations allegedly depend on the stand of the Americans towards Taiwan, is nothing but a smoke-screen to conceal the course on which China has set out towards rapprochement with the United States of America in order to become a superpower.

Carter has declared that the United States of America will establish diplomatic relations with China. As far as Taiwan is concerned, it will adopt Japan's stand, i.e., formally it will break off diplomatic relations with the island, without breaking off economic and cultural relations, and under cover of them, military relations. In fact, China is interested in the military relations of the United States of America with Taiwan. It wants the United States of America to maintain forces in Taiwan, Japan, South Korea and the Indian Ocean, because it thinks that this is to China's advantage, for thus a counter-weight is created against the Soviet Union.

All these stands are connected with the course the Chinese leadership has chosen for China to become a superpower, by trying to develop its eco-
nomy and increase its military potential through credits and investments from the United States of America and other big capitalist countries. It justifies this course by claiming that it is allegedly applying a correct policy, the «Marxist» line of Mao Tsetung, according to whom «China ought to benefit from the world’s great successes, new patents and technologies, making foreign things serve its internal development», etc. The articles of «Renmin Ribao» and the speeches of the Chinese leaders are full of such slogans. According to the Chinese concept, to benefit from the inventions and industrial achievements of other states means to take credits and accept investments from the United States of America, Japan, West Germany, France, Britain and all the other capitalist countries, for which it is lavish with praise.

The Chinese leaders have adopted the revisionist theories that big countries such as China, which have many assets, can take credits from American imperialism or any powerful capitalist state, trust or bank, because they allegedly have the possibilities to repay the credits. The Yugoslav revisionists have come out in defence of this view. By advertising their experience of the «construction of specific socialism» with aid from the world financial oligarchy and especially US capital, they are providing the example and encouraging China to proceed on this course without hesitation.
The big countries may repay the credits they receive, but the imperialist investments which are made in these big states, such as the revisionist Soviet Union, China, or anywhere else, cannot fail to leave grave neo-colonialist consequences. The wealth and toil of the peoples are exploited also in the interest of the foreign capitalist concerns and monopolies. The American imperialists, as well as the developed capitalist states of Western Europe or Japan, which are making investments in China and in the revisionist countries, intend to dig themselves in there, to interlock the concerns of their countries in close collaboration with the trusts and branches of the main industries in these countries.

The question of capital investment by imperialist states in China is not so simple as the revisionists strive to make out when they call this penetration of capital into their countries harmless because, allegedly, it is not coming in through interstate relations (although top Chinese leaders have recently declared that they will accept government credits from abroad), but through private banks and companies without political implications and interests. The incurring of heavy debts by any country, big or small, to one imperialism or another, is always fraught with unavoidable dangers to the freedom, independence and sovereignty of the country which embarks on this
course, especially of economically poor countries such as China. A true socialist country has no need to incur such debts. It finds the resources for its economic development at home, in its wealth, in its internal accumulation and in the creative force of the people. The example of Albania, a small country, shows very clearly what inexhaustible means, resources and capacities a socialist country has for its development. And the means and resources of a big country are much greater still, if it marches consistently on the road of Marxism-Leninism.

The opening up of the Chinese market to American imperialism and the big American and other Western companies has been welcomed with unrestrained delight by the imperialists of the United States of America and all the international bourgeoisie. The multinational companies, the industrialists of the United States of America, have a good knowledge of China’s economy and its great assets, therefore they are doing their utmost to build up their economic network there, to set up joint companies and extract large profits. Not only the big American companies but also the companies of Japan, Germany and the other developed capitalist countries are operating in China in this way.

China has already concluded a contract with Japan for the delivery of up to 10 million tons of oil per year. A big team of representatives of
the Italian ENI went to China to offer licences for oil prospecting instruments there, but they found themselves forstalled by large groups from the American oil companies which had earlier entered into agreements with China on the joint extraction and exploitation of oil. This is what China is doing also in other mining sectors like iron and other minerals, large resources of which are already known or may be discovered there. The German coal magnates are now in China and have concluded contracts worth scores of billions of marks. Chinese ministers are going back and forth to Japan, America and Europe in order to get credits, to sign contracts for modern technological equipment, to buy modern weapons, to conclude technical-scientific agreements, etc. The doors of all Chinese institutions and enterprises have been opened to the businessmen from Tokyo, Wall-Street and the European Common Market, who are hurrying to Peking, vying with one another to secure contracts for the large «modernization» projects the Chinese government is offering them. In this way China, too, is entering the whirlpool of imperialist greed, the great imperialist hunger for minerals and raw materials, and the exploitation of Chinese labour power.

Everyone knows that the capitalist does not give anyone aid without first considering his own economic, political and ideological interests. It is
not simply a question of the percentage of profit he makes. Along with the credit it gives, the capitalist country also introduces its way of life, its capitalist way of thinking, into the country which receives its «aid», it sets up bases and spreads out insidiously, like oil in cabbage, expands its spider’s web with the spider always there in the centre, ready to suck the blood of all the flies which become entangled in its web, as has happened with Yugoslavia and is happening now with the Soviet Union. The same will happen with China, too.

Consequently, China will give way, as it is doing already, on political and ideological questions, and the Chinese market will become a very important *debouché* for American imperialism and the other industrialized capitalist powers.

The American, West-German, Japanese and other credits and investments in China cannot fail to affect its independence and sovereignty to one degree or another. Such credits make every recipient state dependent, for the lender imposes his own policy on it. Therefore, any state, big or small, which gets caught up in the mechanism of imperialism suffers curtailment or loss of its political freedom, its independence and sovereignty. Even the Soviet Union has been reduced to this state of curtailed sovereignty, although when

* French in the original.
it embarked on the course of the restoration of capitalism, it was far more powerful economically and militarily than present-day China, which is setting out on the same course.

Naturally, when they get themselves caught up in the mechanism of imperialism, the small countries lose their freedom and independence more quickly than big countries like China and the Soviet Union, which may lose them more gradually, not only because they have greater economic and military potential, but also because, relying on this potential, they struggle to protect their markets and seize new ones, to create and expand their spheres of influence in order to bring pressure to bear upon one another, and even go to war when they find no other way out. But still this does not save them from the chains of the credits and investments which bind them hand and foot. The credits must be repaid with interest. However, when you are unable to pay them, you will incur new debts. Debts pile up and the capitalist demands his payment and when you cannot pay he will put the pressure on you. The American monopoly companies, for example, which impose their policy on the government, force it to protect their capital by every means, even to declare war, if need be, to defend them.

Judging by the zeal the Chinese leaders are displaying in their attempts to base themselves on American imperialism, on the capitalists of the
United States of America, for the development of the economy of their country, all their deafening clamour about the weakening of this imperialism falls flat. Their allegations about the weakening of American imperialism are only a bluff, like their declaration about relying on their own forces. The Chinese revisionists think the opposite of what they say, as everybody can see from their practice.

The official Chinese newspapers often voice their concern about the credits the social-imperialist Soviet Union receives from the American, West-German, Japanese and other banks. They warn the United States of America and the other developed capitalist countries to be careful because the Soviet Union uses the technological assistance and credits they provide to develop and strengthen its economic and military potential, and that this aid and these credits increase the danger threatening them from social-imperialism, which, according to the Chinese leaders, today has taken the place of the Third Reich. Therefore, they call for these credits to be cut off as soon as possible. The Chinese press speaks in the same terms as Strauss, the notorious West-German nazi and revanchist.

It is not difficult to deduce the real meaning of the «concern» which the Chinese leaders display about the credits which the Soviet Union receives. Naturally, they are not worried about the
capitalist nature of these credits, nor about the
danger they pose to the sovereignty of the Soviet
state. But they want to tell the magnates of Amer-
ican capital and the government of the United
States of America, the capitalists and the govern-
ments of the other imperialist countries, that they
must give these credits and this aid not to the So-
viet Union, but to China, which is no source of
danger to them, but a source of profits.

This is one aspect of the Chinese plan to be-
come a superpower. The other aspect is the at-
tempts to dominate the less developed countries of
the world, to become the leader* of what China
calls the «third world».

The group ruling today in China lays great
stress on the «third world» in which, not fortuitous-
ly and not without a purpose, it includes China,
too. The «third world» of the Chinese revision-
ists has a well-defined political aim. It is part of
the strategy which aims at transforming China
into a superpower as quickly as possible. China
wants to rally round itself all the countries of the
«third world» or the «non-aligned» countries or
the «developing countries», in order to create a
large force, which will not only increase the over-
all Chinese potential but will also help China to
counterpose itself to the other two superpowers,

* English in the original.
the United States of America and the Soviet Union, to carry greater weight in the bargaining over the division of markets and spheres of influence, to gain the true status of an imperialist superpower. China is trying to realize its aim of rallying as many states of the world as possible round itself under the slogan that it is allegedly for the liberation of the peoples from neo-colonialism and their transition to socialism through the struggle against imperialism. China speaks about this imperialism somewhat in the abstract but it emphasizes that Soviet imperialism is the most dangerous.

China has launched this demagogic slogan, devoid of any theoretical content, in the hope of using it as a means to realize its hegemonic aims. As a start, it intends to establish Chinese domination over the so-called third world and then to manipulate this «world» for its own imperialist interests. For the time being, China is trying to conceal this with its reputation as a socialist country. It is speculating with the assumption that a socialist country could have no intentions of enslaving or leading others by the nose, of blackmailing, fighting, oppressing and exploiting them. It is using this slogan and backing it up with the reputation that the Communist Party of China, created by the «great» Mao Tsetung, is allegedly a Marxist-Leninist party which faithfully adheres to the theory of Marx and Lenin, a theory which is
against all the evils of the capitalist system, colonial exploitation, etc.

Disguised as something which it is not, hiding behind the phrase the «third world», and including itself without any criterion or class definition in this «world», China thinks that it will more easily realize its strategic aim of establishing its hegemony over this world. The Soviet Union has practised the same deception on other countries. All the Khrushchevite revisionists prate night and day that they are «communists» and that their parties are «genuine Marxist-Leninist parties». The Soviet revisionists, also, are trying to establish their hegemony over the world under this disguise. Consequently, we may say that there is no essential difference between the actions of the Chinese and those of Soviet social-imperialists.

All this development of the Chinese policy and actions fully confirms the description Marxism-Leninism gives of imperialism as the domination of the financial oligarchy which is bent on capturing markets, dominating the world and establishing its hegemony everywhere. On this road, China too is trying to penetrate and get a «foothold» in the countries of the «third world». But this «foothold» has to be gained through great sacrifices.

To penetrate the «third world», to capture markets, requires capital. The ruling classes in power in the countries of the «third world» want
investments, credits and «aid». However, China is not in a position to give them «aid» on a large scale, because it does not have the necessary economic potential. It is precisely this potential that it is now trying to build up with the aid of American imperialism. In these conditions, the bourgeoisie ruling in the countries of the «third world» is well aware that, for the time being, it cannot gain much from China economically, technologically, or militarily. It can gain more from American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism which have great economic, technical and military potential.

However, like every country with imperialist aims, China is fighting and will fight harder still for markets in the world. It is striving and will strive harder still to spread its influence and extend its domination. These plans are apparent even now. China is opening its own banks, not only in Hong Kong, where it has had them for a long time, but also in Europe and elsewhere. It will strive especially to open banks in and export capital to the countries of the «third world». For the present it is doing very little in this field. China’s «aid» amounts to the building of some cement factory, railway, or hospital, for its possibilities are limited. Only when the American, Japanese and other investments in China begin to yield the fruits it desires, that is, when its economy, trade and military technology are developed, will China
be able to embark on a venture of real large-scale economic and military expansion. But to achieve this, time is needed.

Until that time it will have to manoeuvre, as it has begun doing already, by means of a policy of «aid» and credits either interest-free or at low rates of interest, at a time when the Soviets and Americans are demanding much higher interest rates. As long as Chinese capital cannot flow out of its country, the revisionist Chinese leadership will focus its attention on the propaganda aspect of the small amount of «aid» and credits it accords the «developing countries», extolling its «internationalist character» and «disinterested aims», accompanying this with the motto of «self-reliance» for the liberation and construction of one's country.

The more China develops economically and militarily, the more it will want to penetrate into and dominate the small and less developed countries by means of its exports of capital, and then it will no longer charge a 1-2 percent interest for its credits, but will act like all the others.

But all these plans and efforts cannot be carried out easily. The developed imperialist and capitalist countries, which have influence in the countries of the so-called third world, will not allow China to capture the markets they conquered long ago through predatory wars, so easily. Not only are they strongly defending their old posi-
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Imperialism is ruthless towards any of its partners, when it is in difficulties or when it is flourishing. Sometimes, from necessity and in order to make greater profits, it may make some concession, but mostly it tries to reinforce its chains, not only against weak countries, but also against the developed ones, like the industrialized capitalist states. For example, the United States of America has always pursued this policy towards its capitalist allies, when they have found themselves in difficulties in the imperialist wars that have broken out amongst them. But even after these wars, when they have been making efforts to recover, American imperialism has done its utmost to prevent them from penetrating into the other countries of the world, where it had established its domination. Thus, after the Second World War, the United States of America, while pretending to assist Britain and France, which had emerged from the war weakened, penetrated deeply into the markets of the sterling, franc and other areas. The American monopolies and cartels of metallurgy, chemicals, transport and many other branches of vital importance for the development of capitalism, penetrated the monopolies and cartels of Britain, France, etc., in overwhelming proportions, making these countries subservient to Ameri-
ican imperialism. This savage and insatiable imperialism, as any other imperialism, cannot act otherwise with China, either.

Taking account of the difficulties of economic and military penetration into the countries of the «third world», China thinks that its hegemony over them may be secured by establishing its political and ideological influence. It thinks that this will be attained by operating in three directions: to refrain from fighting American imperialism and the ruling cliques in the capitalist countries, to enter into alliance with this imperialism and these cliques, instead; to combat Soviet social-imperialism which it has on its borders, in order to weaken and destroy its bases in Asia, Africa and Latin America; to deceive the proletariat and the long-suffering peoples of these continents by means of pseudo-revolutionary and pseudo-socialist demagogy and manoeuvres, while undermining any revolutionary liberation movement.

American imperialism and the other imperialist powers, together with social-imperialism, are well aware of these aims of China's. The countries of the «third world» also understand them, hence they are suspicious of China and see that it is working a bluff with them, that its aim is not to support and assist them, but to become a superpower itself. Most of the leaderships which are
ruling in the countries of the so-called third world, have long been linked closely with American imperialism or with the developed capitalist powers, such as Britain, France, Germany, Belgium, Japan etc. Therefore China’s flirtation with the “third world” does not worry the developed imperialist and capitalist states in the least.

China’s efforts to join the “third world” through its policy and its ideology, the so-called Mao Tsetung thought, cannot succeed, also, because its ideology and political line are chaotic. The political line of China is confused, it is a pragmatic line which wavers and changes according to passing circumstances and momentary interests. The ruling classes in the states of the “third world” are not afraid of this ideology, because they understand that it is not for the revolution and the true national liberation of the peoples. In order to exercise its oppression and exploitation of these peoples more easily, the bourgeoisie in these countries has created its own parties under all sorts of labels. These parties, which are closely linked with the foreign capital invested in the states of the so-called third world, have no difficulty in combating and exposing the Chinese line. Therefore, the Chinese revisionist leaders have chosen a course of smiles towards the parties of these countries and are trying in every way and in every instance to be “as sweet as honey” with them.
Having its plan to dominate the «third world», China is doing its best to channel the movements of the working masses in that «world» in its own interests. Today, however, the oppressed peoples, with the proletariat at the head, are no longer in the situation they were at the end of the 19th century or the beginning of the 20th century. They oppose any policy of hegemony and subjugation by the big imperialist powers, old or new, whether American, Soviet or Chinese. Today, the broad masses of the peoples of the world, in general, have awakened and, through their struggles, have managed in one way or another to gain a certain consciousness about defending their economic and political rights. The peoples of the so-called third world cannot fail to see that China is working not to carry the ideas of the revolution and national liberation to their countries, but to extinguish the revolution, which hinders the penetration of Chinese influence. The Chinese course of the alliance with the United States of America and the other neo-colonialist countries also exposes Chinese social-imperialism in the eyes of the peoples.

China cannot carry on positive revolutionary propaganda in the countries of the «third world», also, because it would come into collision with that superpower from which it is hoping to get investments of capital in China and advanced technology. China cannot conduct such propaganda, also,
because the revolution would overthrow precisely those reactionary cliques ruling in a number of countries of the so-called third world, which China is supporting and helping to stay in power.

The great ambition of the Chinese leaders to transform their country into a superpower as soon as possible and to establish its hegemony everywhere, especially in the so-called third world, has impelled them to make incitement of inter-imperialist war the basis of their strategy and foreign policy. They greatly desire a frontal clash between the United States of America and the Soviet Union in Europe, during which China, from a comfortable distance away, would warm its hands at the atomic holocaust that would destroy its two main rivals and leave it the all-powerful, sole ruler of the world.

Until it feels strong enough to compete with the other superpowers, until it wins the «place it deserves» as a superpower, China will seek peace for itself and war for the others. Connected with their present need for peace are the overt diplomatic manoeuvres of the Chinese revisionists to incite war between the United States of America and the Soviet Union in such a way that they themselves can keep out of it and get on with their «modernizations». Teng Hsiao-ping’s declaration that there will be no war within 20 years,
is not fortuitous. With this he wants to tell the superpowers and the other imperialist countries not to be afraid of China during these 20 years. At the same time, the Chinese leaders are inciting war between the superpowers in Europe, far from China and the danger of its involvement in it. To what extent this will be possible is another matter, but the Chinese leaders are working in this direction, because they feel the indispensable need for peace for the period they think they need for the realization of their aims of transforming China into a superpower.

China is loudly advocating the strengthening of «European unity», «the unity of the developed capitalist countries of Europe». It supports this unity on all questions, presuming to teach the old wolves and foxes how they should strengthen their military and economic unity, their state organizational unity, etc., in face of the great danger from Soviet social-imperialism. But they have no need for these lessons from China because they are in a position to know, and do know very well, where the danger comes from.

The developed countries of the West are not so naive as to apply the Chinese advice and desires «à la lettre»*. They are strengthening themselves to cope with an eventual danger from the Soviet Union, but at the same time, they are also making

* To the letter (French in the original).
considerable efforts not to aggravate their relations with it, not to go too far and anger the «Russian bear». This, naturally, runs contrary to China's desire.

China's incitement of their contradictions with the Soviets is to the liking of the capitalist states of Europe and the United States of America, because it enables them to tell the Soviets indirectly, «Your main enemy is China, whereas we, together with you, want to establish détente, peaceful coexistence, irrespective of what China says». On the other hand, while making believe that they want peace, these states are arming themselves to strengthen their hegemony and military unity against their main enemy — the revolution. This is the aim of all the meetings, such as those of Helsinki and Belgrade, which drag on and on endlessly, like the Vienna Congress after the defeat of Napoleon, which is known as the congress of balls and soirées.

The Chinese leaders, as Teng Hsiao-ping declared officially in the interview he gave the director of AFP, are calling for the creation of a «broad front which will include the third world, the second world and the United States of America», in order to combat Soviet social-imperialism.

The strategy of the revisionist leadership of China of instigating US imperialism, Western Europe, etc., to war against Soviet social-imperialism is fraught with the danger of a war between
China and the Soviet Union rather than a war between the Soviet Union and the United States of America and its NATO allies.

What China is doing by inciting the others to war is precisely what US imperialism, the developed capitalist countries and all the other countries, where bourgeois capitalist cliques are in power, are doing, too, in inciting both China and the Soviet Union against each other. Therefore, it is most likely that the policy of the United States of America and the wrong strategy of China itself, may impel the Soviet Union to increase its military strength even further, and as the imperialist power it is, to attack China first.

On its part, China has a marked inclination to attack the Soviet Union when it feels strong enough, because it has great territorial ambitions towards Siberia and other territories in the Far East. It raised these territorial claims long ago, but it will push its claims rather more when it is ready, when it has built up an army equipped with all kinds of weapons. This is the implication in Hua Kuo Feng's statement to the former conservative Prime Minister of Britain, Heath, when he said: «We hope that we shall see a united and powerful Europe; we believe that on its part Europe, too, hopes to see a powerful China». In a word, Hua Kuo-feng says to the big European bourgeoisie: «Build up your strength and attack the Soviet Union from the West, while we, the-
Chinese, will strengthen ourselves and attack it from the East».

The Chinese policy opened up a broad and very profitable avenue for the United States of America, an avenue which was initially opened up by Mao Tsetung, Chou En-lai and Nixon. Many bridges were built between the United States of America and China, camouflaged bridges, but effective and fruitful. Nixon preached: «We must build up a bridge long enough to link San Francisco with Peking». The invitation that Mao Tsetung and Chou En-lai extended to Nixon after the Watergate scandal, and Nixon’s reception by Mao were not without a reason and without a purpose. This meant that the friendship with the United States of America was not just a temporary friendship between persons, but a friendship between countries, between China and the United States of America, although the president who opened this road had been removed from his post for his corrupt practices.

Now that Carter has come to power, the ties of friendship between China and the United States of America are being consolidated. The United States of America is greatly interested in the present-day stand of China and Carter is encouraging its strategy in many ways.

The United States of America is interested in giving China all-round political, military and economic aid to incite it against the Soviet Union. It
has given China atomic secrets. This is now clear. The United States of America has also supplied it with the most up-to-date computers which serve nuclear war. China has received complete data so that it can build its own nuclear submarines. Now there is open official talk in Washington of supplying China with modern weapons. All these «blessings» the United States of America is offering China, naturally, are not given with the purpose of helping it become such a big land and naval power as to endanger even the United States of America, as Japan did during the Second World War. No, US imperialism carefully calculates the so-called aid it gives anywhere in the world, and especially to China.

In this way, the aim and feverish efforts of China to become a superpower which will counterbalance both the United States of America and the Soviet Union, cannot fail to lead to new frictions, conflagrations, wars, which may have a local character or the character of a general war.

The whole theory of the «three worlds», its entire strategy, the alliances and «fronts» it advocates, the objectives it seeks to achieve, are incitement to imperialist world war.

Nikita Khrushchev and the modern revisionists elaborated the ill-famed theory of Khrushchevite «peaceful coexistence», which advocated «social peace», «peaceful competition», «the peaceful
road» of the revolution, «a world without arms and without wars». It was intended to weaken the class struggle by concealing and smoothing over the fundamental contradictions of our epoch. In particular, Khrushchev advocated the dying out of contradictions between the Soviet Union and American imperialism and the contradictions between the socialist system and the capitalist system in general. He fostered the view that, after the changes that had occurred in the world at that time, the historical contradiction between socialism and capitalism would be resolved through peaceful competition in the economic, ideological, cultural, and other fields.

«Let us leave it to time to prove and then we shall see who is right,» said Khrushchev, and in this competition the peoples «in sacred peace» would freely choose the most suitable regime. Nikita Khrushchev advised the peoples to sell their riches to the superpowers and wait to secure their freedom, independence and well-being as a result of this famous «peaceful» competition. Of course this anti-Marxist policy was exposed, and it was our Party that first attacked it.

The Communist Party of China has been following a policy like that of Khrushchev since the time when Mao Tsetung was alive. This policy, too, calls on both sides, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the peoples and their rulers, to cease the class struggle, to unite against Soviet social-
imperialism only, and forget about American imperialism.

The theory of «three worlds» is a reactionary theory just as Khrushchev's theory of «peaceful coexistence» was. But while Khrushchev and his followers, the champions of modern revisionism, on the face of it seemed to be pacifists, Mao Tse-tung, Teng Hsiao-ping, Hua Kuo-feng, etc., present themselves openly as warmongers. They want to give the imperialist-capitalist coalition, in which China includes itself, the colour and significance of an organism of revolutionary struggle, a struggle for the victory of the proletariat and the liberation of the peoples. In reality, however, the «theory» of Mao Tsetung and the Communist Party of China about the «three worlds» calls not for revolution but for imperialist war.

The exacerbation of contradictions and rivalries among imperialist powers and groupings is fraught with the danger of armed conflicts, of predatory wars of enslavement. This is a well-known thesis of Marxism-Leninism which history has proved to the hilt. Present-day international developments also demonstrate its correctness.

Many a time the Party of Labour of Albania has raised its voice to expose the deafening pacifist propaganda which the superpowers spread in order to lull the peoples and the freedom-loving countries to sleep and blunt their vigilance, in or-
der to bemuse them with illusions and catch them unawares. More than once it has drawn attention to the fact that American imperialism and Russian social-imperialism are leading the world towards a new world war and that the danger of the outbreak of such a war is real and by no means imaginary. This danger cannot fail to be a matter of constant concern to the peoples, the broad working masses, the peace-loving forces and countries, the Marxist-Leninists and the progressive people everywhere in the world, who, in the face of this danger cannot stand by passively and do nothing. But what should be done to stay the hand of the imperialist warmongers?

This cannot be achieved through a course of capitulation and submission to imperialist warmongers, or of toning down the struggle against them. The facts have proved that the unprincipled compromises and concessions of the Khrushchevite revisionists did not make American imperialism any tamer, better behaved, or more peaceful, but on the contrary they made it more arrogant and voracious. But the Marxist-Leninists are not for pitting one imperialist state or grouping against the other, nor do they call for imperialist wars, for it is the peoples who suffer in them. The great Lenin pointed out that our policy is not aimed at inciting war, but at preventing the imperialists from uniting against the socialist country.
«...if we were really driving workers and peasants to war,» he said, «that would be a crime. All our politics and propaganda, however, are directed towards putting an end to war and in no way towards driving nations to war. Experience has shown very clearly that the socialist revolution is the only way out of eternal warfare»*.

Hence, the only correct course is to raise the working class, the broad strata of the working people and the peoples in revolutionary actions to stay the hand of the imperialist warmongers in their own countries. Marxist-Leninists have always been and are the most determined opponents of unjust wars.

Lenin taught the communist revolutionaries that their duty is to smash the warmongering plans of imperialism and prevent the outbreak of war. If they cannot achieve this, then they must mobilize the working class, the masses of the people, and transform the imperialist war into a revolutionary liberation war.

The imperialists and social-imperialists have aggressive war in their bloodstream. Their ambitions to enslave the world lead them to war. But although it is the imperialists who unleash imperialist world war, it is the proletariat, the peoples, the revolutionaries and all progressives who

* V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 31, p. 540 (Alb. ed.).
pay the price in blood. That is why the Marxist-Leninists, the proletariat and the peoples of the world are against imperialist world war and fight relentlessly to foil the plans of the imperialists so that they do not drive the world to a new slaughter.

Hence imperialist war must not be advocated as the Chinese revisionists are doing, but must be combated. The duty of Marxist-Leninists is to raise the proletariat and the peoples of the world in struggle against oppressors to wrest their power and privileges from them and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. China is not doing this, the Communist Party of China is not working for this. With its revisionist theory, this party is weakening and delaying the revolution, splitting the vanguard forces of the proletariat, the Marxist-Leninist parties which will organize and lead this revolution.

The course which the Chinese leadership advocates is a fraud. It is a course which does not conform to our doctrine, Marxism-Leninism. On the contrary, the Chinese revisionist line weakens, breaks up the proletariat and the peoples, threatens them with bearing the burden of a bloody war, an imperialist, a criminal war, so greatly detested by the proletariat and the peoples.

For this reason, too, Mao Tsetung’s theory of «three worlds» and the political activity of the Communist Party of China and the Chinese state
cannot in any way be called Marxist-Leninist and revolutionary.

When Khrushchev advocated economic, ideological and political competition between socialism and imperialism, the Chinese leaders were allegedly against this thesis and said that for genuine peaceful coexistence to be realized, imperialism must be fought, because «coexistence» cannot destroy imperialism, cannot lead to the triumph of the revolution and liberation of the peoples.

But these declarations remained only words on paper. In reality the leadership of the Communist Party of China has been and is also in favour of peaceful coexistence of the Khrushchev type. The document we quoted, «A Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement», reads: «A principled policy is the only correct policy... What does a principled policy mean? It means that in laying down and elaborating any kind of policy, we must take the proletarian standpoint, must proceed from the basic interests of the proletariat and be guided by the theory and the fundamental theses of Marxism-Leninism». This is what the Communist Party of China stated, but what has it done and what is it doing now? It has done and is doing quite the opposite.

In the above mentioned document and on other occasions, the Communist Party of China has stated, «American imperialism must be ex-
posed as the greatest enemy of the revolution, socialism and the peoples of the entire world». Among other things it has added, «one must not rely on American imperialism, nor on any other imperialism, one must not rely on reactionaries». But the Communist Party of China has not implemented these theses. The Party of Labour of Albania, which bases itself firmly on the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism, resolutely upholds the struggle against imperialism and social-imperialism. It is precisely over this question that socialist Albania is in opposition to China, and the Party of Labour of Albania is in opposition to the Communist Party of China. The Chinese leaders level the accusation at us Albanians that allegedly we do not make a «Marxist-Leninist analysis of the international situation and contradictions», and as a consequence, do not follow the Chinese line calling on «United Europe», the European Common Market and the proletarians of the world to unite with the Americans against the Soviets. Their conclusion is that since we do not support American imperialism, «United Europe», etc., we allegedly favour Soviet social-imperialism.

Not only is this stand of theirs revisionist, disguised under the cloak of «anti-revisionism», but it is also hostile and slanderous to socialist Albania. American imperialism is aggressive, bellicose and warmongering. The United States of
America does not want just the status quo, as the Chinese claim, it wants expansion. Otherwise there is no reason why it should have contradictions with the Soviet Union. The quotation of Mao, which they refer to, that «America has become like a rat with the whole world chasing it in the street, shouting: 'Kill it! Kill it!'», is intended to prove that only the Soviet Union wants war, while the United States of America does not. This softness towards the United States of America is to discourage any attack on this state, which «has been reduced to a rat» but which has to become China’s ally. This is the anti-Marxist strategy of «the Marxist» Mao!

The Chinese «strategy», founded on their analysis based on the theory of the «three worlds», has «definitely» defined that «the rivalry between the two superpowers is centered in Europe». Strange! But why precisely in Europe and not in some other part of the world such as in Asia, Africa, Australia or Latin America, where the Soviet Union is seeking expansion?

The Chinese «theoreticians» do not explain this. This is how they «argue» their case: the chief rival of the United States of America is the Soviet Union. These two superpowers, of which one is for the status quo and the other for expansion, will unleash the war in Europe, as in the time of Hitler. He, too, wanted expansion and domination of the world, but in order to achieve this, he had
first to defeat France, Britain and the Soviet Union. For these reasons, Hitler started the war in Europe and not elsewhere. And further, the Chinese revisionists reason that Stalin relied on Britain and the United States of America. Then, the Chinese conclude, why shouldn’t we, too, rely on the United States of America? But as we explained above, they forget that the Soviet Union linked itself with Britain and the United States of America only after Germany had attacked the Soviet Union and not before.

When the Germany of Wilhelm II attacked France and Britain, the heads of the Second International advocated «defence of the bourgeois homeland». Both the German and the French socialists fell into this position. How Lenin condemned this and what he said against imperialist wars is common knowledge. Now when they preach unity of the European peoples with imperialism in the name of defence of national independence, the Chinese revisionists, too, are acting in the same way as the partisans of the Second International. Contrary to the theses of Lenin, they are inciting the future nuclear war which the two superpowers are trying to launch, and issuing «patriotic» calls to the peoples and the proletariat of Western Europe to put aside their «petty» differences with the bourgeoisie (over oppression, hunger, murders, unemployment), to refrain from threatening its state power and unite with NATO,
«United Europe», the Common Market of the big bourgeoisie and the European concerns, and fight only against the Soviet Union, and become disciplined soldiers for the bourgeoisie. Even the Second International could not have done better.

But what advice has the Chinese leadership to offer the peoples of the Soviet Union and the other revisionist countries of the Warsaw Treaty and Comecon? None at all! It is rather quiet on this subject and takes no account at all of these peoples. From time to time it urges the revisionist cliques ruling in these countries to break away from the Soviet Union and unite with America. In fact it tells these peoples: keep quiet, submit, and become cannon fodder for the blood-thirsty Kremlin clique! This line of the Chinese revisionist leadership is anti-proletarian and warmongering.

All this shows that the Chinese leaders are deliberately complicating the international situations. They see these situations according to their own interests of making China a superpower and not according to the interests of the revolution. They see them from the angle of their imperialist state and not of the liberation of the peoples, from the angle of extinguishing the revolution in their own country and revolutions in other countries, and not from the angle of the organization and intensification of the struggle of the proletariat and the peoples against the two superpowers, as well as against the bourgeois capitalist
oppressors of other countries, they see them from the angle of inciting imperialist world war and not of opposing it.

China's course of becoming a superpower will have grave consequences, first of all for China itself and the Chinese people.

The Marxist-Leninist analysis of the Chinese policy leads to the conclusion that the Chinese leadership is driving China into an impasse. By serving American imperialism and world capitalism it thinks it will draw some profits for itself, but these profits are dubious and will cost China dear. They will bring the country to catastrophe and, of course, will have considerable repercussions in other countries as well.

China's policy of becoming a superpower, which is inspired by an anti-Marxist ideology, is being exposed and will be exposed still more in the eyes of all peoples, but particularly the peoples of the so-called third world. The peoples of the world understand the aims of the policy of each state, whatever it be, socialist, revisionist, capitalist or imperialist. They see and understand that, though China poses as a member of the «third world», it does not have the same aspirations and aims as these peoples. They see that it is pursuing a social-imperialist policy. Therefore, it is understandable that this unpopular policy, which encourages social and national oppression, is unac-
ceptable to the peoples. It is a policy in the interests only of the reactionary cliques, of those who are dominating and oppressing the peoples.

China supports and supplies arms to Somalia which, at the instigation of the United States of America, is fighting Ethiopia. Meanwhile, Ethiopia is being supported by the Soviet Union to gobble up Somalia. This is what is happening with Eritrea, too. Thus, China takes one side, the Soviet Union takes the other. If anyone in Somalia looks on China with a kindly eye, it is those who are in power, but not the people of that country who are being killed. It is not looked on with a kindly eye either by the leadership of Ethiopia which has the support of the Soviets, or by the Ethiopian people, who are being egged on against the Somalis who allegedly want to occupy Ethiopia. Thus China has no influence at all, either in Ethiopia or in Somalia.

But it is not looked upon with a kindly eye in Algeria, either. The latter supports the «Polisario» front, whereas China takes the side of Mauritania and Morocco, that is, the side of US imperialism.

In its foreign policy China pursues an allegedly pro-Arab course. But this policy consists solely of the issue of uniting the Arab peoples against Soviet social-imperialism. Thus, it is self-evident that China assists every rapprochement of the Arabs with the United States of America, first of all.
In regard to Israel, the Chinese leadership has a great deal to say against it. But, in reality, with its strategy, it is pro-Israeli. The Arab peoples, and particularly the Palestinian people, have taken note of this.

In the countries of Asia, we may say that China has no obvious and lasting influence.

China is not in sincere and close friendship with its neighbour countries, let alone with the other, more distant countries. The policy of China is not and cannot be correct so long as it is not a Marxist-Leninist policy. On the basis of such a policy it cannot be in sincere friendship with Vietnam, Korea, Cambodia, Laos, Thailand, etc. China poses as wanting friendship with these countries, but, in fact, disputes over political, territorial and economic questions exist between China and these countries.

With the policy it is following, China has now come into open conflict with Vietnam. Grave incidents are occurring on the border between these two countries. The Chinese social-imperialists have been interfering seriously in the internal affairs of Vietnam, and are fanning up the conflict between Cambodia and Vietnam, etc., for their own expansionist objectives. When the Chinese leadership behaves in such a way towards Vietnam, which until yesterday it considered a fraternal country and close friend, what must the
Asian countries think about the Chinese policy? Can they trust it?

It would be a waste of time to speak about China’s influence in the countries of Latin America. It has no influence there, either political, ideological or economic. The sum total of China’s influence rests on its friendship with a certain Pinochet, who is a rabid fascist hangman. This stand of China has incensed not only the peoples of Latin America, but the whole of world opinion. They see that the Chinese leadership is pro oppressive rulers, pro dictators and generals ruling over the peoples, pro US imperialism which has gripped the peoples of this continent by the throat. Thus we can say that China’s influence in the countries of Latin America is insignificant, without strength or substance.

The policy of the Chinese leaders does not enjoy the sympathy and support of the peoples, but on the contrary, will lead China to ever greater isolation from the progressive states and the world proletariat. No people, no proletariat or revolutionaries can support China’s policy, when they see former German nazi generals, former Japanese militarist generals and admirals, Portuguese fascist generals, etc., etc., standing beside the Chinese leaders on the Tien An Men tribune, as happened on National Day, October 1, 1977.

China cannot go ahead with its course of transforming itself into a superpower without
intensifying the exploitation of the broad working masses at home. The United States of America and the other capitalist states will seek to secure superprofits from the capital they will invest there, they will also press for rapid and radical transformations of the base and superstructure of Chinese society in the capitalist direction. The intensification of the exploitation of the multimillion strong masses to maintain the Chinese bourgeoisie and its gigantic bureaucratic apparatus and to meet the repayment of the credits and interest to the foreign capitalists, will undoubtedly give rise to deep contradictions between the Chinese proletariat and peasantry, on the one hand, and the bourgeois-revisionist rulers, on the other. This will bring the latter into confrontation with the working masses of their own country, a thing which cannot fail to lead to sharp conflicts and revolutionary outbursts in China.