

China — One Half Of Mao Still Remains

Behind the public debate over whether Secretary of State Cyrus Vance's recent visit to Peking succeeded in improving Sino-U.S. relations lies the reality that Vance's trip had very little to do with that question. Both the Chinese and the U.S. have carefully remained silent on the primary purpose, and the presumed primary result, of the visit: increased collaboration between the United States and China in the Indian Ocean and in Africa.

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The use by both sides of the term "exploratory talks" was a clever formulation. The absence of any indication that progress was made on the ostensible primary purpose of the trip — "bilateral" issues, including recognition, trade, etc. — combined with the unusually warm Chinese send-off for Vance, suggests that what was actually "explored" was the convergence of foreign policy interests between the two countries.

Behind this agreement for collaboration, however, lies a double deception game. Henry Kissinger, whose 1972 China policy Vance was carrying out, no doubt thinks that the Chinese have been conned into supporting the U.S. and holding down a "second front" against the Soviets in the event of a U.S.-provoked war with the Soviets. China, in turn, made clear it thinks it has manipulated the U.S. into taking a stronger position against the Soviet Union. As anyone but Henry Kissinger and the most obsessed U.S. "China watchers" could readily perceive, Chinese Great Han chauvinism has the last laugh in this game: Chinese policy is to promote U.S.-Soviet conflict as China's only avenue to Chinese world-power hegemony, but to quickly step aside at the point of conflict and leave the U.S. holding the bag.

The most surprising element in the Chinese stance is the lack of coherence between the open repudiation of the domestic policies imposed by the late Mao Tse-tung, and the staunch retention of Mao's foreign policies. At the recently concluded 11th Congress of the Chinese Communist Party, a strong campaign was waged for science, technological progress and education. Such a focus is correctly seen as both the best antidote for the mass irrationality fostered in the Mao years, and as necessary for the country's development. It is to be hoped that this policy turn, if carried through, will help impel China toward rejoining the human race in respect to its foreign policy, and toward using its influence for peace, not for global thermonuclear war.

For the moment, however, Peking's pro-industrial turn is essentially an internal policy development within the overall political geometry of the most rabid Great Han chauvinism.

U.S., China, and Bangladesh

The ongoing U.S.-Chinese collaboration in the Indian Subcontinent has been widely exposed in India, though hushed up in the U.S. The Indian daily *Patriot* and *New Wave*, an influential weekly, documented in their Aug. 21 issues the following revelations concerning joint U.S.-China military activities in Bangladesh, involving Saudi Arabia as a key financial and material supplier:

* China has sent 19 MIG-19 planes, including four for training purposes, to Bangladesh. Earlier, 200 Bangladesh soldiers were sent to China to learn anti-insurgency tactics — i.e., how to suppress domestic opposition to the regime.

* China maintains total support for the rabidly pro-U.S. Bangladesh regime of General Zia, which in turn is very closely tied to the Saudis.

* U.S. Seventh Fleet units have begun to call on Bangladesh ports.

* A three-member Pentagon team recently completed a tour of Bangladesh and visited all the strategic points on the coastal and island areas of the Bight of Bengal, reportedly scouting for the establishment of a U.S. naval base, particularly at Chittagong, the largest port, and at Chalna and the Hatia Islands. Renovation of these three ports by the U.S. began in 1976 and still continues. The team also sounded out the possibility of getting access to an Indian port in the state of Orissa.

* Saudi Arabia has agreed to supply arms to Bangladesh, which cannot be done without collaboration with the Chinese. The U.S. will replace whatever arms Saudi Arabia provides. The deal was worked out during Zia's recent trip to Saudi Arabia. Saudi Arabia has been heavily subsidizing the Zia regime for some time.

The Saudi-China-U.S. axis also extends into the western subcontinent where all three have played a major advisory role in the martial law administration of Pakistani General Zia ul Haq. Since coming to power in a July 4 coup against Prime Minister Z.A. Bhutto, Zia has regularly met the Saudi Arabian and Chinese ambassadors to brief them on the internal situation. Two of Bhutto's former ministers, Defense Minister General Tikka Khan and Foreign Minister Aziz Ahmed, who were the major pro-China hawks in the country, were recently accused by Bhutto of working with the Carter Administration to undermine his authority and to engineer the coup, according to the Pakistani weekly *Al Fatab*.

China has also continued its subversion attempts in India. Indian Defense Minister Jagjivan Ram told a garrison of the Indian Army in Calcutta, as reported in the *Indian Herald* on Aug. 30, that China continues to train insurgents in Nagaland and Mizoram, backward areas of India near the Chinese border dominated by tribal groupings, and that the Indian army in the area has been put on alert.

Chinese influence and activities in Africa also overlap areas of major U.S. destabilization efforts. Hsinhua, China's press service, has recently stepped up attacks on the pro-Soviet government of Angola. Chinese networks in Angola are believed to have been involved in the aborted, U.S.-linked May 27 coup attempt. Evidence is also mounting that the Chinese could play a role in the Anglo-American efforts to split the Patriotic Front liberation struggle in Rhodesia.

In the Horn of Africa, U.S. and Chinese activities overlap in the Sudan and Egypt, and Chinese courting of Somalia parallels intense U.S. efforts to ensure a destabilization of the pro-Soviet Ethiopian regime. Saudi money is heavily supporting the U.S. efforts there.

The U.S. Gameplan

Among people "in the know" in the U.S. China policy circles, it has been long been believed that China considered the Soviet danger the primary issue, and the knotty Taiwan problem which prevents normalization of U.S.-China relations to be strictly secondary. According to this view, held by Carter security advisor Zbigniew Brzezinski, Henry Kissinger, and some other high officials, Chinese public clamor about the urgency and importance of resolving the Taiwan problem before U.S.-China relations can improve is mere public relations. This group counseled that Vance could go to Peking empty-handed in terms of proposals for normalization, and still successfully consolidate mutual operations.

Opposed to this view have been a number of other top analysts, centered in the State Department and also including National Security Advisor Michael Oksenberg, Senator Edward Kennedy, and many private experts. Their view is that without major U.S. concessions to China's demand that all former U.S. ties to Taiwan be severed, China would become cooler toward the U.S., and the risk of some form of rapprochement with the Soviets would increase.

The outcome of Vance's trip has, on the surface, confirmed the former group. Despite Vance's loudly touted empty briefcase, he was accorded an extensive interview and dinner with Peking's Number Three man, the feisty vice-premier Teng Hsiao-ping, and then a genial meeting with Party Chairman Hua Kuo-feng which produced warm public exchanges from the Chinese side. "Above all else," as phrased by the *Baltimore Sun*, "The Chinese wanted assurance that the U.S. would maintain its global political and military deterrent to the Soviet Union, and Vance gave it."

The Chinese Gameplan

The reality is far more subtle and conditional. Certain references in the keynote speech given to the 11th Party Congress by Hua Kuo-feng appear directed at internal opposition to the current policies suggesting an intense debate; others appear slightly shifted from previous formulations. Rumors of possible major foreign policy shifts have also surfaced in the past week, according to Indian sources. And behind any assurances given to Vance lies the Chinese determination not be manipulated by anyone, but to play their own game which Hua's speech made clear could include dumping the U.S. in a moment if it was deemed that would serve Chinese national interests.

Hua's speech restated the hackneyed Chinese theme that while "the factors for revolution are growing, so obviously are the factors for war," and that this is because "both superpowers (U.S. and Soviets) strive to dominate the world, and they contend with each other everywhere." He contended that "Their continued contention will lead to a conflagration someday," while "the people of the world hope for peace, and the Chinese people too hope for a peaceful international environment."

Hua reiterated China's "three worlds" analysis, that places the "superpowers" in the "First World," Europe and Japan in the "Second World," and China and the under-developed countries in the Third World. Said Hua: "We support the Second World countries, such as the European countries and Japan, in their struggle against control, intimidation and bullying by the superpowers. We support their efforts to get united in the course of this struggle."

In the midst of this standard formulation, Hua added the new phrase: "So long as the people of all countries heighten their vigilance, close their ranks, get prepared and wage unrelenting struggles, they may be able to put off the outbreak of war, or will find themselves in a favorable position when war does break out. We are revolutionary optimists and have full confidence in the future of the world." Nowhere did Hua use the standard phrase "War is inevitable." If sustained, this de-emphasis on the inevitability of war would constitute the first major foreign policy formulation of Mao Tse-tung to be dumped.

Noteworthy also was the very defensive and detailed explanations for China's alliance with the U.S., which made clear that changed world circumstances could change Chinese pro-U.S. policies overnight: "... It is necessary to win over as many allies as possible... The more powerful enemy can be vanquished only by exerting the utmost effort... and skillfully making use without fail of every, even the smallest, 'rift' among the enemies... and also by taking advantage of every, even the smallest, opportunity of gaining a mass ally, even though this ally be temporary, vacillating, unstable, unreliable and conditional."

In the midst of an earlier section castigating Soviet activities around the world, Hua inserted a cryptic warning, to whom is not clear: "... There is a trend toward appeasement among those people in the West who cherish the illusion that peace can be maintained through compromises and concessions, and some even want to follow in Chamberlain's footsteps and try to divert the peril of the new tsars towards the east in order to preserve themselves at the expense of others..."

Finally, Hua indicated the good prospects for improved Sino-U.S. relations, and detailed the Chinese position on relations with the Soviet Union. Hua reiterated in detail China's claim to want normal state-to-state relations with the Soviets, and the charge that it is the Soviets who "have not shown one iota of good faith about improving the state relations between the two countries." At least one major China analyst, *Washington Post* columnist Victor Zorza, has interpreted this as actually an overture to the Soviets to improve relations.

Beneath the public enunciations on foreign policy is the cornerstone of China foreign policy for over 2,000 years, overlooked by Kissinger et. al.: "Manipulate the foreign barbarians." Despite its modern veneer, the Communist Party of Mao Tse-tung, the degenerate remnant of what was once a movement to overthrow the ideology of Chinese chauvinism in the late 1920s, has lost none of its racist view of the outside world. China's ultimate foreign policy is exemplified by the slogan still quite current: "Sit on the hillside and watch the tigers fight."

Domestic Rebuilding

The huge push on in China for economic development, acquisition of foreign technology and increased productivity, intensifying since the purge last October of the "Gang of Four," has been widely reported. Very significant within this overall push, however, is the degree to which the new Chinese leadership under Teng Hsiao-ping clearly understands the significance of the mental damage done to the population by the long night of Mao's reign since 1965.

Notable at the Party Congress was the emphasis put on encouraging Party members and others within society to speak their minds freely on many matters — excepting questioning the general Party line on political questions. The new line was summed up in a clause added to the Party Constitution adopted on Aug. 18: "In relations among comrades in the party, all members should apply the principle of 'say all you know and say it without reserve' and 'blame not the speaker but be warned by his words'." This phrase was repeated in Hua's and Teng's speeches.

Under Maoist rule, only meaningless slogan-shouting was permitted, with the slightest sign of deviation from

rigid policy lines punished by public ridicule. The result was total demoralization of the population and an almost universal apathy and avoidance of responsibility in all fields.

In his speech to the closing session of the Congress, Teng Hsiao-ping addressed the demoralization of the cadres by flattering them, and called for an end to "fighting without substance" and "less empty talk and more hard work."

Science and technology are now being portrayed as essential for the nation's economic development. Following the Party Congress, a campaign has been launched to promote the study of science among its hundred million primary and secondary school children. The *People's Daily*, the party paper, called on book publishing departments to print more material about science and technology and carried an open letter from three scientists to children urging them to study science hard.

Education has also been fostered by the reintroduction of examinations and preparations for enlarging greatly the availability of higher education. It was recently admitted that an educational generation had been lost because of the Cultural Revolution, that educational standards had dropped sharply during that period, and that the decline in teaching standards has cost the country more than the loss of tens of millions of tons of steel. Said one article in the *People's Daily*: China needs an "educational elite," and since some people are naturally brighter than others, "We welcome the men of talent." Such statements would have been anathema before Mao's death.

— Peter Rush