

**February 18, 1985**  
**Note from a Working Meeting of the CC International  
Department Deputy Heads of Fraternal Parties of Socialist  
Countries**

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**Summary:**

The group discussed a CC CPSU study which contained an analysis and assessment of the PRC's foreign policy and its domestic situation.

**Original Language:**

Polish

**Contents:**

- English Translation

Note from a working meeting of the CC International Department deputy heads of fraternal parties of socialist countries regarding the assessment of the situation and coordination of relations with the Chinese People's Republic

Moscow – February 18, 1985

I.

The major presentation was given by Comrade O. Rahmanin, the CC CPSU International Department Deputy Head. The Soviet comrades also prepared and handed out a large study which contained the actual analysis and the assessments of the PRC's foreign policy and its domestic situation.

The main purpose for holding this meeting earlier (it was scheduled to take place in October 1985) was to present the conclusions reached by the Deputy Prime Minister [Ivan] Arkhipov, following his visit to Beijing, and the current directions in China's foreign and domestic policies.

The CC CPSU assesses the political results of Arkhipov's conversations held in Beijing, as well as the current direction in Chinese foreign and domestic policy, as strongly negative. The Chinese People's Republic does not want a true normalization of relations with the USSR. The Chinese continue to adhere to their three well-known conditions (the withdrawal of Soviet soldiers from Mongolia, the withdrawal of Soviet soldiers from Afghanistan, and the withdrawal of the USSR's support for the Indochinese nations). They also pose territorial claims to the Soviet Union, support other nations (Japan), and reject the proposition of signing treaties which could introduce the feel of security and stability in their relations with the USSR (a non-aggression agreement, borders, etc).

The PRC also cooperates with the imperialist powers on a global scale. China, just as the U.S., is in favor of revising borders and agreements which regulate the post-war political reality; the Chinese are supporting the idea of the so-called German unification by criticizing the Yalta agreements...China's activities opposing the peaceful policy conducted by the USSR and other socialist countries on key issues, such as peaceful defense and stopping the arms race, are well-known.

The PRC is using all platforms and opportunities to conduct this policy: bilateral contacts, the UN, multilateral meetings and parties, and social and youth organizations (for example, during the Youth Festival in Moscow). One of the most important elements of Beijing's policy is to use China's economic, political, and other relations with the USSR and socialist nations in order to break the unity of the socialist commonwealth and to bring about the ideological diversion.

Beijing attempted to exploit Deputy Foreign Minister Arkhipov's visit for its own propaganda aims. On the one hand, the anti-Soviet campaign intensified in the Chinese press; on the other hand, the published information exaggerated the results of [Sino-Soviet] economic talks. In reality, the USSR has not changed its position, agreed upon during consultations with fraternal nations, on the issue of economic policy toward the PRC. In particular, the Soviets refused, for example, assistance regarding China's construction of two nuclear power plants.

The CC CPSU concludes that the present anti-socialist line in the PRC's foreign policy is long-term and [includes] strategic cooperation with American imperialism. Beijing thinks that by weakening the USSR and the entire socialist commonwealth it will be able to carry out its own great power and hegemonic ambitions. Objectively speaking, there is a dangerous resemblance between China's strategy and that of U.S. imperialism: Reagan wants to open the Eastern front against the USSR; Beijing aspires to strengthen its military potential for hegemonic purposes and also seeks a military cooperation with the U.S. in this respect. Together, this is a joint aspiration of Beijing and U.S. imperialism in order to change a global system to the disadvantage of the USSR and the entire socialist commonwealth.

As far as the assessment of the PRC's internal situation, the Soviet comrades focused on criticizing the economic reforms. They pointed out that China's hitherto course points to the restoration of some elements of capitalism. The capitalist penetration accompanies this opening, as does the training of economic personnel with the aid of the American specialists...It was proposed that the next meeting (in October in Moscow) will be devoted to a deeper analysis of the internal situation in the PRC.

Given the above analysis, the Soviet comrades presented the following conclusions:

- We need to continue to tightly coordinate the policy of socialist countries toward the PRC. In particular, we must counter Beijing's policy of differentiation toward the countries of the socialist commonwealth;
- We need to counter Beijing's efforts to separate economic, cultural, science, social and other issues from those in the area of politics and ideology. This is because while conducting an unrestrained and complete political and ideological struggle against the USSR and socialist countries, the PRC strives to develop economic relations, in particular, which are most beneficial to the PRC...and which can be used as an element of political and ideological diversion in socialist countries.

In making economic decisions, we need to follow political criteria, and always take into consideration that the PRC continues political and ideological struggle

against the socialist commonwealth.

- We need to actively counter Beijing's foreign policy...to harshly criticize China's cooperation with imperialism and to provide our support Afghanistan, Vietnam, and Cambodia...

- We need to follow with great care the extent and quality of the economic cooperation, so we don't bolster the PRC's military potential...This is why the CC CPSU proposed to introduce during the upcoming meeting of secretaries of CC fraternal parties on economic matters to be held in May 1985 "the implementation of political criteria to the economic cooperation with China;"

- In implementing any kinds of contacts and exchanges of delegations, we need to pay attention to the need to counter the so-called Beijing's "people's diplomacy." By using their hospitality and acting nice [while talking about] some topics, the Chinese want to win over the representatives of our parties and to sow the seeds of mistrust as to the correctness of the party line;

[...]

- We need to strengthen our research institutions which study China. According to the Soviets, the Chinese have extensively developed their research on history and culture of socialist countries, as well as China's relations with them. They [Chinese] are also collaborating with similar institutions in the US and other capitalist countries...

Conclusions [of the Polish delegation]:

- ...When compared with a similar meeting of this nature (Tihany, October 1984), one should note that the Soviets have intensified their criticism of Chinese foreign policy. There was a complete lack of any positive acknowledgment on the Soviet side, and even a negative assessment, of the PRC's accelerated rate of developing [mutual] relations...The Soviets even added a postulate to use political criteria which takes into account a real anti-socialist course of Beijing's course;

- We should expose, in the press and other media, our criticism of some elements in the PRC's foreign policy, especially on the issues of Afghanistan, Vietnam, and Cambodia. We need to thoroughly censor the material for publication on Chinese topics;

- We need to instruct our economic delegations to avoid making political comments, because they could be taken as direct or indirect support for China's policies...;

- The implementation of the CC PUWP delegation's visit in Hanoi, Phnom Penh, and Vientiane is very beneficial, as it will serve as an example of our contribution to the implementation of coordinated policy of socialist countries in this region;
- We need to tightly control and ensure the right selection of non-governmental and social contacts with the PRC;
- We need to, within the framework of our party work and activities, deepen our information about the current situation in China, especially the negative aspects of Chinese foreign policy,
- We need to deepen Sinology research in Poland and have our Sinological institutions cooperate with those in the USSR;
- The Soviets did not call for giving up or limiting economic, trade or other contacts with China, except for the party and military ties. However, they clearly recommend that we increase our selection in such contacts by paying more attention to the political criteria.

/-/ Janusz Lewandowski

Deputy Head of the CC International Department

Warsaw, February 22, 1981