

PEKING REVIEW

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April 26, 1974

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Vice-Premier Teng Returns
To Peking**

**Struggle Between Restoration and
Counter-Restoration in the Course of
Founding the Chin Dynasty**

**Representatives of Third World Countries
Condemn Superpower Plunder at U.N.**

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Chinese Delegation Led by Vice-Premier Teng Returns to Peking

TENG Hsiao-ping, Chairman of the Delegation of the People's Republic of China to the Sixth Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly and Vice-Premier of the State Council, Chiao Kuan-hua, Vice-Chairman of the Delegation and Vice-Foreign Minister, and other members of the delegation arrived back in Peking by special plane on April 19.

Their triumphant return was warmly greeted at the airport by Chinese Party and state leaders Chou En-lai, Wang Hung-wen, Yeh Chien-ying, Chang Chun-chiao, Chiang Ching, Yao Wen-yuan, Li Hsien-nien, Chen Hsi-lien, Chi Teng-kuei, Hua Kuo-feng, Wang Tung-hsing, Wu Teh, Su Chen-hua, Ni Chih-fu, Hsu Hsiang-chien, Nieh Jung-chen, Li Fu-chun and Ngapo Ngawang-Jigme; Vice-Chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference Hsu Teh-heng; leading members of the Foreign Ministry, the Ministry of Foreign Trade, the Ministry of Economic Relations With Foreign Countries, departments under the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, other government departments; Members of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress; Members of the Standing Committee of the National Committee of the C.P.P.C.C.; leading members of various general departments, services and arms of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, the Peking Units and the Peking Garrison; and leading members of the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee as well as over 4,000 people of the capital.

Peking Airport was permeated with a warm atmosphere of unity in struggle. Workers, members of people's communes, commanders and fighters of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, militiamen, office cadres and students, holding red flags, joyously gathered on the tarmac to greet the delegation on its

arrival. The streamers held by the welcomers were inscribed with the slogans: "A warm welcome to the Chinese Delegation to the U.N. General Assembly special session on its triumphant return!" "Firm support for the Third World countries and people in their just struggle to safeguard and win national independence, defend state sovereignty and develop the national economy!" "The Third World, unite to oppose the power politics and hegemonism of the superpowers!" and "Long live the great unity of the people of the world!"

When Delegation Chairman Teng Hsiao-ping, Delegation Vice-Chairman Chiao Kuan-hua and the other comrades alighted from the plane, leading comrades of the Chinese Party and state stepped forward and cordially shook hands with them. Amid the deafening sound of drums and gongs, the comrades on the delegation walked round to meet the welcoming crowd. Waving flowers and multi-coloured ribbons, singing and dancing, the well-wishers hailed the achievements won by the delegation at the U.N. special session alongside the other Third World countries in the struggle to oppose imperialist exploitation and plunder and reform international economic relations, and hailed the victories won by the countries and people of the Third World in their united struggle against hegemony.

The delegation had left New York for home via Paris on April 16. During its stop-over in Paris, French Prime Minister Pierre Messmer met Teng Hsiao-ping and Chiao Kuan-hua.

Cambodian Delegation Leaves Peking to Visit European And African Countries

The Delegation of the National United Front of Cambodia and the Royal Government of National Union

of Cambodia with Khieu Samphan, Member of the Political Bureau of the N.U.F.C. Central Committee, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of National Defence of the R.G.N.U.C. and Commander-in-Chief of the People's Armed Forces of National Liberation of Cambodia, as the head and Ieng Sary, Special Adviser to the Office of the Deputy Prime Minister, as the deputy head, left Peking by special plane on April 19 to visit countries in Europe and Africa.

Delegation members included Minister of Foreign Affairs Sarin Chhak and Minister of Popular Education and Youth Madame Ieng Thirith of the R.G.N.U.C.

Seeing them off at the airport were Chinese leaders Yeh Chien-ying and Wu Teh; Prime Minister of the R.G.N.U.C. Samdech Penn Nouth and Madame Penn Nouth, and leading members of Chinese departments concerned.

Also present were diplomatic envoys of Albania, Yugoslavia, Romania, Algeria, Mauritania and Cameroon to China.

The distinguished Cambodian guests had returned to Peking on April 17 after ending their visit to Szechuan Province.

China-Japan Air Transport Agreement Signed in Peking

An air transport agreement between the People's Republic of China and Japan was signed in Peking on April 20.

Li Hsien-nien, Vice-Premier of the State Council, and Liao Cheng-chih, President of the China-Japan Friendship Association, attended the signing ceremony.

The agreement was signed by Chinese Foreign Minister Chi Peng-fei and Japanese Ambassador to China Heishiro Ogawa on behalf of their respective governments.

The agreement was signed with a view to further promoting the friendly intercourse between the peoples

(Continued on p. 31.)

China's Financial and Monetary Achievements

— Victory of the policy of building our country through self-reliance, diligence and frugality

by Tsai Cheng

- China's state revenue and expenditures are balanced, the value of the Renminbi is stable and the country has no external or internal debts. The domestic market is flourishing and prices are stable. Why is this so?

SPURRED on by the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, a balance between revenue and expenditures has been maintained, the value of the Renminbi has become more stable and the financial and monetary situation has never been better.

Finances More Consolidated, Renminbi's Credibility Rises Ever Higher

One important index of the unprecedentedly excellent situation in China's financial and monetary affairs is the broader income sources, larger revenues and balanced revenue and expenditure. State financial workers have earnestly implemented Chairman Mao's principle of "developing the economy and ensuring supplies" and his instruction that "the balance of revenue and expenditure as well as the stabilization of prices should also be consolidated." On the one hand, on the basis of developing production, they have expanded revenues in a planned way and increased state accumulations according to the Party's line and policies; on the other hand they have rationally allocated and used funds according to the national economic construction plan and, in the course of doing so, strived to practise economy and made the funds go as far as possible. In carrying out the budgetary plans, they have succeeded in achieving a balance between revenue and expenditures with a small surplus, thus guaranteeing the supply of funds for large-scale socialist economic construction and also strengthening state reserves.

Another important index of the unprecedentedly fine situation in China's financial and monetary affairs is the absence of both external and internal debts. Loans extended to China by the Soviet Union under the leadership of Stalin were all repaid ahead of time as far back as early 1935. Domestic bonds issued in the early post-liberation years have been completely

redeemed since the start of the Great Cultural Revolution and China today is a socialist country without external or internal debts.

The unprecedentedly fine situation in financial and monetary affairs is further manifested in the greater stability of the Renminbi and its growing prestige internationally. The Renminbi is based on the state having ample material goods. The swift development of China's socialist economy since the start of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the continuously growing quantity of commodities held by the state and the balancing of state revenue and expenditures have provided a firm foundation for Renminbi's greater stability. At the same time the domestic market is flourishing and prices remain steady, with the prices of some industrial goods such as chemical fertilizers, pesticides, farm machinery and implements and pharmaceuticals lower than before. Savings deposits of both urban and rural people have increased rapidly. Compared to 1965, the year before the Great Cultural Revolution, such deposits are more than 80 per cent greater. In the past, foreign currencies were quoted and used in settling accounts for China's foreign trade and other economic exchanges. Now, in keeping with the principle of equality and mutual benefit, more than 60 countries and regions use the Renminbi for quoting prices and settling accounts with China.

Beset by financial and economic difficulties and deep crises, the capitalist world is finding the going tougher and tougher. In China the financial and monetary situation, however, grows more and more consolidated and stable, fully demonstrating the infinite superiority of China's socialist system.

Accumulating Funds for Construction Through Self-Reliance

A struggle between the two lines has always accompanied the question of how to accumulate funds for construction and what forces to rely on to carry out socialist construction. On the one hand there is Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line which advocates that the accumulation of funds and socialist construction "should rest on our own strength, and that

means regeneration through one's own efforts." On the other hand there is the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao which advocates "being compradors" and throwing oneself into the arms of the Soviet revisionists in a vain attempt to drag China back on to the old colonial and semi-colonial path.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution smashed the two bourgeois headquarters with Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao as their ringleaders and criticized their crimes of pushing the revisionist line and sabotaging socialist construction. Implementing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, the broad masses have maintained the principle of building our country independently and with the initiative in our own hands, through self-reliance, hard struggle, diligence and thrift. Swift development has been achieved in industry and agriculture, revenues have more than doubled and the financial and monetary situation is more consolidated than ever.

About 90 per cent of China's state revenue today come from accumulation by state-owned socialist enterprises; this is the constantly growing source of funds for building socialism. The enlarged accumulations from state enterprises come mainly from increasing production and carrying out economy and relying on the revolutionary drive and diligent labour of the broad masses of people. Chairman Mao has pointed out: **"A socialist economic enterprise must do its utmost to make full use of manpower and equipment, improve the organization of labour, improve management, raise labour productivity and use manpower and materials economically, and must launch emulation drives and practise economic accounting, so as to reduce production costs and increase personal income and public accumulation year by year."** In accordance with this instruction, we have carried out a sustained movement to increase production and practise economy on the economic front. Especially since the start of the Great Cultural Revolution, the workers and staff members, taking the Party's basic line as the key link and combating revisionism and erroneous ideas, have gone in for technical innovations in a big way, practised multi-purpose utilization, economized by using substitutes for certain materials, made fuller use of potential and developed production with greater, faster, better and more economical results, and they have achieved substantial successes.

Relying on the efforts of its workers and staff, the Taching Oilfield has achieved an annual average crude oil increase of more than 30 per cent, with costs continuously being lowered and more and more funds accumulated yearly. In the past 13 years Taching accumulated the equivalent of ten times the amount the state invested in it. In Kailan, one of China's oldest and biggest collieries, workers and staff criticized the erroneous concept that "output had reached the limit" and undertook technical innovations to transform the old mine. They paid attention to effecting even the smallest economies. Each year it has maintained ad-

vanced levels in output, quality, safety and consumption of materials. Last year, Kailan's output was 58 per cent higher than the designed capacity and the colliery had also achieved the distinction of attaining the lowest production costs in the nation's coal industry, thereby making new contributions to accumulating funds for construction.

The swift development of China's socialist agriculture plays an important role in developing the national economy as a whole and accumulating funds for national construction. The broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants have resolutely kept to the path of agricultural collectivization pointed out by Chairman Mao and, since the start of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, they have throughout the country engaged in the ever-deepening mass movement **"In agriculture, learn from Tachai."** More and more counties, communes and production brigades are going over the per-mu targets for grain set down in the National Programme for Agricultural Development and all-round development is being obtained in agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, side-line occupations and fisheries. Increased agricultural production has provided the country with greater quantities of marketable grain and other farm and side-line products, supported the development of industrial production and helped industrial enterprises accumulate funds.

Has the burden on the people increased in the process of enlarging accumulation of funds for construction? Not at all. As to the peasants, the state has continued to implement the policy of "higher production but no additional agricultural tax," that is to say, it does not use the method of adding to the peasants' burden to expand accumulation of funds for construction. On the contrary, as there has been no additional tax with increased output and since the amount of agricultural products continues to rise, the agricultural tax — now at a low of 6 per cent — compared to the amount of actual farm output has been decreasing since the start of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. As to the urban population, the state has never levied a personal income tax and, on the basis of the swift development of industrial and agricultural production, the state's finance has seen an increase in its accumulation and the living standards of the urban and rural people have improved correspondingly.

Practise Economy, Speed Up Socialist Construction

How to allocate state accumulated funds in a planned and rational way according to the Party's line and policies and how to use the funds economically so as to get more done with the minimum outlay? This is a major question in speeding up socialist construction by relying on our own efforts.

Agriculture is the foundation of our national economy. Since the start of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the various sectors of the national economy have further implemented the Party's basic line and carried out the general principle for developing the national economy by **"taking agriculture as the**

foundation and industry as the leading factor" and arranged the national economy in the order of agriculture first, light and then heavy industry. With respect to financial and monetary affairs, apart from continuing to implement the policy of stabilizing the burden for the peasants, larger funds for water conservancy and other capital construction projects on the farmland and for developing agricultural mechanization have been allocated in a planned way by the state. Special funds have also been allocated to help communes and brigades that have economic difficulties to develop production. The state allocated about 50 per cent more funds last year to help agricultural production than in 1965. In addition it gives agricultural credits to help the peasants develop production. All this is a big help in developing agricultural production.

Industry is the leading factor in our national economy. In order to quicken industrial development, funds earmarked for industry take up a sizable share of the state's investments. Major construction projects specifically designated by the state are given priority consideration for manpower, materials and funds. Many large and medium-sized factories and mines are being built and put into production each year. Small local industries have developed rapidly in recent years. Chemical fertilizer and cement output from the small factories makes up more than half the national figure. To help these small industrial enterprises, the state gives them necessary support by way of funds. Working funds for expanded reproduction comes in part from state appropriations, and the state bank also in a planned way makes substantial industrial credits available to enterprises to meet the needs of continually expanding production.

Along with the swift development of economic construction, the state allots large sums to develop education, health, science and culture.

Chairman Mao pointed out quite early that "the principle of economy is one of the basic principles of socialist economics." In the course of the Great Cultural Revolution the masses exposed and criticized Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and their gangs for preaching the slavish comprador philosophy of going after only the big and the foreign, extravagantly wasting state funds and other crimes in sabotaging the socialist economy; the result is the masses have implemented the correct policy in a still better way. Groups of factories and shops and other departments have emerged on every front as advanced units in practising diligence and frugality.

Implementing Party's Basic Line Is the Key

The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything. The basic line of the Party set down by Chairman Mao for the whole historical period of socialism is the beacon guiding all our work to advance victoriously and the basic guarantee for building socialism and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. The crux for doing financial and monetary work well lies in implementing the Party's basic line.

Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and their like had for a long time pushed a revisionist line in the financial and economic field, scheming to change the Party's basic line and policies, undermine the socialist economic base and restore capitalism. On the verge of doom at the beginning of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the Liu Shao-chi renegade clique pushed the bourgeois reactionary line and whipped up the evil wind of counter-revolutionary economism to disrupt financial and monetary work, sabotage production and construction and deflect the general orientation of the struggle so as to launch a wild counter-attack on the proletariat.*

Following the collapse of the Liu Shao-chi renegade clique, the Lin Piao anti-Party clique leapt out to continue the trial of strength with the proletariat. They denigrated to the best of their ability the great achievements of the country's socialist revolution and socialist construction, negated the tremendous accomplishments of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and, in chorus with the Soviet revisionists, venomously slandered that China's "national economy has stagnated." The fact that China's socialist construction is developing most vigorously has given the lie to their shameless slanders.

China is a socialist country under the dictatorship of the proletariat. We definitely cannot act like imperialism or social-imperialism and engage in production and construction by exploiting the people at home and plundering the people of other countries or by selling out our national interests. Chairman Mao's principle of "building our country independently and with the initiative in our own hands, through self-reliance, hard struggle, diligence and thrift" epitomizes the demands of the Party's basic line. Maintaining this policy is the only correct path for us to build socialism.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "The wealth of society is created by the workers, peasants and working intellectuals. If they take their destiny into their own hands, follow a Marxist-Leninist line and take an active attitude in solving problems instead of evading them, there will be no difficulty in the world which they cannot overcome." China is a populous country with a vast territory and rich resources. The establishment of the socialist system has opened broad vistas for fully utilizing China's natural resources. Because we have our great leader Chairman Mao, the Marxist-Leninist line set down for us by Chairman Mao, a diligent and brave people who have been steeled in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and also an economic base built up over the last 20 years or so, the prospect before us of building socialism is infinitely bright.

* At the beginning of 1967 a handful of capitalist-roaders in power within the Party colluded with class enemies in society and tried to use economism to hoodwink the masses. They squandered state funds, raised wages and increased welfare without restraint and issued all kinds of financial remunerations and goods in an attempt to sidetrack the mass political struggle to economism and strangle the Great Cultural Revolution. But their plot was soon exposed and defeated.

Struggle Between Restoration and Counter-Restoration In the Course of Founding the Chin Dynasty

— In relation to social basis of polemics between the
Confucian and Legalist schools

by Lo Ssu-ting

THE Chin Dynasty (221-206 B.C.) was the first feudal dynasty in Chinese history. The feudal unity established by Chin Shih Huang (259-210 B.C.) and the series of political measures he took could not simply be attributed to accidental reasons. They were the inevitable result of social historical development at that time.

In *On Contradiction*, Chairman Mao pointed out that in studying the process of the movement of opposites in the development of a thing, "each stage in the process has its particular features" to which we must pay attention. The transition from the slave system to the feudal system in the State of Chin, one of the ducal states in the Chou Dynasty, began with Duke Hsiao*, was accomplished by Chin Shih Huang and extended through the reign of seven Chin rulers. This 150-year period was fraught with sharp struggles between reform and counter-reform and between restoration and counter-restoration. By adapting himself to the trend of social development that determined the substitution of feudalism for slavery, Chin Shih Huang was able to accomplish the transition from slavery to feudalism in the State of Chin, conquer the independent ducal states and unify China, thereby founding the first unified feudal dynasty in Chinese history.

After it replaced the Chin Dynasty, the Han Dynasty followed the system founded by Chin. This showed that the feudal social system of the landlord class dictatorship initiated by the Chin Dynasty could not be turned back. In studying the history of feudal society in China and criticizing the thinking of revering the Confucian school and opposing the Legalist school, it is necessary to have a clear understanding of the social basis of the contention between the Confucian and Legalist schools and Chin Shih Huang's historical role. For a correct understanding of these two things, it is necessary to have a clear idea of the history of the struggle between restoration and counter-restoration in the 150 years from Duke Hsiao to Chin Shih Huang and the distinctive features of each stage in this period.

The reform carried out by Shang Yang during the reign of Duke Hsiao of Chin marked the turning point

* Duke Hsiao (381-338 B.C.) of Chin ruled from 362 to 338 B.C.

in history when feudalism was replacing slavery in the State of Chin.

Shang Yang's reform reflected the trend of social historical development at that time. As early as the Spring and Autumn Period (770-476 B.C.), the slaves waged successive struggles against the slave-owners' enslavement and oppression, and this propelled the change in land ownership. In 594 B.C. the State of Lu started adopting the system of collecting a tax on private land. Recognition of private ownership of land made a big breach in the economy of the slave system. By the early years of the Warring States Period (475-221 B.C.), the transition from slavery to feudalism had taken place to varying degrees in the various ducal states on the central plain. During the Spring and Autumn Period and the Warring States Period slave resistance was very sharp in the State of Chin and the famous big slave uprising led by Chih occurred there. According to *Chuang Tzu***, Chih led "nine thousand followers, fighting in many places and attacking the slave-owning aristocrats." This was a heavy blow to the slave-owning aristocrats' rule in Chin.

The State of Chin started levying a tax in grain from private land in 408 B.C., which meant legal recognition of the landlord class in the state. In 384 B.C., Chin began abolishing the cruel system of burying the living with the dead — a slave system practice. The development of new feudal relations of production and the growth in strength of the new emerging landlord class required corresponding political recognition. An agent of the landlord class, Duke Hsiao was eager to "rule through reform." Once he assumed power, he issued an order saying: "I will honour the guests and ministers who offer excellent plans to make Chin powerful with high office and fiefs."

What political line was Chin to uphold in carrying out the reform? Because Chin was located in Yungchow***, a remote area, and could not take part in the

** *Chuang Tzu*, an ancient Chinese philosophical work of the Taoist school, mainly contains the writings of the idealist philosopher Chuang Chou (c. 369-286 B.C.) and his later followers. Chuang Chou was a native of the State of Sung (the present-day Shangchiu area in eastern Honan Province) in the Warring States Period.

*** Yungchow embraced the central part of present-day Shensi Province and the southeastern part of what today is Kansu Province.

"conferences and agreements" of the states on the central plain, the rule of the slave-owning class was relatively weak in the ideological realm and that class lacked a complete ideological system. The influence of the Confucian school was far less strong and widespread in Chin than in the other states on the central plain. Therefore, one of the rulers of Chin frankly admitted that a political line contrary to Confucius' thought should be adopted: "In the present struggle among ducal states what we should stress is only the army and grain. If we use benevolence and righteousness to rule our state, that will lead to its doom." Using what Confucius preached would spell the end of a state—this summed up the historical experience at that time.

Shang Yang, whose original name was Kungshung Yang, was a native of the State of Wei and a Legalist who stood for reform through enacting new laws and opposed a return to the old order and retrogression. He moved from Wei to Chin where he was welcomed by the new emerging landlord class but was opposed by the declining slave-owning class.

There was a big contention in the Chin court at the time. Political representatives of the old aristocrats in the state were trying to transform Chin according to the line of the Confucian school, saying that "adopting the ancient ways commits no mistakes, following the rites ensures no heretic deviations." They did all they could to uphold the slave system's rule of "rites." Shang Yang refuted this traditional idea of the slave-owners by calling it a "vulgar concept" and spared no effort to advocate reform.

In this heated contention between the landlord class reformers and the slave-owning aristocracy conservatives, Duke Hsiao firmly supported what Shang Yang advocated and affirmed the line of reform. Beginning from 356 B.C., the latter carried out drastic changes by introducing a series of reform measures. These included "eliminating the paths and earthen banks that formed farmland borders," encouraging the landlords to reclaim wasteland, developing farming, abolishing the old aristocracy's hereditary privileges, popularizing the law which grouped every five or ten families into a basic community and held them collectively responsible for the crimes of any family in the community, dividing the state into counties as administrative units and unifying weights and measures.

Proceeding from the standpoint of upholding the interests of the landlord class, Shang Yang strongly advocated devoting more effort to farming and weaving and considered that "the prosperity of a state depends on farming and war." His reform specially stipulated that "those who work hard at farming and weaving and produce more grain and silk" could be exempted from taxes and corvée service, and that "those who engage in commerce and those who become poor through laziness" should be made, together with their wives, official slaves. The adoption of this policy which

stressed farming and restricted commerce was favourable to the growth in strength of the new emerging landlord class and dealt a heavy blow to the power of the handicraft and commercial slave-owners.

Shang Yang's reform was a profound social change which inevitably came up against stubborn resistance from the reactionary forces represented by the old aristocrats. When Shang Yang carried out his reform, "a thousand persons considered the initial orders inconvenient" in the capital of Chin and "many members of the ruling house grumbled." The aristocratic slave-owners were terrified and angry, "nursing more hatred for Shang Yang's laws than for their adversaries in private feuds."

Rallying under the banner of Lord Chien, they incited the crown prince to "violate the law" and did all they could to prevent the reform from being carried out. Confronted with the situation in which "resistance to law enforcement came from members of the ruling house," Shang Yang, with support from Duke Hsiao, struck hard at the slave-owning clique in the ruling house. Shang Yang killed more than 700 members of the old aristocracy on the bank of the Weishui River near Hsienyang and this safeguarded and consolidated the new feudal system. It was recorded that after the new laws "had been enforced for ten years, the people of Chin were very happy," "the rule of order prevailed in town and countryside," and even women and children "knew Shang Yang's laws."

Badly defeated, the slave-owning clique of the Chin ruling house turned to underground activities. Though Lord Chien shut himself behind closed doors for eight years, he conspired day and night for a restoration. Since Shang Yang was a political representative of the landlord class, he could not rid himself of its limitations and weaknesses. He realized the grave nature of the struggle, but it was beyond him to rely on the people. He did not even take full account of the strength of the landlord class and mobilize it on a wide scale. His line was to make reforms from above. And with the death of Duke Hsiao, Shang Yang's reform could no longer be carried on. Especially after the crown prince who had always sided with the old aristocracy took over power and became Prince Hui of Chin, the forces of restoration headed by Lord Chien immediately counter-attacked to settle scores and "accused Shang Yang of being guilty of attempting a rebellion." In 338 B.C. the aristocratic slave-owners cruelly killed Shang Yang by "dismemberment by chariots."

The adverse current of restoration ruled Chin for a time after his death. Prince Hui followed an entirely different political line from that of Shang Yang, rejecting the Legalists and relying on the old aristocrats. His brother-in-law Wei Jan became an "elder statesman" serving him and the two succeeding rulers in Chin. Economically, Wei Jan was "richer than the ruling house" and politically his "power covered the entire State of Chin." Persecuting the Legalists mercilessly, he

branded all the counsellors of the landlord class coming from the States of Han, Chao and Wei as persons "merely making trouble in a state." This fully revealed the reactionary nature of the class of aristocratic slave-owners.

At the same time an adverse current against the Legalist school also appeared in the states on the central plain. Shang Yang's reform shook the economic base of the slave-owning class to its foundations, striking terror and fear into the slave-owners of various states. In their opinion, Chin was a "wolfish state" which "did not know propriety and righteousness" and "preferred benefits at the expense of faith." Mencius (390-305 B.C.) of the Confucian school stood in the van of the attack on the Legalist school. The Confucian school at the time represented an extremely reactionary ideological trend and school of thought. Its founder Confucius was a diehard spokesman of the declining slave-owning class who all his life went everywhere to uphold the rule of the slave system.

Inheriting Confucius' reactionary cause, Mencius openly opposed the abolition of the slave-owning aristocrats' hereditary privileges and shouted that their interests should not be encroached on. He slandered the Legalists as "robbers of the people" who should be severely suppressed. By eliminating the old farmland and land boundaries, Shang Yang had abolished the land ownership of the slave-owners. Mencius talked a great deal about "benevolent rule which must begin with the restoration of former land boundaries" in his vain efforts to restore the already disintegrating nine squares (*ching tien*) land system. Shang Yang stood for the rule of "law," while Mencius preached the "kingly way" and "benevolence and righteousness." The political and economic stand of Mencius was a reaction to Shang Yang's reform and completely suited the needs of the aristocratic slave-owners in bringing about a restoration.

However, the inevitable replacement of the slave system by the feudal system was a law of historical development independent of man's will. All the activities for restoration by reactionaries in and outside the State of Chin could not change the general trend of historical development. After the abolition of the nine squares land system in Chin, the establishment and development of feudal private ownership of land became an irreversible tide. During the reign of Prince Chao*, agriculture flourished not only in the Kuanchung area (more or less present-day Shensi Province) of Chin but even in the Chin's outlying Shu area (present-day western Szechuan Province) which was known as a "heavenly endowed place" with a "vast expanse of fertile land." All this showed that the breaking of the fetters imposed by the old land ownership system of the slave-owners inevitably resulted in the prosperity of the new landlord economy.

As this new economy made further advances, the new emerging landlord class became increasingly discontented with its lack of power in the political field and strove to establish a rule that was in conformity with the economic base. Thus its struggle against the class of aristocratic slave-owners entered a new stage. If we say that the struggle during Shang Yang's reform revolved mainly around the question of land ownership, then with the basic solution of this question the struggle between the two classes gradually focused on the question of political power.

During Prince Chao's reign, power was mainly in the hands of a few people like Wei Jan, and some "private houses were richer than the ruling house." In order to seize back his lost power, Prince Chao began to have a common language with the new emerging landlord class. He gradually inclined to the Legalist school and realized that "the Confucian scholars could not bring any benefits to a state."

Under these circumstances, Fan Sui**, a noted representative of the Legalist school, came to Chin from the State of Wei. In his memorial to Prince Chao, he said: "Your humble subject heard that when a wise ruler is governing, he must reward those who render meritorious service and appoint the capable to official posts. Those who work hard get bigger emoluments, those who render more meritorious service enjoy superior rank, and those who can govern a larger number of people become higher officials."

Diametrically opposed to the concept of a ruler sharing power with the aristocrats as advocated by the Confucianists, Fan Sui advanced the Legalist concept of establishing a centralized feudal state. He advised Prince Chao that only by strengthening the centralization of authority could a ruler's absolute position be ensured. On the question of wiping out the dual states, Fan Sui criticized the former policy of "attacking the distant states and keeping friendly relations with nearby states" and put forward the policy of "keeping friendly relations with distant states and attacking the nearby states." Prince Chao approved Fan Sui's line and appointed "Fan Sui guest minister counselling on military affairs."

With Fan Sui in his service, Prince Chao won victory after victory in his war to unify China and this strengthened the position of the landlord class he represented. On this basis, the prince expelled Wei Jan and a handful of other old aristocrats from Chin and made Fan Sui prime minister. Thereafter, the new emerging landlord class once again prevailed in the Chin political structure.

Although Fan Sui became prime minister, he was actually sitting on top of a volcano that could erupt at any time. The influence of the old aristocrats at the time was still quite powerful in Chin. Against such a background of class struggle, Fan Sui wavered and

* Prince Chao (324-251 B.C.) of Chin ruled from 307 to 251 B.C.

** Fan Sui, a native of the State of Wei, was prime minister of Chin from 266 to 256 B.C.

"asked to return the seal of prime minister because of illness" in 256 B.C. His successor Tsai Tse (a native of the State of Yen who succeeded Fan Sui as prime minister of Chin in 256 B.C. — tr.) was in office for only several months and voluntarily resigned for fear of attacks by the aristocratic slave-owning clique. The stepping down of Fan Sui and Tsai Tse showed that they dared not

carry the cause of reform through to the end because of the need to protect their own lives and their families. It also profoundly explained that after the landlord class seized political power in the State of Chin, serious struggles between restoration and counter-restoration still existed.

(To be continued.)

Workers, Peasants and Soldiers Criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius

Expose Lin Piao's Reactionary Programme For Restoring Capitalism

— Workers' group studies Marx' *Critique of the Gotha Programme* to grasp ideological weapon

IN the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, a workers' group in the No. 4 workshop of the Shanghai Clock and Watch Parts Factory has conscientiously studied Marx' brilliant work, *Critique of the Gotha Programme*, scathingly criticized Lin Piao's crimes of following Confucius' precept "restrain oneself and return to the rites" in a vain attempt to restore capitalism, exposed his ugly features of a counter-revolutionary double-dealer, and seen the ultra-Rightist nature of Lin Piao's revisionist line more clearly. By study and criticism, this group of workers, daring and militant, is determined to stand in the van of the movement and fight courageously to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat.

This group consists of 27 workers. More than half of them are veteran workers who went through bitter suffering in the old society and have a deep class hatred. In its study and criticism, the group repeatedly pondered over the teachings of Marx and Engels: By drawing up a programme of principles, "one sets up before the whole world landmarks by which it measures the level of the Party movement." "A new programme is after all a banner publicly raised, and the outside world judges the party by it."

The workers understood through study that a programme reflects in a concentrated way the will and interests of the class represented by a political party or grouping. It directly embodies the nature of that political party or grouping and shows which banner it raises, which road it takes and which line it pursues. Ninety-nine years ago, Marx and Engels firmly grasped the Gotha Programme and criticized it point by point and sentence by sentence, hitting hard at Lassallean opportunism, educating the vast numbers of party members and the workers and propelling the proletarian revolutionary movement forward. To push forward the cur-

rent revolutionary struggle, members of this group said that in criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius they should grasp Lin Piao's reactionary programme "restrain oneself and return to the rites" and deeply criticize it.

Applying the Marxist stand, viewpoint and method, the workers made a comparison of Lassalleism, the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius and Lin Piao's revisionist line. They pointed out that Lin Piao's line of "restraining oneself and returning to the rites," like the lines doggedly followed by all past and present reactionaries at home and abroad, was a thoroughgoing line for restoration of the old order and retrogression. They noted that Lassalle was a traitor and scab hidden in the German workers' movement. The vigorous proletarian revolutionary movement in the 1870s was dealing a heavy blow at the Prussian military autocracy and hitting hard at the joint dictatorship of the Junkers and bourgeoisie of the German empire. At that time Lassalle's disciples, representing the interests of reactionary classes, came out in a trial of strength with the proletariat. These disciples injected into the Gotha Programme a number of Lassallean opportunist phrases and slogans long criticized by Marx and Engels and wantonly distorted and revised many of the theses set forth in the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*. They did all this to meet the political needs of the reactionary classes in their attempt to pull back the workers' movement.

More than 2,400 years ago when China's slave system was rapidly collapsing and the feudal system was steadily rising, Confucius, representing the interests of the slave-owning class, unfurled the tattered banner of "restraining oneself and returning to the rites," running here and there and speaking against social change so as to turn back the advancing wheel of history. At a moment when the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution had won tremendous victories and our country's

dictatorship of the proletariat was being steadily consolidated, Lin Piao, representing the interests of the overthrown landlords and the bourgeoisie and meeting the needs of imperialism, revisionism and all reaction, also repeatedly shouted "restrain oneself and return to the rites." His aim was to try to turn our socialist system back to capitalism and replace the dictatorship of the proletariat with the dictatorship of the landlords and the bourgeoisie. Lin Piao's "restraining oneself and returning to the rites" line was one of restoration. It must be thoroughly criticized.

In criticizing Lassalle's fallacy about "the free state," Marx stated that in the transition period between capitalist and communist society "the state can be nothing but the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat." Engels, too, penetratingly pointed out: "As, therefore, the state is only a transitional institution which is used in the struggle, in the revolution, in order to hold down one's adversaries by force, it is pure nonsense to talk of a free people's state."

While studying these theses of the revolutionary teachers, the workers' group noted the striking similarities between "the free state" advocated by Lassalle and the precepts of the "rule of virtue" and "benevolent government" in the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius preached by Lin Piao. They said that the criminal objective of Lin Piao's vicious attacks on revolutionary violence and the dictatorship of the proletariat was a futile attempt to restore capitalism, to "give political liberation to all" the enemies of the dictatorship of the proletariat, to reinstate in power the landlord and capitalist classes and turn China into a colony of Soviet revisionists.

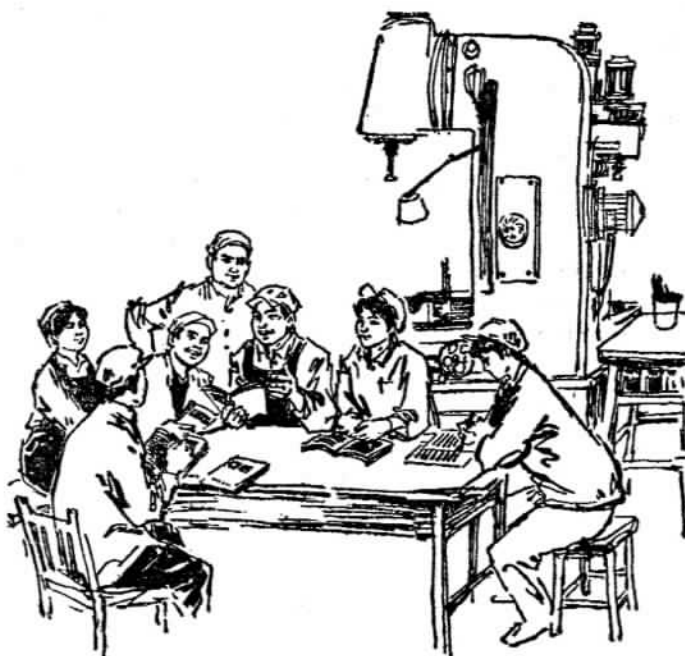
By studying the *Critique of the Gotha Programme*, the group saw that all reactionaries engaged in counter-revolutionary criminal activities, apart from adopting a particular programme, must resort to counter-revolutionary tactics that serve it. Lassalle, Lin Piao and Confucius were all typical persons adept in conspiracy and double-dealing. Lassalle was once a prominent figure in the early stage of the German workers' movement. He passed himself off as a "revolutionary," styled himself a working class "leader" and proclaimed himself a "faithful" student of Marx while attacking Marx viciously. Paying lip-service to socialism, he secretly colluded with Bismarck, prime minister of Prussia, and betrayed the workers' movement. In exposing Lassalle's ugly features as a counter-revolutionary double-dealer Engels said: "Lassalle the socialist is accompanied step by step by Lassalle the demagogue."

The workers said that Engels' exposure of Lassalle was also a vivid description of the faces of the counter-revolutionary double-dealers Lin Piao and Confucius. Confucius was a "crafty hypocrite" who talked glibly about "benevolence, righteousness and virtue" but thought up blood-thirsty schemes. Lin Piao was a conspirator and careerist "who never showed up without a copy of *Quotations* in hand and never opened his

mouth without shouting 'Long Live' and who spoke nice things to your face but stabbed you in the back." No matter what their tricks, they could not avoid finally being crushed by the advancing wheel of history.

In the course of their study, the group also repeatedly studied and acquired an understanding of the significance of this famous remark of Marx in the *Critique of the Gotha Programme*: "There would be no bargaining about principles." They said: At a time when a programme saturated with Lassallean opportunist views emerged in the German workers' political party, the great revolutionary teachers Marx and Engels, in order to purify the party's ranks and repulse the opportunist trend of thought, waged an intense battle and refuted this programme of retrogression point by point and sentence by sentence, thus thoroughly repudiating and striking at the Lassallean opportunist trend of thought, purifying the party and propelling the German workers' movement forward. The highly principled attitude and militant revolutionary spirit of Marx and Engels are a brilliant example for us in deepening the struggle to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius.

The workers were full of revolutionary enthusiasm in relating what they had gained from the study. They pledged to learn from the militant spirit of the revolutionary teachers in criticizing the Gotha Programme, bear in mind Chairman Mao's teaching "Going against the tide is a Marxist-Leninist principle," take an active part in the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius, make a thoroughgoing repudiation of Lin Piao's counter-revolutionary revisionist line and the reactionary doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, and continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat through to the end.



A workers' study group studying Marxism-Leninism to arm themselves ideologically and criticize Lin Piao and Confucius.

Sketch by Lin Pai-shih

Study Political Economy and Run The Docks Well

In our socialist state under proletarian dictatorship, workers are the masters of the country and of the enterprises. Together with the cadres, they conscientiously study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, take the line as the key link, analyse and solve problems by linking theory with practice and, in this way, run their own enterprises efficiently. Following is the summary of a political economy discussion session at a loading and unloading station of the Shanghai harbour. — Ed.

The first to speak was veteran docker Tan Yu-chin who compared the old society and the old institutions with the new and told the meeting how the socialist relations of production set up in our country had paved the way for the development of the productive forces. He spoke the minds of the dockers who, with a high sense of responsibility, are determined to run the docks well.

Does the principle of political economy apply to the docks? This question never occurred to me in the past. Having studied some basic concepts of political economy, I now can see that this is a science dealing with the relations of production which cover the following aspects: the ownership of the means of production, relations between men in the course of production and the distribution of goods produced. Many things in our daily life and work can be explained by political economy.

Before liberation, we dockers couldn't make a decent living and worked like beasts of burden. The big wharves in Shanghai were controlled separately by several imperialist countries. Others were owned by Kuomintang bureaucrat-capital. Even the smaller ones were either in the grip of wharfingers, or contractors and overseers. We workers had nothing but our labour power to sell and however hard we worked, we couldn't earn enough to live on and were often pushed around and insulted. Why? Because state power and the means of production were not in our hands.

Then came the people's revolution led by the Communist Party and Chairman Mao. The three mountains lying like a dead weight on the people, namely, imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, were removed, socialist public ownership was established and the position of the dockers in production also was changed. We're no longer wage-slaves but masters of the docks. This change in the relations of production results in a rapid development of the social productive forces.

Under the correct leadership of Chairman Mao and the Communist Party, things at our docks are always changing. With our docks mechanized day by day complete with cranes, fork-lifts, electric trucks and what not, we've been freed from the backbreaking toil of using shoulder-poles and baskets. This is in glaring contrast to the miserable past before liberation when we had to carry heavy loads on our shoulders up a flight of stairs. Since the big leap forward in socialist construction in 1958 and especially since the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution began in 1966, the volume of cargo handled at the docks has been continually on the increase. All this speaks volumes for the superiority of our socialist system and for the fact that in our socialist society the relations of production are in the main in harmony with the productive forces and the superstructure is in harmony with the economic base. We must display the spirit of being masters in our own house, continuously perfect the socialist relations of production, run the docks well and promote the steady development of production.

The next speaker was young longshoreman Liang Tsai-tung. He listed a number of contradictions on the docks to show the need to actively and consciously readjust and improve the interrelations between men in production and constantly promote the growth of the productive forces.

Chairman Mao says: **"Socialist relations of production have been established and are in harmony with the growth of the productive forces, but they are still far from perfect, and this imperfection stands in contradiction to the growth of the productive forces."** The relations of production at our docks in the main are in harmony with the productive forces but they are not all that perfect. Only when these imperfections are being consciously readjusted can growth of the productive forces be continuously promoted.

One very important aspect in the relations of production is the interrelations between men in production. Problems in this regard crop up every day. Our longshoremen's brigade is divided into three shifts and there is the problem of mutual relations among the three. If it is not properly handled, production can be affected.

In February last year, one of our teams was given the job of unloading a ship's cargo of timber and sand. The team chose to unload the sand because it was easier to handle and so it could raise its unloaded cargo

tonnage; the timber which was more difficult to unload was left to the next shift. This is an instance of poor teamwork. After this incident, we all studied and discussed the question, and everybody pledged to work henceforth in the communist spirit of offering others what is convenient while tackling the difficulties themselves.

The result was things changed completely. Once in unloading polyvinyls it was found that part of the cargo in the hold had been well arranged but the rest was not. Which part was to be unloaded first? Workers on the shift on duty chose to unload the rest to make things easier for the next shift. As the different shifts all chose to tackle difficulties themselves, helping and supporting each other, loading and unloading efficiency was greatly increased. These two entirely different instances point to the following truth: It is really very important to improve mutual relations on a voluntary basis.

How can men's mutual relations in production be continually improved? The following speakers cited facts to show the struggle between the two classes and the two ways of thought in the ideological sphere and, therefore, the importance of grasping the revolution in the realm of the superstructure.

Kuo Li-hsin (leader of a longshoremen's team):

The dockers, managerial personnel and cadres are all masters of the docks. Why are their interrelations sometimes not so good, and why also are there contradictions among the people? This has something to do with men's minds and viewpoints and with the superstructure. It is necessary to grasp the superstructure in order to handle mutual relations well.

I used to tell myself that our loading and unloading station is a unit at the grass-roots level and, therefore, no question relating to the superstructure can possibly exist. Having studied political economy, I came to realize that when we speak of the superstructure, we are referring to the political, legal, moral, philosophical, art and religious viewpoints in society as well as their corresponding political and legal institutions. While the superstructure emanates from the economic base, it is relatively independent of the economic base and has a strong reaction on this base. The establishment of public ownership of the means of production provides the prerequisite for the development of socialist mutual relations. But in production activities such relations are not necessarily handled properly in accordance with socialist principles.

We have basically won victory in the socialist transformation of ownership of the means of production in our country. But the question of who will win in the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the ideological field is still not really settled. While proletarian ideology has been accepted by the great majority of people as their guiding thought,

bourgeois ideology will continue to exist for a long time to come. Even in the working class itself, there is also the influence of bourgeois ideology. Men's actions are guided by ideology. When mutual relations are handled in accordance with proletarian ideology and with an attitude befitting the masters of the country, they can be handled well; when they are handled in the bourgeois way of individualism and departmentalism, they cannot be properly handled. So the ideology of every one of us involves the question of whether it is in harmony with the development of the socialist relations of production and the socialist productive forces.

The incident cited by Comrade Liang Tsai-tung shows that the contradictions between the different shifts were caused by departmentalism in people's minds. This kind of old ideology weakens the teamwork between the dockers and affects the growth of the productive forces. Therefore, if we wish to readjust and improve our mutual relations, it is imperative to get rid of the old ideology, which is not in harmony with the new relations of production.

When departmentalism has been overcome, the communist style of work is brought into full play and mutual relations among the dockers show quick improvement. Today, when one team has difficulties, the other teams take the initiative by sending their own men to help. Unity and co-ordination between teams and individuals in each brigade also have been enhanced. This has further promoted the growth of production and is the logical result of grasping the revolution in the superstructure and the ideological sphere and improving mutual relations between the men.

Chou Chin-ken (secretary of the Party branch of a mechanized team):

In grasping the superstructure and continuously perfecting the socialist relations of production, there is also the question of rules and regulations. Some were indispensable when they were first set up, but with the growth of the productive forces they are liable to affect socialist mutual relations and become an obstacle to the further development of the productive forces.

For instance, in the past we made it a rule for a particular person to operate exclusively a particular equipment (such as cranes and trucks of all types). This helped ensure safety in production because at that time not all the drivers were familiar with the performance of these machines. But as the productive forces developed and the drivers became familiar with these machines, if we continued to stick to the old rule, the initiative of the masses was sure to be adversely affected. Because we had made this rule a rigid one, some cranes and trucks had to remain idle when their drivers were on leave; other drivers just sat around doing nothing when their machines were being repaired. This greatly lowered the utility of the loading and unloading machinery.

Now we have, in accordance with the opinions of the masses, abolished this old rule and introduced a new one known as "versatility based on one speciality."

Subject to the approval of the leadership and certain examinations, drivers who are able to operate different machines are allowed to do so. As a result, those who meet the requirement of "versatility based on one speciality" have increased in number and some are able to operate seven different kinds of cranes and trucks. They can work on any loading or unloading job. This not only has greatly increased the utility of the equipment but also promoted co-operation between drivers and dockers. From this it can be seen that continuous modification of old rules and regulations not in harmony with the growth of production and introducing new rules by relying on the masses are a very important part of continuously perfecting socialist mutual relations and promoting the growth of the productive forces.

Liu Kuang-yin (cargo-checker):

If there is the question of which ideology should be used to govern relations between workers, this question is all the more important to relations between the managerial personnel and the cadres on the one hand and workers on the other. Chairman Mao has taught us that "survivals of bourgeois ideology, certain bureaucratic ways of doing things in our state organs and defects in certain links in our state institutions are in contradiction with the socialist economic base."

In the past I considered myself a member of the managerial staff, a mental worker using my mouth only but not my hands. I was used to giving orders to the stevedores and often complained about their shortcomings. So I was not on very friendly terms with the dockers. From the viewpoint of political economy, this was because I regarded the necessary social division of labour as something absolute, especially because my mind was tainted with the reactionary doctrines of Confucius and Mencius which maintained that "those who work with their minds govern, those who work with their hands are governed." So I didn't treat the workers as equals. All this made it impossible for me to rely on the masses and do my job on the dock well.

Together with other comrades, I criticized these decadent ideas of the exploiting classes and rectified my style of work. Since then, every time I went to the wharf to meet a cargo ship, I first went to the hold to find out the general condition of the cargoes. Then I'd talk it over with the dockers and decide on ways and means of unloading the cargoes and piling them up in the warehouses in the best and quickest possible way. Sometimes I worked with the longshoremen who also helped me with my job. My relations with them improved and so did my work, and unity and co-operation between us became better. There has been no mishap on my job since the last quarter of 1973.

Shao Hsueh-kang, secretary of the Party general branch, and Hsu Chih-cheng, a leader of the mechanized team, said that the line is the key link in the correct handling of contradictions between the relations of production and the productive forces, between the superstructure and the economic base. The leadership and the masses must all pay attention to the line.

Shao Hsueh-kang:

Whether a dock is properly run hinges on the rules and regulations, co-operation, planning, the cadres' style of work and technology. But in the last analysis, it is a question of which line to follow. Line also falls under the category of the superstructure.

In socialist society there are both harmony and contradiction between the relations of production and the productive forces and between the superstructure and the economic base.

How and in what way can contradictions be solved? It can be solved by the Marxist-Leninist line. After socialist relations of production are set up, the workers are the masters of the country and also of the enterprises which can be run better by relying on the workers. As Comrade Chou En-lai pointed out in his report to the Tenth Party Congress: One basic experience from our socialist construction over more than two decades is to rely on the masses. To persist in putting proletarian politics in command and launch mass movements to bring the enthusiasm, wisdom and creativity of the broad masses into full play or to do otherwise represents two entirely different lines.

Chairman Mao has pointed out: "The line is the key link; once it is grasped, everything falls into place." When the line is correct, many specific matters can be done well. Take co-operation for an example. Those working at a dock include longshoremen, drivers, cargo-checkers, dispatchers, warehouse keepers, men in charge of tools and equipment and sailors. Loading and unloading efficiency can be raised and quality improved only when there is good teamwork between different departments and men doing the same job. This is common sense. But why for a time in the past was there wrangling on our dock? There was something wrong at the lower level, but we in the leadership were responsible.

Some comrades have just talked about how a team unloaded sand and left the timber for the next shift. Why did this kind of thing happen? There was, of course, the influence of departmentalism. But one important reason was that we in the leadership placed undue emphasis on the fulfilment of the volume of cargo to be unloaded without constantly emphasizing the good style of mutual help and co-operation. Having widely canvassed the workers' opinions since last year, we put our heads together to work out ways to improve co-operation. The result was very encouraging.

(Continued on p. 17.)

Peking Review, No. 17

Albanian Foreign Minister Nesti Nase's Speech

MINISTER of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Albania Nesti Nase spoke at the special session of the U.N. General Assembly on the morning of April 16.

He began by stating that the majority of U.N. member nations including Albania supported the proposal of President Houari Boumediene of the Council of Revolution of the Democratic People's Republic of Algeria on convening a special session of the United Nations General Assembly on the problems of raw materials and development. "This constructive initiative of Algeria serves the struggle of the peoples and sovereign states for consolidating their national independence," he said.

On the present international situation, Nase said that tension continues to exist in the Middle East "due to the aggressive policy of Israel and the rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union."

He said, "The rivalry between the two superpowers in Europe, the Mediterranean, the Indian Ocean, etc., never ceases to intensify, aggravating the tension and creating new dangers and new threats to the people and countries of these regions."

"A grave situation has emerged in the world economy. The outright neo-colonialist policy of the imperialist powers, first of all the two superpowers which are incessantly committing economic aggression against the developing countries, further sharpens all the contradictions of the present epoch and undermines the interests of peace and universal security. In a word, the rivalry between the superpowers, their economic aggression against all countries and their struggle for securing markets and spheres of influence are factors gradually and steadily bringing about a situation which might lead to a new world conflagration."

The Albanian Foreign Minister pointed out, "The frantic armament expansion of the two superpowers constitutes a menace and a constant blackmail against the peoples, their liberty and state sovereignty. The United States and the Soviet Union have made pressure and military threats the main pillar of their policy of aggression." The two superpowers conduct a vigorous campaign selling the idea that their action has led to an "international detente." This campaign aims at "lulling the peoples to sleep, making them relax their vigilance and stifling their anti-imperialist struggle." The two superpowers are arming themselves "with a view to a new world war in order to divide again the territories and markets of the world," he said.

Referring to the problems of raw materials and development, Foreign Minister Nase said, "In the international arena have appeared young states wishing to

advance along the road of development with full political and economic independence. But on account of the backwardness left over by ruthless colonial domination, these countries remain economically weak." He pointed to the striking contrast between the economic situation of the industrial countries and that of the developing countries, and the widening gulf between these two groups of countries. He said, "The imperialist powers, the United States and the Soviet Union in particular, are trying to preserve this situation so as to plunder the wealth of the developing countries and keep them as a source of raw materials and a market for their products. Anxious to preserve their egoistic and rapacious interests, they spare no effort to impose on these countries political, social and economic structures which facilitate their penetration and maintain in them neo-colonial dependence and exploitation. The imperialist powers strive by all means to dictate to the developing countries unequal economic treaties and agreements gravely harming their sovereignty."

Foreign Minister Nase revealed that "the United States strives to exploit not only the developing countries but also its 'allies.'" "The social-imperialists are behaving likewise towards their own allies. The Soviet Union pursues a policy of rigorous control, economic exploitation and total political submission towards the East European countries," he added.

Laying bare the exploitation and oppression of the developing countries by the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, the Albanian Foreign Minister said, "The United States of America is the biggest importer of raw materials in the world, and it is precisely in this domain that it exercises the most severe control and carries out the most cruel intervention." "The social-imperialists likewise pursue an out-and-out neo-colonialist policy towards the developing countries. The credits they accord the developing countries serve the same ends as those of the U.S. imperialists. The developing countries are aware of the true nature of Soviet credits." He said, "It has been proved that the economic and technical aid, the loans and the experts offered by the Soviet Union to certain Asian, African and Latin American countries are subjected to conditions enabling it to interfere in the economy of these countries, obtain political privileges and acquire advantages and military bases."

The Albanian Foreign Minister refuted the lie spread by the two superpowers that their "aid" to the developing countries were aimed at promoting development of these countries. He pointed out, "The U.S. imperialists and Soviet social-imperialists have never given and will never give a single dollar or a single ruble without

considering beforehand the political, economic, military and other interests."

Referring to international trade relations, Foreign Minister Nase said that the imperialist powers make use of such relations to reap huge profits at the expense of the raw materials-producing countries. He said, "The Asian, African and Latin American countries have the right to demand an end to the discriminatory policy in trade, elimination of artificial obstacles and establishment of the principle of equality and mutual benefit." "Today the time has come for the wealth of the developing countries to be used for the independent development of their economy and national culture. In exercising their sacred rights, they are fully entitled to take their tremendous wealth in their own hands and put it under their control so as to use it to consolidate their economic and political independence."

Nase said, "At the current General Assembly session the developing countries have put forward a number of just and constructive demands which the United Nations Organization is duty-bound to study seriously and on which it should take concrete measures conforming to the national interests of these countries and to the interests of international co-operation and peace." The Albanian delegation is in favour of these demands, he said.

Numerous facts showing the plunder and exploitation of the developing countries by the industrial powers prove that "the existing international economic relations continue to have a marked neo-colonial character," he said. Albania "supports the firm attitude of the developing countries in favour of a radical revision of these relations in accordance with the great changes which have taken place in the world."

He stressed, "The Asian, African and Latin American countries who, until yesterday, were suffering from foreign colonial domination and oppression will no longer bear the maintenance of brutal exploitation by foreign monopolies and the grave, abnormal situation in their relations with the big industrial countries." He expressed the conviction that "the people of the developing countries, united with the people of the world and resolutely opposing the aggression, hegemony, pressures and exploitation by the two superpowers and other imperialist powers, will succeed in freeing their economic relations with the big industrial countries from all kinds of domination, exploitation and injustice, and will carry on their efforts to build such relations on the basis of equality and respect for their sovereignty."

He said that Albania "firmly supports the rights and efforts of the developing countries to determine their own fate, to become the master of their national economy and their natural wealth, and to free themselves from imperialist interference and control." He praised the just measures taken by many Asian, African and Latin American countries "to nationalize the capital of foreign companies, to put their national resources under their own sovereignty and to exploit them in the service of independent development."

Foreign Minister Nesti Nase continued, "On the oil problem, the imperialist powers are exerting strong pressure on the Arab countries and other raw materials-producing countries, so that they will not demand the real values of their products and will not touch the foreign monopolist companies." He said, "Yesterday at this assembly, U.S. Secretary of State Kissinger put up the stick and the carrot, threatened the developing countries that march in the forefront in defence of their rights, and jingled a few dollars to sow discord among them and deceive them."

Nesti Nase said, "The oil embargo has shaken the whole capitalist world. It has further sharpened the contradictions of the capitalist world." This proves that the so-called "economic development" of the capitalist world "is based on the exploitation of others." "The [oil] embargo showed that the developing countries possess very powerful weapons for defending their rights, developing their national industry, putting an end to their dependence on foreign countries and improving the well-being of their people. The successes obtained in this field testify to the might of the people," he said.

The Albanian Foreign Minister refuted the assertion that the developing countries are incapable of managing their industries, an assertion spread by those who profit from plundering the raw materials of the Asian, African and Latin American countries. He said, "This assertion is tendentious and absolutely groundless. The experience of the countries, which have nationalized all foreign corporations engaged in exploiting their raw materials, proves the contrary."

Nesti Nase told the session of the experience of Albania, saying that after its liberation, Albania nationalized the enterprises and the capital of foreign corporations. These enterprises were developed later, with the result that Albania's national economy was developed and the people's welfare improved, he stated.

He went on to say that in 1961, the Soviet Government recalled all the Soviet experts from Albania in an attempt to bring pressure to bear upon Albania and paralyse its economy. But Albanian technicians and workers took up the work and with remarkable talents began prospecting and exploitation of the mineral deposits of the country. As compared with 1938, Albania now produces 71.7 times more oil, 89.8 times more chromium, 280.3 times more copper and 257.6 times more coal. As compared with 1960, the increases were respectively 3.3 times, 2.3 times, 19.3 times and 3 times.

He also refuted the allegation that the demand of raw materials-producing countries for fixing just prices for their products would upset the economic relations as a whole among nations and would fundamentally disrupt international trade. He said, "This does not correspond with reality at all. The developing countries are also the principal raw materials producers. What they demand is that an end be put to the neo-colonial policy of buying cheap and selling dear, and that exchanges between raw materials and their products be hereafter based on complete equality and mu-

tual benefit. The raw materials-producing countries have the incontestable right and sovereignty to fix the prices of their raw materials in conformity with their national interests, free from all arbitrary impositions by the monopolies and big industrial countries. It is inadmissible that the prices of industrial products continue to rise arbitrarily. On the contrary, a just relationship should be established between these prices on the one hand, and the prices of raw materials and their real value on the other." Stressing that new economic relations should be built on the basis of equality, he said that "the road towards a solution of the problems confronting the developing countries now is, first of all, to fight resolutely for consolidating their sovereignty and their political and economic independence, and to mobilize all their material, financial and human resources for the sake of the emancipation and progress of their fatherland." He stated, "Firmly advancing along this road, the People's Republic of Albania has made considerable achievements in all domains of development of its national economy and culture." The tremendous victories won by Albania in these fields, he

(Continued from p. 14.)

In running an enterprise, whether or not the workers' initiative is constantly brought into play and whether or not the leadership relies on the masses of workers is a question of line. But we in the leadership sometimes tend to think that we alone are wise. We don't consult the masses and don't do any political and ideological work among them, and we hope to solve problems merely by issuing administrative orders. This in essence shows that the pernicious influence of the revisionist line in running an enterprise spread by Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao has not been completely erased.

Whether or not the line of relying wholeheartedly on the workers in running an enterprise is followed depends basically on what sort of world outlook we in the leadership should foster. Chairman Mao has taught us: **"The people, and the people alone, are the motive force in the making of world history."** **"The masses are the real heroes, while we ourselves are often childish and ignorant."**

This is a historical materialist viewpoint, and an important aspect of the proletarian world outlook. Our minds, however, have to a certain extent been influenced by the fallacies of Lin Piao and Confucius who spread the theory of "genius" that some are "born with knowledge" and despised the masses. We will not be able to rely wholeheartedly on the masses if we do not repudiate this idealist conception of history of the exploiting classes. And if this should go on, we are liable to become overlords riding roughshod over the people, and a new, privileged bourgeois social stratum will appear as in the Soviet Union, and we'll go astray and slide down the road of revisionism.

noted, "are first of all due to the correct line of the Albanian Party of Labour, to the reliance on its own efforts, to the unity and total mobilization of all the force of its people, to the rational exploitation of natural resources, and to the resistance and staunch struggle against pressures, blackmails, menaces and blockades of the imperialists and social-imperialists."

Foreign Minister Nase praised the Fourth Summit Conference of Non-Aligned Countries held in Algiers last September for demonstrating the will and unity of the non-aligned countries and taking a series of important measures against plunder and exploitation of the developing countries. "Only by strengthening unity can one victoriously face the challenges of imperialism, social-imperialism and neo-colonialism," he stressed.

The Albanian Foreign Minister concluded by declaring that at this special session of the General Assembly, the Albanian delegation "will, as always, firmly stand with the people and countries which are fighting for their free and independent national development, and for the elimination of all oppression and exploitation, all foreign control and dictate."

Hsu Chih-cheng:

In order to constantly improve men's mutual relations in production, the leadership and the workers must all pay attention to the line. In the past, relations between the cadres and the masses and between the workers themselves sometimes were not quite satisfactory. This was caused mostly by an erroneous line.

Before the Great Cultural Revolution, for instance, due to interference by Liu Shao-chi's counter-revolutionary revisionist line, material incentives were used at the docks for a while. Bonuses were stressed while politics neglected. The amount of a bonus for longshoremen was determined by the volume of cargo they had loaded or unloaded. Bonuses for drivers and operators were determined by how much fuel or electricity they had saved and by their safety records in operating cranes or trucks. As a result, some longshoremen tended to work for "tonnage" loaded or unloaded and they wanted the drivers to speed up their machines. On their part, drivers tended to drive slowly with an eye to saving fuel and electricity and operating their machines cautiously. This led to exchanges of complaints and discord between longshoremen and drivers. This was the aftermath brought about by the revisionist line.

All this revisionist stuff has now been crushed, but the old ideology will continue to find expression in things that prevent us from handling mutual relations in accordance with socialist principles. We dock workers, therefore, must study hard Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, constantly raise our consciousness of the two-line struggle and fight erroneous lines. In this way, under the guidance of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, we'll be able to constantly improve mutual relations and make new contributions to the socialist revolution and construction.

Representatives of Third World Countries Condemn Superpower Plunder and Control

DURING the general debate beginning on April 10 at the Sixth Special Session of the U.N. General Assembly, representatives of many Third World countries condemned in their speeches the exploitation, plunder and control of the developing countries by imperialism, particularly the superpowers. They demanded that a reform be made in the existing extremely unequal international economic relations and necessary measures taken to protect economic resources and other rights and interests. They pointed out that imperialism and colonialism are the root cause of the poverty of the developing countries and that the Third World countries are intensifying their struggle for a new economic order.

Following is a report on speeches by representatives of some countries from April 10 to 16.

April 10. Initiator of the special session Houari Boumediene, President of the Council of Revolution of Algeria and President in Office of the 4th Summit Conference of Non-Aligned Countries, delivered a long speech at the beginning of the general debate in the morning (for excerpts of his speech see *Peking Review*, No. 16, pp. 11-14). His speech received repeated warm applause.

Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping, Chairman of the Delegation of the People's Republic of China, made a speech at the afternoon session (for full text of his speech see *Peking Review*, No. 16, pp. 6-11). There was a prolonged warm applause after his speech. Representatives of many countries, particularly the Third World countries, went to greet members of the Chinese Delegation and warmly shook hands with Teng Hsiao-ping, Chairman, and Chiao Kuan-hua and Huang Hua, Vice-Chairmen, of the Delegation.

Speaking at the session, Jamshid Amouzegar, Iranian Minister of Finance, pointed out that at present, there are "great disparities in the availability of resources and techniques to develop them, and in the distribution of output and consumption" among the countries of the world. He said, "The resources of our planet are being over-exploited and to a considerable extent wasted to sustain an ever-increasing standard of living in a few affluent and over-consuming countries." "This phenomenon has been the consequence of a price policy deliberately adopted by industrial countries and multinational corporations. . . . Against such abundance, prosperity and waste, we witness misery, hunger,

disease and ignorance plaguing over one-half of the world's population."

He said, "The international trade structure requires a major overhaul. There is a desperate need for promotion of market stability and fundamental improvement in the terms of trade of developing countries."

Argentine Foreign Minister Alberto J. Vignes said in his speech that the recent "energy crisis" shows that "when the developing countries co-ordinate with each other and take firm action to protect their own legitimate interests, we can reverse the situation in which our policies and decisions on the production and sale of primary products depend on a bigger industrial centre."

Alfredo Vasquez Carrizosa, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Colombia, said that the need for a new international order is borne out, among other factors, by the increasing inequalities between the industrialized countries and the members of the Third World.

President William Tolbert Jr. of Liberia said at the session that "the developed countries must recognize the determination of the developing world to refrain from relying solely on the will of others for the development of resources," "they must be aware of the realities of the times and decide to abandon anachronistic pre-occupations designed to perpetuate selfish aims."

April 11. Albert-Bernard Bongo, President of the Republic of Gabon and Prime Minister of the Gabon Government, was the first to take the floor in the morning's general debate. He said, "We have now realized that our world cannot have as a main feature the constant division into rich countries and poor countries . . . it is therefore important to assure to our countries the indispensable security of the revenues acquired essentially from exportation of our primary products."

President Bongo went on: We know in Gabon that the extremely low level of the prices of our raw materials proceeds from the monopoly situation inherited from the colonial pact. He said that measures should be taken to assure "stable and remunerative prices" to the primary products. The present level of oil prices "results from the realization of our countries of the necessity of co-operation and consultations," and this "is a victory and an experience." He said, "Following the example of the oil-producing and exporting countries, other raw material-supplying countries should co-operate and consult one another within similar organizations in defence of their interests."

Milos Minic, Vice-President of the Federal Executive Council and Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs of Yugoslavia, said that the existing economic system is "based on real inequality and privileges for some at the expense of others." "This system is characterized by strong neo-colonialist elements and the remnants of colonialism," he added.

He pointed out that the developing countries, which have resolutely embarked on the road of political and economic independence, have been unable, under the existing system of international economic relations, to make a substantial change in their position in international economic relations. He pointed out that solutions to the problems of raw materials and energy should be sought in accordance with the proposals of the non-aligned and other developing countries.

After showing the grave inequality in the economic situation existing between the industrialized countries and the developing countries, Habib Chatti, Tunisian Foreign Minister, said that the inflation which the industrialized countries export to the Third World, as well as the monetary crisis have aggravated the situation of the developing countries. It is in fact inadmissible that these countries which represent 70 per cent of humanity should subsist with only 30 per cent of the world's revenue.

He stressed that to facilitate the progress of the developing countries, "it is necessary to recognize the right of each state to dispose of its natural resources and to exploit them to the benefit of its people."

Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko also spoke at the meeting. He declared unblushingly that the Soviet Union is the "natural ally" of the developing countries but avoided taking position on concrete proposals and slogans put forward by the developing countries on the question of raw materials and development. He grumbled at the actions of the 77-country group which had broken through the monopoly of the superpowers and actively prepared for the session; he was very unhappy about the statements made at the session exposing superpower hegemonism of the Soviet Union but unable to answer these statements. He also took advantage of this opportunity to try to deceive people by peddling such frauds trumpeted by Soviet revisionism as U.S.-U.S.S.R. "detente," and "a 10 per cent reduction of the military expenses" by the five permanent members of the Security Council.

Addressing the meeting in the afternoon, Guinean Foreign Minister Fily Cissoko said: "The disparity between the industrialized world and the developing world is getting ever wider and deeper." "This fact has made us, the people of various countries, aware of the fact that the poor nations have become poorer and poorer. This awareness had been manifested in their struggles against colonialism, neo-colonialism, imperialism and exploitation in all forms."

Public attention should be aroused particularly to the affirmation of the developing countries' sovereignty over their natural resources, he stressed.

He condemned the multinational corporations for violating the sovereignty of the developing countries. He said: The developing countries "should be more united than ever before. They should form without delay a common front with the help of broad regional or sub-regional economic co-operation based on the legitimate interests of their peoples. It is necessary to lead this great struggle by counting on their own forces before everything else. The developing countries should not wait for the industrialized countries and should first of all unite themselves and co-ordinate their efforts."

Foreign Minister Cissoko emphasized the importance of relying on one's own efforts in the development of the country. He said his delegation "has asserted that it is necessary firstly to rely on one's own efforts and, then, depend on foreign aid which should only be complementary." "The developing countries should take action now which, in order to attain its aim, must necessarily rest on their unity."

Zambian Foreign Minister Vernon J. Mwaanga voiced strong dissatisfaction with the inequality in international economic relations. He expressed the hope that this session of the General Assembly "will seek to identify the causes of these problems with a view to devising suitable remedies to correct the imbalances in international trade and monetary affairs."

Dawda K. Jawara, President of the Republic of Gambia, said: "The developing world is capable of exhibiting unanimity in certain crucial issues affecting our progress. This has been reflected in the current negotiations with the European Economic Community in which the developing world is in many ways demonstrating solidarity and a sense of common purpose."

Uruguayan Foreign Minister Juan Carlos Blanco said that there existed "the necessity of re-arranging in depth the structure of world trade."

He said that "the dividing line between the strong and the weak is not an insuperable frontier. Nor is economic and political power the exclusive privilege of a few . . . new forces have emerged for promoting a profound transformation."

Mikio Mizuta, Chairman of the Delegation of Japan, expressed the hope that this special session will serve as a forum to find a constructive solution for the energy problem through what he called "dialogue and co-operation." He declared: "We recognize the right of all countries, including the developing countries, to develop and utilize their natural resources for their economic development and the improvement of their people's welfare, namely, the principle of permanent sovereignty over natural resources."

Mitchell Sharp, Secretary of State for External Affairs of Canada, said, "We believe that the raw material-producing countries have a legitimate interest in upgrading their resources." "Canada recognizes the right of resource-owning states to dispose of their natural resources in the interest of their own economic development and of the well-being of their people," he added.

April 12. Speaking at the morning's meeting, President Stevens of the Republic of Sierra Leone said that for many years "the developed countries determine the prices of our raw materials and produce which we export to them as well as the prices of the finished products which they export to us and it is my view that one of the most important tasks which this special session can perform would be to find ways and means of bringing to an end this naked act of economic exploitation."

Taking iron-ore, one of the raw materials exported by Sierra Leone, as an example, President Stevens disclosed how the resources and wealth of the Third World countries have been plundered by the developed countries which have kept the prices of raw materials low while selling their manufactured goods at high prices. He pointed out that the price of iron-ore has stagnated over the past four years while the price of steel rods has gone up about 200 per cent.

He said: We are agreed that the political independence which our various countries have been able to win over the years is being consistently devalued through economic exploitation.

President Stevens stressed: We are agreed that the present extremely unequal international economic relations must be changed. Sierra Leone and the vast majority of the states of the Third World would leave no stone unturned to see that these objectives are attained. He said, "The countries of the Third World, for their own good, must get together and take effective steps to guard their interests."

Foreign Minister of the Republic of Ivory Coast Arsene Assouan said that his country hoped to work together with all countries that suffered hardships from imperialism in history to put an end to underdevelopment. After dwelling upon the oil embargo and the struggle of the raw materials-producing countries in defence of raw material prices, he said that "certain evolutions are reversible and new equilibrium is possible when the underdeveloped countries decide to organize themselves and impose a just price on their raw materials the possession of which is vital for the economies of the big industrial powers." He said, "All the Third World countries are convinced today of the beneficial effects of the currents of solidarity and unity, and this is a capital lesson for them."

Moroccan Foreign Minister Ahmed Taibi Benhima said, "Internationally, economic relations among many countries are still marked by the rules of colonial pacts, paternal trade, or at the best, by unequal co-operation."

Speaking at the session in the afternoon, Major Kwame Baah, Commissioner for Foreign Affairs of Ghana, said: "Our efforts at developing have been hindered and frustrated, in a large measure, by a wholly unfair international economic relationship and inequitable and injurious financial systems."

He said: "The old colonial system of shameless domination and exploitation has persisted — this time in more subtle forms."

Citing concrete examples to show how imperialism is plundering the developing countries through exchanges

of unequal values, he said: "In 1954, with our (cocoa) production at 210,000 tons, our earnings were 85.5 million pound sterling. Ten years later, with an increased production of 590,000 tons, our earnings dropped to some 77 million pound sterling. For the same ten-year period the cost of a five-ton lorry in Ghana had increased almost tenfold."

He said: Africa is rich. Although Africa possesses about 53 of the world's most important basic industrial minerals and metals, it trails behind all others in industrial development. He noted that the majority of African people are under-employed, under-privileged and humiliated when Africa has 40 per cent of the world's potential water power.

Miguel Angel De La Flore, Peruvian Foreign Minister, denounced in his speech the stubborn efforts of a group of powerful states and of large trans-national private enterprises to maintain an imperialist status quo in trade, finance, technology and shipping.

He said that "the struggle of the Third World to achieve a new economic order has been strengthened by its awareness of its political potential." "The new correlation of forces calls for a realignment of world trade on the basis of justice."

He said: With regard to the problem of raw materials, the developing countries have also realized that they must work out a policy dealing with the vast resources of the oceans and the sea-bed, which are essential to the development of our countries and the well-being of our people. At the forthcoming conference on the law of the sea, the countries of the Third World should take a position in defence of the exercise of their sovereignty and jurisdiction over broad areas of their seas.

Dr. Manuel Perez Guerrero, Venezuelan Minister of State in Charge of International Economic Affairs, said that it is necessary to set up a new international economic system. "All the developing countries should participate in the framing of the new system."

He held that the current special U.N. session should secure fairer and more rational terms of trade for the developing countries. He stressed that Venezuela is resolved "to exercise full sovereignty over petroleum more effectively."

Romanian Foreign Minister George Macovescu said that "alongside developed states" there exist "a large number of countries lagging far behind from the economic and social points of view, as a consequence of imperialist, colonialist and neo-colonialist policies."

Macovescu denounced the trans-national corporations for using the oil crisis to create chaos and rake in fabulous profits from speculations at the expense of many developing countries that do not produce oil.

April 15. At the morning session, Mauritanian President Moktar Ould Daddah said that the question of raw materials is a vital question to the developing countries. "This is because, in the present state of our economies, only when we are obliged to sell our resources of the soil, sub-soil and the seas in the natural

state, can we have some chance of providing something for our existence."

But the prices of raw materials, he pointed out, are constantly falling "while we are compelled by the industrialized countries to buy the finished products they sell us at prices far above the ceilings." "In these circumstances, we can survive only if there is a vigorous restructuring of the relations between the industrialized countries and the underdeveloped countries. The fundamental readjustment that is required demands, in the first place, that the industrialized countries recognize the sovereignty of the underdeveloped countries over their own natural resources."

Cameroonian Foreign Minister Vincent Efon pointed out that the present unjust economic system "has rendered us poorer and, at the same time, the rich countries richer." Quoting the statement of El Hadj Ahmadou Ahidjo, Head of State of Cameroon, he said, "Cameroon exported 104,700 tons of cocoa and cocoa-products in 1970-71 which were valued at 18,000 million CFA francs, but Cameroon exported 112,700 tons of the same goods in 1971-72 which were valued only at 16,000 million CFA francs, showing a net loss of 2,000 million CFA francs."

The Cameroonian Foreign Minister added that "when the receipts of our exports had diminished in inverse proportion to our efforts, we still had to pay higher prices for goods imported from the industrial countries. Faced with such situations of cynical injustice, you can easily understand that the Third World has the right to claim more than ever the establishment of a new world economic order, resting on the principles of justice and equity."

Dahomey's Minister of Finance and Economy Janvier Assogba said that the fundamental characteristic and primary source of backwardness of his country is foreign domination. The Third World, he continued, faces the question of "safeguarding its interests." He stressed the need to put an end once and for all to the detestable inequality, this international injustice, which forms the widening pit that separates the rich countries from the poor countries.

Adam Malik, Indonesian Foreign Minister, pointed out that the persistent inflation in the developed countries translates itself into substantial price increases of industrial products purchased from the developed countries. "Price increases of some primary products, therefore, should be weighed against the increases in the import bills of the developing countries." He pointed out that "the appeal made by some industrialized countries to lower the price of oil appears, therefore, as unwarranted as it is unjust."

U.S. Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger spoke at the morning session on what he called the necessity of "interdependence" between the developing countries and imperialism, which actually means to keep the relationship between the exploiters and the exploited intact. He asked that those "in this assembly must come to terms with the fact of our interdependence," and urged the developing countries to carry out "po-

litical co-operation" with the developed countries and practise an economy "open" to the developed countries.

Kissinger described the just demand of the Third World countries for a change in the present international political and economic relations of imperialist oppression and exploitation as "outdated generalities" and said that "the great issues of development can no longer be realistically perceived in terms of confrontation between the haves and havenots . . ."

The U.S. Secretary of State told the Third World countries in a threatening tone: "If the weak resort to pressure, they will do so at the risk of world prosperity and thus provoke despair," adding that "the organization of one group of countries as a bloc" will sooner or later produce the organization of other countries into a "counterbloc."

Kissinger attacked the Arab countries' use of oil as a weapon in their struggle since the 1973 Middle East war. He admitted that the "energy crisis" dramatized the "fragility" of the "world economy" (meaning the economy of the main Western capitalist countries including the United States). He groundlessly attributed inflation and soaring prices resulting from the system and policies of the Western countries per se to the readjustment of oil prices by the Arab countries.

At the afternoon session, Nigerian Commissioner for External Affairs Okoi Arikpo pointed out that the inequitable system which enables a small proportion of the world's population to enjoy the larger proportion of the world's output and wealth could not continue indefinitely. He said that the raw material situation especially epitomizes the inequitable situation that has for too long confronted the developing countries. He noted that his government held that "self-reliance has to be the cornerstone of its economic policy." "Steps need to be taken" by the developing countries "to eliminate the foreign dominance of the national economy."

Zaire's Commissioner of State for Foreign Affairs and International Co-operation, Umba-Di-Lutete, took copper as an example to show that "in the past artificially reduced prices have been imposed on us many times from the outside" while the prices of manufactured goods "rose steadily every year and every month to the great satisfaction of the developed countries." He stressed that a new international economic order implies the permanent sovereignty of every country over all its natural resources.

Mexican Foreign Minister Emilio O. Rabasa said: "The co-operation between the developing countries should receive a dynamic impulse not only in the defence of the permanent sovereignty over their natural resources but also in the defence of the prices of their basic products for export. In this context, the improvement of conditions of access of these products to international markets is also imperative and primary." Rabasa denounced the trans-national corporations for controlling the developing countries' production and trade.

Shridath S. Ramphal, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Guyana, demanded a change in the international economic order which has developed to suit an era of colonialist expansion of several centuries past. The export of inflation to the developing countries by the developed countries and the recurring international monetary crises have greatly debilitated the economies of the developing countries, he declared.

Turkey's Foreign Minister Turan Gunes demanded that the rights of permanent sovereignty of various countries over their natural resources including oil be respected. He also denounced the trans-national corporations.

April 16. Albanian Foreign Minister Nesti Nase made a long speech at the morning session (for excerpts of his speech see pp. 15-17).

In his speech, Foreign Minister of Madagascar Dider Ratsiraka said: "International and economic relations among countries of unequal developmental level reveal purely and simply the ties of capitulation between exploiters and exploited." "It is within this framework that the colonial and neo-colonial pillage of the Third World has been systematically organized. It is also within this framework that arbitrary measures and iniquitous situations in all fields are imposed on the pauperized peoples."

He expressed the view that the Third World countries should strengthen their unity and use the natural resources they possess to force the rich countries to change their traditional attitudes towards the Third World countries.

Gyanendra Bahadur Karki, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Nepal, stood for narrowing the "scissors" gap between the prices of raw materials exported by developing countries and the manufactured goods they import so as to change the ever widening economic imbalance between the developed and developing countries.

Ecuadorian Minister of Natural and Energy Resources Gustavo Jarrin Ampudia said that "the developed countries have enlarged their profits by consistently raising the price of manufactured goods, capital assets and technology while the underdeveloped countries have been compelled to sell raw materials at ridiculously low prices." Hence, the "deep gap" between the poor and rich countries. He stressed: "We, the peoples owning the basic staples, have been fighting, each in his own manner, to try to exercise legitimate sovereignty over such resources."

At the afternoon session representatives from the oil-producing developing countries stated resolutely that they have complete sovereignty over their natural resources. They refuted categorically the attempt of some developed countries in the West to put the blame on the oil-producing developing countries for their own worsening inflation.

Sabah Al-Ahmad Al-Jaber, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the State of Kuwait, pointed out that

colonialism is a basic factor in retarding the progress of nations and keeping them a prey to need and indignity. It is absolutely necessary, he stressed, to recognize the right of nations to independence and self-determination as an essential prerequisite for achieving economic and social progress.

He pointed out further that some developed countries also like to put the blame for the inflation that prevails in them on the developing countries. This is inaccurate. "Raising the price of oil was more of a preventive measure against inflation in the industrially advanced countries rather than the cause of it." Studies of the effect of the recent increase in the price of oil on the price index in the industrially advanced countries show that it did not contribute more than 1 per cent while the average rate of inflation for the year 1974 was about 12 per cent.

He expressed the hope that the current special session will approve the basic principles for establishing a new international economic order to govern relations between the developing and developed countries, emphasizing that "the developing countries must play their rightful role in the new international economic order."

Iraqi Minister of Oil and Minerals Sadoon Ham-madi said that the adverse terms of trade of the developing countries have been further aggravated by chronic inflation generated in the industrialized countries. Long-term inflationary trends have been exported to the developing countries, thereby adding further strain to their balance of payments. He exposed the monopolistic control by major trans-national oil companies over the international petroleum industry. "Iraq," he declared, "believes that no real conflict of interests exists between the oil exporting countries and other developing countries. . . , since the oil exporting countries are developing countries themselves. On the contrary, there are wide areas of common interests among the entire group of developing countries, as the common objective is basically long-term accelerated economic development."

Ahmed Zaki Yamani, Minister of Oil and Mineral Wealth of Saudi Arabia, said that the countries of the Third World, devoid of capital and technology, had no real power over their raw materials or sources of energy. They had long played the role of the supplier of raw materials and cheap labour and as a market for manufactured goods. He demanded a limit to the soaring prices of manufactured products and called for fairer prices for the raw materials that are sold by the developing countries.

Abdulla Al Asnag, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Yemen Arab Republic, stressed that colonialism which was based on exploitation has kept the economies of the developing countries in a state of backwardness, and has also put their trade at the mercy of the industrialized nations.

Speakers at the April 16 session included also the representatives of Somalia, Maritius and Guatemala.

How Soviet Revisionism Plunders the Third World Economically

FLAUNTING the banner of "socialism," Soviet revisionism ruthlessly exploits and plunders the Asian, African and Latin American countries as it contends with U.S. imperialism for hegemony.

Under the Signboards of "Aid" and "Co-operation." So-called "aid" and "economic and technical co-operation" is an important means by which Soviet revisionism exploits and plunders the Third World. It has concluded "economic and technical co-operation agreements" with more than 40 developing countries. It was reported that according to these agreements, it had agreed to provide "aid" amounting to some 8,200 million U.S. dollars in loans from 1954 to 1972, 41 per cent of which went to the Middle East and about one-third to South Asia.

Besides short term and high interest, it is generally stipulated that Soviet revisionism's loans are restricted to purchases of Soviet goods and the recipient countries must repay by traditional export commodities, foreign exchange, or the products of the mines or factories built with the "aid." This enables Soviet revisionism to plunder raw materials in a big way and gouge out foreign exchange. One African country which the Soviet revisionists helped build a mercury mine and a lead and zinc mine had already given them a large quantity of mercury, lead and zinc ore by the time the mines were completed. For providing a few trawlers, the Soviet revisionists want 50 per cent of the catches. Soviet revisionism undertook to "aid" Iran to build a gas pipeline which on completion would bring 6,000 million cubic metres of gas to the Soviet revisionists out of the total of 8,000 million it pipes. In exposing the usurious nature of Soviet revisionist "aid," some Indian papers and magazines pointed out that for every 100 rupees of "aid" from Soviet revisionism, India had to repay 125 rupees the same year.

"Trade" by Buying Cheap and Selling Dear. Soviet revisionism's "trade" is another way of exploiting and plundering the Third World. The Soviet revisionists mainly sell old, outdated machinery, transport vehicles, rolled steel, etc., to the developing countries in exchange for cotton, wool, hides, minerals, etc. From 1955 to 1970, Soviet revisionist exports to Asian, African and Latin American countries increased nearly eight times while imports from these countries went up more than seven times. Imports are for the most part agricultural products and minerals. In 1969, for example, 55 per cent of Soviet revisionism's total imports of agricultural raw materials and 65.5 per cent of its total imports of mineral ores came from Asian, African and Latin American countries. Facts show that more and more the Asian, African and Latin American countries have become sources of raw materials for Soviet revisionism

and markets for outmoded Soviet machinery and equipment.

In trade with the Third World, Soviet revisionism ruthlessly exploits it by carrying on an exchange of unequal values through buying cheap and selling dear. Prices of products sold to developing countries are 15 to 25 per cent higher than those of the same products Soviet revisionism exports to Western countries while prices of commodities it imports from developing countries are 10 to 15 per cent lower than world market prices. The price for every ton of wine an African country exports to the Soviet revisionists is only half the price that country gets from other European countries. On the other hand, in 1970 they sold this African country rolled steel at a price 10 per cent more per ton than that of the rolled steel they sold to France while the price for excavators was more than double the price at which they were sold to France. Machinery and equipment the Soviet revisionists export to India are generally 20 to 30 per cent dearer than world market prices while prices of imports from India are normally 20 to 30 per cent lower than world market prices. In 1969 an African country got a Soviet automobile for two tons of cocoa beans, but in 1971 it needed more than six tons of cocoa beans to get one. The Soviet revisionists enjoy huge annual favourable balances in trade with the developing countries.

"Aid," Control and Penetration. By providing "aid," Soviet revisionism controls and infiltrates the vital economic sectors of the developing countries. It is reported that Soviet revisionism controls 80 per cent of India's machine-building industry, 60 per cent of its electrical appliances industry, 30 per cent of its petroleum cracking industry and 30 and 20 per cent of its steel production and power generation respectively. It also controls production and exploitation of iron and steel, petroleum, aluminium and titanium in some Middle East countries. In Africa and Latin America, Soviet revisionism has a hand in prospecting for and extracting petroleum, gold, uranium, bauxite, iron, bitumen and other mineral resources.

"Joint Enterprises" — Soviet Revisionism's "Trans-National Corporations." Imitating the U.S. "trans-national corporations," the Soviet revisionists export capital to developing countries and form so-called "joint enterprises" in stepping up economic infiltration and expansion in those countries. Soviet capital makes up 60 per cent of an automobile engineering company jointly run by Soviet revisionism and businessmen in an African country. Through this corporation, the Soviet revisionists sell motor vehicles, electrical equipment and other goods. They control 51 per cent of the

shares of a trading company in another African country. In Iran, Thailand and Singapore, Soviet revisionism has teamed up with local capitalists to jointly operate transport, shipping and other companies. It is also planning to form "joint enterprises" with private enterprises in India, and to go in for "joint investments" with U.S. capital in Latin America. To facilitate its infiltration, Soviet revisionism has opened up banks in Beirut, Kabul, Singapore and other places in Asia. In recent years, a Soviet revisionist bank in Singapore has been using the method of providing loans to invest in enterprises in Singapore, Malaysia and Indonesia and to keep in contact with some one hundred corporations.

Selling Sub-Standard Weapons in a Big Way. Soviet revisionism also sells sub-standard weapons in a big way and has become an international merchant of death.

Report From the U.N.

Soviet Revisionists Run Into Stone Wall

— In first two days' meetings of the ad hoc committee of the U.N. General Assembly Special Session

THE ad hoc committee of the Sixth Special Session of the U.N. General Assembly on April 15 began discussion on the "declaration on the establishment of a new international economic order" drafted by the 77-nation group. The Soviet representative tried to sabotage the discussion from the outset.

The Soviet revisionist big shots reckoned that a little threat uttered in the capacity of a superpower coupled with some stereotyped humbug would be enough to lead many Third World countries by the nose and have the ad hoc committee reorientated to their own goal of sabotaging the special General Assembly session. But they never imagined they could no longer sell this to a world marching forward and to the many awakening Third World countries. The Soviet revisionists' representative was greatly embarrassed as representatives of many Third World countries forcefully exposed the sabotage activities of the Soviet revisionists and refuted their deceitful propaganda.

Struggle Before Ad Hoc Committee Met

In preparation for the special session, representatives of the 77-nation group started drafting documents in New York in March. Third World representatives ardently hoped for drafts living up to the aspirations of their countries—defence of their state sovereignty and national economic rights and interests, transformation of the old, unequal international economic relations based on control and exploitation, and promotion of the struggle against imperialism and hegemonism. The efforts of the Third World countries incurred the bitter

From 1961 to 1971, it sold 14,800 million dollars worth of arms and ammunition—one-fourth of this to the Middle East—to earn huge amounts of foreign exchange. During the 1973 Middle East war, it took the opportunity to sell arms and ammunition to Egypt estimated at 700 million pounds sterling (about 1,600 million U.S. dollars) and demanded cash payment. Some Arab countries were forced to sell oil to it at a low price to pay for these Soviet weapons. The Soviet revisionists sold the oil at four times the original price to the Federal Republic of Germany and made a staggering profit.

Soviet revisionism's plunder, exploitation, infiltration and expansion in the developing countries have exposed its ugly social-imperialist features and are more and more arousing the anger and opposition of the Third World countries and people.

hatred of the Soviet revisionists and precipitated attempts at sabotage by them.

On March 15, the Soviet revisionists instructed a member of their "family" to write to the group of 77, unjustifiably demanding that "detente," "preservation of peace," "disarmament," "reduction of military budgets" and other rubbish they had peddled for a long time be included in the documents. This was a vain effort to change the nature of the documents drafted by the group of 77, make them fall in line with the crooked aims of the Soviet revisionists, and thus shift the direction of the special session. The unreasonable Soviet demand was sternly rejected by the group of 77. But the Soviet revisionists did not give up their sinister designs.

On April 11, Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko took the field himself, directly selling the same rotten wares in a speech during the general debate at the special session. But the effort again drew a blank; there was only some feeble response on the part of a few members of the Soviet-controlled "family."

Head-On Blow for Soviet Revisionists at First Day's Meeting

On the morning of April 15, the ad hoc committee of the special session began to discuss the "declaration on the establishment of a new international economic order" drafted by the group of 77, first of all its preface. Soviet Representative Alexei Nesterenko hastily proposed three amendments. Choosing the title of the declaration as the first target of his attack, he objected

to the phrase "establishment of a new international economic order" and demanded that it be reworded as "establishment and preservation of a fair and just international economic order." He insisted that the preface of the declaration should include such sinister items as "detente," "improvement of the international situation," "peaceful coexistence of countries with different social and economic systems and scientific and technological co-operation," all of which have long been rejected by the Third World countries.

Such social-imperialist arrogance on the part of the Soviet revisionists aroused strong indignation among the Third World countries. After the morning session adjourned, many of their representatives indicated that such superpower behaviour was intolerable. An African representative said that the key point of the declaration is the establishment of a new international economic order. Striking out the word "new" means depriving the declaration of its soul. Another African representative said that if the Soviet amendments were adopted, the old international economic order, under which the Third World was subjected to centuries of exploitation, would continue to exist. In that case the special session would have been convened for no purpose.

At the afternoon session, representatives of the Third World countries spoke one after another in refutation of the amendments of the Soviet revisionists.

The first speaker, Senegalese Representative Medoune Fall, bluntly pointed out that the word "new" is the key point of the draft declaration on establishing a new international economic order, for such a new order can be established only by destroying the old one. Adoption of the Soviet amendments means depriving the declaration of its foundation. Sharply noting that the Soviet representative is again talking about "peaceful coexistence," he pointedly asked: What "peaceful coexistence" is there in the African countries or regions under Portuguese or South African colonial rule which are suffering from the policy of apartheid? What "peaceful coexistence" is there in Indochina which is suffering from imperialist aggression? And what "peaceful coexistence" is there in the Middle East which is suffering from imperialist and Zionist aggression?

The solemn statement of the Senegalese representative was widely approved by the other Third World representatives. Representatives of the Malagasy Republic, Burundi, the Philippines, Pakistan and other countries spoke one after another in support of the Senegalese representative's criticism of the Soviet amendments.

The Soviet revisionists' representative took the floor again to make a feeble defence of his absurd amendments.

Speaking again, the Senegalese representative energetically refuted the argument of the Soviet representative that the declaration is truly valid only when it corresponds with the interests of all regional groups and that on this "ground," the Soviet amendments should be accepted by the group of 77 in consideration

of the interests of the Soviet revisionist group. Rejecting the "ground" offered by the Soviet revisionists, the Senegalese representative pointed out that under discussion at the special session was the problem of economic relations between the developing and the developed countries and that the Soviet Union is a developed country.

The representative of Senegal hit the nail on the head. Where would the interests of the Third World countries be if consideration were shown for the interests of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism?

Chinese Representative Chou Nan spoke in support of the Senegalese representative's refutation of the Soviet amendments. He pointed out that the Soviet revisionists were trying to shift the direction of the special session by insisting on including in the declaration "detente," "improvement of the international situation," "peaceful coexistence" and other highly controversial political problems which have nothing to do with the theme of the current special session. The Chinese Delegation was firmly opposed to this, he said.

Representatives of Senegal, Burundi and other countries then took the floor and supported the Chinese representative's stand.

After the day's meeting, the contact group, formed shortly before the special session by representatives of the 77-nation group and some U.N. regional groups, met to study revision of the preface of the declaration. The Soviet revisionists' representative stubbornly insisted on striking out the word "new" from the title: "The establishment of a new international economic order." But he was compelled to withdraw his unjustifiable demand in the face of the firm opposition of many Third World country representatives. With ulterior motives, he then demanded that the phrases "improvement of the international situation" and "equitable co-operation among countries with different social systems and degrees of development" be written into the preface of the declaration. The demand was again sternly refuted by representatives of the Third World countries. An Asian representative indicated that whether or not the current international situation has improved is a question in dispute and therefore, it should not be written into the document. An African representative sharply pointed out that between poor and rich countries "equitable co-operation" is out of the question.

Malik Runs Into Stone Wall

When the ad hoc committee resumed discussion on the declaration on the morning of April 16, Soviet Representative Y.A. Malik took the floor in place of Nesterenko.

Iranian Representative Ferydoun Hoveyda, president of the ad hoc committee, read the revised preface of the declaration. Malik was greatly irritated by the rejection of the Soviet revisionists' sinister wares and expressed his "regrets." Violating the committee's decision that no general debate should take place at the

(Continued on p. 27.)

Continue Along the Road of Seizing Political Power by Armed Force

— Statement of Chairman of Central Committee of Communist Party of North Kalimantan

ACCORDING to a broadcast of the Voice of Malayan Revolution on March 30, Wen Ming Chuan, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of North Kalimantan, on March 9 issued a statement concerning the recent surrender to the enemy of certain leaders of the People's Armed Forces of North Kalimantan.

The statement said: "This betrayal is certainly a bad thing, but it has a good aspect." "Our Party and armed forces have become purer and more reliable despite the reduction in number after this incident."

"Since the very day it was founded, our Party has made it our sacred historical task to thoroughly eliminate the social system of exploitation of man by man, and made it our minimum programme to accomplish a truly people's democratic revolution," the statement said.

It also said: "We Marxist-Leninists hold that it is beyond the power of the capitalist system to solve its ever aggravating political and economical crises, still less to alter its fate of inevitable doom. Its doom may come sooner or it may come later. It is our task as revolutionaries to accelerate its doom."

"Our policies and tactics may be altered according to changes in the situation, but our basic programme of accomplishing the people's democratic revolution and proceeding to realize socialism and communism is unalterable. Likewise unalterable is the road of using the countryside to encircle the cities and seizing political power by armed force," the statement said.

After analysing Malaysia's situation at home and abroad and the revolutionary tasks, the statement went on to say: "Marx and Engels, the great teachers of the proletariat, summed up experience from the practice of the Paris Commune and pointed out that **'the working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state machinery, and wield it for its own purposes.'** The proletariat must destroy and smash the old state machinery with revolutionary violence and practise proletarian dictatorship. The great teacher of the proletariat Mao Tsetung has developed the teaching of Marxism-Leninism on violent revolution and opened for the people of the colonies and semi-colonies the only road to achieve liberation, the road of using the countryside to encircle the cities and seizing political power by armed force. **'Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun'** — this is a most valid universal truth proved by the proletariat and the working people of various countries with their blood."

After describing the experience and lessons drawn from temporary setbacks in the revolutionary struggles of a number of countries, the statement said: "These facts convincingly prove that without armed struggle, the proletariat and the Communist Party would have no standing, nor could they accomplish any revolutionary task. Therefore, it is an out-and-out revisionist road, a road of betraying the basic interests of the people, to 'end the armed struggle' and to 'freely participate in legal political activities within the framework of the constitution.'

"In order to take the road of using the countryside to encircle the cities and seizing political power by armed force, there must be a Party armed with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, an army under the leadership of such a Party and a united front under the leadership of such a Party — these are the three magic weapons of revolution."

The statement said: "In the past 20 years and more, we have paid a very high cost, but we have also made very great achievements. Our experience in the past 20-odd years shows that our work made progress whenever we followed the teaching mentioned above, and our work came to a standstill whenever we deviated from it.

"Now, the Party has been founded, the army established, and a united front based on a worker-peasant alliance and practising armed struggle is initially formed. Our revolutionary cause is advancing. Could we liquidate the Party of the proletariat on the ground of difficult combat circumstances or under the pretext of changing the policy and tactics of struggle? Could we destroy our army with our own hands because of some cases of shameless betrayal? No, never.

"We have taken the road of armed struggle for more than 10 years. Our Party was founded in the course of armed struggle. In the early days of our armed struggle, we had only a small force of 40 men and our weapons were poor. It later developed into several comparatively large contingents operating in several areas. For more than 10 years, the Indonesian and 'Malaysian' reactionaries spent tens of millions of dollars yearly in military expenditure and deployed tens of thousands of reactionary troops to 'encircle and suppress' us brutally and repeatedly, but they failed to check our advance. This is because we have the vigorous support of the broad masses of the people. We could not have survived and developed had they not actively provided us with clothing and food and had they not sent their sons and

brothers to join our army. Facts show that the masses of the people are with us. Although many difficulties lie on our road of advance, they can certainly be surmounted.

"In order to surmount difficulties, naturally there must be correct policies and tactics. Only in the light of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and by integrating it with our specific conditions can we work out correct policies and tactics. Negation and adulteration of this universal truth can only lead to the hatching of revisionist, liquidationist and capitulationist 'policies' and 'tactics.'"

The statement said: "There still exists under the leadership of the Party an armed force of considerable strength. We shall continue to make armed struggle the main form of struggle, and persist in and develop guerrilla warfare in the vast countryside, we shall continue to unfold the mass movement in cities and towns and carry out revolutionary propaganda and organizational work, accumulate strength and bide our time."

The statement also said: "We are clearly aware that the future is bright and the road is full of twists and turns. In the present circumstances, our armed struggle

is facing serious difficulties. We are fully prepared ideologically to meet even fiercer storms. We will never be cowed by the enemy's arrogance. His reactionary rule is most unpopular and he is being beset with difficulties at home and abroad. His desperate struggle shows that the going is getting tougher and tougher for him."

The statement appealed: "The cadres and Party members in the armed forces, in the countryside, cities and towns must set an example and play a vanguard role, unite all the guerrillas and revolutionary people, conscientiously sum up the lesson of this bitter experience and, holding high the revolutionary red banner, forge ahead courageously!"

The statement said in conclusion, "The Party will continue to lead the masses along the road of seizing political power by armed force. So long as we continue to raise high the banner of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and grip our guns firmly, so long as we uphold the spirit of relying on our own efforts, really trust the masses, rely on them and boldly arouse them, and so long as we do a good job in summing up experience and draw a lesson from past mistakes, we are certain to overcome difficulties and achieve new victories!"

(Continued from p. 25.)

meeting, he repeatedly made long speeches in a further attempt to have "detente," "improvement of the international situation," "peaceful coexistence" and "disarmament" written into the preface. When the president announced that the meeting should proceed to discuss the essential part of the declaration instead of its preface, Malik, on behalf of the Soviet revisionist "family," again demanded that these sinister wares be included in the second paragraph of the essential part of the declaration. But his vicious scheme was strongly refuted and firmly rejected by representatives of the Third World countries.

Senegalese Representative Medoune Fall pointed out that the job of the special session was not to examine problems like "detente" and "peaceful coexistence." He said: "We are tired of these old tunes. If the Soviet representative insists, the meeting should put his amendments to vote."

Mauritanian Representative Mamadou Kane said that in proposing such amendments, the Soviet representative was trying to prevent the meeting from examining the documents.

Roger Paqui, Representative of Dahomey, said that the Soviet insistence on writing "peaceful coexistence" into the declaration was tantamount to obstructing the meeting.

The representatives of Cameroon and China also spoke briefly to refute Malik.

Flushed with anger and embarrassment and gesticulating wildly, Malik started to talk nonsense again

only to be rebuffed by the representatives of Senegal, Dahomey and other countries.

Chinese Representative Chou Nan pointed out that going against the committee's decision on no general debate at the meeting and in defiance of the will of the majority of U.N. member states, Malik had repeatedly made long speeches of a general debate nature. He was trying to include in the declaration highly controversial political questions irrelevant to the theme of the meeting, with a view to sabotaging the meeting and shifting its direction, the Chinese representative noted. The Chinese Delegation has its own views with regard to and a lot to say on a series of important questions such as the question of whether or not there is genuine "detente" in the world today, the question of war and peace, the cause of tension, the role of the two superpowers, and who are the biggest exploiters and oppressors in the world today. If Mr. Malik insists on a debate, the Chinese Delegation will certainly keep him company to the very end. But for the smooth progress of the meeting, we prefer to speak on other occasions, and advise Mr. Malik against acting wilfully, the Chinese representative said.

The president then declared the meeting adjourned.

Representatives of the Third World countries have demonstrated their strength by fighting in unity against the sabotage of the Soviet revisionists.

Malik came to the ad hoc committee meeting to make trouble, only to find himself running into a stone wall after Nesterenko.

(Hsinhua dispatch, April 17)

ROUND THE WORLD

SYRIA

Israeli Aggression Repulsed

After Syrian air defence units shot down three Israeli planes bombing Syrian positions on Mount Hermon on April 13, a fierce battle between Syrian ground and air forces and Israeli troops took place on April 19. Heavy losses were inflicted on the Israeli aggressor troops when their aggression was repulsed.

Syrian forces in the fight directed intense fire on enemy positions,

army concentrations, military establishments and fortified points, while Syrian artillery silenced enemy fire posts over wide areas of the front. Heavy artillery struck at enemy fortifications and missile bases.

Sustaining heavy losses, Israel attempted to launch a massive air attack on Syrian positions with 50 fighters and fighter-bombers. The Syrian air force intercepted them and engaged them in big air battles over Lebanon and Sheikh Mountain. The Israeli attack was repulsed. Syrian forces that day shot down 17 Israeli

aircraft, including one pilotless reconnaissance plane and scored direct hits on 15 enemy positions, nine fortified points and three tank, armoured and tracked car concentration areas, destroyed three Israeli observation posts, four command posts of field units, three ammunition dumps and three missile bases. Many enemy troops were killed or wounded.

"L'HUMANITE ROUGE" (FRANCE)

Soviet Revisionism Denounced For Threatening European Security

In its recent issue, the French paper *L'Humanite Rouge* denounced Soviet revisionist social-imperialism for stepping up arms expansion and war

Japanese Foreign Minister's Statement on Signing of China-Japan Air Agreement

A statement on the signing of the China-Japan air transport agreement between the Governments of China and Japan was issued by Japanese Foreign Minister Masayoshi Ohira at a Tokyo press conference on April 20.

Ohira said: "An air transport agreement between Japan and the People's Republic of China was signed by Ambassador Heishiro Ogawa and Foreign Minister Chi Peng-fei in Peking today.

"It is well known that this is one of the business agreements stipulated in (9) of the Joint Statement of the Japanese and Chinese Governments issued on September 29, 1972. I think, as a concretization of the Japan-China Joint Statement, it will contribute not only to strengthening Japan-China friendly relations, but also to the further promotion of the interflow of personnel and goods between Japan and China, which has notably increased daily in the past few years. I hold that the opening of the air route between Japan and China according to the

Japan-China air transport agreement is of no small international significance as it will establish another huge major route in the world aviation network. The agreement is made up of the text and its annex. It is stipulated in the text of the agreement that rights are extended respectively to the designated aviation enterprises of the two countries on the operation of air business on designated routes, and that there will be exemption of duties in respect to fuel, etc., carried on planes, relief and other measures that should be taken if an aircraft meets with an accident, mutual recognition of certificates and other technical matters. The annex stipulates the landing points and the routes of flights. Both the form and contents (of the Japan-China air transport agreement) are not different in substance from the aviation agreements Japan has signed with other countries."

It is well known, Ohira said, that together with the signing of this agreement, there is the handling of the problem of the Japan-Taiwan air route. The Japanese Government holds that it is important that the maintenance of the Japan-Taiwan air route should in no way be in contradiction with the new relations between Japan and China, he noted.

With regard to the aviation relationship between Japan and Taiwan, Ohira said, the exchange of letters on aviation business which existed in the past has become null and void as a result of the normalization of diplomatic relations between Japan and China on September 29, 1972. The Japanese Government's policy is to maintain it through non-governmental agreement.

"On this question," he continued, "the Japanese Government makes clear the following points as views which were expressed to the Government of the People's Republic of China:

"The air transport agreement between Japan and the People's Republic of China is a governmental agreement and flights between Japan and Taiwan are non-governmental regional air traffic. On the basis of the joint statement of the two governments, the Japanese Government since its publication has not recognized the emblem on the Taiwan aircraft as a so-called national flag, nor has it recognized the China Airlines (Taiwan) as an air firm representing a state."

It is a matter for rejoicing, he said, that an air route has been opened between Japan and China through the agreement.

preparations and threatening the security of Europe.

The paper said: "The Moscow social-imperialists, false friends of the peoples of the world, glibly talk about detente and peace. They present themselves as doves eager for peaceful coexistence, but each day facts give the lie to the fine words of the new tsars who dream of nothing but the day when Europe, from the Atlantic to the Urals, in one way or another, will belong to the Soviet Union or come under their total domination."

Analysing the real intention of Brezhnev and his ilk in their recent remarks stressing the "danger of the situation" and "the need of the Soviet Union to maintain high vigilance," etc., *L'Humanite Rouge* stated: "Who menaces the independence of the Soviet Union? ... He who cries wolf is none other than the wolf itself. ... The social-imperialists can deceive nobody."

The paper pointed out that for the purpose of contending for hegemony and dividing the world with U.S. imperialism, Soviet revisionist social-imperialism is stepping up research and production of nuclear weapons and delivery vehicles of higher efficiency, intensifying naval expansion and sending its fleets everywhere, even near or within French territorial waters, for espionage activities.

In conclusion, *L'Humanite Rouge* said: "Soviet social-imperialism has nurtured wild ambitions towards the world, especially Europe. No matter what developments in its rivalry and struggle for hegemony with U.S. imperialism take place and what measures it uses for this purpose, social-imperialism is doomed to failure."

GENEVA CONFERENCE ON DISARMAMENT

Superpowers Denounced

After a break of seven months, the disarmament committee which first began activities in Geneva in March 1962 resumed its session on April 16

this year. The issues discussed are again the so-called bans on chemical weapons and underground nuclear tests. Under the domination of the Soviet Union and the United States, negotiations on both have been deadlocked.

For more than a decade now, the two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States, have manoeuvred the committee into empty talk about disarmament to cover up their accelerated nuclear arms race. This has increasingly aroused strong discontent among a number of small and medium-sized countries on the committee.

Speaking at the April 16 session, Mexican representative Alfonso Garcia Robles denounced the two superpowers for stepping up arms expansion while negotiating disarmament. He enumerated facts to show that the average number of yearly nuclear tests since 1963 when the Soviet Union and the United States worked out the "partial nuclear test ban treaty" has increased by 60 per cent over the annual average for the 1954-63 period. The "non-proliferation treaty" of 1968 "has served to consolidate the two superpowers' privileged position and has allowed them to pursue an unbridled nuclear arms race." Since the signing of the "non-proliferation treaty," he pointed out, one superpower has considerably increased the number of its land-based missiles, while the other has improved the quality of its nuclear stockpile by developing MIRVs (multiple independently targetable re-entry vehicles).

From 1968 to 1974, he said, the two superpowers registered a seven-fold increase in the cost of nuclear submarines and a 50 per cent rise in their military budgets.

The Mexican representative stressed that "the road to the grave of the conference of the disarmament committee is paved, for the nuclear superpowers have completely ignored their formal promises and solemn undertakings." If there is no progress this year, "the existence of the conference would certainly be unjustifiable."

SOVIET REVISIONISTS

Big Profits From Middle East Situation

Taking advantage of the Middle East situation, the Soviet revisionist clique has profited enormously by selling arms to the Arab countries on the one hand and selling oil to the United States and other Western countries during the Arab embargo on the other, Western papers and news agencies have noted.

The Swiss paper *Feuille d'Avis de Neuchatel* in a commentary on April 11 pointed out that while getting its badly needed "hard money" [currencies which can be freely converted in Western financial markets] by selling arms to some of the Arab countries, the Soviet Union used the opportunity arising from the Arab oil embargo to sell the West large quantities of oil and natural gas.

These oil and natural gas exports in 1973 totalled 50 million tons which brought nearly 900 million dollars into the Soviet treasury. In view of the marked increase in world oil prices—a rise which the Soviet Union has also applied—it is estimated that these oil exports in 1974 will bring the Soviets some 4,000 million dollars.

An AP report from New York on April 1 revealed Soviet dual tactics in regard to the Arab oil embargo—"supporting" it openly while underhandedly sabotaging it so as to reap profits. "Even as the Soviet Union was publicly supporting the Arab oil boycott against the United States, the Russians were shipping quantities of their own petroleum products to this country," the report noted. From January 11 to March 18 alone, Soviet petrol shipments to the United States totalled more than 15.5 million gallons.

A vice-president of a U.S. oil company told AP that the company has kept up relations with the Soviet oil export company through its Antwerp office in Belgium. "We've formed a good working relationship with the Russians and we never had the slightest indication that they even considered cutting us off during the embargo," he said.

ON THE HOME FRONT

Old Doctors Make New Contributions

WORKING in close co-operation with doctors of Western medicine, a number of veteran doctors of traditional Chinese medicine in Peking have had success in tackling difficult diseases.

Coronary heart disease is a chronic disease without an efficacious cure in the past. A research group to study this disease made up of doctors of traditional Chinese and Western medicine was formed in 1970. At the suggestion of one old doctor of Chinese medicine, the group, guided by theories from a medical book of the Yuan Dynasty (1279-1368), selected several herbs from dozens of prescriptions. It used modern scientific methods, such as pharmacological analysis and animal experiments, to verify the effects of these herbs and finally worked out a mixture combining five of them which has been clinically used on a wide scale. According to the statistics of one hospital, 83 per cent of the 600 cases of angina pectoris and myocardial infarction treated with this mixture have proved effective.

Massaging the muscles along the spinal column, an old Chinese method, has been used to treat disorders of the digestive organs among children under 15. In the 1,694 cases treated by this method in the pediatrics department of a hospital of traditional Chinese medicine, efficacy was as high as 84.5 per cent. Looked down upon before liberation, this method helps stimulate peristaltic movement in the intestines, increase the patient's appetite and build up his health through massaging the muscles along the spinal column. A course of treatment takes only six days.

A medical book written by the 80-year-old famous doctor Pu Fuchou was published last year by the People's Health Press. It describes his clinical experience and his views on Chinese medicine. Chao Ping-nan is a well-known dermatologist in Chinese medicine. A book of selected

notes on his clinical experience will soon be off the press. These works are welcomed and highly valued by medical workers all over the country.

Veteran doctors of Chinese medicine often lecture in medical colleges or schools and give enthusiastic help in training young doctors.

Because of the concern shown by our Party and government, veteran doctors of Chinese medicine in Peking have contributed to the strengthening of the people's health and the enrichment of modern medical science. Chairman Mao long ago urged the integration of traditional Chinese and Western medicine to treat patients. After the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949, many veteran doctors skilled in Chinese medicine were invited to work in major hospitals run by the government. Departments of Chinese medicine have been set up in many general hospitals. Research institutes and hospitals of Chinese medicine also have been established. All this has helped make these veteran doctors' role greater and promoted co-operation between doctors of Chinese and Western medicine and encouraged them to learn from one another.

China's Women Pilots Develop

WOMEN pilots in China's air force units are flying day and night to protect the motherland and help build socialism.

Since 1952 when the first group of women pilots flew over Tien An Men Square to be reviewed by our great leader Chairman Mao, group after

group has been trained. Workers, peasants or students before enrolment, they now all can fly planes, some have become commanders and political workers in air units and some teach in aeronautical schools.

Of the women pilots in one air division, 83 per cent are Communist Party members, 32 per cent are in leading bodies of air regiments, groups and squadrons and some hold leading posts at the division level.

Since assuming leading responsibilities, these pilots have studied works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin



Women pilots of an air force unit writing articles criticizing Lin Biao and Confucius.

and Chairman Mao's works more diligently than before. They write articles criticizing Lin Biao and Confucius and play the role of a backbone force in the movement to criticize Lin Biao and Confucius.

They also have shown their ability in leading air force units to carry out various missions successfully. Deputy squadron leader of an air force unit, Wu Hsiu-mei was put in charge of flight training after assuming her new post. She often consulted with other comrades and earnestly carried out the training plan. Later she was assigned to directing the job of teaching flight theory. She studied hard and made the teaching work very lively and vivid. In the last two years she has led other pilots on 25 emergency flights and each time carried out her mission with flying colours and was praised by the leadership and the masses.

(Continued from p. 3.)

of China and Japan and developing air transport between the two countries in line with the Joint Statement of the Chinese and Japanese Governments issued on September 29, 1972.

Taking part in the ceremony on the Japanese side were: Kensuke Yanagiya, Minister, and Hiroshi Hashimoto, Counsellor, of the Japanese Embassy in Peking; Michihiko Kunihiro, Head of the China Division of the Asian Bureau of the Japanese Foreign Ministry; and diplomatic officials of the Japanese Embassy.

Taking part in the signing ceremony on the Chinese side were: Han Nien-lung, Vice-Foreign Minister; Ma Jen-hui and Shen Tu, Director-General and Deputy Director-General of the General Administration of Civil Aviation of China; and leading members of other departments concerned.

Peking Memorial Service for Mr. Fu Tso-yi

Fu Tso-yi, Vice-Chairman of the Fourth National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (C.P.P.C.C.), Vice-Chairman of the National Defence Council and Deputy to the Third National People's Congress (N.P.C.), died of illness in Peking on April 19, 1974, at the age of 79.

A memorial service for Mr. Fu Tso-yi was held on the afternoon of April 23 in the auditorium of the Papaoshan Cemetery for Revolutionaries.

Our great leader Chairman Mao sent a wreath. Other Party and state leaders Tung Pi-wu, Soong Ching Ling, Chu Teh, Chou En-lai, Wang Hung-wen, Kang Sheng, Yeh Chien-ying, Chang Chun-chiao, Chiang Ching, Liu Po-cheng, Hsu Hsiang-chien, Nieh Jung-chen and Kuo Mo-jo also sent wreaths. There were wreaths from the Military Commission of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, the N.P.C. Standing Committee, the State Council, the C.P.P.C.C. Nation-

al Committee, the National Defence Council, the United Front Work Department of the C.P.C. Central Committee, the Ministry of Water Conservancy and Power, the Ministry of Public Health and the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee.

Attending the memorial service were Party and state leaders Chou En-lai, Wang Hung-wen, Yeh Chien-ying, Li Hsien-nien, Teng Hsiao-ping, Chen Hsi-lien, Wang Tung-hsing, Wu Teh, Hsu Hsiang-chien, Nieh Jung-chen, Li Fu-chun, Ngapo Ngawang-Jigme and Chou Chien-jen and Vice-Chairmen of the C.P.P.C.C. National Committee Shen Yen-ping and Hsu Teh-heng. They expressed cordial sympathy for Liu Yun-sheng, widow of the late Mr. Fu Tso-yi, and their children.

The meeting was presided over by Chou En-lai, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, Premier of the State Council and Chairman of the C.P.P.C.C. National Committee. A memorial speech was delivered by Yeh Chien-ying, Vice-Chairman of the C.P.C. Central Committee, Vice-Chairman of the C.P.P.C.C. National Committee and Vice-Chairman of the National Defence Council.

He said: "We mourn for Mr. Fu Tso-yi in deep grief.

"Mr. Fu Tso-yi, a native of Linyi County, Shansi Province, led his units in the resistance against Japanese invasion along the Great Wall in 1933 and in Suiyuan in 1936, and in the War of Resistance in 1937 fighting against Japanese imperialist aggression. In January 1949, Mr. Fu Tso-yi revolted and came over with the units under his command, making important contributions to the peaceful liberation of Peiping and Suiyuan.

"After he came over and joined the revolution, Mr. Fu Tso-yi served successively as Delegate to the First Plenary Session of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, Member of the Central People's Government Council, Member and Standing Committee Member of the First, the Second and the Third National Committee of the C.P.P.C.C., Deputy to the First and the Second

National People's Congress, Minister of Water Conservancy and Minister of Water Conservancy and Power.

"In the past 20 years and more," he continued, "Mr. Fu Tso-yi cherished a strong love for the Chinese people's great leader Chairman Mao and the socialist motherland and supported the Chinese Communist Party. He paid attention to studying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and took an active part in socialist revolution and construction. He stood for the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the struggle to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius.

"In the past 20 years and more, Mr. Fu Tso-yi was concerned with the unification of the motherland and with the compatriots and his friends in various circles in Taiwan Province. He longed for an earlier liberation of Taiwan Province and its return to the embrace of the motherland. Mr. Fu Tso-yi dedicated himself to the struggle to liberate China's sacred territory Taiwan Province.

"Mr. Fu Tso-yi has departed from us for ever. We must turn our grief into strength, work and study hard. Under the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao and under the guidance of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, we will unite and strive to carry through to the end the struggle to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, to build a prosperous and mighty socialist China, to oppose the aggressive schemes of imperialism and social-imperialism and to accomplish the sacred task of liberating Taiwan and unifying the motherland."

Attending the memorial meeting were leading members of departments concerned and the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee, Members of the N.P.C. Standing Committee, Members of the Standing Committee of the C.P.P.C.C. National Committee, Members of the National Defence Council and personages from various circles and friends of the late Mr. Fu Tso-yi.

Representatives of the cadres and masses of the departments concerned also attended the meeting.

Radio Peking

English Language Transmissions

* effective only from Nov. to April

† effective only from May to Oct.

	GMT	Local Standard Time	Metre Bands	Kc/s
NORTH AMERICA (EAST COAST)	00:00-01:00	19:00-20:00 (E.S.T.)	25*, 19, 16†	11685*, 15060, 17673†
	01:00-02:00	20:00-21:00 (E.S.T.)	42, 30, 25*, 24*, 19	7120, 9780, 11965*, 12055*, 15060
	02:00-03:00	21:00-22:00 (E.S.T.)	25*, 24*, 19, 16†	11965*, 12055*, 15060, 15350, 17855†
	03:00-04:00	22:00-23:00 (E.S.T.)	42, 30	7120, 9780
	12:00-13:00	07:00-08:00 (E.S.T.)	31*, 25	9480*, 11685
NORTH AMERICA (WEST COAST)	03:00-04:00	19:00-20:00 (P.S.T.)	31*, 25*, 24*, 19, 16†	9460*, 11650*, 12055*, 15060, 15385, 17735†, 17855†
	04:00-05:00	20:00-21:00 (P.S.T.)	31*, 25*, 24*, 19, 16†	9460*, 11650*, 12055*, 15060, 15385, 17735†, 17855†
AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND	08:30-09:30	18:30-19:30 (Aust. S.T.) 20:30-21:30 (N.Z.S.T.)	31, 25, 19	9460, 11600, 11720, 15060, 15435
	09:30-10:30	19:30-20:30 (Aust. S.T.) 21:30-22:30 (N.Z.S.T.)	31, 25, 19	9460, 11600, 11720, 15060, 15435
SOUTHEAST ASIA	12:00-13:00	19:00-20:00 (Western Indonesia, Bangkok)	32, 25, 19	9290, 11650, 15240, 15510
		19:30-20:30 (Singapore)		
		20:00-21:00 (Saigon, Manila) 18:30-19:30 (Rangoon)		
	13:00-14:00	20:00-21:00 (Western Indonesia, Bangkok)	32, 25, 19	9290, 11650, 15240, 15510
	20:30-21:30 (Singapore)			
	21:00-22:00 (Saigon, Manila) 19:30-20:30 (Rangoon)			
SOUTH ASIA	14:00-15:00	19:30-20:30 (Delhi, Colombo)	40, 30, 19†	7470, 9860, 15095†
		19:00-20:00 (Rawalpindi)		
		20:00-21:00 (Dacca)		
		19:40-20:40 (Kathmandu) 20:00-21:00 (Rawalpindi)		
15:00-16:00	20:30-21:30 (Delhi, Colombo)	30, 19†	9860, 15095†	
	21:00-22:00 (Dacca) 20:40-21:40 (Kathmandu)			
EUROPE	18:00-19:00	23:30-00:30 (Delhi)	248	1210
	20:30-21:30	21:30-22:30 (London, Stockholm, Paris)	47*, 45, 39, 33†	6270*, 6610, 7590, 9030†
	21:30-22:30	22:30-23:30 (London, Stockholm, Paris)	47*, 45, 25†	6270*, 6610, 11675†
EAST AND SOUTH AFRICA	16:00-17:00	18:00-19:00 (Cape Town, Salisbury) 19:00-20:00 (Dar-es-Salaam)	39*, 30, 19†	7620*, 9860, 15095†
	17:00-18:00	19:00-20:00 (Cape Town, Salisbury) 20:00-21:00 (Dar-es-Salaam)	39*, 30, 19†	7620*, 9860, 15095†
WEST AND NORTH AFRICA	19:30-20:30	18:45-19:45 (Monrovia)	31*, 30, 25, 19†	9440*, 9965, 11695, 15030†
		19:30-20:30 (Accra, Freetown)		
		20:30-21:30 (Lagos) 21:30-22:30 (Cairo)		
	20:30-21:30	19:45-20:45 (Monrovia) 20:30-21:30 (Accra, Freetown) 21:30-22:30 (Lagos) 22:30-23:30 (Cairo)	31*, 30, 25, 19†	9440*, 9965, 11695, 15030†

RADIO PEKING's Bulgarian language broadcasts which started on April 20 (Sofia time April 19) can be heard every Monday, Wednesday and Friday on the 38.5 metre band (7780 kc/s) and the 26.2 metre band (11445 kc/s) at 21:00-21:30 and 21:30-22:00 hours Sofia time (19:00-19:30 and 19:30-20:00 hours GMT).