

### The lie that binds

Teng Hsiao-ping and his cohorts want to modernize the country in order to make China a strong power, to begin to restore the sense of self-importance felt by an ancient and once-proud nation. To do this, however, they are tapping a fount of popular emotion that goes far beyond what the regime is prepared to sanction. The proof of this is in China's Han Chauvinist foreign policy. China is not trying to add its weight on the side of peace, but is promoting a public line it knows to be untrue — the claim that the Soviet Union is out to conquer the world, starting with Western Europe — for purely cynical reasons of state best described in China's own jargon as "manipulating the foreign barbarians." China's short-term strategy is to soak the West for all the economic and military aid and capital it can get in the shortest time by playing up to what China perceives to be the West's psychological vulnerability — fear of the Soviet Union. The irony of this situation, as one top U.S. analyst put it, is that China undoubtedly sees not the Soviet Union, but the U.S. and Japan as its long-term strategic opponents in Asia, and fully intends to turn its Western-aided strength to serve this interest at some point in the future.

The Teng faction relies on a similar lie domestically. For them, the New China is a means, not an end. They seek to use this ferment for their own purposes, but this is more dangerous than they seem to realize.

The question is not whether China's problems are intractable. They are difficult, but not intractable — provided China's leaders can face them totally realistically. China needs detente with both the U.S. and the Soviets: it needs the increased, and more concessional, aid that would be available if detente freed massive U.S. and Soviet arms budgets for world development, it needs the full implementation of the development-oriented European Monetary System immediately — which China's policy implicitly damages—and it needs to be able to rally its population on just such a *universal* principle. The analyst referred to above summed up the Chinese leadership's problem as a fundamental lack of *humanism*. Without that quality, the present leadership will find it cannot solve its problems in the end. Yet, the measures it is taking will lead to a completely different China in 10 to 20 years. The United States must orient to that 20-year process, the New China that promises at last to solve the world's — and China's — "China problem" and not to momentary configurations in Peking or strategic will-o-the-wisps.

—Peter Rush

## Chinese press exhorts

*The newspapers and radio in China have been largely taken over by the factional supporters of Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping. The media is supporting Teng's program of modernization with a wide range of coverage of the problems facing China: chaos and inefficiency in industry, the persistence of the peasant mentality, the necessity to end religious worship of "Mao Tse-tung Thought," and others. But, while a window has been opened on daily life in China, the official press has stopped short of outright repudiation of the insane Mao legacy. Some excerpts:*

**People's Daily, Aug. 29:** Those comrades who are reluctant to learn and apply science, who despise and belittle science and technology and who are instead proud of being "rustic" actually regard the modes of handicraft production and the habits of small production as unalterable. . . . These comrades should quickly liberate their thinking by learning science and technology.

**Hsinhua, Sept. 16:** Machinery products are backward. Most are up to world standards of the 1940s or 1950s, incapable of meeting the needs of a modernized economy. . . . At present the poor quality of the products of the machine-building industry has almost become the central topic of the whole party and country.

**Hsinhua, Sept. 16:** The technical level of our production (of fertilizer — ed.) is still very backward. . . . At present each agricultural worker turns out an average of some 2,000 catties (about a ton — ed.) as compared with the more than 100,000 catties of the United States.

**Red Flag, Oct. 1:** Some leading cadres . . . feel no qualms about the old equipment, techniques or work processes which they have been using for decades or even centuries, and will not forsake them. . . . These backward things essentially stem from, and correspond to, our backward modes of production. The small peasant economy had always occupied the dominant position throughout the several thousand years of feudal society and the century and more of semifeudal and semicolonial society.

**People's Daily, Oct. 14:** In the days of Lin Piao and the Gang of Four, people had to take part in "living study." They had to begin their speeches, articles and even letters by quoting Chairman Mao or other revolutionary leaders. Quotations were posted everywhere. They were written at the beginning of announcements,

## the nation to modernize...

on various commodities and even on packaging. This is ridiculous in the extreme. . . . It is imperative that we see that Mao Tse-tung thought needs to be enriched and developed by new experiences.

**People's Daily, Oct. 14:** Experiences, both of advanced and backward nations, have proved that the reorganization of scattered, small-scale serial production into concentrated, large-scale specialized serial production is conducive to adopting advanced production technology, raising labor productivity, improving quality, lowering consumption, renovating products and saving investment.

**Hsinhua, Oct. 15:** "Chinese civilization has constantly drawn on foreign culture, and, in return, contributed to world civilization [a former prominent Chinese professor once said]." . . . New China has published translations of important world literature covering works from ancient Greece and India and various periods up to modern times. . . . Publication of European classics, modern works, and new writings by Asian, African and Latin American authors, study of the Renaissance, the Enlightenment, 19th century critical realism . . . are all being resumed.

**People's Daily, Nov. 9:** Every forward step in history requires emancipated minds. . . . The emergence of Marxism itself resulted from the development of large-scale industry and the great emancipation of mankind. . . . Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought has not put an end to truth.

### ...Wall posters attack Cultural Revolution, Mao, even Teng

A wall poster campaign begun on Nov. 19 in Peking with official approval quickly spread out of sanctioned bounds as it became more uninhibited than the official media. Posters have appeared attacking Mao by name, and some have even attacked Vice-Premier Teng for blocking full exposure of Mao. There seems little doubt that by Monday, Nov. 26, Teng felt compelled to rein in the freewheeling, self-styled "democratic movement" that had already extended to marches and street speaking, and on Nov. 28, word apparently went out to end the campaign. But, after a week's hiatus, posters began reappearing Dec. 8. Some samples:

**Nov. 19 poster:** "Chairman Mao, because his thinking was metaphysical during his old age and for all kinds of other reasons, supported the Gang of Four in raising their hands to strike down Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping. . . . Mao's mistaken judgment about class struggle [was used by the Gang]."

**Nov. 24 poster** titled "We've had enough of Dictatorship": "Chinese, arise. The time has come to oppose all dictators, whoever they may be. We must judge them and settle scores with them right along the line. . . . Begin the fight against the tsar [Mao] . . . [likened Mao to dictator first emperor of China who] oppressed the people and burnt books. . . . For thousands of years Chinese history has consisted of knocking down emperors who made history into the history of emperors . . . We must destroy the ideological great wall of several thousand years of dictatorship" [Signed "Torch Society" or "Society of Lights."]

**Nov. 25 poster:** "We say Premier Chou En-lai was the people's good premier and the people loved him very much. Why couldn't you (Mao) get this love from the people? . . . How can a handful of bad people run amok for 10 years? How we hoped Chairman Mao could listen modestly to different opinions. It is a pity he can't do so now."

**Nov. 26 poster:** "The Cultural Revolution was a disaster, a great leap backwards for China. . . . How many ordinary people were massacred, how many unfair trials were held, how many tragedies came about?"

**Nov. 27 poster:** "Who made history — Chairman Mao or the people? . . . Why must people always be overthrown if they have different opinions?"

**Dec. 8 poster:** "Statements about the people being masters of history are no more than empty talk. . . . If it were not for Mao Tse-tung's personal despotism, would China be in the state it is in today? Why did the people go along this road? Is it not because that bragging despot forced them along it? Is this the road to socialism? Of course not. It is a feudalist monarchical system disguised in the cloak of socialism. If we want to modernize our economy, science and so on, we must first modernize our people and modernize our social system."

**Dec. 18 poster:** "Teng thinks stability and unity are in the public interest and in the interest of modernization, but I think differently . . . .Teng should come here and read these wall posters instead of apologizing for Chairman Mao's mistakes."