

WHITHER CHINA by H. Palme Dutt--New Outlook Publishers, 1967

Contrasts (p.7, actually 1st p. as it has introd. by Gus Hall for other pp)
Pol Report of CCP, Sep. 1956 which said friendship with Russia "is unbreakable & eternal" and "our supreme int. duty", pointing it was held after 14th RCP Congress with what is 1st now stated that those "taking capitalist rd" had been in opp. since 1959, Great Leap Forward, & again in 1962.

In background of Ch Rev it is stressed (p.11) that "Marxism had no roots in China prior to 1917. It is true parts of CM published in 1906, "But it was the guns of the victorious Oct. rev. in 1917, as Mao had said, which 1st brought knowledge of Marxism & Com to China. On p. 13, it becomes clear that he is attributing the success of the Chinese Revolution to "the advance of the world socialist revolution after the second world war. This victory was made possible both by internal and by international factors."

Dutt then quotes how much help Russia gave China (ps. 14-15) and the fact that there was a great irregularity in the Congresses that China held -- the only one since victory having been held first in September, 1956, a full 11 years after the last one (7th) which was held back in 1945. He further stressed that they themselves had condemned so long an interval between Congresses and voted to elect a new Congress every 2 years, with annual recall sessions.

"We cannot know yet what incidents or inner discussions can have given rise to this change of course. We have already seen the potential weaknesses which lay in the class background of the revolution. There was the dominant national revolutionary background, with Marxism only as a later addition. There was the predominance of the peasantry and petty bourgeois elements in the composition of the population,"

The 1958 Great Leap Forward is called "Leap to Economic Adventurism". The 5-year plan called for increase in industrial production by 141%; agricultural production by 25%. These were changed on the basis of the People's Commune so that the 5-year targets were to be accomplished in one; instead of doubling industrial production, it was to be multiplied 6 1/2 times and instead of 95% increase in agricultural output, it was to be multiplied by 2 1/2 times. Steel output of 5 1/2 million tons in 1957 was to be doubled to 11 million tons in 1958 so that China was supposed to surpass Britain as an industrial power within 15 years and in heavy industry within 10 years, reaching steel output of 40 million tons by 1972 and soon 100 million tons.

Dutt tries to say that there were corresponding trends of diversion in ideology but actually it is a citing of diversions, not a relationship of these diversions to actual economic policy. The climax is supposed to come in the differences regarding nuclear war:

"On September 1, 1963, the Chinese official version was given of the speech of Mao Tse-tung in Moscow in 1957 recounting his conversation with "a foreign statesman" (understood to have been Nehru) in the autumn of 1956: "Let us imagine how many people would die if war should break out. Out of the world's population of 2,700 million, one-third, or, if more, half - may be lost... If the worst came to the worst, and half were annihilated, the other half would remain while imperialism would be rezed to the ground and the whole world would become socialist; in a number of years there would be 2,700 million people again and definitely more."

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Dutt then traces through very, very briefly the Sino-Soviet conflict of 1960-63, after which (p. 26) he quotes Liu Piao's 1965 speech on war, expending the (tri-continental) theory of revolution with some thank you notes to Russia by Cuba and Guinea as if that meant their agreement with Russia.

Where he does make some telling arguments is on the question of Vietnam, especially the quotation:

"The Soviet leaders harp on the fact that the Soviet Union has no common borders with Vietnam, as if all aid material for Vietnam has of necessity to go through China. This is not true. There are sea routes between the Soviet Union and Vietnam. Why cannot Soviet military material for Vietnam be shipped by sea as is that of other countries? But the Soviet Union dares not take the sea routes."

On p. 38, there was the revelation that there still are 1 million Nationalist Capitalists in China, all well paid and none attacked during the cultural revolution. On p. 41, it is stated that not only do these capitalists receive their 5% interest on the capital value of their nationalized enterprises, but where this was supposed to have expired in 1962 and was then prolonged to 1966, it had further been decided to extend it another 10 years.

On p. 43, it is stated that the CCP has never had a program, the initial period having been called by Mao "the Democratic dictatorship of the People, interpreting "People" as a 4-class bloc of workers, peasants, petty bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie. Later, this was amended and the 8th Congress described China as "a People's Democratic Dictatorship led by the working class and based on the alliance of the workers and peasants." He then jumps to 1967 when the Paris Commune is suddenly brought into play in order to express their trying to smash the party organs of state power. (Red Flag, 1967, No. 3)

p. 46:

"What began as a highly polemical ideological conflict against the leadership and policies of most other socialist countries and Communist Parties has now erupted into ugly incidents. It is evident that, as the internal struggle has increased, the attempt is being made at the moment to deflect popular emotion and anger into a hysterical frenzy of hatred against representatives of the Soviet Union and all other socialist countries in a way that can only be regarded as provocative. The menace of this frenzy developing to an open war situation is inescapable."

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