

PEKING REVIEW

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April 18, 1975

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Criticize the Doctrines of Confucius and Mencius to Consolidate the Dictatorship Of the Proletariat

Plots Cannot Be Concealed by Lies

— "Renmin Ribao" Commentator condemns U.S. Government manoeuvres on so-called "refugee" question and "evacuation" of Americans from south Viet Nam

India's Naked Annexation of Sikkim

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Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien Returns Home

Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien returned to Peking on April 10 after a 6-day official visit to Iran which, as Iranian Prime Minister Hoveyda said at the Vice-Premier's farewell reception, was of great significance in the development of relations between Iran and China.

In a press statement at Teheran Airport, Vice-Premier Li expressed his thanks for his warm reception by the Iranian Government and people. He said that he had had an exchange of views with His Imperial Majesty the Shahanshah and Prime Minister Hoveyda on international questions of common concern. In reply to questions from newsmen, he said that third world countries should further strengthen their unity to oppose the hegemonic powers, particularly the superpower that has bigger ambitions.

Export Commodities Fair Opens in Kwangchow

The opening of China's 1975 Spring Export Commodities Fair on April 15 in Kwangchow was highlighted by a grand ceremony. This is the 37th session since the first fair in 1957.

As China's socialist revolution and construction and international relations steadily grow, businessmen from an increasing number of countries and regions have come to China for the fair. Nearly 6,000 people, including hosts and guests, attended the reception to mark the opening.

The exhibition halls are devoted to works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and Chairman Mao's works; the movement to learn from Taching in industry; the movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture; cereals, oils and foodstuffs; local and animal products; textiles; light industry goods; arts and crafts; chemicals; metals and minerals; machinery; books and postage stamps. Export commodities and products showing China's latest achievements in industry, agriculture, science and

technology are not only greater in quantity and variety but of better quality than previously. The accomplishments of outstanding units on China's industrial and agricultural fronts and in public health work are illustrated by objects, pictures and models in different halls.

Belgian Industrial Exhibition In Peking

The first large-scale industrial exhibition held by Belgium in China since establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries opened in Peking on April 8.

It occupies a total floorspace of more than 7,000 square metres. Major exhibits range from machine tools, telecommunication equipment and electronic instruments, light industrial and textile equipment to drilling machines, electric welders, harmless industrial fault-detectors, and film cameras and accessories.

The exhibition will make positive contributions to promoting mutual understanding and friendship between the two peoples and trade relations between both countries based on the principles of equality and mutual benefit and mutual help to ensure that each makes up what the other lacks.

Li Chiang, Chinese Minister of Foreign Trade, Prince Albert and Minister of External Commerce Michel Toussaint of the Kingdom of Belgium attended the opening ceremony.

China-Switzerland Air Service

Inaugurating the Zurich-Geneva-Athens-Bombay-Peking-Shanghai international air service, a Swissair passenger plane landed at Peking Airport on April 7 and received a warm welcome.

A Swiss Goodwill Delegation led by Bundesrat Willy Ritschard, Member of the Federal Council and Head of the Department of Transport, Communications and Power, arrived in Peking on the first flight to attend the inauguration celebration. A reception in honour of the Swiss guests

was given by the General Administration of Civil Aviation of China.

To date, China has established air communications with 15 countries.

American Guests End Visit

Carl Albert, Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives, and Mrs. Albert, John Rhodes, Republican leader of the House of Representatives, and Mrs. Rhodes and their party ended their visit to China on April 7.

Chu Teh, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping and Foreign Minister Chiao Kuan-hua separately met and had talks with the American guests while they were in Peking. During their stay in China, the guests also visited Shanghai and Kwangchow.

Ten Special Amnesty Releasees Leave Peking for Taiwan

Ten of the personnel recently released by special amnesty left Peking on April 13 for Taiwan via Hong Kong.

The ten special amnesty releasees who wish to return to Taiwan are: Wang Ping-yueh, Chen Shih-chang, Wang Yun-pei, Chou Yang-hao, Tsai Hsing-san, Tuan Ke-wen, Chang Hsi-shang, Yang Nan-tsun, Chang Tieh-shih and Chao Yi-hsueh.

In accordance with the spirit of Chairman Mao's instruction, the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress announced, in its recent decision to release by special amnesty all war criminals in custody, that those who wish to return to Taiwan may do so and will be given adequate money for travel and provided with conveniences, and that we will welcome whoever wishes to come back after going there.

Wang Ping-yueh and the other nine applied to return to Taiwan after they were released by special amnesty; and their request was approved. They were given fare for travel to Taiwan by the government department concerned and round-trip travelling permits so that they may come back any time they wish.

Criticize the Doctrines of Confucius And Mencius to Consolidate the Dictatorship of the Proletariat

by Hung Kwang-szu

CHAIRMAN Mao recently pointed out: "Why did Lenin speak of exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie? It is essential to get this question clear. Lack of clarity on this question will lead to revisionism. This should be made known to the whole nation." This directive is of very great significance in our struggle to combat and prevent revisionism and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat. It also makes clearer the orientation of the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius.

Since socialist society has just emerged from the womb of capitalist society, it inevitably carries many "birth marks" of the old society. These "birth marks" not only enable the old bourgeoisie to continue to exist and carry on nefarious activities but also serve as hotbeds for engendering new bourgeois elements and the soil for breeding revisionism, and provide the conditions for capitalist restoration. In order to prevent such a restoration, the proletariat not only must overcome the resistance of the overthrown landlord and capitalist classes and guard against subversion and aggression by imperialism and social-imperialism, it must also struggle against the new bourgeois elements and step by step sweep away the soil engendering revisionism and create conditions in which it will be impossible for the bourgeoisie to exist or for a new bourgeoisie to arise.

To consolidate the proletarian dictatorship and develop the socialist system and step by step eliminate the "birth marks" of the old society, the Chinese people, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party headed by Chairman Mao, have over the past 20 years repeatedly fought domestic and foreign enemies, and have waged an indefatigable struggle against the ideology of all the exploiting classes, particularly the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. This struggle has been broadened and deepened as a result of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius. We have already won great victories and made great achievements, but, as the great revolutionary and author Lu Hsun (1881-1936) said: "There's still no end to the fighting, and the old refrain will be sung over and over." To consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and develop the socialist

system, we must continue to deepen our criticism of the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of Lin Piao and the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius — the counter-revolutionary "old refrain" "sung over and over" by Lin Piao and his like.

The doctrines of Confucius and Mencius are the most concentrated expression of the traditional concepts of private ownership of old China. They are a reactionary ideological system embodying the old thinking, old culture and old traditions. They have been spread throughout China for more than 2,000 years and reactionaries in the past adapted and remoulded them continuously for use in ruling and corrupting the people and in maintaining the decadent economic base and reactionary political rule. The ideologies of all dying exploiting classes throughout history are of the same lineage and identical. Originally, the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius were the ideology of the declining slave-owning class of old China. When the feudal landlord class became conservative and reactionary after taking over rule from the slave-owning class, it adopted the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius to save itself and changed them into the ideology of the landlord class. Compromising with the landlord class, the wealthy bourgeoisie of China took over and turned these doctrines into reactionary ideological weapons to defend their own political and economic interests. The concepts of bourgeois right, from the ideas of private ownership and hierarchy to attitudes towards physical labour and mental labour and so on in China, can all without exception trace their roots to the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. The landlord and capitalist agents inside the Party also took over these decadent traditions from the declining slave-owning class and the declining landlord and capitalist classes.

The doctrines of Confucius and Mencius are doctrines of restoration. "Restrain oneself and return to the rites" was the reactionary programme of Confucius for restoring the slave system. His "rites" were the hierarchic system of slave society and related rituals and ceremonies. All subsequent rotten social forces also invariably trotted out this battered banner in

opposing a new social system. To "restrain oneself and return to the rites," the reactionaries always attack new revolutionary political power while shouting about so-called "rule by benevolence" and "rule by virtue" which Confucius and Mencius advocated. During the period of socialism, the landlord and capitalist classes, which want to recover their lost "paradise" and restore their cannibalistic system of "rites" under which they exploited and oppressed the working people, also wave that tattered old banner of "rule by benevolence" to oppose the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Chieftains of opportunist lines inside our Party, in their wild attacks on the dictatorship of the proletariat, all used the ideology of the Confucian school as their weapon. In his sinister book *Self-Cultivation*, soaked in Confucian and Mencian poison, Liu Shao-chi told Communists to learn so-called "loyalty and forbearance" and "reply to wrong with virtue" and "exercise benevolence and love" towards the capitalist class and not exercise the dictatorship of the proletariat. Lin Piao also waved the phoney flag of "benevolence, righteousness and virtue" when he frenziedly attacked the dictatorship of the proletariat. He slandered the dictatorship of the proletariat as a "meat grinder" and howled that "he who relies on virtue will thrive and he who relies on force will perish," and made a hullabaloo about "benevolence, righteousness and virtue" and so forth. This tells the revolutionary people from a negative angle that if they are to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and prevent a capitalist restoration they must deeply criticize the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. As Chairman Mao has said: **"Our relationship with them can in no way be one of equality. On the contrary, it is a relationship in which one class oppresses another, that is, the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie. There can be no other type of relationship, such as a so-called relationship of equality or of peaceful coexistence between exploiting and exploited classes, or of kindness or magnanimity."**

The doctrines of Confucius and Mencius are doctrines of retrogression. The historical period of socialism is a long process of struggle between nascent communism and dying capitalism. It is a case of either moving forward or going backwards. Whether we vigorously support and actively develop the new-born things which represent the direction in which society moves forward or suppress and eradicate them, whether we restrict and gradually do away with bourgeois right and other "birth marks" of the old society or protect, bolster and continue to expand them, is one important facet of the struggle between the two lines inside the Party. It is an important question of consolidating and strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat or destroying and weakening this dictatorship. We are bound to enthusiastically nurture and develop the new-born things if we want to consolidate and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat and actively and gradually overcome and eliminate the "birth marks" of the old society. This is an extensive and profound revolution. The doctrines of Confucius

and Mencius which advocate hanging on to the old and restoration and retrogression must be demolished and traditional concepts of the exploiting classes must be destroyed; only then can the new ways of the proletariat be established and the communist revolutionary spirit brought into full play. Only by clearing away the debris from the ruins of the old society can socialist new things grow sturdily. Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and their like used "the doctrine of the mean" which opposes social changes and a whole set of other malodorous ideas such as "he who excels in learning can be an official," "the highest are the wise and the lowest are the stupid," "those who work with their minds govern, those who work with their hands are governed" and "men are superior to women" — all rubbish from the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius — to safeguard and expand bourgeois right and oppose socialist new things in their vain attempt to stem the historical tide of socialist revolution. The massive examples of socialist new things growing up through struggle show that the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius must be profoundly criticized if the role of the new things in consolidating and strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat is to be brought into full play.

The doctrines of Confucius and Mencius are doctrines of selling out the country. The history of class struggle in China for more than 2,000 years tells us that most reactionaries who stood for restoration and retrogression took the path of capitulation and betraying the country. In modern and contemporary history, chieftains of reactionaries, like Tseng Kuo-fan* (1811-72), Yuan Shih-kai** (1859-1916) and Chiang Kai-shek, all were faithful followers of Confucius and lackeys of imperialism. Chieftains of opportunist lines, like Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao, also sought backing from imperialism and social-imperialism so as to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism. This was determined by the reactionary and feeble nature of their class. It should be noted that while these traitors were selling out the sovereignty and independence of the motherland to the aggressors they talked about "benevolence," "rites" and other drivel picked up from Confucius. Chairman Mao pointed out clearly in his *On New Democracy*: **"Imperialist culture and semi-feudal culture are devoted brothers and have formed a reactionary cultural alliance against China's new culture. This kind of reactionary culture serves the imperialists and the feudal class and must be swept away. Unless it is swept away, no new culture of any kind can be built up. There is no construction without destruction, no flowing without damming and no motion without rest; the two are locked in a life-and-death struggle."** To defend the unity and independence of our socialist motherland under the dictatorship of the proletariat, to oppose subversion and possible aggression

* A murderer who collaborated with imperialism to suppress the peasant movement of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom.

** Chieftain of the northern warlords who collaborated with the imperialists to suppress the Yi Ho Tuan Movement.

by imperialism and social-imperialism, we must profoundly criticize the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius.

The doctrines of Confucius and Mencius have always been linked with the historical fate of the declining reactionary classes and serve all the darkest social forces. Running through these doctrines is a reactionary ideological and political line advocating restoration, retrogression and national betrayal, and these doctrines can be merged with Chiang Kai-shek's fascism and also with the revisionism of Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao. They can be utilized by the feudal landlord class

and the old bourgeoisie as well as by the new bourgeois elements who oppose socialism. Guided by the Marxist theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat and taking hold of the reactionary essence and ideological basis of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius which stand for restoration, retrogression and national betrayal, we must thoroughly criticize these doctrines. This will help eliminate, step by step, the soil engendering revisionism, create conditions in which it will be impossible for the bourgeoisie to exist or for a new bourgeoisie to arise, and consolidate and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Criticism of Selected Passages From "Analects"—A Confucian "Classic"

by the workers' theoretical study group of the No. 2 workshop
of the Shanghai No. 5 Steel Plant

The Shanghai No. 5 Steel Plant was built in 1958, the year of China's big leap forward in socialist construction, and the No. 2 workshop was completed the following year. Since the beginning of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in 1966, the plant's cadres and workers have vastly raised their political consciousness and further understood the importance of grasping theory by the working people. Since the Second Plenary Session of the Ninth Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party in August 1970, they have been, more consciously than ever, studying works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and by Chairman Mao, studying the Party's basic line in the historical period of socialism, and criticizing the bourgeoisie and revisionism. In the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, they have set up workers' theoretical study groups.

While criticizing Lin Piao in 1972, workers in the No. 2 workshop looked through the four "classics" of the Confucian school—"Analects," "The Doctrine of the Mean," "Great Learning" and "Mencius"—and selected 258 sayings of Confucius and Mencius and, by comparing them with similar sayings by Lin Piao, they found that Lin Piao was a faithful disciple of Confucius. After the Tenth Party Congress in 1973, they selected and edited "One Hundred Fallacious Sayings by Confucius and Mencius" and criticized them. Since 1974 they not only have repeatedly criticized the "Analects," a record of the reactionary sayings and activities of Confucius, but selected and annotated works written in the classical language by such Legalists as Wang An-shih and Liu Tsung-yuan. Thus they have played the working class' role of being the main force in broadening, deepening and persevering in the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius,

We publish here 17 items from the criticism of selected passages from the "Analects" edited and written by them. — Ed.

Original text. Confucius said: "Benevolence means to restrain oneself and return to the rites. Once self-restraint and return to the rites are achieved, all under heaven will submit to the benevolent ruler."

Criticism. Here the "rites" refer to the hierarchy and its related rites and ceremonies under the slave system of the Western Chou Dynasty (11th century-770 B.C.). "Restraining oneself and returning to the rites" was the reactionary programme of Confucius for restoring the Western Chou slave system.

Towards the end of the Spring and Autumn Period (770-476 B.C.), the revolutionary flames of peasant uprisings were spreading everywhere and the newly rising landlord class was struggling to take over power from the slave-owning aristocracy. Faced with the situation of "the rites being lost and music ruined" and big turmoil under heaven, Confucius, a reactionary who stubbornly upheld the interests of the slave-owning aristocrats, waved the sinister banner of "restraining oneself and returning to the rites." What he wanted was to "revive states that were extinct, restore families that had lost their positions, and call to office those who had fallen into obscurity." He aimed at reviving the extinct states of the slave system, resuming the hereditary privileges of the slave-owning aristocrats and letting the overthrown slave-owning aristocrats return to power so as to restore the dictatorship of the slave-owning class.

The bourgeois careerist and conspirator Lin Piao more than once wrote reactionary scrolls bearing these words: "Of all things, this is the most important: to restrain oneself and return to the rites," and he regarded "to restrain oneself and return to the rites" as the most important thing of all. "Restraining oneself" was his way of having his gang cover up its counter-revolutionary ambition and engage in intrigues and conspiracies, and he also



A workers' theoretical group.

Woodcut by Shen Yao-yi

wanted the masses to put themselves at his and his son's "command" and "disposal." "Returning to the rites" was his goal, which is to change fundamentally the Party's basic line and policies in the historical period of socialism, subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat, restore capitalism and turn China into a colony of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism. Facts have proved that both Lin Piao and Confucius were dictators trying to turn back the clock.

As for "returning to the rites," it reminds us Shanghai workers of Chiang Kai-shek's big slaughter on April 12, 1927. In collusion with imperialism, that national traitor staged a counter-revolutionary coup d'état and sent troops to carry out large-scale murder of unarmed demonstrating workers. In a few moments corpses piled up and blood drenched Shanghai's Paoshan Road. We will never forget this historical lesson paid in blood! Now, under the dictatorship of the proletariat, Lin Piao dished up the reactionary programme of "restraining oneself and returning to the rites" in an attempt to restore capitalism, dispose of millions of revolutionaries and plunge the working people once again into the abyss of suffering. But this is only a daydream! Chairman Mao has pointed out: "Retrogression eventually produces the reverse of what its promoters intend." Like all other reactionaries, Lin Piao went against the historical tide and finally met his ignominious end and total ruin.

II

Original text. Confucius said: "What must be done is to rectify titles. . . . If the titles are not correct, words will not carry weight; if words do not carry weight, affairs will not succeed."

Criticism. Towards the end of the Spring and Autumn Period, insubordinations and rebellions were frequent and thus destroyed the rank and titles of "king, minister, father and son" stipulated in the rites of the Western Chou Dynasty. Under these circumstances

Confucius sprang to the fore clamouring for "rectifying titles." His aim was to drag back the changed objective reality and make it suit the old rank and titles and uphold and restore the ruling order of slave society. His idea of "rectifying titles" completely served the reactionary programme "restrain oneself and return to the rites."

Lin Piao picked up the garbage of "rectifying titles" from Confucius and dished up his anti-Party political programme in open opposition to Chairman Mao's repeated instructions that the state would not have a chairman. Lin Piao babbled that when "the state has no head," the result would be: "If the titles are not correct, words will not carry weight." In "rectifying titles" Lin Piao wanted to usurp supreme Party and state power so that he could restore capitalism with "a correct title and weighty words." But the wheel of history cannot be turned back. In spite of his big efforts to advocate "title-rectifying," Confucius could not save the slave system from collapsing. Neither could Lin Piao's "rectifying titles" stem the triumphant advance of our socialist cause.

III

Original text. Confucius said: "When the common people are ruled by administrative order and restricted by punishment, they might not commit crimes even though they do not know crimes are shameful. When ruled by virtue and restricted by rites, the common people know what shame is and behave well."

Criticism. When the slave system was collapsing and the feudal system was rising in the last years of the Spring and Autumn Period, the Legalists put forward the line of rule of "law"—to rule the country by law—and advocated development of feudal ownership of land, the use of revolutionary violence to strike at the slave-owning aristocrats and the establishment of political power of the rising landlord class. Confucius did his utmost to prettify "virtue" and "rites"

and used the reactionary idea of rule of "rites"* to oppose the Legalist thinking of rule of "law." This reflected the sharp opposition between the Confucian and Legalist lines at that time.

In eulogizing the rule of "rites," Confucius was simply using the hypocritical preachings of benevolence, righteousness and virtue to cover up the barbaric and cruel dictatorship of the slave-owners. When the rulers of Chi and Lu (two ducal states in the Spring and Autumn Period, Lu being in the southern part of present-day Shantung Province and Chi in the northern part) attended a meeting of friendship in Chiaku, the slaves were ordered to entertain them with music and dancing. Confucius said that their music and dancing violated the rites of the Western Chou Dynasty and befuddled the rulers, and therefore the slaves should be put to death. So the slaves were executed there and then. Less than three months after he became acting prime minister of the State of Lu, Confucius killed the reformer Shaocheng Mou in 493 B.C. In murdering the representatives of the Legalists, the restorationist forces of the slave-owners killed Wu Chi with a volley of arrows in 381 B.C., killed Shang Yang (c. 390-338 B.C.) by tying his limbs to chariots driven in different directions, and killed Li Ssu by cutting him in half at the waist in 203 B.C. Countless numbers of working people also were killed. These sanguinary facts fully revealed the reactionary essence of Confucius' rule of "rites."

Harping on the same string used by the Confucianists to attack the Legalists, Lin Piao slandered the latter as "punishers" and clamoured that "he who relies on virtue will thrive and he who relies on force will perish." In doing this, his aim was opposing revolutionary violence, social change and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Both Lin Piao and Confucius were insidious reactionaries. While saying "he who relies on virtue will thrive," he was plotting to kill the revolutionary people. But the working class, armed with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, could neither be deceived by Lin Piao's hypocritical preachings about the rule of "virtue" and "benevolence and righteousness" nor frightened by his counter-revolutionary ferocious features. Since the struggle to smash the Lin Piao anti-Party clique, we have heightened our ability to distinguish between genuine and false Marxism and understood still better the importance of strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat.

IV

Original text: Confucius said: "I pass on what is ancient and do not create anything new. I have firm confidence in and love the ancient things."

Criticism. As Confucius saw it, all the old things were perfect and even the slightest changes should be prohibited. He advocated that people should follow the calendar of the Hsia Dynasty (c. 21st century-17th century B.C.), ride in carts built in the style of the Yin Dynasty (17th century-11th century B.C.), wear hats in the fashion of Chou Dynasty times and play music

dating back to the times of Yu Shun (legendary leader of a tribal alliance in Chinese primitive times more than 4,000 years ago). What a vivid self-portrait of a "back to the ancients" maniac!

The diehard Confucius was the deadly enemy of all new-born things. He ardently trumpeted the reactionary idea of "having firm confidence in and loving the ancient things," attacked a series of social changes such as casting tripods bearing articles of punishment** and collecting the land tax***, and was dissatisfied even with the changed form of a wine cup. What he had "confidence" in was the declining system and what he "loved" were rotten things.

Tit for tat, the Legalists in the Spring and Autumn Period and the Warring States Period advocated that "when the situation changes things will change too"; they maintained that the old rules and old systems should not be followed and criticized the moribund "way of former kings" and the "rites of Duke Chou."**** The Legalist line of reform and corresponding measures conformed to the historical development of society at that time and thus played a progressive role.

Following in the footsteps of Confucius, Lin Piao energetically spread the fallacy that "the present is worse than the past," slandered the excellent situation since the start of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, venomously attacked and vilified socialist new things and frantically opposed the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. But historical dialectics is irresistible. **"With the support**

*The rule of "rites" was a political idea of the Confucian school. It stressed absolute observance of the hierarchy, rituals and ceremonies under the slave system of the Western Chou Dynasty, strict distinction between the social position of the slave-owner and the slave and absolute obedience by the slave to the slave-owner. The slave-owning aristocrats at all levels had to be content with their rank and title and not overstep the limits set by them.

** This refers to casting iron tripods bearing articles of punishment. There was punishment in slave society but no proclaimed articles. The will of slave-owners was law and they were immune from punishment. Some representatives of the emerging landlord class in the Spring and Autumn Period wanted to work out some articles of punishment and proclaim them by casting them on tripods, so as to restrict and strike at the privileged status of the slave-owning aristocrats.

*** This means collecting a military tax according to the area of land held by each household. At the time of slavery in China, all land belonged to the supreme ruler and was called "public domain." The supreme ruler distributed the "public domain" to the slave-owners for their use according to their rank. With the development of the productive forces in the Spring and Autumn Period, a section of the slave-owners used the labour of their slaves to open up more land which became the "private land" of the slave-owners. At first, the rulers of the ducal states refused to recognize the legality of "private land." In 594 B.C. the ducal State of Lu in what is now Shantung Province began collecting tax according to the land area, irrespective of "public domain" and "private land." This measure objectively recognized the legality of feudal land ownership.

**** Duke Chou worked out for the Western Chou Dynasty the institutions and systems which upheld the dictatorship of the slave-owning aristocrats. They were later known as the "rites of Duke Chou."

of the proletarian state power, the young shoots of Communism will not wither; they will grow and blossom into complete Communism." (Lenin: *A Great Beginning*.)

The growth of any new-born thing has to go through difficulties and twists and turns. In trying for a restoration, the class enemy will naturally attack and sabotage socialist new things by every means. Influenced by the force of habit, some people in our revolutionary ranks often follow the conventional way and get into a rut. To consolidate and develop the successful results of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, we must deeply criticize the reactionary saying of "having firm confidence in and loving the ancient things," wipe out its influence, give tremendous support to socialist new things and be promoters of revolution.

V

Original text. Tzu-hsia (a disciple of Confucius) said: "I heard from my teacher that life and death are preordained; wealth and honour come from heaven."

Criticism. Confucius spared no efforts to blare the idealist theory of the "will of heaven." According to this theory, people should believe that the ruling position of the slave-owning class was decided by "heaven" and could not be changed, and that the bloody rule of the slave-owners over the slaves was "preordained" and irresistible. By preaching the theory of the "will of heaven," he attempted to stamp out the conflagration of slave uprisings and prevent any revolutionary change by the emerging landlord class.

The reactionary ruling classes of the past in China all used Confucius' theory of the "will of heaven" as their magic weapon for ruling the people. They fabricated many proverbs propagating this theory such as "everything is preordained, nothing is disposed by man," and "what is preordained will be given you, what is not preordained will be out of your reach." They cursed the working people, calling them born "cheap bones" and "ill-fated devils." Sayings like these are extremely absurd and reactionary!

An old worker in our workshop who was an apprentice in the old society in Shanghai at 12 led a life worse than that of a beast of burden. He has been emancipated politically and economically since liberation and his family now lives a happy life. With profound understanding, he said: "We working people suffered much in the past. It was entirely the result of ruthless oppression and exploitation by the landlords and capitalists and had nothing to do with any so-called bitter fate. Our living is getting better and better. Is this because our fate has changed? Certainly not. It is because of the good leadership of Chairman Mao and the Communist Party and the good socialist system under the dictatorship of the proletariat. We do not rely on or believe in the will of heaven, but we rely on and believe in revolution."

The bourgeois careerist Lin Piao also desperately peddled the "will of heaven" theory. Styling himself a "heavenly horse" and a "genius," he wanted others to believe he was "endowed by heaven" and to accept his rule willingly. But his dream of restoration could never be realized. He finally died in a plane crash at Undur Khan in the People's Republic of Mongolia and met his shameless end.

VI

Original text. Confucius said: "The superior man stands in awe of three things: the will of heaven, great men and the words of the sages. As the inferior man does not know the will of heaven, he does not stand in awe of it. He shows no respect for the great men and looks down on the words of the sages."

Criticism. The "will of heaven," "great men" and "words of the sages" mentioned by Confucius are in fact the religious authority, political authority and reactionary ruling ideology of slave society. He tried to scare people with these three monstrous things and compel them to submit to the rule of the slave-owners for ever. He attacked the "inferior man" for not fearing these three things. He was correct on this point. The slaves and Legalists had no fear of the so-called will of heaven, the political power of the slave-owning class was precisely what they wanted to overthrow, and the words of the sages were exactly what they wanted to criticize. What they did was to rise in revolution and rebellion.

"Standing in awe of the three things" or not was an important content in the class struggle and the two-line struggle for more than 2,000 years. Liuhsia Chih, outstanding leader of a slave uprising, refuted Confucius to his face and exposed that Confucius' so-called "great men" and "sages" were merely "turmoil creators" and "the strong bullying the weak." Speechless before this criticism, Confucius fled helter-skelter. Chen Sheng, the leader of the first great peasant uprising in Chinese history which took place in 209 B.C., said: "Are the kings, dukes, generals and prime ministers destined to be so?" He led the peasants in an uprising, negating the Confucian theory of the "will of heaven" by his revolutionary action. The Legalist Hsun Kuang (see "Contention Between Hsun Kuang and Mencius Is a Two-Line Struggle," *Peking Review*, No. 44, 1974) put forward the concept of "making use of heaven by mastering its law of change," a concept which affirmed that man would surely triumph over nature. The Legalist Wang An-shih in the Northern Sung Dynasty (960-1127) set forth the concept that "natural changes need not be feared, ancestral ways need not be followed and other people's slanders need not be heeded." Directly opposed to Confucius' idea of "standing in awe of the three things," this concept strongly refuted the attacks of the diehards and spread the idea of reform and change.

An agent of the landlord and capitalist classes, Lin Piao copied Confucius' "standing in awe of the three

things" and used this as his counter-revolutionary ideological weapon. He wanted people to believe the "will of heaven," obey his counter-revolutionary statements and activities, and regard the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius he propagated as "truths." In this way he energetically endeavoured to create public opinion for founding a fascist Lin dynasty. But, like Confucius who failed to save the slave system from destruction by trumpeting "standing in awe of the three things," Lin Piao also could not avert failure by peddling this stuff.

VII

Original text. Confucius said: "Those born with knowledge rank highest. Those who acquire knowledge through learning rank lower. Those who have difficulty but learn rank still lower. Those who have difficulty and refuse to learn are the lowest—the common people."

Criticism. Here Confucius shamelessly praised the slave-owners and viciously attacked the working people. This is out-and-out idealist apriorism.

Confucius talked about different ranks, actually he put people into only two ranks. One was the slave-owning aristocrats together with the so-called "sages" who were the natural rulers; the other embraced those born "stupid," or slaves, who could only be ruled. In disseminating the idea that there were people "born with knowledge," he was simply trying to defend and restore the slave system. In fact there is no such thing in the world—a "sage" "born with knowledge." **"The lowly are most intelligent; the elite are most ignorant."** The masses are the real motive force in creating history. Confucius, the "sage," was an outright fool without learning and knowledge and a homeless dog chased everywhere. Liuhsia Chih derided him: "Haven't you boasted that you are a genius and sage born with knowledge? But you were twice chased out of the State of Lu, you could not remain in the State of Wei (a ducal state in the northern part of present-day Honan Province), you failed to find a way out in the State of Chi, and were besieged and hungry for days in Chen and Tsai (two ducal states in what is now the eastern part of Honan Province and a part of Anhwei Province). There is no place for you to stay in this vast world. . . . After all, what is your preaching worth?" These words stripped Confucius of his mask of "sage."

Taking over from Confucius, Lin Piao used the idealist theory of "genius" as his theoretical programme for usurping Party and state power and restoring capitalism. He boasted about the "particularly brilliant" head he was given by his "parents," and dressed himself up as a "genius" "born with knowledge." But the fact was he was a big Party tyrant and big warlord without any learning.

According to Marxist epistemology, correct ideas "come from social practice, and from it alone; they come from three kinds of social practice, the struggle

for production, the class struggle and scientific experiment." (Mao Tsetung: *Where Do Correct Ideas Come From?*) We workers have a deep understanding of this point. When our No. 2 workshop was first built in 1959, most of its workers and staff members came from other trades and did not know how to make steel. Learning while doing, we gradually learnt the art of it and are now turning out several hundred kinds of steel as against a dozen at the beginning. Many experienced veteran workers can judge the temperature of the molten steel by its colour and the carbon content by its sparks. It has been proved by facts that true knowledge comes from practice and ability grows out of struggle. Great numbers of creations and inventions by us, the working people, constitute a powerful rebuttal to the theory of "genius" that some are "born with knowledge" as peddled by Confucius and Lin Piao.

VIII

Original text. Tseng Shen (a disciple of Confucius) said: "Every day I repeatedly examine myself from my innermost part and cultivate myself."

Criticism. This is the idealist method of self-cultivation.

Since Confucius and his later generations of disciples politically turned their faces backward and wanted to put back the clock, philosophically they had to stand the relation between knowledge and practice upside down. According to the Confucianists, the benevolence, righteousness, loyalty and sincerity they touted were all inherent in people's minds, and only by examining one's words and acts by such moral standards and digging out one's mistakes behind a closed door could one cultivate oneself to be a defender of the old system.

Lin Piao also made big efforts to peddle this Confucian "self-examination" method of cultivation and advocated that "if you want to solve problems, you should let revolution break out in the innermost part of your soul." According to this absurd remark, one's knowledge can be acquired and world outlook remoulded without taking part in the practice of the three great revolutionary movements and without studying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, and these can be achieved simply by "outbreaks in the innermost part of the soul." Here Lin Piao sang the same refrain as Liu Shao-chi did in his sinister book *Self-Cultivation*. By spreading this reactionary philosophy, Lin Piao tried to lead the masses astray on to the road of "self-cultivation behind a closed door" so they would forget the Party's basic line and become docile tools of the bourgeoisie.

"The standpoint of life, of practice, should be first and fundamental in the theory of knowledge." (Lenin: *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*.) It is impossible to have correct knowledge or a scientific world outlook if one departs from social practice and does not study revolutionary theory. Take for example the old workers in our workshop who lived in the old society. Does

(Continued on p. 14.)

How to Quicken the Pace of Development?

MARKED by an ever wider range and greater variety of products, China's light industry, under the impact of the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, continued making great headway in 1974 following a 10 per cent increase the year before. The industry has grown so fast it embraces dozens of large branches turning out thousands of products to meet the needs of the people, national construction and foreign trade. Output in 1974 of cotton textiles, silk, machine-made paper, sugar and salt — these industries existed before liberation — was several times, a dozen times or even more than 20 times that in early post-liberation years. At the same time, production of bicycles and sewing machines soared more than 60 and 40 times respectively. Many new industries which got started around 1958 now are on a relatively solid basis. They include the wrist-watch, camera, transistor radio, daily use plastic goods, synthetic detergent and chemical fibre industries, whose production capacity has kept expanding. Compared with 1965, the year before the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution began, wrist-watch production was up six times in 1974, transistor radios more than 11 times, chemical fibres nearly three times. The constantly increasing output and variety of light industrial products have been accompanied by continuous improvement in quality. Quite a number of items sell promptly on both domestic and international markets.

China's thriving light industry is the result of the Chinese people following Chairman Mao's teaching of "maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands and relying on our own efforts" to develop the national economy and the fruit of their implementing the principle of development in the order of agriculture, light industry and heavy industry.

Important Role

Light industry has a close relationship to the livelihood of the people in the city and countryside. With the steady improvement in their material life, the people place ever greater and higher demands on light industrial goods. Though production of sewing machines, wrist-watches, bicycles and chemical fibres has increased by a wide margin for years running, output still falls short of demand. Light industrial goods now account for nearly half the total volume of domestic retail sales.

Light industrial goods are important materials in the hands of the state in exchange for farm produce from the peasants working collectively. The peasants' demand for manufactured goods has become bigger and bigger as a result of daily increasing farm and side-line products with which they conduct exchanges with the

cities. Miyun County in Peking, for instance, bought 20 per cent more light industrial goods in 1974 than in the previous year. To step up the development of light industrial production, therefore, is of great importance in further strengthening ties between the cities and rural areas, consolidating the worker-peasant alliance and gradually reducing the differences between town and country.

As an important component part of the national economy, light industry can accumulate funds for expanding heavy industry and agriculture. In the period between 1952 and 1973, accumulated funds provided by light industrial departments to the state was equivalent to three-fourths of total state investment in industrial capital construction. Profits turned over to the state by all light industrial departments in 1974 were enough to build 80 synthetic ammonia plants, each with an annual capacity of 300,000 tons, or more than 1,500 walking-tractor plants, each making 10,000 of the vehicles annually.

Development in the Order of Agriculture, Light Industry and Heavy Industry

"Without agriculture there can be no light industry." Farm and side-line products are now the main raw materials for light industry. With farm production greatly expanded since liberation, especially with the successive rich harvests of 13 years since 1962, light industry has been provided with a steadily increasing supply of grain, cotton, sugar-bearing crops, jute, ambari hemp and cured tobacco, and this has helped catapult the industry forward. Compared with 1949, the year of liberation, cotton output has increased 5.7-fold, sugar-bearing crops nearly 7-fold, cured tobacco 14-fold, wool 3.6-fold. As a result, cotton cloth, sugar, cigarette and woollen fabric production has gone up four to 12 times.

China's light industry was so backward before liberation that there was only an insignificant number of up-to-standard light industrial factories, outfitted almost entirely with imported machines and equipment at that. Since liberation, the Chinese people have independently and self-reliantly developed the metallurgical, machine-building, petroleum, chemical, power, coal and other heavy industries which in turn have helped boost light industry by supplying it with equipment, power and raw and other materials. Large numbers of light industrial factories have been equipped with domestic-made machines and instruments and meters. The amount of raw materials for light industry provided by heavy industry has risen from 10 per cent in the early post-liberation period to 30 per cent today.

A powerful heavy industry is indispensable for modernizing agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology. But two diametrically opposed lines have always existed on the question of how to develop heavy industry. According to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, attention must be paid to developing light industry and agriculture in order to develop heavy industry. This is because heavy industry, light industry and agriculture are interdependent and supplementary and help promote each other's growth. The most correct way is to develop heavy industry by ensuring the greater development of light industry and agriculture. **"As agriculture and light industry develop, heavy industry, assured of its market and funds, will grow faster."** In drawing up a national economic plan, therefore, we should take into consideration agriculture, light industry and heavy industry in that order so as to ensure the growth of the first two.

In a vain effort to drag socialist China on to the revisionist road, Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and their followers, however, prattled that "we must develop heavy industry first and then turn to light industry" and that "it doesn't matter whether there is light industry or not, it can be pushed aside." Such ideas were designed to put the development of agriculture, light industry and heavy industry in opposition to one another, with the result that light industry would be hamstrung and agriculture undermined, and consequently heavy industry would fail to develop.

Thanks to serious implementation of the principle of development in the order of agriculture, light industry and heavy industry with a proper place given to light industry, recent years have seen the speedy growth of light industry in the municipalities of Peking, Shanghai and Tientsin, the provinces of Liaoning, Kiangsu, Hupeh, Yunnan and Kwangtung, and the Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous Region.

In the light of its own characteristics, the Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous Region has in the past few years made it a point to study and arrange for the development of light industry as regards the principles and policies to be followed as well as its distribution, plan, raw materials and product designing. As a result, the annual rate of increase in light industry since 1970 has averaged 15 per cent. Increased products have made for an ever better supply on the market year after year. Simultaneous with light industrial development in this region, there has been a bigger upswing in agriculture and heavy industry too.

The growth of light industry was relatively slow in Liaoning Province, an important base of heavy industry. Since 1970, however, there have been gratifying results in developing light industry by readjusting the proportion of heavy industry, light industry and agriculture and pooling the efforts of all other quarters to make use of favourable conditions provided by heavy industry.

Tap Production Potential

Mobilizing the masses to tap the production potential in existing enterprises is the main way to accel-

erate the development of light industry with greater, faster, better and more economical results. Rapid growth of light industry in Shanghai, Tientsin, Tantung, Changchow, Nanning and other cities is mainly due to the fact that the masses are set in motion to tap production potential and go in for technical transformation in a big way, thereby greatly raising production capacity with less investment.

Production potential lies in the masses and the key to tapping it is found in their soaring enthusiasm. The Tientsin Bicycle Factory is a case in point. Since the masses there have criticized reactionary concepts spread by Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao, such as the "theory of productive forces" and "heroes are the makers of history," their socialist enthusiasm has been brought into full play and an upsurge in technical transformation has been set in motion. With an additional investment of several hundred thousand yuan, they succeeded in producing 130,000 more bicycles in 1974 than the year before. If a new factory had been built to make these bicycles, it would have required an investment of more than 10 million yuan and taken three to four years.

Utilize Local Resources

Initial results have been gained in recent years by a number of areas which have made use of local resources and conditions to develop light industry.

Shenyang in northeast China's Liaoning Province is a city with a fairly sizable machine-building industry. Exploiting the conditions provided by that industry, it has in recent years concentrated efforts on solving the problem of raw materials for nylon spinning, synthetic detergents and polyvinyl chloride as well as feed-stock for cracking. Today, production of synthetic detergents has met the needs of the masses and that of nylon staples has provided them with a greater variety of clothing.

Light industrial departments in Kansu Province, northwest China, use the waste water, gas and residue from factories and mines to make large quantities of wool grease, "920" insecticide and sodium sulphate.

China abounds in farm, forestry, animal husbandry, side-line occupation and fishery products as well as wild life and plants, all of which can be used or cultivated to the full to develop light industry. Ningsia, Sinkiang, Tibet and Chinghai have developed a woollen textile industry with their abundant sources of wool. The Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region has built up a sugar-refining industry because its natural conditions are favourable to growing sugar-beet. The paper industry has made much progress in Hunan Province where reeds are planted on barren isles in the Tungting Lake. Similarly, many other areas have developed and made the best of their native products to expand the light and handicraft industries. Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, the country's light industry will advance at a faster pace and with brighter prospects ahead.

Plots Cannot Be Concealed By Lies

AT a time when the south Vietnamese patriotic armed forces and people are winning great victories in severely punishing the Nguyen Van Thieu clique for its criminal acts of violating the Paris agreement and when the Saigon puppet troops are being routed again and again, the U.S. Government has hurriedly concocted and made a big fuss about the so-called south Vietnamese "refugee" issue and sent troops and warships in connection with the question of "evacuating" Americans. This merits close attention by all nations and people concerned with safeguarding the Paris agreement. On April 7 and 8, the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam and the Foreign Ministry of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam respectively issued statements sternly denouncing the U.S. Government for scheming in relation to these two issues. The Chinese people firmly support these statements!

The so-called south Vietnamese "refugee" issue has been contrived exclusively by the U.S. Government and the Thieu clique. In fact, the broad masses of people in the newly liberated areas of south Viet Nam enthusiastically welcome liberation and warmly support the people's administration, and life has quickly returned to normal for the people. These facts are a resounding slap in the face of the fabricator of the lie about "refugees from communism." If there are refugees in south Viet Nam, it is precisely the result of the atrocities perpetrated by the Thieu clique under U.S. support. It is precisely this clique that forced the people at bayonet point to follow its troops in their retreat when they were routed. It made tens of thousands of people homeless and caused thousands of them to die of hunger and disease or be killed. It should be pointed out that in glibly talking about "refugees," the U.S. Government has the ulterior motive of vigorously helping the Thieu clique to gather manpower and material resources for continuing the war.

Similarly, there are also vicious designs in the so-called "evacuation and protection of Americans" question. As is well known, the U.S. Government, in violation of the Paris agreement it had signed, sent over 20,000 military personnel in the guise of civilians to south Viet Nam to take part in the Thieu clique's crime of sabotaging the agreement. These Americans should, of course, have long been withdrawn totally and immediately. If the United States really wants

to evacuate them, it can be easily done. But, instead of doing so, the U.S. Government recently sent over 20 warships—including missile carrying cruisers, aircraft carriers, destroyers, amphibious and supply ships—and several thousand "ready-to-fight" marines swarming into the waters of south Viet Nam. In doing so, it is only trying to intimidate and threaten the south Vietnamese people under the pretext of the so-called "evacuation" of Americans.

The April 7 statement of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam sternly reveals that so-called "refugee" problem in south Viet Nam and "plan" for "evacuation" of Americans are merely the U.S. Government's new plots to meddle in south Viet Nam. The U.S. Government is trying to achieve its criminal aim of saving the Thieu clique and prolonging the war by slandering the just struggle of the south Vietnamese people and deceiving world public opinion, including U.S. public opinion. Undoubtedly, such schemes will never succeed.

The correct way to settle the south Viet Nam question now is that the U.S. Government must immediately withdraw all U.S. warships from the waters of south Viet Nam, stop all involvement in south Viet Nam and all interference in internal affairs there, thoroughly respect and strictly implement the Paris agreement on Viet Nam and let the Vietnamese people solve their own problems themselves without any foreign interference.

It is necessary to learn from historical lessons. The anti-colonialism, anti-imperialism, and anti-hegemony revolutionary tide of the 1970s is sweeping the four oceans and five continents. The "gunboat policy" has long gone bankrupt. For its war of aggression in Viet Nam, the United States has in the past years spent more than 200,000 million U.S. dollars and sent more than half a million U.S. troops at the maximum. But all this cannot hold back the victorious development of the Vietnamese people's just struggle. To send a few more warships for intimidation and add a little to the amount of U.S. dollars for bolstering the puppets now can by no means impede the triumphant advance of the south Vietnamese people. Victory undoubtedly belongs to the heroic Vietnamese people!

("Renmin Ribao" Commentator, April 13)

Naked Annexation

WITHOUT a shred of conscience, the Indian Government let loose its troops on April 9 and forcibly disbanded the palace guards of Sikkim's Chogyal. The very next day, Sikkim's cabinet and national assembly, manipulated by the Indian Government, adopted "resolutions" demanding the removal of the Chogyal and the turning of Sikkim into a constituent state of India. Immediately afterwards, Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi sent a message pledging "full support." This act of depriving at bayonet point the Chogyal of his authority and blatantly annexing Sikkim once again reveals the Indian Government's ugly expansionist features. With deep indignation, the Chinese people strongly condemn this Indian action.

Annexing Sikkim has been the widely known ambition of Indira Gandhi and her father Jawaharlal Nehru. Shortly after its independence, India already had turned Sikkim into its "protectorate." Emboldened by Soviet social-imperialist backing, the Indian expansionists became more unscrupulous in recent years. In 1973, the Indian Government openly marched troops into Gangtok, capital of Sikkim, to take over Sikkim's administrative power by force. In 1974, the Indian Parliament, in the teeth of strong opposition of the Sikkimese people and world public opinion, carried out the colonialist annexation of Sikkim by making it an "associate state" of India through an amendment to the Indian Constitution. Now, the fig-leaf of "protectorate" and of "associate state" has been completely cast aside, and Sikkim is turned all at once into a constituent state of India. It is indeed the height of arrogance for the Indian Government to commit so outrageous an aggression in the 1970s.

It is crystal clear that this is a case of annexation by armed force, yet the Indian Government brazenly described it as an act in "support" of the request of the "Sikkimese government's elected representatives." This

trick is nothing new at all; it has long been the practice of the imperialists and colonialists, new and old. Everybody knows that the "Sikkimese government" is merely a quisling on the string of India, and the Sikkimese "national assembly" was set up at the point of Indian bayonets. But this was not enough for the Indian Government, for it sent its Foreign Secretary of the Ministry of External Affairs to Gangtok to set the stage for the act. Thus one can see that the "request" by such a "government" and "national assembly" was simply a request by the Indian Government to itself and nothing more!

As in the case of the dismemberment of Pakistan and the annexation of Indian-occupied Kashmir, it is Soviet social-imperialist backing that has made the Indian expansionists so arrogant as to commit the recent outrage. While the annexation of Sikkim was in process, the Soviet social-imperialists never ceased egging the Indian Government on from behind the scenes and setting in motion their propaganda machine to cheer for it, alleging that "it is imperative that the Sikkimese people are represented in India's political organs for the sake of enhancing India-Sikkim friendship." This despicable act of the Soviet social-imperialists has aggravated the turmoil in the South Asian subcontinent.

The Sikkimese people will never tolerate their national independence and sovereignty being trampled on by the Soviet-social-imperialist-backed Indian expansionists. They are waging an indomitable struggle. Countries want independence, nations want liberation and the people want revolution — this is an irresistible historical current in the world today. In our time, no expansionist can ever succeed in perpetuating the enslavement of another people. By going against the historical current, the Indian expansionists will end up badly battered and severely punished by history.

("Renmin Ribao" Commentator, April 13)

(Continued from p. 10.)

their consciousness of class struggle and the two-line struggle come out of "outbreaks in the innermost part of the soul" touched off by "repeated examination and self-cultivation"? Certainly not. Enslaved and persecuted at every turn in the old society by the landlords and capitalists, they know that the reactionary ruling classes will never change their nature, just like "tigers in the eastern or western mountains all devour people." Through repeated struggle, failure and renewed struggle, they have come to understand that they can liberate themselves and become masters of the country only by following the Communist Party to make revolution and overthrow the reactionaries. Led by the Party after liberation, they have studied Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. Through

many political movements which defeated successive attacks by monsters and ghosts, they have seen through the class enemies, who are just like "onions under the eaves whose hearts are still alive despite the scorched outer skin," and deepened their understanding of the Party's basic line. We members of the working class deeply understand that in order to continuously raise our consciousness of class struggle and the two-line struggle, we must diligently study works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and by Chairman Mao, actively take part in the practice of the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment, and persevere in the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

(To be continued.)

Confrontation or Dialogue

IN the present in-depth struggle against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism, the third world countries have put forward their just proposal to break up the old and inequitable international economic order and establish new and equitable international economic relations.

The struggle in recent years by the third world oil-producing countries has played a trail-blazing role in this respect. Relentless plunder and exploitation of third world developing countries by the imperialist countries, the superpowers in particular, are the biggest obstacles to economic emancipation for these countries. It is only natural that the third world oil-producing countries should struggle to sweep away these obstacles and take necessary steps to safeguard their state sovereignty and national economic interests. What they are carrying out does not go beyond recovery of ownership of their oil resources and readjustment of oil prices — which had long been unreasonably forced down — to lessen the disparity with high-priced manufactured goods imported from the developed countries.

Two Different Policies

Towards the just measures and demands of the third world oil-producers, the oil-consuming developed countries have taken two different attitudes: one is "confrontation," that is to say, pursuing a policy of intransigence in an attempt to make superprofits and plunder others as was done in the past; the other is to conduct a "dialogue," that is, to take a more realistic approach and to sit down for consultations with the oil-producers.

Over the past year or so, the United States has adopted in the main the attitude of confrontation. It is using two tactics: to apply direct pressure, even the threat of force, on the oil-producers and to rig up a so-called "united front" of the oil-consumers aimed at tying the second world countries to the confrontation policy and controlling these countries through fuel supplies. But confrontation, which runs counter to the historical world trend, has proved of no avail.

Realistic Attitude Produces Results

Now, a number of developed countries have in different degrees realized that to serve their own interests, dialogue with the third world oil-producers is preferable. This has won positive response from the oil-producers persevering in their struggle to safeguard state sovereignty and national economic interests. After the 1973 October Middle East War, the foreign ministers of the

nine countries of the West European Common Market issued a policy statement on the Middle East at the Brussels conference. In reply, the Sixth Arab Summit Conference adopted a declaration saying that the Arab heads of state "noted the better understanding of the Arab cause which the West European countries have begun to show." Since then, the Arab countries have had dialogues with the nine countries in Copenhagen, Paris and Cairo on the Middle East situation and the question of energy supplies. French President d'Estaing proposed holding an international conference. In March this year, the First Summit Conference of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries announced that it had agreed "to the principle of holding an international conference bringing together the developed and developing countries."

Over the past year or so, bilateral dialogues between a number of the developed countries and third world oil-producing countries have produced some results. Leading oil-consumers such as France, Britain, the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy and Japan have separately signed agreements with Iran, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Libya on oil supplies and on other economic needs. It is clear that this kind of dialogue is helpful for getting rid of or reducing control and exploitation of the third world oil-producing countries and the second world oil-consuming countries by the two hegemonic powers.

Aim of "Confrontation" Policy

The two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States, are frantic in their scramble for oil resources. On the one hand, they want to keep oil in their hands as the lifeblood of industry and war; on the other hand, each needs it as a means to control its own "allies" and even the "allies" of the opposing side. Their aim is to benefit their war preparations and world domination. In addition, the two hegemonic powers have taken advantage of the opportunity to amass staggering profits. Gross profits last year of the ten main U.S. petroleum companies rose by a big margin compared with 1973, itself a record profit year. In reselling tens of millions of tons of oil from the Middle East in 1973 and 1974, the Soviet Union sometimes charged Western Europe as much as triple the price it had paid for it and recently charged Eastern Europe 2.3 times its original price. This is why the two hegemonic powers want confrontation between the oil-consuming and oil-producing countries.

A preparatory meeting for the international conference proposed by the French President opened in

Paris on April 7. If the developed countries are really willing to carry on a true dialogue with the developing countries on oil, other raw materials, development and reforming the international financial systems, this will help solve the problems of economic relations between them, provided of course the dialogue is based on equality and mutual benefit, disallowing any attempts to maintain and restore plunder and super exploitation.

Facts on File

Western Europe's "Dialogue" With Middle East Oil-Producers

THE West European countries are actively pursuing a policy of "dialogue" with the Middle East oil-producing countries to promote economic and trade relations. This is a new trend in present international developments.

"Dialogues" are being conducted bilaterally or multilaterally. Between West European countries and Middle East oil-producing countries, in the last year or so government leaders have exchanged visits, a series of trade agreements have been signed, orders for machinery, equipment and arms and munitions placed, and investment programmes drawn up.

The Middle East occupies a very important strategic location on Europe's flank. Moreover, it supplies West European countries with more than 80 per cent of their oil. The outbreak of the Middle East War in October 1973 harshly revealed to the latter that the Soviet-U.S. Middle East tussle, especially the Soviet Union's ambition to swallow up that part of the world, seriously threatens or damages their security and vital interests. To break the Soviet-U.S. monopoly of Middle East affairs and obstruct Soviet ambitions, they have tried hard to strengthen their ties with the Middle East countries. They hope to stabilize their own oil supplies through direct contact with these oil-producing countries. By exporting industrial equipment, arms and technique, they also want to bring back to Europe, as much as possible, the foreign exchange spent for oil imports from those countries.

These political and economic considerations have prompted West European countries to adopt an attitude of "dialogue" rather than "confrontation" with the oil-producers. They also differ to varying degrees from the United States in policy towards the Arab struggle against the Israeli aggressors.

The Middle East oil-producing countries have responded favourably to the West European countries' approach, showing a readiness to develop relations with them on the basis of equality and mutual benefit.

So long as the developing countries further strengthen unity and solidarity, steadfastly defend state sovereignty and protect their national economic interests and deepen their struggle against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism, equitable new international economic relations will finally be established.

(A commentary by Hsinhua Correspondent, April 8)

Last July, the member states of the European Economic Community began a "dialogue" in Paris with 20 Arab countries on economic matters and technique.

France took the lead in conducting "dialogues" with the oil-producing countries. French President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing made it clear in various speeches that France will follow an independent line and play its own role on the oil question.

An economic co-operation agreement amounting to 4,500 million U.S. dollars was concluded between both countries when the Shahanshah of Iran visited France last June. The two countries signed another economic agreement for 6,000 million U.S. dollars when the Foreign Minister of France visited Iran in December.

Since last August when France lifted its 1967 embargo on arms shipments to Middle East belligerents, sales of French arms to the Middle East have markedly increased. Government figures show that arms exports last year were valued at 3,443 million U.S. dollars, a more than twofold increase over the previous year. Buyers were mostly countries in the Near and Middle East and Latin America. A number of traditional Middle East buyers of American or Soviet arms have turned to France for supplies in order to reduce their reliance on the two superpowers.

Britain's contacts with Middle East countries also have increased. British Secretary of State for Trade Peter Shore signed a trade agreement for sale to Iran of 15 freighters (10,000-ton-class) for 1,200 million U.S. dollars last January when he visited Iran. Recently, Britain concluded a contract for construction of Dubai dockyard for the United Arab Emirates.

Other West European countries are also seeking to expand trade with the Middle East countries. Italy concluded an industrial development agreement for 3,100 million U.S. dollars with Iran last June, and a 12-year agreement for 3,000 million U.S. dollars on economic and technical co-operation with Iraq in July.

In the past year, the West European countries have not only obtained guarantees, to a certain extent, for their oil supplies, but also have substantially increased their Middle East trade. Exports from these countries to the Arab countries and Iran in 1974 exceeded 16,000 million U.S. dollars. In varying degrees, expanded trade with the Middle East countries has reduced West European countries' serious trade deficits and unfavourable international payments.

Moscow Hawking "All-Europe Economic Co-operation"

by Cheng Wei-min

WITH its concentration of modern industry, banking and trade, Europe holds an important strategic position. It has always been the key point of their all-out contention in the global strategy of the Soviet Union and the United States for world domination. The rivalry between the two hegemonic powers rages on not only in the political and military but also in the economic fields.

On the one hand, Soviet social-imperialism is spreading smokescreens like "security in Europe" and "disarmament in Central Europe" in an effort to create among the European people a false impression of "detente." On the other, it is intensifying expansion and infiltration in Western Europe under the signboard of "all-Europe economic co-operation," while tightening its control, exploitation and plunder of some East European countries. Taking advantage of the most serious postwar economic crisis in Western capitalist countries, Moscow is all the more energetically hawking its "all-Europe economic co-operation" wares for further economic penetration of Western Europe so as to squeeze out U.S. influence and shake off its own economic difficulties.

So-called "all-Europe economic co-operation" actually is a variant of the "socialist integration" and "economic co-operation" the Soviet revisionists have advocated in the "socialist community" of the "Council for Mutual Economic Assistance." The Soviet revisionists' aim not only is to continue their domination over Eastern Europe, but also to undermine the West European Common Market and obstruct the West European countries from achieving union, thereby extending their sphere of influence from Eastern Europe to the whole continent.

Covetous of West European Capital and Technology

In selling "all-Europe economic co-operation" to Western Europe, the Soviet Union above all has in mind acquisition of West European capital and technology. This is because it is in the grip of a dislocated national economy, capital shortage and technological backwardness in many key production sectors, all resulting from its frantic arms expansion and war preparations and inflated military spending in its contention with the United States for world domination.

The Soviet Union has been begging all over for loans, especially long-term, low-interest loans, in Western Europe. Figures show that from 1964 to April 1974, it borrowed over 8,000 million dollars from the West, mainly from West European countries. According to incomplete figures, in the four months beginning last October, Brezhnev himself borrowed some 5,000 million dollars from France, the Federal Republic of Germany and Britain.

The Soviet Union is also using West European technology to equip its enterprises through so-called "co-operation in production." For example, it courted West European monopolies' partnership in building big enterprises beyond its own capability, such as the Volga and the Kama auto plants. The "Zhiguly" cars which the Soviet revisionists have paraded as something to be proud of in recent years were turned out with equipment provided by an Italian monopoly, the Fiat Company.

Taking advantage of Western Europe's thirst for energy and other raw materials, the Soviet Union uses oil, natural gas and other resources as bait to attract the former's technology and capital for exploitation of Soviet domestic resources. This has become an important means in its "economic co-operation of mutual benefit" with Western Europe. The Soviet revisionists' aim is to increase their energy supply to Western Europe so as to make it dependent on them economically.

Rivalry for West European Market

While redoubling efforts to get hold of West European capital and technology, the Soviet Union tries to expand commodity exports to Western Europe. This has led to growing Soviet-U.S. rivalry for the market there. As before, U.S. exports to Western Europe still rank first in its total exports. For more than a decade, the Soviet Union has also tried desperately to infiltrate that market and has registered a steady increase in trade with countries in the region. The volume rose more than fivefold from 1,100 million rubles in 1958 to 5,600 million in 1973. Though lagging behind the United States in terms of absolute figure of exports to Western Europe, the Soviet Union has surpassed it in

(Continued on p. 21.)

Soviet Union's Exploitation of East European Countries

by Fan Hsiu-chu

VIOLOGATING the agreement with the East European countries to keep fuel supply prices unchanged for five years, the Soviet Union has of late suddenly raised by more than 100 per cent this year's prices of petroleum and other fuels it sells its "allies" in this region. Moreover, it has set a limit to the amount of fuel supply and declared that prices will hereafter be negotiated year by year. This Moscow action has created havoc with the economies and people's livelihood and upset production plans in a number of East European countries. Soviet revisionism and U.S. imperialism are the biggest international exploiters in today's world. The sudden raising of fuel prices has bared Soviet revisionists' exceptionally greedy and vicious features.

The Soviet revisionists' raising fuel prices by big margin has first victimized those East European countries which are dependent on the Soviet Union for fuel. It is common knowledge that Hungary, Poland, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia and the German Democratic Republic import 90 per cent of their oil and oil products from the Soviet Union. All along, the Soviet revisionists have bragged about this as "co-operation between nations based on internationalism."

At the end of 1973, Soviet Vice-Minister of Foreign Trade I.F. Semichastnov boasted that the Soviet Union would "fulfil to the letter" its "obligation to supply oil and oil products" to the East European member states of the "Council for Mutual Economic Assistance" (CMEA) and would not "raise prices." With these words still ringing out, the Soviet revisionists reneged and at one stroke more than doubled their fuel prices, thus bringing more economic difficulties to those East European countries which are already confronted by a string of problems. It is not at all surprising that this manoeuvre has aroused resentment and uneasiness among the victimized East European countries.

When the contradictions over fuel prices emerged within the so-called Soviet "community," Brezhnev himself went to Budapest to try to calm the rising discontent in some East European countries. At the same time, the Soviet revisionists' propaganda machine began churning out absurdities, claiming "the price rises are justified."

The first absurd statement by Brezhnev and his like is that East European countries must "respect" the Soviet Union's "sovereignty over natural resources" which, as a principle, can never be "harmed" nor "ignored for a single moment." However, there never

has been a question of others ignoring Soviet "sovereignty." On the contrary, it was the Soviet Union itself which, instead of honouring the trade agreements according to basic principle, "ignored" them, tore them up and went back on its word. What does it mean when the Soviet revisionists raise an outcry about "sovereignty" and at the same time tear up agreements? It means that they have "unlimited sovereignty" to tear up agreements, while others' "sovereignty" is limited even in voicing discontent.

The second absurd statement Brezhnev and his kind put forward is that by jacking up fuel prices, the Soviet revisionists solve the problem "in accordance with the socialist method." Their "socialist method" means they can renege on their word, use pressure to force others to accept their steep price increases and forbid complaints from the victims. By "socialist method," they mean putting the ruble, plunder and profit-making first. By "socialist method," they mean living off those in difficulty and disregarding the consequences. Is this method anything more than a typical capitalist method, a completely imperialist method?

The third absurd statement they made is that they raised fuel prices to "protect in every possible way" the economies of East European countries "from the harmful effects of the capitalist world crises." This is worse than shameless! Pounded by the West's economic crisis, the economies of a number of East European countries have been hit by depression. Now, with the hiked-up prices of oil and other fuels supplied by the Soviet Union, they will have to pay the Soviet revisionists an additional considerable sum.

Initial estimates show that this year they have had to pay the Soviet Union over 1,000 million rubles more than in 1974 because of the increased price of Soviet oil. Hungary will pay over 120 million rubles more, and the German Democratic Republic 1,700 million marks more. The budget deficits of some East European countries will be greatly increased.

By their act of grabbing as much as possible when others are in difficulties, the Soviet revisionists will further expose their true features as a hegemonic and egoistic power before the broad sections of the people in the East European countries. And this will arouse them to greater determination in their just struggle to win and safeguard their national rights and oppose the Soviet revisionist social-imperialists.

ROUND THE WORLD

CAMBODIA

Death Knell for Traitorous Clique

The dry season offensive of the People's Armed Forces of National Liberation of Cambodia is sweeping before it all obstacles in the way, bringing the traitorous Phnom Penh regime to the brink of ruin. Giving the enemy no breathing spell, the people's armed forces step up attacks on all battlefields. They are pressing forward swiftly in the pincers attacks from all directions on Phnom Penh which they mounted immediately after the liberation of Neak Luong, an important town on the Mekong River. Unable to withstand heavy shelling by the people's armed forces, Pochentong Airport, the Phnom Penh puppets' "lifeline," was closed, forcing the suspension of the U.S. airlift to the city. The U.S. "embassy" there was evacuated after the stars and stripes was gloomily pulled down. After the flight of Lon Nol in early April, "acting president" Saukham Khoy who picked up the awful mess left by the No. 1 traitor also fled Phnom Penh pell-mell with his family on the heels of the Americans.

The Cambodian people's armed forces are now attacking Phnom Penh and the death knell for the traitorous clique has been sounded by the Cambodian people.

On the occasion of Khmer New Year (April 13), the News Agency of Kampuchea (AKI) released an article on April 13 reviewing the splendid victories of the patriotic Cambodian armed forces and people in the last year.

The article noted that the liberated areas, making up 97 per cent of the country's territory, had been merged into a whole. The people's

armed forces killed, wounded and captured (including those forced to surrender) more than 147,250 enemy troops from April 1974 to March 1975. They removed or liberated more than 1,600 enemy strongholds, sank or destroyed 597 vessels, wrecked or badly damaged 456 armoured cars, shot down or destroyed on the ground 169 aircraft and captured more than 36,100 pieces of arms. Over 193,900 people were liberated during this period.

SOUTH VIET NAM

Victories of Strategic Significance

In an April 6 communique, the Command of the People's Liberation Armed Forces announced that great strategic victories have been won by the south Vietnamese people and their armed forces in their repeated attacks since early March to punish the Nguyen Van Thieu clique for violating the Paris agreement.

The communique said: "Our army and people have wiped out or disintegrated large numbers of enemy forces including all the effectives in the first and second military regions of the enemy. Our army and people have also destroyed or captured all the arms, technical equipment and other war material in these two military regions, put 270,000 enemy troops out of action, and completely knocked out or disintegrated five infantry divisions and a marine division of the puppet main forces, the third parabrigrade and 21 ranger multi-battalions and security multi-battalions, 10 armoured regiments and 19 armoured contingents, 35 battalions, nine companies and 70 platoons of the puppet artillery forces and five anti-aircraft battalions.

They also completely disintegrated the enemy 'civil guard' and 'civil defence' organizations."

It said: "After demolishing thousands of enemy strongholds and gaining control over many important areas in the Mekong Delta and eastern Nam Bo and completely liberating Phuoc Long Province, our army and people have smashed the strongest enemy defence systems in Tay Nguyen and the entire central coastal plain, completely disbanded enemy military forces and ruling bodies in many vast areas, including many areas of key importance politically, militarily, economically and culturally. They also completely liberated five big cities, Hue, Da Nang, Qui Nhon, Nha Trang and Da Lat and completely liberated Kon Tum, Gia Lai, Dar Lac, Phu Bon, Quang Tri, Thua Thien, Quang Da, Quang Nam, Quang Ngai, Binh Dinh, Phu Yen, Quang Duc, Binh Long, Lam Dong, Khanh Hoa and Tuyen Duc Provinces and many district towns, military sectors and military sub-sectors in eastern Nam Bo and the Mekong Delta. At present, 9.3 million compatriots from the 17th parallel to Ca Mau are completely liberated."

The communique said: "The extremely great victories we won in a short space of time and the extremely disastrous defeat of the enemy have brought about a very rapid change in the situation of south Viet Nam, a new leap forward, which distinctly widened the balance of strength between us and the enemy. Our strength has completely surpassed that of the enemy. The enemy is weakening greatly in spirit, seriously disintegrating in organization and has sustained great losses in material and technology, landing himself in an irreversible situation of defeat."

According to a south Viet Nam Gai Phong Press Agency dispatch, the south Vietnamese people and their armed forces on April 4 completely liberated Cam Ranh Bay, the biggest U.S.-Thieu clique's naval port in south Viet Nam.

SOUTH KOREA

Rising Struggle Against Dictatorship

The south Korean Pak Jung Hi clique proclaimed "emergency measure No. 7" on April 8 in an attempt to further suppress the surging just struggle of south Korean students and youth against dictatorship and for democracy.

According to the provisions, Koryo University was "ordered to close" on April 8 and all meetings and demonstrations are banned in the university. Students and teachers who violate the order would be sentenced to three to 10 years in prison. The puppet defence minister may, when he deems it necessary, send troops to the campus on the pretext of "maintaining order" to "arrest and detain" at will students and teachers of the school and "seize and search" their belongings. On the same day the reactionary measures were announced, the puppet "capital garrison command" sent more than 400 troops to make a raid on the university and expel with bayonets students from the school.

This action of the Pak clique has aroused strong opposition from south Korean students. More than 2,000 students of Rihwa Women's University held a meeting on April 9, severely condemning the Pak clique's fascist policy and demanding immediate abolition of the "revitalized constitution" and "emergency measure No. 7." A demonstration took place after the meeting. The same day, students of other universities in Seoul also held demonstrations and meetings, demanding immediate repeal of "emergency measure No. 7."

A commentary by *Rodong Sinmun* of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on April 10 pointed out that the proclamation of the so-called "emergency measure No. 7" and the ensuing raid by puppet troops on Koryo University were high-handed armed repression of students and teachers demanding freedom of study and democracy. They were also an

offensive against the south Korean people who have risen up in a just struggle.

"FRONT ROUGE" (FRANCE)

Soviet Union's Treachery Against Cambodia

The French monthly *Front Rouge* published an article on April 3 saying: "The history of the treachery of the U.S.S.R. regarding Cambodia is a lesson for the people of the world: U.S.S.R. 'friendship' shown to the people is only apparent: it serves to mask its attempt to hang on in some countries, to enslave the people and replace U.S. imperialism which the Indochinese people have sent on the decline."

The article added: "The victories of the Cambodian people under the leadership of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia have forced the Soviet Union to reveal itself more profoundly than ever: it is only after the Cambodian people have waged their struggle against the American aggressors for five years and won victories that the new tsars of the Kremlin decided on March 28, 1975 to close Lon Nol's 'embassy' in Moscow and withdraw their diplomats from Phnom Penh. They waited till the last moment, when Lon Nol himself was preparing to pack up, to take these measures!"

"For five years," said the article, "Soviet social-imperialism has perpetrated many acts of treachery in an attempt to secure a foothold in Cambodia to oppose the Cambodian people."

The article pointed out that the Soviet Union had maintained diplomatic relations with the Lon Nol clique and refused to recognize the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia after the Lon Nol clique's coup d'etat. Later, it painstakingly tried to form a "third force," a group of anti-communist elements that had made compromises with the Lon Nol clique, so as to split the National United Front of Cambodia.

The article noted that all Soviet scheming had ended in failure and

the Soviet Union had become increasingly isolated in the world for its support for Lon Nol. This, together with the splendid victories scored by the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia, had forced the Soviet Union to decide to "recognize" the government.

"The long history of treachery," said the article in conclusion, "is proof of the ambitious designs of the U.S.S.R. in Southeast Asia, which have not ceased with the breaking of relations with Lon Nol."

YUGOSLAVIA

Superpowers' Intensified Contention Denounced

In a recent article in the bimonthly *Vojno Delo*, Yugoslav Federal Secretary for National Defence Army General Nikola Ljubicic pointed out: "To implement their global strategy, the biggest powers are trying their utmost to expand their spheres of influence."

He said: "The antagonistic blocs which serve the global policy of the superpowers have concentrated their strongest forces in Europe and regions adjacent to it." "Taking into account the fact that Europe was the most important battlefield in the last two world wars," he added, "it will be understood why NATO and the Warsaw Pact pay much attention to the European battlefield in their strategic plans."

"In the southern European battlefield and the Mediterranean adjacent to it, there are places not yet demarcated where the ambitions of the imperialist forces and the interests of the conquerors conflict. This area is of important strategic significance, for it is an appropriate operations base linking Africa and Asia," he wrote.

Referring to the situation in the Mediterranean, the Middle and Near East, the Indian Ocean and the Indian subcontinent, Ljubicic said: "Steady stockpiling of arms, holding of military exercises, movement of troops and the establishment of bases" threaten "to turn these areas into

battlefields of superpower military rivalry."

The "detente" policy "has not yielded the results expected in the world," he noted. "The aggressive nature of imperialist, neo-colonialist and hegemonic forces has not weakened."

Speaking of "disarmament," he pointed out that it was an illusion to expect a rapid realization of disarmament in the world. "The equilibrium of nuclear forces of the two superpowers" "does not alleviate the threat to the security of small and independent countries. On the contrary, the latest developments have demonstrated that this threat has increased."

Yugoslavia's security is being menaced, he stressed. "In keeping with the assessment of the current military and political situation, it is of great political and strategic significance for everyone to make efforts to prepare the whole society, the armed forces in particular, against attack."

FINLAND

Soviet Trawlers' Threat

Helsingin Sanomat reported recently that 40 Soviet trawlers were found fishing herring at night in the waters near Lovisa, a coastal city in the southeastern part of Finland.

The Finnish Government decided last October to define an 8-nautical-mile fishing zone beyond the 4-nautical-mile territorial waters from the beginning of this year. However, Finnish fishermen pointed out that these Soviet trawlers fishing in the Finnish fishing zone have stepped up their activities. They have nearly depleted the traditional Finnish fishing zone of all fish and have also damaged many of the local people's fishing nets, thus seriously threatening their livelihood.

The Soviet trawlers causing damage to Finnish fishermen are extending their activities from the waters close to Lovisa to the westernmost territorial waters of the country.

(Continued from p. 17.)

terms of growth rate. From 1965 to 1972, the average annual growth rate of Soviet exports was 9.2 per cent as against 6.8 per cent for the United States.

The Soviet revisionists have used all possible means to expand their exports to Western Europe. They repeatedly demand that it provide preferential treatment and open the market to Soviet goods. They run "joint companies" in "co-operation" with West European corporations locally or in a third country.

Apart from the "new form" of the aforesaid "economic co-operation," they solicit Western Europe for more extensive "scientific and technological co-operation" in the fields of atomic energy, space, oceanography, environment, medicine and computing technology. And they ask West European countries for more patents, advanced technological methods and exchange of technological information.

Setting up a banking network in the financial centres of Western Europe is also an important part of intensified Soviet penetration of the region. In their search for capital, foreign exchange and wider economic penetration in Western Europe, the Soviet Union has opened banks in big cities such as London, Paris, Frankfurt and Zurich.

Obviously, the Soviet Union is stepping up its economic infiltration in Western Europe, the aim being to kill two birds with one stone: it wants to alleviate its economic difficulties and increase its economic power in the scramble for world hegemony by passing the burden of its own crisis on to others; and at the same time it does its best to disintegrate the West European countries' economic alliance, edge out the United States and expand further in Western Europe.

U.S. Retaliatory Measures

However, the Soviet social-imperialists have failed to achieve what they wish. The United States has taken retaliatory measures to deal with the Soviet manoeuvre to undermine its influence in Western Europe. Taking advantage of some East European countries' tendency of drifting away from the Soviet revisionists, it is stepping up its infiltration of Eastern Europe and tries hard to prevent Western Europe from exporting advanced technology to the Soviet Union.

Meanwhile, the countries there have become increasingly aware of the Soviet plot to sabotage West European union. They are increasingly vigilant against Soviet revisionist economic infiltration and have taken counter-measures against it. Last year, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Britain, Italy and other West European countries signed a "gentlemen's agreement" with the United States and Japan on the administration of loans to other countries. Under the agreement, the interest on such loans should not be less than 7.5 per cent and it was specially stipulated that an industrial recipient country must repay loans within three years. This naturally is a blow to the Soviet revisionists who crave long-term loans at low interest from the West. Moreover, in view of the serious inflation, the West European countries demand price hikes for machinery and equipment earmarked for the Soviet Union, and put off or freeze granting loans to the Soviet revisionists.

But, despite these setbacks, the Soviet revisionists' established strategic objective — European domination — will not change. The serious political and economic crises gripping the two hegemonic powers, the United States and the Soviet Union, determine that their economic, political and military contention for European domination will become more and more intense.

ON THE HOME FRONT

Coal Production Tops First Quarter Targets

AMID the upsurge of the movement to study the theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat, workers in coal mines throughout China overfulfilled the state's coal production plan for the first quarter of 1975. Output was 6 per cent and tunnelling footage 4 per cent more than in the corresponding period last year.

Major mines like those under the Kailan, Tatung, Yangchuan, Pingdingshan, Fushun, Fuhsin and Penki Mining Administrations went over production quotas each month. Stable and high production was also achieved by the main coal-producing provinces including Shansi, Hopei, Liaoning and Honan, and other provinces and autonomous regions such as Kirin, Kansu and Inner Mongolia. This has supplied more "industrial grain" to various branches of the national economy and laid the foundation for fulfilling or overfulfilling the year's coal production plan.

In the course of studying Chairman Mao's important instruction on the question of theory and studying the theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat, workers and staff in the coal mines have realized more and more deeply that adhering to the Party's basic line, persevering in exercising all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie and carrying the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat through to the end is the historical task of the working class, and that developing the socialist economy will create a massive material basis for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Hence, an upsurge of working for socialism has been brought about in many coal mines, and a great number of advanced collectives and model

workers have appeared. Consciously abiding by work discipline and reasonable regulations, the workers have raced against time to produce more coal.

The mass movement of learning from the Taching Oilfield, the nation's pace-setter in industry, is deepening in the coal industry. Displaying the revolutionary spirit of maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in their own hands and relying on their own efforts, the coal miners have tapped the potential of existing equipment in their enterprises and obtained good results. According to statistics from 82 major mines, two million more tons of coal were produced in the first quarter than in the same period last year by increasing per-unit output at the work-faces alone.

Peasant Revolutionary Story Narrators

ONE of the popular cultural activities among peasants in the countryside is telling revolutionary stories during work-breaks and after work.

Every people's commune in north China's Hsiyang County—the locale of the Tachai Production Brigade, national pace-setter in agriculture—has its own narrators. Using the viewpoint of materialism, they tell stories of how the working people opposed Confucius and reactionary rulers in the past and stories about the struggles waged by the Legalist school which stood for reform and progress against the Confucian school which advocated retrogression and restoration. Stories about outstanding people and new trends compiled by themselves from everyday life are also in their repertoire.

When the people's communes were set up on the outskirts of Shanghai

in 1958, there were only about 100 peasant narrators. Today there are 10,000, some are old peasants who suffered bitterly in the old society and some are educated young people who have settled in the countryside after finishing junior middle school.

Born in a poor peasant family, 42-year-old Lu Yen-hua is a well-known revolutionary story narrator on Shanghai's outskirts. Her father died a victim of harsh oppression by the landlords. She loves the socialist new life and is active in writing and telling revolutionary stories. Created out of her own experience, "Reunion of Mother and Daughter" tells how poverty separated the two in the old society and how they were reunited after liberation. The story contrasts the working people's past misery with present happiness. This and about a dozen other revolutionary stories she wrote have been well received by the masses. She is now a deputy secretary of the Party committee of her commune and a member of the Shanghai Municipal Revolutionary Committee.

Another popular narrator is 19-year-old Chang Yin-pao who became a tractor driver after finishing junior middle school last year. She writes about the exemplary deeds of the commune members around her and narrates her stories to inspire the peasants and enrich their cultural life.

Seventy-five-year-old peasant story narrator Huang Ken-fu served as a courier for the Communist Party-led guerrillas during the War of Resistance Against Japan (1937-45). His story "Transporting Munitions" tells how he broke through the enemy blockade in sending munitions to the guerrillas fighting the Japanese invaders. He has narrated more than 50 revolutionary stories to an audience totalling 30,000.

Story-telling is a traditional form of oral literature in the countryside. In the past, most stories were about

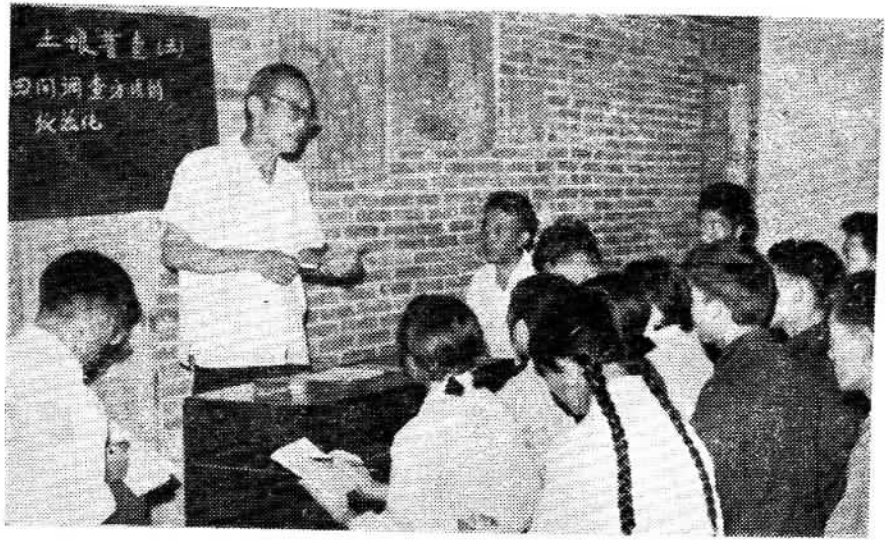
emperors, fairies, deities, scholars and beauties and propagated feudal, bourgeois and revisionist ideas. But they have been replaced by revolutionary stories since the start of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius. Telling revolutionary stories, which is gaining increasing popularity, is not only a lively form of imbuing the peasants with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought but an important activity to occupy and transform the ideological and cultural fronts with proletarian ideas.

Veteran Pedologist Joins With Peasants in Scientific Experiment

PEDOLOGIST Hou Kuang-chiung, a member of the Chinese Communist Party, has achieved remarkable results in scientific experiment together with the poor and lower-middle peasants.

This 70-year-old professor of Southwest China Agricultural College had been engaged in soil research for more than 40 years, but due to the influence of the revisionist line, his teachings on soil science were divorced from the practice of production.

Recently, in order to make a real change in his style of work, he spent several years in extensive investigation on soil improvement, water control and afforestation in five counties of northern, central and eastern Szechuan Province. In the winter of 1972 he went to live in the countryside for an extended period of time to engage in scientific experiment. Considering his advanced age, the leadership advised him to stick to brief surveys. But to him, the lessons of his scientific work of the past decades were only too glaring, and he was not willing to go on in the same old way. He said: "It's precisely because of my old age that I should make the best use of my remaining



Professor Hou Kuang-chiung lecturing on pedology to youths in countryside.

years to help build the new socialist countryside!"

He and some comrades of the agricultural college went to live in the Lienho Brigade of Chenchin Commune in the central part of Szechuan Province. The soil there was particularly poor. He formed a "three-in-one combination" scientific group with five school graduates and some veteran peasants. Using good seed strains, they planted a dozen crops including cotton, maize and paddy-rice on an experimental plot two-thirds of a hectare in size, to test different degrees of close planting, varying amounts of fertilizer and other factors. At the same time they also interplanted and rotated crops on 6.5 hectares.

The white-haired Hou Kuang-chiung often joined the commune members in manual labour and research, and suggested new items requiring study which presented themselves in the course of production. One problem they met with was thin, encrusted soil which could not hold water or fertilizer. It not only gave low yields, but every year required more investment for chemical fertilizer, pesticide and irrigation, and became an increasing burden to the collective economy. He pondered over this day and night. He made a special investigation of some communes which had already

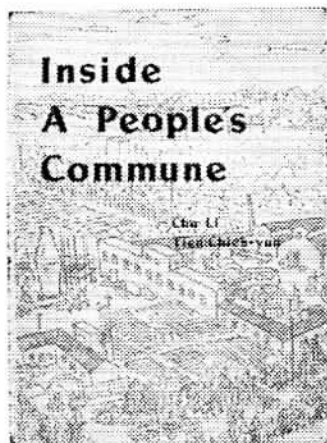
achieved high yields through arduous work in soil improvement so that he could analyse and contrast the different results.

In the spring of 1973 his scientific group experimented with a new method of applying fertilizer. They dug big holes in the field, half a metre square and half a metre apart, and put in a certain amount of organic fertilizer. Six to eight maize or cotton plants were grown in each square; this was repeated in between the rows the next year. The third year they were able to carry out overall improvement of the whole field with a minimum of labour, fertilizer and water, so that the same year the soil was ameliorated, they reaped the benefits from it. In 1973 the cotton yield on an experimental plot planted according to this method rose from 750 kg. (ginned cotton) per hectare to something between 1,125 and 1,350; moreover the crop had long fibre and matured early. The maize they produced increased from 3,000 to something between 5,250 and 6,670 kg. per hectare.

Professor Hou Kuang-chiung has summed up his experiences in scientific experiment, drawn up teaching material covering 40 topics and has enthusiastically passed on his findings to the cadres and members of the people's communes.

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