

PEKING REVIEW

19

May 10, 1974

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**Chairman Mao Meets President
And Madame Senghor**

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**Major Victory of Third World's United
Struggle Against Hegemonism**

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*Commemorate the 55th Anniversary
Of the May 4th Movement*

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Chairman Mao Meets President And Madame Senghor

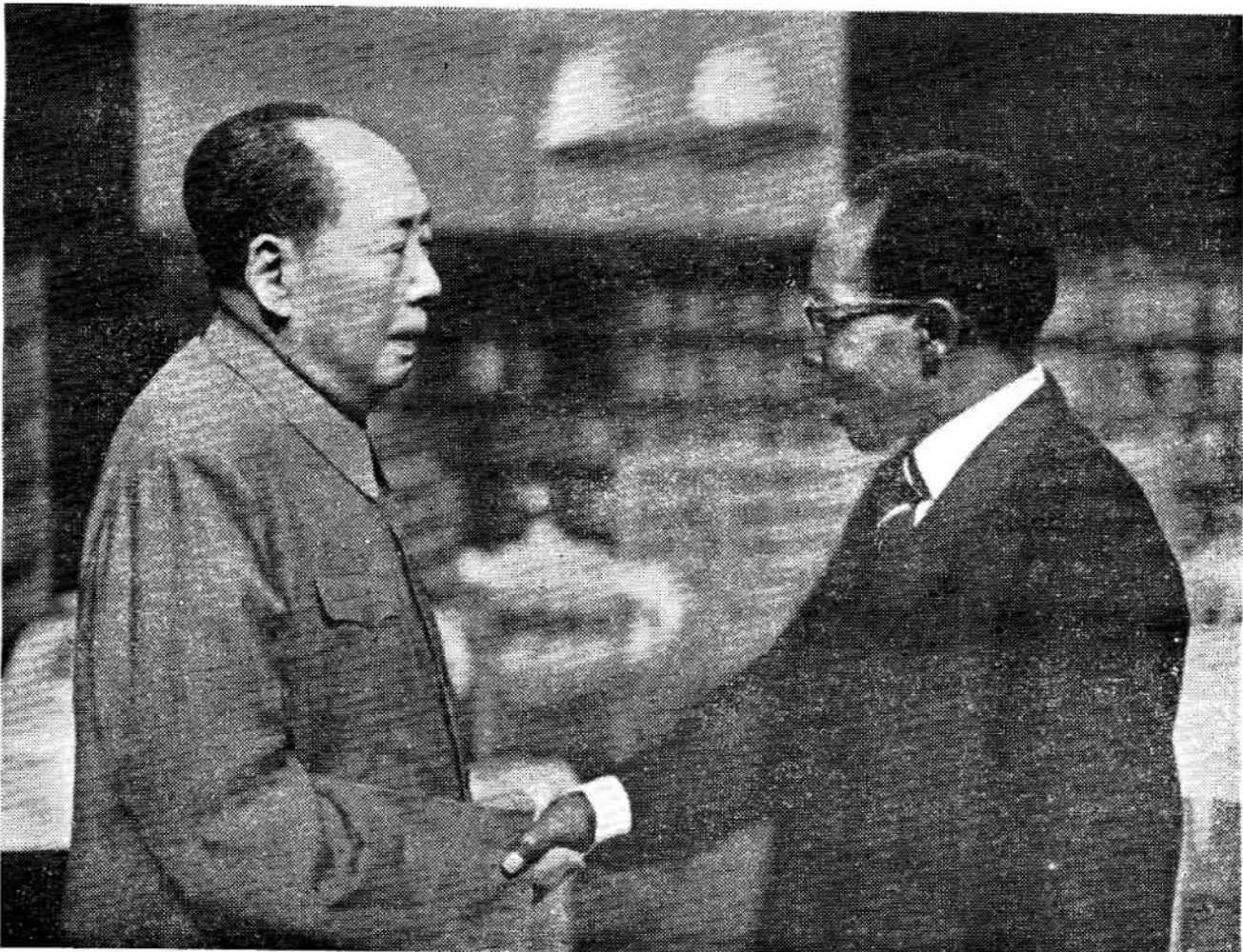
CHAIRMAN Mao Tsetung on the morning of May 7 met Leopold Sedar Senghor, President of the Republic of Senegal, Madame Senghor, Senegalese government ministers accompanying them on their visit, and the Senegalese Ambassador to China.

When President and Madame Senghor, Foreign Minister and Madame Assane Seck, Minister Babacar Ba, Minister Adrien Senghor and Ambassador Aly Dioum arrived at the meeting hall, Chairman Mao

stepped forward to shake hands with them one by one and extended a welcome to them.

Chairman Mao and President Senghor had a cordial and friendly conversation.

Present were Premier Chou En-lai, Vice-Chairman Wang Hung-wen, Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien and Assistant Foreign Minister Wang Hai-jung as well as Chi Tsung-hua, Lo Hsu and Tang Wen-sheng.





President Senghor Visits China

IN the first week after May Day the people of Peking gave the envoys of the Senegalese people, President Leopold Sedar Senghor and Madame Senghor, a warm and friendly welcome. This was the fourth African head of state to make an official visit to China this year.

On May 6, the day President Senghor and the other distinguished Senegalese guests arrived in Peking, *Renmin Ribao* published an editorial along with a photo of the President to greet the arrival of the Senegalese head of state. After the plane landed at Peking Airport, Chinese leaders Chou En-lai, Li Hsien-nien, Chen Hsi-lien, Hua Kuo-feng, Wu Teh and Hsu Hsiang-chien as well as responsible members of the departments concerned came forward to welcome the distinguished Senegalese guests with cordial handshakes.

The band struck up the national anthems of Senegal and China. Accompanied by the Chinese leaders, President Senghor reviewed a guard of honour composed of men of the ground, naval and air forces of the Chinese People's Liberation Army. President and Madame

Senghor and other distinguished guests then went round the airport to meet the crowd amidst the cheers of several thousand well-wishers.

Colourful bunting and the national flags of the two countries fluttered along the city's main thoroughfare leading to the Guest House. Tall buildings were decorated with huge streamers reading: "Warm welcome to the distinguished Senegalese guests!" "Firm support for the Senegalese people in their struggle to defend national independence and state sovereignty!" "Long live the friendship between the people of China and Senegal!" "Long live the great unity of the Asian and African peoples!" and "Long live the great

unity of the people of the Third World and of the whole world!"

Madame Teng Ying-chao greeted President and Madame Senghor at the Guest House.

On the evening of the same day, Chinese leaders Chou En-lai, Chiang Ching, Li Hsien-nien, Chen Hsi-lien, Hua Kuo-feng, Wu Teh and Hsu Hsiang-chien met President and Madame Senghor and other distinguished Senegalese guests. The guests and hosts had cordial and friendly talks and were photographed together.

After the meeting, Premier Chou gave a grand banquet in honour of President and Madame Senghor. Premier Chou and President Senghor spoke at the banquet. (For ex-



President Senghor receives a rousing welcome at the airport.



cripts of speeches see pp. 14-17.) Guests and hosts clinked glasses again and again, toasting the steady development of friendship between the people of China and Senegal and of relations of friendship and co-operation between the two countries and the daily strengthening of unity among the people of the Third World.

Carry On the Revolutionary Spirit of May 4th Movement

Inheriting and carrying forward the May 4th Movement's revolutionary spirit of "Down with the Confucian Shop," Peking University's worker-peasant-soldier students are very active in the current struggle to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius.

In early 1919, not long after the end of World War I, an imperialist conference was convened in Paris to share the spoils—the colonies. This was the so-called Paris Peace Conference. The imperialist countries at the conference arrogantly turned down China's just demands for abrogation of imperialist special rights in Shantung Province. When this news reached China, it aroused the great indignation of the Chinese people. On May 4 that year, patriotic students in Peking held mass meetings and demonstrations in front of Tien An Men. They demanded: "Uphold our sovereignty! Punish the traitors!" and "Down with im-

perialism and the traitorous government!"

The movement spread swiftly throughout China and, from June 3 onwards, workers in Shanghai and other places went on strike and held demonstrations. The working class stood like a giant in the forefront of the struggle against imperialism and feudalism, playing a most powerful part. Stirred by the workers' and students' actions, shopkeepers in all major cities put up their shutters and joined in the struggle. The May 4th Movement thus became a nationwide revolutionary movement with the proletariat, the petty bourgeoisie and the bourgeoisie taking part.

On the eve of the 55th anniversary of the May 4th Movement this year, the Peking University Committee of the Chinese Communist Youth League and the Students' Union jointly held a commemoration meeting and organized a lecture.

Basing themselves on what is happening in the current struggle, the students conscientiously studied Chairman Mao's brilliant works *The May 4th Movement* and *The Orientation of the Youth Movement* and reviewed the historical experience of the May 4th Movement. The students came to a profound understanding that the May 4th Movement came into being at the call of the October Revolution and of Lenin. It was at once an anti-imperialist, anti-feudal political movement and a great cultural revolution. With its

spearhead directed at the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, the movement raised the clarion call "Down with the Confucian Shop," lit the torch of the struggle against Confucius and won magnificent achievements.

All reactionary ruling classes in China on the verge of extinction invariably made the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius their reactionary ideological weapon for restoration and retrogression. As the ideology of the declining reactionary classes, these doctrines prevailed in China for more than 2,000 years, poisoning the minds of the people and taking deep root. The students said that Chairman Mao, while leading the Chinese revolution and waging struggles against reactionaries at home and abroad and against opportunist lines, has for half a century repeatedly criticized Confucianism and the reactionary ideas of revering the Confucian school and opposing the Legalist school. Today Chairman Mao is again personally leading the whole Party and the people of the whole country in a mammoth movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius. The students pledged to follow Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, study hard, fight hard, be pathbreakers in criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius and carry this great struggle through to the end so that Marxism will triumph over revisionism and the proletariat over the bourgeoisie in the superstructure.

The *Analects*, a book compiled by Confucius' disciples to record his discourses, sayings and acts, gave concentrated expression to Confucius' reactionary ideology which advocated restoration and retrogression and opposed reforms. It was honoured as a "holy writ" by reactionaries of all ages, including Lin Piao and other ringleaders of revisionist lines. Using Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought as their weapon, the first group of worker-peasant-soldier students enrolled in the philosophy department, breaking with all fetishes and emancipating their

minds, has during the struggle to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius annotated this book, translated it into modern Chinese and criticized it sentence by sentence, paragraph by paragraph and chapter by chapter. This has helped people get a better understanding of the reactionary nature of Confucius' ideology and recognize more clearly that the renegade and traitor Lin Piao was a fanatical devotee of Confucius. A group of students specializing in classical Chinese works and documents has started to annotate, translate and criticize the book *Mencius* in continuing the unmasking of Confucius and Mencius.

Only Marxism can make a thorough criticism of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius and defeat the reactionary ideas of worshipping Confucius and reviving the ancient. Led by the university Party committee, the students have organized themselves into some 300 groups for studying works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and Chairman Mao's works after school so as to grasp the sharp ideological weapon for criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius.

Chairman Mao, in summing up the May 4th Movement, pointed out: "A true revolutionary must be one who is willing to integrate himself with the workers and peasants and actually does so." Since the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius started, the students of Peking University have been more consciously joining the workers and peasants in this battle. Under the leadership of the university Party committee, the students have gone to factories, rural areas and People's Liberation Army units and joined the workers, peasants and soldiers in criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius. At the same time, workers, peasants, soldiers and cadres have been invited to the university to attend study classes in the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius. The students have received a deep education in their

joint criticisms with the workers, peasants and soldiers.

400,000 Educated Young People Go to Countryside

Nearly 400,000 educated young people have gone to settle in the countryside or the border regions since the beginning of spring this year. They have been warmly received by the poor and lower-middle peasants.

Since the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius started, the educated youth, with high political enthusiasm, have restudied Chairman Mao's brilliant work *The Orientation of the Youth Movement* written 35 years ago. In it, he said: "How should we judge whether a youth is a revolutionary? How can we tell? There can only be one criterion, namely, whether or not he is willing to integrate himself with the broad masses of workers and peasants and does so in practice." Having gained a profound understanding of this teaching, the youth expressed the view that Chairman Mao had warmly acclaimed the youth of Yen-an in the revolutionary base areas, for they persisted in integrating themselves with the workers and peasants, learning the theory of revolution and carrying out the campaign for production. They noted that Chairman Mao had pointed out that the youth movement in Yen-an was the orientation for the youth movement of the entire country.

In his attempt to restore capitalism, Lin Piao wildly trumpeted the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, the ideology of the declining reactionary classes, and preached that "those who work with their minds govern, those who work with their hands are governed" and "he who excels in learning can be an official." He advocated the exploiting classes' ideology of looking down upon physical labour and the working people and slandered educated youth settling in the countryside as "reform through forced labour in a disguised

form," in an effort to lead the young people astray. This is an acute struggle between the two lines. The youth pledge that they will continue to advance along the path chartered by Chairman Mao and integrate themselves with the workers and peasants.

With the deepening of the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, middle school graduates in cities and towns have actively volunteered to go to the countryside. Shanghai, Shensi, Honan, Anhwei and other provinces and cities each had 40,000 to 50,000 educated youth going to the countryside or the border regions within a short time. Fifty-three middle school graduates from three schools in Peking took the lead in volunteering to go to the countryside. Soon tens of thousands of youth followed suit. The first group, 30,000 Peking youth, have already gone to the countryside.

Parents warmly supported and encouraged their children for their action. Many leading cadres took the lead in encouraging their sons and daughters to go to the countryside. Local Party organizations and poor and lower-middle peasants also took measures to help the youth settle down. After arriving in the villages, the young people actively took part in the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius and in farm work with high revolutionary enthusiasm.

Y.A.R. Consultative Assembly Delegation Visits China

The Delegation of the Consultative Assembly of the Yemen Arab Republic led by Speaker Abdulla Ben Hussein al Ahmar arrived in Peking on April 28 for a friendly visit to China.

The day after the delegation's arrival in Peking, the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress gave a banquet in its honour. Vice-Chairman of the N.P.C. Standing Committee Hsu Hsiang-chien and Speaker Ahmar spoke at the banquet.

Vice-Chairman Hsu first extended a warm welcome to the distinguished guests. He said that both China and the Yemen Arab Republic belong to the Third World. The peoples of both countries, he noted, are confronted with the task of opposing imperialism and hegemonism and building up their own countries. He expressed the conviction that the delegation's visit will further promote the traditional friendship between the two peoples and the friendly relations and co-operation between the two countries.

In his speech, Speaker Ahmar said that past common sufferings and present identical aspirations have bound the two countries together in the common effort to bring about relations of friendship and democracy between nations, big or small.

He said that the Yemeni people are proud to join the Chinese people in supporting the liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

In conclusion, Speaker Ahmar pointed out that Taiwan is an inalienable part of China's territory, a province of the People's Republic of China. He expressed the conviction that the Chinese people, who have successfully restored their legitimate seat in the United Nations after protracted struggle, will certainly liberate Taiwan.

While the delegation was in Peking, Chu Teh, Chairman, Hsu Hsiang-chien and Ngapo Ngawang-Jigme, Vice-Chairmen, of the N.P.C. Standing Committee, met Speaker Ahmar and other distinguished guests on April 29; Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping met them the following day.

Chinese Athletic Association Supports Pakistan's Just Stand

A leading member of the Athletic Association of the People's Republic of China, in an interview with a Hsinhua correspondent on April 23, expressed resolute support for the

solemn and just stand taken by Pakistan in upholding principle and opposing the arrogant interference and unreasonable threats by the International Amateur Athletic Federation.

He said: Chinese sportsmen's participation in the 15th Pakistan National Games on invitation was part of the normal sports exchanges between friendly countries. As Abdul Hafeez Pirzada, Minister of Education and President of the Sports Board of Pakistan, put it: "This is a matter which is within the territorial jurisdiction sovereignty of Pakistan." Manipulated by a tiny handful of people, however, the International Amateur Athletic Federation vainly tried to forestall this by means of intimidation. The people and sportsmen of China are highly indignant at this arrogant attitude in wantonly meddling in the internal affairs of a sovereign state.

The leading member pointed out: For a long time, a few of the leaders of the International Amateur Athletic Federation again and again unreasonably blocked friendly contacts among sportsmen of various countries of Asia and the world. Last year, the Council of the Asian Games Federation confirmed China's legitimate status and expelled the Chiang Kai-shek clique. In this circumstance, the International Amateur Athletic Federation should have corrected its mistakes in compliance with the historical trend. Nevertheless, they continue to connive at the Chiang Kai-shek clique's illegitimate usurpation of China's seat in the International Amateur Athletic Federation and, disregarding reality, went so far as to continue issuing orders to Asian peoples and sportsmen and putting up obstacles to friendly contests among sportsmen of various Asian countries. Pakistan's just stand on opposing foreign interference, fearing no threats and upholding principle, and Minister Pirzada's solemn refutation to the International Amateur Athletic Federation represented the just voice

of the Pakistan people and sportsmen and expressed the common desire of the people and sportsmen of various Asian countries.

As is known to all, there is only one China in the world, namely, the People's Republic of China. Taiwan is a province of China. The Chinese people and sportsmen oppose the manoeuvre by any international sports organization to create "two Chinas" or "one China, one Taiwan." In the International Amateur Athletic Federation, only the Athletic Association of the People's Republic of China has the right to represent the whole of China. The absurd state of affairs in which the Chiang Kai-shek clique illegally usurps the seat of China must be corrected.

In conclusion, the leading member pointed out: The people and sportsmen of various countries in Asia and the whole world now strongly demand entering into friendly exchanges with the Chinese people and this has become an irresistible historical trend. Any conduct which runs against the trend of history is bound to fail. The Chinese people highly evaluate the principled stand of Pakistan for safeguarding its sovereignty and opposing outside intervention and believe that in this just struggle the solemn stand of Pakistan will surely win wide sympathy and support.

News Briefs

• Yao Wen-yuan, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, on April 29 met and had a cordial and friendly conversation with noted Japanese woman commentator Yoko Matsuoka.

• Chen Yung-kuei, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Vice-Chairman of the Shansi Provincial Revolutionary Committee, on May 5 met Alvaro Echeverria, son of the President of Mexico Luis Echeverria Alvarez, his wife, and the other Mexican friends who came to China with them, at the Tachai Production Brigade in Hsiyang County, Shansi Province,

Major Victory of Third World's United Struggle Against Hegemonism

THE Special Session of the U.N. General Assembly on Raw Materials and Development, which attracted worldwide attention, came to a successful close after a sharp struggle. The representatives of the great number of Third World countries at the session concentrated their attacks on exploitation and plunder by imperialism, especially by the superpowers, and came out with a powerful call to defend state sovereignty, protect national resources and develop their national economies. A great many small or poor countries, which had been looked down upon in the past, challenged in categorical, bold and straightforward terms the one or two truculent and tyrannical superpowers on the U.N. rostrum. Bold and elated, the Third World was in high and vigorous spirits whereas the superpowers were in an awkward predicament, isolated as never before and completely in the dock. This has created a new situation in U.N. history and will have far-reaching significance in promoting the peoples' struggle against imperialism and hegemonism. The Chinese Government and people warmly congratulate the Third World on this major victory of united struggle against hegemonism.

The Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order and the Programme of Action adopted at the special session call for breaking the monopoly of the world economy by imperialism, the superpowers in particular, and for establishing new international economic relations. This is an important Third World achievement in its united struggle against hegemonism. The Declaration stresses that "the greatest and most significant achievement during the last decades has been the independence from colonial and alien domination of a large number of peoples and nations." However, colonialism and neo-colonialism in all forms "continue to be among the greatest obstacles to the full emancipation and progress of the developing countries and all the peoples involved." This makes it clear that after achieving political independence, the developing countries are still faced with the common fighting task of combating imperialism and hegemonism, consolidating national independence and developing their national economies. The Declaration puts forward a series of important principles for the establishment of a "new international economic order," including sovereign equality of states and defence of territorial integrity; the inalienable right of all countries to equal participation in solving world economic problems; permanent sovereignty of every state over its natural resources and all domestic economic activities, including exercising control over the activities of trans-national corporations, up to taking

nationalization measures; and the right of the developing countries to found associations of producers of raw materials and primary products. These just demands express the burning desire of the Third World countries and peoples for the independent development of their national economies; they reflect the irresistible historical trend that countries want independence, nations want liberation and the people want revolution.

The struggle at the session was focused on whether or not there is the need to change completely current international economic relations based on inequality, control and exploitation. Numerous Third World countries strongly demanded smashing the old order and system and establishing new international economic relations based on equality. President Houari Boumediene of the Council of Revolution of Algeria sharply pointed out that "like the colonialist order," the present economic order of the world "is unjust and outdated." But the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, did their utmost to preserve this colonialist order. The U.S. representative threatened the Third World countries against pushing their "claims beyond the limits," against "nationalization" and establishment of joint associations of raw material-producing countries. The representative of Soviet revisionism came out pugnaciously and arbitrarily declared that to mention the "establishment of a new international economic order" and to divide the world into "poor and rich countries" was not permitted. He also warned that at the session, "the interests of all states should be fully safeguarded." The abominable and malicious acts of the superpowers suffered an ignominious defeat from the head-on blows by the representatives of the Third World countries.

The representative of Soviet revisionism repeatedly demanded that the word "new" be struck out from the phrase "a new international economic order" in the Declaration and replaced by the words "preservation of." The Soviet revisionists have such intense hatred for the word "new" because they want to perpetuate the old order so as to maintain superpower control, exploitation and plunder of most countries the world over. Their opposition to dividing countries into rich and poor is an attempt to cover up the stark reality of the existence of exploiters and the exploited and plunderers and the plundered in international economic relations and to hide their true features as the biggest international exploiter and oppressor. With regard to the assertion that "the interests of all states should be fully safeguarded," it is nothing but a demagogic

stunt. To put it bluntly, it means safeguarding the colonial interests of the superpowers at the expense of the national interests of the numerous Third World countries. The Soviet revisionists also doggedly and shamelessly tried but failed to insert so-called "detente," "disarmament" and other revisionist rubbish into the document. All this shows that the Soviet revisionists are the champions of the old colonialist order and system, reactionaries who go against historical trends and the dangerous enemy of the Third World.

The actual international struggle vividly shows that the world today really consists of three parts, or three worlds, that are both interconnected and in contradiction with one another. The First World comprises the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union. Containing the overwhelming majority of the world's population, the Third World comprises the developing countries in Asia, Africa, Latin America and other regions. They constitute a revolutionary motive force propelling the wheel of world history and are the main force combating colonialism, imperialism and, particularly, the superpowers. The Third World countries rose in rebellion against the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, at the special session of U.N. General Assembly. The superpowers are in the plight of "flowers fall off, do what one may," and their attempt to continue controlling and manipulating the United Nations is becoming more and more impossible. The session also shows that only by treating the Third World as equals and strengthening their ties with it, can the Second World countries which are sandwiched between the superpowers and the developing countries effectively resist superpower control, infiltration and plunder and safeguard their independence and sovereignty.

The daily awakening and growing strength of the Third World is an outstanding symbol of the excellent

situation in the world today. It is now crystal clear that it is not the Third World which depends on imperialism, but imperialism which depends on the Third World, and it is not the Third World which is afraid of the superpowers, but the superpowers which are afraid of the Third World. Naturally, the struggle is protracted and arduous and the course is tortuous. However, so long as the numerous Third World countries and peoples have a clear grasp of the situation, strengthen their unity, unite with all forces on earth that can be united and persist in protracted struggle, they will certainly be able to defeat the aggressive schemes of imperialism, the superpowers in particular, thoroughly change the old and unequal international economic relations and create the essential conditions for the independent development of their national economies.

China is a socialist country and a developing country as well. China belongs to the Third World. The Chinese people and the peoples of the Third World countries have all along supported, assisted and encouraged one another. As Teng Hsiao-ping, Chairman of the Chinese Delegation to the special session of the U.N. General Assembly, declared: "Consistently following Chairman Mao's teachings, the Chinese Government and people firmly support all oppressed peoples and oppressed nations in their struggle to win or defend national independence, develop the national economy and oppose colonialism, imperialism and hegemonism. This is our bounden internationalist duty." We extend full sympathy with and support for all the just demands put forward at the U.N. special session by the Third World countries. We are determined to do well in China's socialist revolution and construction by relying on our own strength so as to make our contributions towards assisting the world's people in their revolutionary struggles.

("Renmin Ribao" editorial, May 5)

Vice-Chairman of Chinese Delegation Huang Hua's Speech at Special Session of U.N. General Assembly

Following is the text of a speech delivered by Huang Hua, Vice-Chairman of the Chinese Delegation, at the plenary meeting of the special session of the U.N. General Assembly on the evening of May 1 after it had adopted the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order and the Programme of Action. — Ed.

THE special session of the General Assembly on the problems of raw materials and development convened on the proposal of President Houari Boumediene of Algeria will soon be concluded. This is an unusual session. The convocation of the session and its pro-

ceedings fully reflect the profound changes in the international situation and demonstrate the tremendous power of the awakened and united Third World. At various meetings of the current special session, the representatives of numerous Third World countries have exposed with indisputable facts the ruthless exploitation, plunder and oppression of the developing countries and peoples carried out by imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, particularly the superpowers, through monopolization, control, the exchange of unequal values, the shifting of crises and other means. In categorical terms, they demanded a thorough change in the existing international economic relations

based on inequality, control and exploitation and the immediate adoption of measures for the establishment of a just and reasonable new international economic order. They rightly pointed out that the existing widening gap between the poor and rich countries was the result of imperialist and hegemonic exploitation and plunder. In the world today, it is the poor countries which feed the rich countries, and the development and prosperity of the latter depends on the exploitation and extortion of the former. It is the necessary prerequisite and top priority of the developing countries in safeguarding their political and economic independence and developing their independent national economies that they should terminate the economic monopoly and plunder by colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism, sweep away these obstacles and take all necessary measures to protect their economic resources and other rights and interests. To this end, the developing countries have put forth a number of correct basic principles which must be observed. The Chinese Delegation fully supports their just demands.

During the session, imperialism, particularly the two superpowers, have become most isolated and found themselves in a position of being denounced. In order to extricate themselves from their predicament, they echoed each other in confounding the right and wrong and calling black white, and tried hard to obliterate the contradictions and wide gap existing between the poor and rich countries, between the developing and developed countries and the facts about imperialist and social-imperialist exploitation and plunder of the developing countries. One superpower used its traditional means of coercion and cajolery to divide the Third World countries, slacken their anti-imperialist struggle and negate the series of basic principles regarding "nationalization," etc. The other superpower resorted to a most wicked means of exerting gross pressure on many Third World countries, trying time and again to impose on the session its worn-out stuff of sham disarmament and detente and the deceptive talk about using the "resources released from the progress of disarmament for development" in an attempt to divert the orientation of the session and cover up its own true imperialist features. In a word, the reason why they have worked so painstakingly to impede the progress of the session is that they wish to keep the old international economic relationships intact so as to continue to ensure their privileges of exploiting, plundering and controlling the Third World. However, in going against the historical trend and acting perversely, they have played the role of a teacher by negative example, causing the further awakening and strengthened unity and struggle of the Third World countries. Their multifarious tricks have gone bankrupt one after another. Indeed, they are in a deplorable plight of "flowers fall off, do what one may."

The Chinese Delegation supports the two documents, the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order and the Programme of Action, because these documents have basically re-

flected the earnest demands and just propositions of the Third World. It has been rightly pointed out particularly in the Declaration that the widening gap between the developing and developed countries is caused by the old international economic order based on the aggravating unequal relationship; that alien domination and occupation, colonialism, racial discrimination, apartheid and all forms of neo-colonialism are the greatest obstacles to the full emancipation and progress of the developing countries; and that the inequalities shall be corrected and existing injustices shall be redressed. The Declaration also sets forth a series of correct principles guiding the establishment of a new international economic relationship, such as affirmation of the permanent sovereignty of every state over its natural resources and all its economic activities, including the exercise of control over transnational corporations, up to nationalization and the principle of establishing producers' associations by the developing countries in respect of raw materials and primary commodities, affirmation of the inalienable right of all countries to equal participation in the solving of world economic problems, transformation of the existing international monetary system and a change in the existing irrational relationship between the export commodities of the developing and developed countries, etc. On the other hand, there exist some deficiencies in the two documents. Some formulations are not clear and forceful enough and the wording in some places is not quite appropriate. For instance, the term "interdependence" which appears in the documents might be distorted by the superpowers to mean that the developing countries must depend on the former and must obtain the former's approval for any sovereign act they take to defend their economic rights and interests. Again take for instance the term "international division of labour" which appears in the Programme of Action. It might be used by the superpowers to push under that name their self-seeking "economic division of labour" and "economic integration" and to maintain the most unjust and abnormal state of "industrial Europe and North America, and agricultural and mineral producers Asia, Africa and Latin America." For these reasons, we have reservations on the aforesaid formulations.

We have always sympathized with the difficulties of the developing countries most severely affected by economic crises. We are in favour of adopting the necessary emergency measures towards these countries so as to help them overcome their difficulties and promote the independent development of their national economies through self-reliance. We fully support such positive propositions contained in the document as giving serious consideration to the cancellation, moratorium or rescheduling of the debts of the aforesaid countries in the light of their actual conditions and the provision of commodity assistance on grant basis or deferred payments. We are of the opinion that efforts should be made for their early realization. The Chinese Government and people will, as always,

continue their efforts within their capabilities and through bilateral forms.

It must be pointed out, however, that the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, under the direction of a superpower, have pursued the most unjustified policy of exerting economic pressure on some Third World countries. What is more, refusing to comply with the General Assembly resolution, they have thus far kept intact the Chiang Kai-shek clique which has long been spurned by the Chinese people and the international community, and have openly pursued the policy of creating "two Chinas." This is absolutely impermissible. We sternly condemn these organizations for their policies of hostility towards the Chinese people and declare that we will not participate in the activities sponsored by these organizations.

In our opinion, the current special session is an assembly of victory. The proceedings of the meetings reflect the new awakening of the Third World countries and the deepening of their struggles against imperialism and colonialism, particularly against the two superpowers. As far as the numerous Third World countries are concerned, the successful conclusion of the session has once again borne out the truth that "unity means victory." It is a long process of arduous struggle to terminate imperialist and hegemonic con-

trol, exploitation and oppression, to bring about a complete change in the old international economic relations based on inequality and exploitation, and to establish a just and reasonable new international economic order based on respect for the sovereignty of all countries and the principle of equality among the poor and rich countries. However, the really powerful are the Third World countries and peoples who dare to struggle and dare to win. By applying the principle of individual and collective self-reliance and expanding our equal and mutually beneficial economic co-operation in the light of our specific features and conditions, overcoming temporary difficulties, maintaining vigilance against and frustrating the divisive schemes and pressures of imperialism, particularly the superpowers, strengthening unity and persevering in unremitting efforts, we Third World countries will certainly be able to terminate imperialist and superpower control, monopoly and exploitation and attain gradually a level of development never reached by previous generations in the modernization of industry and agriculture. Our fighting tasks are arduous, and the road ahead is not smooth, but the future is bright. The Chinese Government and people will unswervingly stand on the side of the Third World countries and peoples and work together with them to win new victories.

Victory of Third World's Struggle in Unity

— A review of the special session of U.N. General Assembly

AFTER a fierce battle of more than 20 days, the Sixth Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly (April 9 to May 2) adopted two important documents drafted by the group of 77 developing countries, namely, the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order and the Programme of Action.

Representatives of the many Third World countries achieved at the special session great victories in repeated trials of strength with the two hegemonic powers, the United States and the Soviet Union. Every attempt by Soviet revisionist social-imperialism to adulterate the documents by thrusting home such rubbish like "detente," "disarmament" was foiled. All the schemes of U.S. imperialism to emasculate the militancy of the Declaration by leaving out such basic principles as the right of the developing countries to nationalize

foreign capital and organize raw material producers associations also came to grief.

The two documents now reflecting in the main the Third World countries' just demand to safeguard state sovereignty and national economic rights and interests and to oppose exploitation and plunder by imperialism and hegemonism have laid down a number of correct principles for the establishment of a new international economic order.

At the plenary meetings following the adoption of the two documents, a host of representatives of the Third World countries flocked to take the floor on the evening of May 1 and the following day to hail the major victories in their struggle against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism. The session came to an end amidst the jubilation of representatives of the Third

World countries. The two hegemonic powers, crest-fallen, were bitter that all this happened.

The struggle waged both at and outside the meetings during the 20-odd days fully demonstrated today's excellent world situation, one that can be described as: "The wind sweeping through the tower heralds a rising storm in the mountains"; it also spoke for the sorry plight of the two hegemonic powers, the United States and the Soviet Union—as the verse goes: "Flowers fall off, do what one may."

The Two Hegemonic Powers Severely Criticized

The first two weeks' meetings saw the formation of two fronts in the general debate at the special session and the debate in the ad hoc committee centring on the Declaration and the Programme of Action put forward by the 77-nation group.

In the general debate, representatives of the Third World countries used indisputable facts to divulge and condemn in categorical and bold terms the exploitation and plunder by imperialism in general and the super-powers in particular; there was a mass criticism of the old international economic order which the two hegemonic powers tried their utmost to preserve. Meanwhile, in the ad hoc committee, representatives of the Third World countries waged a tit-for-tat struggle against the various schemes of the two hegemonic powers to tamper with the two documents drafted by the 77-nation group.

The general debate and the first reading of the two documents in the ad hoc committee both concluded on April 24.

Having withstood U.S. pressure and boycotted the rubbish of the Soviet revisionists, the 77-nation group met on April 25 and 26 and decided to put forward its second drafts of the two documents. It also decided to set up a negotiation committee composed of Iran, Algeria and 16 other Third World countries to conduct negotiations on the second drafts with the two regional groups—North America-Western Europe and the Soviet Union-Eastern Europe—while seeking the opinion of the Chinese representatives.

Soviet Revisionists' Desperate Struggle

The trashes dished up by the Soviet revisionists were sharply denounced by the Third World countries during the ad hoc committee debate. The former nevertheless continued their desperate struggle at meetings with the 18-nation negotiation committee.

On the morning of April 27, during negotiations between the 18-nation committee and the Soviet Union-Eastern Europe group on the second draft of the Declaration, Soviet Representative Malik gave vent to his discontent over the rejection of the Soviet revisionists' sinister "proposals" in the second draft. The

committee pointed out right there that it had no time to listen to his long-winded, tedious general comments and told him to come out straight with concrete proposals. Once again Malik asked to pack into the Declaration such rubbish as "detente," "improvement of the international situation" and "peaceful coexistence," etc. His unreasonable demand was promptly rejected. Malik then shamelessly insisted that "disarmament" be included in the Declaration.

On the evening of the same day when the negotiation committee heard the views of the Chinese representatives, Vice-Chairman Huang Hua of Chinese Delegation pointed out that the Soviet attempt to pack "disarmament" into the Declaration ran counter to the desires already explicitly stated by many Third World countries. He said that the Soviet attempt was aimed at leading the conference astray, sabotaging it and provoking disputes, which the Chinese Delegation definitely could not agree to.

Later, when Malik again raised the question of "disarmament," representatives of some Middle East countries pointed out then and there that in the face of imperialist aggression the Middle East countries could only strengthen their national defence, and disarmament was out of the question.

Failing to have his own way at the meeting, Malik began manoeuvring outside the conference room. He sought to win over an African representative who turned him down on the grounds that he himself did not speak English well. Malik got hold of an interpreter and through him told the African representative bluntly that all he wanted was the inclusion in the Declaration of a single sentence: "Detente is a prerequisite to development." The African representative promptly retorted, "Why not the other way round, that is, economic and social progress of the developing countries is a condition to detente?" Crimson with anger, Malik left him abruptly and tried to sell his sinister wares to an Asian representative. Here again he was snubbed.

Having failed to achieve their end at and outside the meetings, the Soviet revisionists ordered their ambassador to one Third World country to exert pressure on its foreign ministry, alleging that the said country's representative to the United Nations was being "anti-Soviet" at the special session of U.N. General Assembly and warning that government to "take note" of this. The arrogant behaviour of the Soviet revisionist social-imperialists was sternly rejected by that government.

U.S. Imperialist Schemes Fail

The many schemes by the United States to undermine the special session similarly ended in failure under the heavy blows of the Third World.

One of the schemes of the U.S. representative was to strike out some fundamental principles of the

Declaration and deprive it of its militant content. Having been rebuffed at the ad hoc committee, the U.S. representative tried the same tactics again at meetings with the 18-nation negotiation committee. Upholding principle and persisting in struggle, representatives of the Third World countries again frustrated the U.S. plot.

Another scheme of the United States and some other countries was to demand priority for discussion on various draft resolutions and proposals they put forward in the ad hoc committee. The Dahomey representative pointed out that the predominant task of the special session was to discuss and adopt the Declaration and the Programme of Action and that the examination of other documents should be postponed. The representative of Colombia pointed out that to discuss other documents first instead of the Declaration and the Programme of Action was tantamount to roofing a house without first laying the foundation. The great majority of countries voted for the proposal of the Dahomey representative and the U.S. demand was turned down.

Taking advantage of the absence of the Dahomey representative on the afternoon of April 30, the representatives of the United States and some other countries launched a surprise attack by repeating the same fraud at an ad hoc committee meeting. On hearing this, the Dahomey representative rushed to the meeting and reaffirmed his stand of examining the main documents first. The U.S. sabotage was again foiled. The United States then dished up a "special programme" in an effort to sow discord among the Third World countries. However, this scheme also failed. The sabotage activities of the two superpowers, far from dampening the fighting will of the Third World countries, only served to enhance their determination to fight to the end.

Irresistible Historical Trend

In order to find a new opportunity to sabotage the special session, the U.S. representative demanded that the closing of the session be put off. The Soviet representative also chimed in by declaring that "we the working class want to rest" on May 1, International Labour Day, in an attempt to oppose continuation of the session.

The 77-nation group convened a meeting to make arrangements for a tit-for-tat battle. After making some alterations without affecting the fundamental spirit of the documents, the developing countries adopted the third drafts of the Declaration and the Programme of Action.

To smash the delaying tactics of the two hegemonic powers, the Third World countries decided not to get bogged down in endless arguments with them. It was decided that the chairman of the ad hoc committee was

to present the third drafts of the documents, keeping the second drafts in reserve. They then embarked on the final battle.

At the ad hoc committee meeting on the morning of May 1, Iran's Representative Fereydoun Hoveyda, chairman of the committee, put before the meeting the third drafts of the Declaration and the Programme of Action, recommending that they be adopted without a vote and then presented to the plenary meeting of the special session and that those delegations with reservations could explain them to the plenary meeting. He emphasized that if the ad hoc committee meeting rejected his recommendation, he would withdraw the third drafts and the 77-nation group would again submit the second drafts and put them to a vote at the plenary meeting.

Representatives of Third World countries spoke one after another, warmly supporting the recommendation of the chairman of the ad hoc committee.

The Soviet representative reluctantly expressed his "support" for the recommendation, adding with a forced smile that he was "optimistic" over the climate of the meeting.

The U.S. representative tactically declared that he supported the procedure suggested by the chairman but had reservations about the documents' content.

Algeria's representative declared that the 77-nation group would not accept conditional replies to the recommendation of the chairman, nor could it acquiesce in any scheming.

The representatives of France, Norway, Sweden, Finland and the Netherlands supported the recommendation of the chairman.

Having heard the speeches of representatives from all the three worlds, the chairman sounded the gavel and declared the third drafts of the Declaration and the Programme of Action adopted without a vote. Seeing that his pet "special programme" had been totally ignored, the U.S. representative quietly withdrew it.

On the evening of the same day, the ad hoc committee's decision was adopted at a plenary meeting of the special session.

The result of the special session of the U.N. General Assembly represents a victory for the Third World fighting in unity against hegemony.

A most noteworthy feature of the session is the rise of the Third World. Persisting in struggle with a clear-cut stand and flexible tactics, the Third World countries steadily wrested one victory after another, while the two hegemonic powers, the United States and the Soviet Union, suffered dismal failures.

Premier Chou's Speech

(Excerpts)

WE are very glad that His Excellency Leopold Sedar Senghor, President of the Republic of Senegal, and Madame Senghor have come all the way across vast oceans to China for an official visit at the invitation of the Chinese Government, bringing with them the friendly sentiments of the Senegalese people for the Chinese people. On behalf of Chairman Mao Tsetung, Acting Chairman Tung Pi-wu and the Chinese Government and people, I extend our warm welcome to His Excellency the President and Madame Senghor and the other distinguished guests from Senegal.

The Senegalese people have a glorious tradition of combating imperialism and colonialism. The industrious and valiant Senegalese people had waged a protracted and heroic struggle to resist foreign aggression and shake off colonial rule and finally won independence for their country. Since independence, they have continued to advance on the road of national independence. Under the leadership of His Excellency President Senghor, the Senegalese Government and people have in recent years achieved continuous successes in the just cause of safeguarding national independence and state sovereignty, developing the national economy, implementing the "Senegalization" of foreign enterprises and management and building their own country. In international affairs, the Senegalese Government pursues a policy of non-alignment, opposes imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism, opposes superpower economic plunder and exploitation, safeguards the natural resources and maritime rights of the country, supports the national-liberation struggles of the African countries and regions which have not yet won independence, and supports the just struggles of the Arab, Indochinese and Korean peoples. It has thus made useful contributions to the cause of the united struggle of the Third World countries and people against imperialism and hegemonism. We heartily rejoice at the achievements of the Senegalese people and wish that you will continue to win new victories on your road of advance.

At present, the international situation is excellent, and it is developing in a direction more and more favourable to the peoples of the world and unfavourable to imperialism, hegemonism and reaction. Amidst great turbulence, the people of the world are being tempered and are increasingly awakening, uniting ever more closely and marching forward in big strides. A surging tide of struggle against colonialism, imperialism and hegemonism is sweeping across the globe.

The increasing awakening and growth of the Third World are an outstanding feature of the excellent situation of the world today. The Third World has become

the main force in the united struggle of the people of the world against hegemonism, and constitutes a great revolutionary motive force propelling the advance of history. Constantly strengthening their unity and fighting together, the numerous developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America have won one victory after another. Continuing their triumphant advance, and on the basis of further consolidating their political independence, they are waging resolute struggles against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism, and particularly against the economic exploitation and plunder by the First World for extorting super-profits, thereby pushing the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism to a new stage—the stage of deep-going development. An important indication of this new stage is the recent special session of the United Nations General Assembly to study the problems of raw materials and development. At the session imperialism, the superpowers in particular, were put in the dock and were very isolated. Their schemes to obstruct and disrupt the session repeatedly suffered ignominious setbacks. The superpower which styles itself a "reliable friend" of the developing countries acted in a truculent and arbitrary way and resorted to deception and pressure; its performance was especially despicable. In defiance of tyranny, the representatives of the Third World countries at the session sternly rebuked the two hegemonic powers, greatly heightening the fighting spirit of the people of the Third World and deflating the arrogance of imperialism and hegemonism. The Chinese Government and people firmly support the just demand of the Third World countries for a thorough change in the present extremely unequal international economic relations and for the establishment of a new order. We firmly support the permanent sovereignty of the developing countries over their own natural resources as well as their exercise of it. We firmly support the reasonable demand of the developing countries for the development of their national economy through "individual and collective self-reliance." We firmly support the developing countries in establishing various organizations of raw material exporting countries for a united struggle against colonialism, imperialism and hegemonism. The Chinese people will for ever stand together with the people of the Third World. They will support and assist each other and make sustained and redoubled efforts to carry the struggle against imperialism and hegemonism through to the end.

At present, the situation on the African continent is most heartening. Africa is an important force in the ranks of the Third World. Extending support and

solidarity to each other and acting in concert, the great and increasingly awakening peoples of Africa have demonstrated the might of a united struggle. They are constantly winning new victories in the fight against imperialism, colonialism, racism, Zionism and hegemonism. The heroic people of Guinea-Bissau have persisted in protracted armed struggle and succeeded in founding their Republic in glory. The armed struggles and mass movements for national liberation carried on by the peoples of Mozambique, Angola, Zimbabwe, Namibia, Azania and other territories are developing in depth and their strength is growing steadily in the course of struggle. The fall of the reactionary Caetano regime in Portugal, which occurred recently, signifies the ignominious failure of Portugal's notorious policy of colonialism and represents a major victory for the persistent and protracted armed struggle of the African people. We are confident that the great African people, united as one and persevering in struggle, will win complete liberation for the entire African continent.

China and Senegal are both developing countries belonging to the Third World. Our two peoples had the same historical experience, both being long subjected to colonialist and imperialist aggression, enslavement, oppression and exploitation. At present, we both face the common tasks of opposing imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism and of building our respective countries. In accomplishing this common cause, our two peoples have the need to learn from each other and to help and support each other. We are glad that since the establishment of diplomatic relations, the friendly relations and co-operation between China and Senegal have developed satisfactorily, and the friendship between our two peoples is growing daily. We are convinced that the current visit to China by His Excellency the President and Madame Senghor will add a new chapter to the history of the development of relations between China and Senegal. I wish complete success to the visit of His Excellency the President and Madame Senghor and the other distinguished guests from Senegal.

President Senghor's Speech

(Excerpts)

ALLOW me, first of all, in the name of my wife and the delegation which accompanies me as well as in my own name, to thank you for such a cordial reception accorded us by the Chinese Government and the people of Peking.

I would like also to express to you our joy at finding ourselves in China. For me personally, I have since my youth taken a great interest in everything that came from China because in my secondary school days I boarded with Wissine Ben-hoane, a Chinese from Canton who married my cousin. For the Senegalese Delegation in particular, we have a lot of things to learn from China. In fact, your Revolution, which proceeds before our eyes, has already given and continues to give us great lessons, which we would like to study more closely in order to draw abundant benefits from them.

This is the occasion for me to salute the father of this revolution, which, after the bourgeois revolution of July 14, 1789 and the proletarian revolution of October 24, 1917, shook the world and the Third World in particular. I therefore salute Chairman Mao Tsetung, the thinker of this revolution. And, after him, you yourself, Mr. Premier, who are his most faithful comrade-in-arms and who, should your modesty allow me to say so, at the head of the Chinese Government since 1949, have carried out the thought of Mao Tsetung in a dynamic manner.

The first lesson that we have drawn from his thought is that the primary condition for the development of a country, particularly an underdeveloped country, is the existence of a national sentiment, and, better still, a national Idea.

If I have understood Chairman Mao rightly, populations cannot develop into a nation if they have not, first of all, inherited all their past, with its features which are particular and irreplaceable, and, consequently, original.

It was not without emotion that I read, for the first time, the admirable first chapter of his work of 1939 entitled *The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party*. In this chapter on "Chinese Society," Chairman Mao the patriot tells us about the ancient past, the genius and, consequently, the grandeur of the Chinese people, and above all of the Chinese civilization, which is already five thousand years old.

And he rightly shows us the usefulness, for the formation of a nation, of an ethnic majority — in this case, the Han people — but at the same time of a multiplicity of nationalities, since a Nation is essentially a common will to live together, to think together, but above all to act together. To act together means, in the present case, to build a new nation: through the Revolution.

That leads us to the second lesson, which is a lesson of Socialism.

Along with the work of which I have spoken, the works of Chairman Mao that impressed me most strongly are the fundamental essays entitled *On Contradiction* and *On Practice*.

I have often recommended these essays to young people who wish to assimilate the essentials of scientific socialism and, I would say, the universal truths that, in Marxist thought, are valid for all times and places.

These essays are all the more assimilable to us people of the Third World, as they are more typically Chinese, with their rhapsodic rhythm and their vivid examples taken from Chinese life. The people of the Third World, rooted in their ethno-national culture, will understand these essays all the more quickly as they will be put on guard against the dichotomy of classical occidental thought, which is the most efficacious tool of intellectual conservatism.

If Chairman Mao was so well able to assimilate the thought of the founders of scientific socialism — Marx, Engels and Lenin — it was precisely because he read them as a Chinese and for the Chinese. In his work of 1938 entitled *The Role of the Chinese Communist Party in the National War*, he wrote: "Being Marxists, Communists are internationalists, but we can put Marxism into practice only when it is integrated with the specific characteristics of our country and acquires a definite national form." He had, previously, emphasized that "we should regard it (the Marxist theory) not as a dogma, but as a guide to action."

This leads us to the third lesson of Chairman Mao and the Chinese people. It concerns Practice. I could summarize it thus: it is good to theorize, that is to say, to analyse the problems confronting us as a nation and elaborate an ideal solution for each of them, but it is better still to act to resolve them concretely. For the most effective solutions can only be found in the course of action.

Furthermore, Marx could only teach us a method to search and find. Living in the mid-19th century and in Western Europe, he "could not," as Chairman Mao clearly points out, "know concretely . . . beforehand" certain facts peculiar to the Third World and certain laws peculiar to the 20th century.

We of the Third World should all the more adhere to practice as it is in our tradition and as, following Marx, the contemporary savants have returned to the tradition of the Greek philosophers who implanted rational knowledge in the humid humus of sentient knowledge.

As we know, Chairman Mao, for all that does not reject theory. In fact, it is through the integration of theory and practice that he, for the first time in China in four thousand years, accepted the great challenge of history: to feed, teach and govern, in order and in joy, the Chinese people, who are traditionally rebellious and who represent a quarter of humanity.

As for us Senegalese, we do not pretend to be Marxist-Leninists or Communists, or even "Maoists," for those who give themselves the last name have often betrayed the thought of Mao Tsetung. My Party, the Senegal Progressive Union, which has governed Senegal since independence, wants to be a national, socialist and democratic party. But we are, in reality, what you call a "new democracy" or an "advanced democracy," which is the first stage towards socialism.

If we have started by reading the founders of scientific socialism, and also the French — from Saint-Simon to Jaures —, we have given no less special at-

ention to Mao Tsetung, because China belongs to the Third World and the traditional Chinese thinking — with *yin* and *yang* as well as *tao* for fertilizing their contradictions — is near to Negro-African thinking.

We have indeed read all of them, and particularly Chairman Mao, with the eyes of Negro-Africans and for the Negro-Africans, in this case the Senegalese. In fact, we had, previously, gone back to the sources of the Negro-African civilization, on whose basis we have elaborated the theory of Negritude, which is none other than the sum total of the values of the Negro-African civilization, of which the first virtue is to reject dichotomy.

Just as you Chinese have animated your revolution by the revolutionary tradition of the Chinese people, we Senegalese, we Negro-Africans, have animated our revolution by the Negro-African tradition. It is not accidental that in Latin America — and Cuba is the latest example — the Blacks, who are descendants of imported African slaves, together with the Indians, form the proletariat of the subcontinent and are always workers for revolution. But there is no need to go so far afield. In black Africa itself today, as you know, the combatants of resistance are fighting with arms in hand in Angola, Mozambique, Rhodesia, South Africa and, across the frontiers of Senegal, in Guinea-Bissau.

The effort that we have made, following China, to implant Marxism in our national and ethnic tradition is legitimate, and I wish to corroborate this by citing these lines from *Capital*: "It is always the direct relationship of the owners of the conditions of production to the direct producers . . . which reveals the innermost secret, the hidden basis of the entire social structure . . . This does not prevent the same economic basis — the same from the standpoint of its main conditions — due to innumerable different empirical circumstances, natural environment, racial relations, external historical influences, etc., from showing infinite variations and gradations in appearance, which can be ascertained only by analysis of the empirically given circumstances." I stress: "Natural environment, racial relations, external historical influences." That justifies Negritude as well as Sinitude.

That is the main reason which both explains and justifies the co-operation between China and Senegal.

Shortly after our independence, in 1961 to be exact, we recognized the People's Republic of China, but already on November 23, 1960 we had accorded her minimum tariffs. Unfortunately, owing to a misunderstanding resulting from our inexperience in foreign policy, we failed to initiate our co-operation more concretely until 1971.

Nevertheless, we did not wait for that day to give a new impetus to our commercial exchanges. If Senegal's exports to China are still insignificant, the volume of our imports from China, on the contrary, is relatively great, since these imports have exceeded those from more than one country of the European Economic Community. It is our wish to develop to the maximum the commercial exchanges between China and Senegal, but

we want above all to put them in the framework of an all-round co-operation which we intend to strengthen. That is the reason why we have recently signed with your country an Agreement on Economic and Technical Co-operation.

If we intend to strengthen co-operation between China and Senegal, there is another reason in addition to the reasons given above, that is, China as a developing country of the Third World like us, has based her economic and technical aid on eight principles, of which I would only cite the most remarkable ones:

- the principle of equality and mutual benefit,
- long-term loans without interest or at a low interest,
- Chinese aid is to help the recipient country take the road of development "in self-reliance,"
- austerity of Chinese experts, who live at the level of the people.

We know from experience that Chinese aid is not only inexpensive, but particularly effective. In Senegal, the Chinese mission specializes in training peasants and popularizing farming techniques, which are effective but within the reach of poor peasants who constitute 70 per cent of the population and who maintain the virtues of our people, which are most humane and, consequently, most solid. It is our wish that the Chinese mission expand its actions.

However, as Marx said, if the satisfaction of "animal needs" is the condition *sine qua non* of all economic growth, the all-round development of man should be our final objective, which is elaborated from the satisfaction of those needs. The first text that I read of Chairman Mao, together with his poems — the beauty of which I sensed in spite of the translation — dealt precisely with culture. The great Chinese thinker defended in it the thesis according to which the spreading of culture among the people should not lead to its abasement, but the contrary. We have always supported the same thesis. That is why in the course of our visit in China we shall complete the Agreement on Economic and Technical Co-operation with an Agreement on Scientific and Cultural Co-operation.

I repeat that we are only an "advanced democracy" in a small developing country. That is why we meditate on your lessons in endeavouring, not to take People's China as a model, but to inspire ourselves with your example in order to elaborate a Negro-African, a Senegalese model which will enable us to attain more easily and better the second stage of our long march toward Socialism. By this word I mean the all-round development of Man, thanks to the progress of science and culture as well as to that of political democracy and social justice, but thanks above all to the Senegalese Man's own efforts to accomplish himself as man.

Commemorate the 55th Anniversary Of the May 4th Movement

MAY 4 this year is the 55th anniversary of the May 4th Movement. The Chinese people commemorate this brilliant militant festival amid an excellent situation in which the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius is developing in depth.

Our great leader Chairman Mao has pointed out: The May 4th Movement's "outstanding historical significance is to be seen in a feature which was absent from the Revolution of 1911, namely, its thorough and uncompromising opposition to imperialism as well as to feudalism." Coming into being at the call of Lenin, the May 4th Movement marked the advance from the old-democratic revolution to the new-democratic revolution in China. During the May 4th Movement, Marxism-Leninism began to spread in China and the working class began to appear on the political scene as an awakened and independent political force. Both in ideology and in the matter of cadres, the May 4th Movement paved the way for the founding of the Chinese Com-

munist Party in 1921. From then on the Chinese revolution took on an entirely new complexion.

The May 4th Movement set forth the militant slogan "Down with the Confucian Shop" and combined the criticism of Confucius with the Chinese people's historical task of opposing imperialism and feudalism. It launched a fierce attack on the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius and a valiant struggle against the diehard reactionary forces worshipping Confucius and trying to restore the old order. As Chairman Mao put it: "There had never been such a great and thoroughgoing cultural revolution since the dawn of Chinese history."

The current movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius is a continuation of the protracted struggles waged by the Chinese Communist Party and the masses of revolutionary people under its leadership against domestic and foreign enemies since the May 4th Movement. It is launched under the condition that the dictatorship of the proletariat has been established in

China. Under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party headed by Chairman Mao, people in their hundreds of millions who have been tempered in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution are directing the spearhead of attack at the reactionary programme "restrain oneself and return to the rites" preached by Lin Piao and Confucius and at the ultra-Rightist nature of Lin Piao's counter-revolutionary revisionist line. This struggle is a political and ideological struggle through which Marxism prevails over revisionism and the proletariat over the bourgeoisie in the realm of the superstructure. It is a development in depth of the socialist revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and rectify the style of work. It is of great immediate significance and far-reaching historical importance for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and preventing capitalist restoration.

The history of class struggle as a whole and history since the May 4th Movement tell us that the criticism of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius is an arduous fighting task which must be carried out repeatedly. **A given culture is the ideological reflection of the politics and economics of a given society.** The struggle between opposing and worshipping Confucius has different class content and political content in different periods, but it invariably represents a form of class struggle and inter-party struggle at a particular time and a struggle between the two lines in the political and ideological sphere. Worshipping Confucius and going back to the old order always represent the interests of the declining class which advocates retrogression and restoration. Throughout the historical period of socialism, in order to uphold the Party's basic programme, carry out the Party's basic line, consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and prevent the restoration of capitalism, we must consistently apply Marxism to criticize the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius so as to eliminate, step by step, the reactionary thinking for restoring capitalism in the superstructure.

Confucius was a spokesman for the declining slave-owning class. The Confucian school of thought he founded lays more stress on the past than on the present and advocates turning the wheel of history back. Such thinking conforms to the needs of the reactionary ruling classes. They have lauded it to the skies, constantly modified it, and forced the people to worship it as religious canon. All reactionaries, including imperialism and social-imperialism that attempt to subjugate China, have tried to find in the Confucian Shop the ideological weapon to poison the people's minds and undermine the revolution. In opposing the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, the ringleaders of opportunist lines inside the Party also tried to assimilate from Confucius something for their benefit. The renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-chi personally went "on a pilgrimage" to Chufu, Confucius' native place, and on several occasions came out with his sinister book *Self-Cultivation* preaching the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius to serve his counter-revolutionary revisionist line. The bourgeois careerist, conspirator,

double-dealer, renegade and traitor Lin Piao was a devout disciple of Confucius. He collected the reactionary sayings of Confucius and Mencius, put them together, fanatically trumpeted them in a dark corner and carried out counter-revolutionary plots in a futile bid to usurp Party leadership and seize state power and restore capitalism. This fully proves that the struggle between opposing and worshipping Confucius will not come to an end so long as there are classes and class struggle, the danger of capitalist restoration and the struggle between the two lines inside the Party.

Chairman Mao has made sharp, scientific criticisms of Confucianism in the course of leading the Chinese revolution and waging struggles against domestic and foreign reactionaries and opportunist lines. In a series of his writings, in close connection with the practice of the Chinese revolution, Chairman Mao laid bare the vicious motives of the reactionaries in preaching the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius and traced the source of the reactionary ideology of the "Left" and Right opportunist lines by means of the Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoint and method. He thus guided the Chinese people to smash all the mental shackles binding them, break with fetishes, emancipate their minds and win successive victories for the revolutionary cause. Initiated by Chairman Mao, the criticism of the reactionary film *The Life of Wu Hsun* was the first big campaign in the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie on the ideological and cultural fronts after the founding of New China. It was also a Marxist mass criticism of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius in the period of socialist revolution. Since then, the many important struggles led by Chairman Mao on the ideological and cultural fronts have all been directed against the reactionary ideology of worshipping the Confucian school and opposing the Legalist school. The movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius initiated and led by Chairman Mao links the criticism of Confucius with the criticism of Lin Piao in connection with actual class struggle and the struggle between the two lines, making the Chinese people's struggle to criticize Confucius unprecedented in scale and in depth. We must comprehend the far-reaching significance of Chairman Mao's persistence in criticizing Confucius. We must deepen our understanding of the necessity to struggle resolutely against the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius in order to practise Marxism and oppose revisionism. Without criticizing Confucius, our criticism of Lin Piao and opposition to revisionism cannot be thoroughgoing, and we cannot ensure the prevention of revisionism.

History since the May 4th Movement has also proved that only by applying the world outlook of the proletariat and Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought can we defeat the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. The labouring people and progressive social forces in history carried out one struggle after another against the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. But it was impossible for them to apply a scientific world outlook to make a penetrating exposure of the class content and reactionary nature of Confucianism owing to the limitations

of their classes and the times they lived in. The bourgeoisie also criticized Confucianism during the time of the May 4th Movement. But **this bourgeois ideology was only able to last out a few rounds and was beaten back by the reactionary alliance of the enslaving ideology of foreign imperialism and the "back to the ancients" ideology of Chinese feudalism.** The historical task of thoroughly defeating the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius can only be accomplished by the proletariat armed with Marxism.

Chairman Mao has pointed out: **"The May 4th Movement, however, had its own weaknesses. Many of the leaders lacked the critical spirit of Marxism, and the method they used was generally that of the bourgeoisie, that is, the formalist method."** They lacked the dialectical and historical materialist view and failed to regard the struggle between the Confucian and Legalist schools as a struggle between two lines. They were quite right in opposing the Confucian school, but they did not give necessary, historical confirmation to the progressive role the Legalist school had played and they failed to make a Marxist study and analysis of the Legalists' works. As a result, they could not thoroughly defeat the ideology of the Confucian school. After he grasped Marxism as a new weapon, Lu Hsun, the greatest and most courageous standard-bearer of the new cultural army of that time, raised the criticism of the Confucian School to a new height. Lu Hsun was an example. In criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius, we must read and study hard and conscientiously, make efforts to grasp Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, train and temper our contingent of Marxist theoreticians, sum up the historical experience in class struggle and constantly raise the criticism to a higher level.

Youth of China

Taking the Revolutionary Path of Going to the Countryside

RESPONDING to Chairman Mao's call, millions of educated youth have, since the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution began, settled down in the countryside to be re-educated by the poor and lower-middle peasants. Tempered in the three great revolutionary movements—class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment—they have devoted their efforts to building new socialist villages and achieved

This article is written by the educated youth group which settled in the Hsiaohuangfu Production Team of Kungcheng County in the Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous Region.

May 10, 1974

Like all revolutionary movements, the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius cannot be done by relying on a few people. In his speech in 1939 commemorating the 20th anniversary of the May 4th Movement, Chairman Mao pointed out: **"Only by mobilizing the masses of workers and peasants, who form 90 per cent of the population, can we defeat imperialism and feudalism."** He called on the educated youth and students throughout China to integrate themselves with the broad masses of workers and peasants and become one with them to form a mighty army, with the workers and peasants as the main force. Chairman Mao said: **"A force of hundreds of millions of people! Only with this huge force can the enemy's strongholds be taken and his last fortresses smashed."** How it warms our hearts when we restudy this teaching of Chairman Mao's in the current movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius. The situation throughout the country today is entirely different from that of 55 years ago and quite different from that of 35 years ago. The huge army of several hundred million, which has the workers, peasants and soldiers as the main force and includes cadres and revolutionary intellectuals, is now fighting courageously and vigorously under the leadership of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee. Advanced people are continuously emerging in large numbers in the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius. A great number of new socialist things are growing in the struggle. We are convinced that the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius will certainly push forward the cause our predecessors left unfinished, and our great motherland will certainly win still greater victories along the socialist road.

Let us advance victoriously under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line!

(*"Renmin Ribao" editorial, May 4*)

fruitful results. The broad masses warmly acclaim and support this new-born thing of far-reaching significance, but the renegade and traitor Lin Piao viciously slandered the educated youth going to the countryside as "reform through forced labour in a disguised form." With extremely evil intent, Lin Piao attempted to mislead the youth to divorce themselves from practice, labour, and the masses and make them his tool to restore capitalism.

What path should the youth be guided to take is a question of which class do we train the successors for. This question is decided by political line, and serves a

definite political line. As the spokesman of the declining slave-owning class, Confucius all along looked down on physical labour and the working people and opposed young students taking part in physical labour. When his disciple Fan Chih asked to be taught farming and vegetable-growing, he was rebuffed by Confucius as a "mean person." Confucius forbade his disciples to concern themselves with farming and did his best to instil into their minds contempt for physical labour. He spread the nonsense that those who engaged in farming would starve and those who excelled in learning would be officials and make money.

Why did Confucius so hate students taking part in physical labour? Because in his eyes, so long as the rulers mastered the slave-owning class' art of ruling, like "propriety," "righteousness" and "sincerity," the ordinary people would be submissive and would provide them with enough to eat. Why then was it necessary for the rulers to do farm work themselves? Here the criminal intent of Confucius was bared — he wanted his disciples to be parasites, living on others' labour and bullying the working people, and be his followers in his attempt to restore the slave system. Our great leader Chairman Mao penetratingly criticized this reactionary notion of Confucius', saying that his disciples **"neither learnt revolutionary theory nor took part in labour,"** and that they were going up a dead end contrary to the direction of historical development. Lin Piao was dead set against the revolutionary action of educated youth going to the countryside. This shows that Lin Piao and Confucius were jackals of the same lair and their reactionary ideas identical. Both aimed at restoring the old system and turning back the wheel of history.

The Path to Train Successors to the Cause of The Proletarian Revolution

The proletariat is the greatest class in history. Its goal is not only to liberate itself but all mankind. Only by liberating the whole of mankind can the proletariat win final liberation. To realize the lofty ideal of communism, the proletariat persists in using Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought to educate the youth and guiding them to firmly take the path of integrating with the workers and peasants, face the world and brave the storm in the three great revolutionary movements, thereby training and bringing up millions of successors who will carry on the cause of the proletarian revolution. Marx pointed out: **"An early combination of productive labour with education is one of the most potent means for the transformation of present-day society."** Lenin also pointed out: **"Only by working side by side with the workers and peasants can one become a genuine Communist."**

Chairman Mao further developed the great theory that the intellectuals must integrate themselves with the worker-peasant masses. During the period of the new-democratic revolution, he said: **"The dividing line between revolutionary intellectuals and non-revolutionary or counter-revolutionary intellectuals is whether or**

not they are willing to integrate themselves with the workers and peasants and actually do so." Having summed up the historical experience of the proletarian dictatorship at home and abroad from positive and negative examples, Chairman Mao in the period of socialist revolution has repeatedly instructed the educated youth to go to the countryside to **"be re-educated by the poor and lower-middle peasants,"** thus pointing out the road forward for the broad masses of educated young people.

There are now 39 of us — educated youth who have moved to the Hsiaohuangfu Production Team since January 1969. Whenever educated youth came to this mountain village, the poor and lower-middle peasants greeted them by beating drums and gongs and setting off firecrackers as if celebrating a festival. They helped us arrange our daily life and acquainted us with things in the production team. Responsible comrades of the Party committees and revolutionary committees at various levels often visited us and encouraged us to settle there. The poor and lower-middle peasants looked after us as if we were their sons and daughters. While patiently giving us political education, they were very considerate about our daily life and taught us how to farm. The old poor peasants and leader of the production team told us about their family histories and the history of the village, acquainted us with the miserable life of the working people in the old society and their happy life today. To help us raise our consciousness of class struggle and two-line struggle, they informed us of the history of the two-line struggle in the countryside. Living among the poor and lower-middle peasants gave us a feeling of great warmth. To express our determination to settle in the countryside, we planted a willow in spring 1969 which is quite sturdy now.

The integration of educated youth with the workers and peasants is the inevitable path for training successors to the cause of the proletarian revolution. Experience since 1969 has made us deeply realize that the worker-peasant masses are the main force of revolution. It is they who push forward the history of the society. Only by unconditionally integrating themselves with the worker-peasant masses over a long period can the educated youth move their standpoint to the side of the workers and peasants, to the side of the proletariat. Only then can they make due contributions to the cause of the proletarian revolution.

Our thinking and sentiments were different from those of the poor and lower-middle peasants when we first came to the village, because we had been influenced at school by the revisionist line in education which held physical labour and the working people in contempt, and because our minds were poisoned by old traditional ideas in society. Later, we conscientiously studied works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin as well as Chairman Mao's works and learnt from the poor and lower-middle peasants their clear-cut class stand as well as their high consciousness in firmly putting Chairman Mao's revolutionary line into practice. We worked hard to

remould our world outlook and strengthen our proletarian feelings, and gradually we became one with the poor and lower-middle peasants.

For instance, when two girl students among us joined the peasants in their struggle against the local class enemies, someone threatened them. "You're not familiar with our place yet. Why do you mind other people's business? You girls mustn't go too far!" The girls were somewhat uneasy on hearing this. Then the political instructor of the production team studied together with them Chairman Mao's teachings on class struggle and this made the girls more determined to fight the class enemies to the end. After repeated investigation, a bad element hidden for more than 20 years was uncovered. Tempered and tested in the storm of class struggle, both young women were later admitted into the Chinese Communist Party.

Another example was when several students were asked to design and install a small hydro-power station in the production team. Their draft did not meet the demand because they only consulted books without going out to look into things. The commune members took them to power stations in neighbouring communes and brigades and encouraged them to combine book knowledge with practice. These students modestly learnt from the peasants while working. They finally built a power station with the commune members in one and a half months.

A girl student was made a pig breeder. At first she thought there was no future in this dirty work, so she often asked for a change. An old poor peasant woman who was a veteran pig breeder helped her realize the importance of such work in the development of the socialist collective economy and in building a socialist new village. Afterwards, the girl got to like her job. She actively learnt techniques like fodder fermentation,

preventing and curing pig diseases and the new artificial insemination method, and helped develop collective pig breeding rapidly in the team. Another student showed her courage in breaking with the local traditional custom that "women shouldn't work in the lime kiln." She led a group of women to fire limestone. By improving the method of firing, they produced more lime than the men members.

Tempered in the crucible of revolution in the countryside and re-educated by the poor and lower-middle peasants, we educated youth are growing up sturdily. Two of us have gloriously joined the Party and eight have joined the Communist Youth League. Twelve have become primary or middle school teachers in the villages and 25 have been cited by the poor and lower-middle peasants as advanced educated youth. Four of us are now in the leading body at the production brigade or production team levels. One was elected county Party committee member, two were elected members of the Communist Youth League committees of the Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous Region and of a special administrative region under it, and another a member of the women's federation at the special administrative region level. Facts have proved that the best way to train successors to the cause of the proletarian revolution is for the educated youth to go to the countryside and integrate themselves with the workers and peasants.

Vast Countryside With Plenty of Room to Develop

Chairman Mao has said: "Our countryside is vast and has plenty of room for them to develop their talents to the full." In accordance with this teaching of Chairman Mao's, we have launched in the past five years the mass movement **In agriculture, learn from Tachai** together with the commune members. Battling the elements, we have brought about a relatively big change

in our production team. Hsiao Huangfu was originally a small village surrounded on three sides by mountains and the ditch in front of it was muddy. The source of this ditch was a cave, known as "Dragon King's Cave," which was connected with an underground stream. The village was often flooded, especially in summer and autumn. Sometimes the water would suddenly gush from the cave on bright sunny days and the fields were inundated. The commune members tried to build a dam in front of the cave



Educated youths settled in the countryside welcome new comrades-in-arms.

Woodcut by Peng Shih-chiang (a worker)

(Continued on p. 31.)

The First Batch of Worker-Peasant-Soldier College Graduates

by Chang Pien

MORE than 2,300 Peking University students—the first batch selected in 1970 from among workers, peasants and soldiers with practical experience—completed their academic pursuits and went back to work in 1973. This is the result of thoroughly implementing Chairman Mao's proletarian line in education.

Peking University before the Great Cultural Revolution was in the clutches of Liu Shao-chi's revisionist line, a line which served to rear bourgeois spiritual aristocrats divorced from proletarian politics, detached from productive labour and cut off from the workers and peasants.

In the old educational system before the Great Cultural Revolution there were two reversals. One was the reversal of the class line: While the masses of workers and peasants, the masters of our country, create both the material and spiritual wealth, a multitude of them and their sons and daughters were actually denied access to higher education. The other was the reversal of the process of knowledge: While the only source of man's knowledge and talent is social practice, institutes of learning at that time nevertheless carried out a programme based on idealist apriorism and separated from the three great revolutionary practices—class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment—with the result that the more the students learnt, the more stupid they became.

The Great Cultural Revolution demolished the two bourgeois headquarters with Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao as the respective ringleaders. Beginning July 27, 1967, in response to Chairman Mao's call, workers, poor and lower-middle peasants, in co-ordination with People's Liberation Army fighters, moved into schools and colleges to break through bourgeois rule there, thereby ushering in the new era of the proletarian revolution in education.

Since the Great Cultural Revolution began, workers, peasants and soldiers have uncovered and criticized the revisionist line in education which, in essence, worked to restore capitalism. Speaking the minds of millions of working people, Chairman Mao pointed out on July 21, 1968: For the universities, "students should be selected from among workers and peasants with practical experience, and they should return to production after a few years' study." This has brought about a fundamental change in the political orientation of the

schools and colleges and the road of running educational institutes, so that the schools and colleges have become an important base for training and rearing successors to the cause of the proletarian revolution in accordance with the Party's basic line.

Learning in Struggle

How did Peking University, now a socialist institute of a new type, mould these worker-peasant-soldier students along the road of being both red and expert? Some examples follow.

At an evening study session of cadres in a commune in Tahsing County on Peking's outskirts, a man in worker's overalls was lecturing on the third chapter of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, "Socialist and Communist Literature." Adopting the stand, viewpoint and method of Marxism and in the light of the reality of the struggle between the proletarian revolutionary line and the bourgeois reactionary line in the countryside, the speaker made a forceful criticism of the Lin Piao anti-Party clique's crime of attacking China's socialist system and trying to restore capitalism in the interests of the landlord and comprador-capitalist classes. Those attending the lecture spoke highly of it: "This lecture is in everyday language and easy to understand; it has both theory and real content."

The lecturer was Kuo Kuang-hsin, a student at Peking University's Department of Philosophy, who had gone to college with 18 years of experience as a foundry worker behind him. All during this three-year college life, Kuo and his classmates persisted in the road that "the liberal arts should take all society as their factory" by spending one-third of their time every year in factories or the countryside. There they were able to integrate theoretical studies with taking part in the actual struggle. This helped raise their theoretical level of Marxism and ability to analyse and solve problems. It was a fundamental departure from the old universities where liberal arts students shut themselves off from the outside world and were absorbed in pedantic studies. "In the old universities," said Kuo, "Marxist classics were an optional course as a branch of vocational knowledge. Now we worker-peasant-soldier students have come to college to grasp Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought as a militant weapon, to study it in the course of struggle and make it play

a militant role in the course of study."

Kuo Kuang-hsin had little schooling in the past. When he took part in revolutionary mass criticism he had difficulty expressing himself in writing even though there were so many things he wanted to say. He felt an urgent need to grasp Marxism as a sharp weapon in order to explode the rumours and sophistry spread by the class enemy. He told himself that he had come to college because the people want-



In preparing *A Criticism and Annotation of the "Analects,"* worker-peasant-soldier college students canvass the opinions of the masses.

ed him to and it was a job entrusted to him by the working class. So he studied hard and painstakingly. In the three years, he carefully read about a dozen of the philosophical works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and Chairman Mao, kept notes, wrote critical essays and prepared reports on investigations he had made — running to more than one million characters in all. Among them was "On the Party Spirit of Philosophy," one of his well-written articles linking theory with practice.

All the worker-peasant-soldier students of Peking University had one thing in common: they all studied for the revolution and enhanced their ability and competence in the course of struggle. The annotation and criticism of the *Analects* (a collection of Kung Chiu's sayings) from a Marxist viewpoint, for instance, was completed by them in the course of the struggle.

It all began at a political study session when one of them hit on the idea: to serve the needs of the masses in their revolutionary criticism, what about annotating the *Analects*, a textbook by negative example? Kuo's fellow students readily agreed, adding that they should also apply Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought in writing a critical review of the whole book. Never attempted before, it would serve as a thoroughgoing repudiation of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius which have had a pernicious influence for more than 2,000 years. It was agreed that a criticism and annotation of the *Analects* would be completed before their graduation.

Under Party leadership and guided by the faculty members, the worker-peasant-soldier students conscientiously studied works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin as well as Chairman Mao's works, pored over volumes of historical material, wrote criticisms and made annotations in the course of discussions. The first draft with more than 200,000 characters was finished in a little over a month. They took the first draft along to collect

workers' comments on it. With the help of the workers they revised the draft to make it read more easily and more to the point. *A Criticism and Annotation of the "Analects,"* is now ready for the press.

In the opinion of one old professor who had long been engaged in research work on the history of Chinese philosophy, "the criticism and annotation of the *Analects* by the worker-peasant-soldier students have been an extraordinary feat, beyond the reach of past college students."

Linking Theory With Practice

Guided by the revolutionary line in education, teaching now closely links theory with practice. In this way, the worker-peasant-soldier college students were able to improve themselves fairly quickly in their ability to analyze and solve problems. To test the knowledge and ability acquired in their three-year study and help them advance further, the worker-peasant-soldier students took part in what can be called practice before graduation in the last stage of their studies. Altogether 389 research projects whose immediate resolution was called for by production and scientific research work were singled out after massive inquiries by faculty members and graduating students in the various special courses under the science departments. The projects were decided on in accordance with the needs of the state while taking into consideration the peculiarities of these special courses and the students' aptitude.

Their efforts were most rewarding. Practice showed that the knowledge they had obtained was rather comprehensive, something inconceivable for college students in bygone days who confined themselves only to book knowledge. For example, there were the students specializing in laser technology and magnetism in the Department of Physics, who, helped by master workers

and faculty members, completed 48 research projects, 22 of which reached or nearly reached the country's advanced level; 24 were accepted for use by production or research units.

Students in the Chemistry Department turned out 66 research papers, 10 of them being read at national specialized conferences. Yao Chin-hua, a Liberation Army fighter before he entered college, was delegated by fellow graduates majoring in petrochemistry to speak at a specialized conference on the accomplishment of their research work — making benzoic anhydride (a raw material for manufacturing dacron polyester fibre) directly from residual oil. The paper received favourable comments from all delegates to the conference who came from production units, research institutes and colleges in 21 provinces and municipalities.

This research project was entrusted to Yao and 11 other graduates-to-be by an oil refinery in the latter part of 1973. A large quantity of residual oil, comrades from the refinery told them, produced every day in the process of thermal cracking of crude oil was being wasted. On the other hand, the steady development of industrial and agricultural production was in great need of benzoic anhydride as a raw material for the chemical industry. Hearing this, Yao and his classmates set out to solve the problem as quickly as possible. Since entering Peking University, they had already studied the basic courses in the Chemistry Department as well as subjects like the fundamental principles of catalyzers, catalytic action, experiments in catalytic reaction, etc. Moreover, they had studied these courses in the midst of the establishment of a new system combining teaching with productive labour and scientific research, a system known as "open-door schooling." Because these studies were tied in with practice, they succeeded in acquiring a profound knowledge on the subjects being studied, solid erudition of practical value. Such studies laid a sound foundation for them to complete the research project.

The key question in making benzoic anhydride directly from residual oil is to find out what the most ideal catalyzer to use should be. Yao and the other 11 were divided into three experimental groups, each of which was required by their tutors to carry out only five or six experiments. Actually they made seven to eight experiments and found three relatively good required catalyzers and finally decided on one which when used could turn out the largest possible amount of benzoic anhydride. In their experiments, they read from related literature suggesting that a certain "promoter" would weaken the catalytic action when the amount exceeded 10 per cent. Yao Chin-hua, however, preferred to come to his own conclusions through his own experiments. Contrary to the datum in the literature, the result of this showed that use of the promoter in a greater amount than stipulated actually was most desirable.

But Yao and his colleagues were not satisfied with what they had achieved in the research project. To meet

the needs of production, they went one step further by making life tests of the catalyzer in order to provide industrial production with still more comprehensive data. "This was without precedent from the time our catalysis teaching and research group under the university's Department of Chemistry was started," said an excited comrade in charge of the group.

Four graduates-to-be, including Lai Fu-ti, of the agrobiolgy speciality under the Department of Biology, travelled to Honan Province to do research on the growth and multiplication of cotton aphides at the nationally famous Chilying Commune as their programme of practice before graduating.

A Deputy Chairman of the Revolutionary Committee of the Loao Commune, Lai Fu-ti came from Yutu County, Kiangsi Province. He already had gained rich experience in farming at the time of enrolment. Loao's first peasant college student, he studied very hard and was able to link theory with practice. Studying pedology in his first academic year, he won the praise of his teachers by giving his opinions on soil amelioration with reference to soil conditions in his county. It was mid-summer when he was assigned to the research project for preventing and killing cotton aphides. Ignoring the heat and sometimes downpours, Lai and another student stayed in the fields nearly 50 days in a row making investigations.

To find out how the hundreds of aphides clustered on a cotton leaf multiplied, Lai spent days on end in the suffocating and hot cotton fields, lying supine under the leaf to scrutinize them. Equipped with the theoretical knowledge he and his classmates had grasped, they not only discovered the law of the insects' increased or decreased reproduction in the hottest days, but also found that the aphides tend to continue to multiply when temperature rises above 25 degrees C. and the humidity exceeds 75 per cent. This discovery which had never been recorded in the books written by their predecessors has therefore provided important data for predicting these insects' development. To kill the aphides, they also sorted out from among 40-odd different insect-killers a new insecticide which is highly effective but less poisonous. A contribution to increasing cotton production, the result of their scientific research was widely acclaimed by local commune members.

Proletarian View of Quality

College education for workers, peasants and soldiers and "open-door schooling" are a far-reaching revolution in education, which the bourgeoisie greatly abhors and fears. Some people under the strong influence of antiquated, traditional notions were also sceptical of this, adopting a wait-and-see attitude. There are those who deliberately slight the worker-peasant-soldier college students and slanderously claim that the academic standards of students trained under the new educational system was low; they always want a switch back to the old educational system, which the proletariat cannot

tolerate in any way. As a matter of course, a socialist university offers its students training in various special subjects. Primarily, however, it must see to it that students take a good part in the class struggle which is the main course. Thus, while they are getting a college education, students should become participants in the great struggle to transform the old world and create the new and should do their best to remould their subjective world in the course of struggle — the specific aim is to make them become revolutionary champions of the proletariat **“practising Marxism, and not revisionism.”**

As regards educational standards, they must be viewed first of all in connection with the orientation and the line, from the angle of for which class students are trained as successors. Even from the vocational point of view, it helps the students to master fairly broad knowledge and raise their ability to analyze and

solve problems if they are selected from among workers, peasants and soldiers with practical experience and if during their college days they persist in taking part in the three great revolutionary movements — class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment. Learning and memorizing books and formulas by rote without paying attention to the orientation and the line and without looking into the political consciousness of the students while breaking from the principle of unity between theory and practice — this is considered top quality by bourgeois standards, but low quality in the opinion of the proletariat.

The reality in Peking University speaks for the fact that the academic standards of the worker-peasant-soldier college students are of high quality and that the orientation of selecting college students from among workers, peasants and soldiers with practical experience is entirely correct.

Clarifying “Burning Books and Burying Confucian Scholars Alive”

by Shih Ting

AFTER Chin Shih Huang (259-210 B.C.) had unified China and founded the first centralized feudal state in Chinese history, “burning books and burying Confucian scholars alive” was an important political event in his reign. Comments about this incident were made by a great many people. Progressive thinkers generally acclaim this revolutionary action, while all those who revere the Confucian school and oppose the Legalist school consider it one of Chin Shih Huang’s heinous crimes — an outrageous action and reactionary measure leading directly to the downfall of the Chin Dynasty.

For example, in criticizing “burning books and burying Confucian scholars alive,” Chia Yi* in the Han Dynasty considered that Chin Shih Huang had discarded the doctrines of the previous kings and burnt the books of various schools of thought so as to leave the people in ignorance. By burning books and meting out cruel punishment to the people, the Chin Dynasty inevitably brought about its own end in a short time. Chia’s view had a big effect on history.

In one of his poems *Book-Burning Pits*, the Tang Dynasty poet Chang Chieh (c. 877 A.D.) wrote: “The empire was weakened after the books went up in smoke, the pass and the river futilely guarded Chin

Shih Huang’s capital. Disorder erupted in the east before the pit-ashes had turned cold, neither Liu nor Hsiang** ever studied books.” By “burning books and burying Confucian scholars alive,” the poet pointed out, Chin Shih Huang had weakened the Chin Dynasty which soon fell apart under the attacks of Liu Pang and Hsiang Yu.

The mistaken views of Chia Yi and Chang Chieh distorted history and reversed right and wrong. As to Chin Shih Huang’s “burning books and burying Confucian scholars alive,” we should make a serious analysis of its concrete content, nature and effect.

What It Was All About

According to *Historical Records* by Szuma Chien***, Chin Shih Huang’s “burning books and burying Confucian scholars alive” could be generally summed up

** Liu and Hsiang refer to Liu Pang and Hsiang Yu who represented two powerful anti-Chin forces following the revolt by Chen Sheng and Wu Kuang at the end of the Chin Dynasty. Hsiang’s army annihilated Chin’s main forces while Liu’s occupied Kuanchung (present-day Shensi Province) and the Chin capital Hsienyang. In the ensuing struggle between Liu and Hsiang, the latter committed suicide after he was defeated. Liu Pang became emperor in 202 B.C. and founded the Han Dynasty.

*** Szuma Chien (c.145-? B.C.) was a historian and writer in the Western Han Dynasty whose *Historical Records* had a far-reaching influence on the study of Chinese history.

* Chia Yi (200-168 B.C.) was a thinker and writer in the Western Han Dynasty.

as follows. Chin Shih Huang unified all of China in 221 B.C., the 26th year of his reign. In the new political situation, serious differences and struggles existed within the Chin court between those wanting to consolidate unification and strengthen centralized power and those wanting to undermine unification and abolish centralized power. The group headed by Prime Minister Wang Wan stood for installing hereditary nobles to rule their domains or states, but Minister of Justice Li Ssu (?-208 B.C.) opposed this and considered that the division of the country into prefectures and counties was favourable to the consolidation of unification.

Chin Shih Huang decided to put Li Ssu's view into practice and divided "the country into 36 prefectures" which were subdivided into counties. Local officials were appointed by the central authorities. This measure helped consolidate unification and strengthen centralization. Li Ssu was later promoted to be the prime minister. However, those who insisted on installing hereditary nobles refused to give up and the struggle between the two groups went on.

Eight years later, royal academician (imperial counsellor) Chunyu Yueh started the controversy again in 213 B.C. (the 34th year of Chin Shih Huang's reign). When Chin Shih Huang gave a big banquet for his ministers in the Hsienyang Palace, the leader of the royal academicians Chou Ching-chen praised him to his face, saying that the substitution of prefectures and counties for the former ducal states and the unification of China were great endeavours of unprecedented majesty and virtue. Extremely dissatisfied with Chou's remark, Chunyu Yueh viciously attacked the prefectural and county system as a breach of the ancient institutions and branded Chou's words "face-to-face flattery."

Chin Shih Huang let the ministers discuss the two opposing views. Prime Minister Li Ssu immediately refuted Chunyu Yueh, saying: When times changed the old ways must not remain unchanged and therefore the ancient regulations and institutions could not be followed now. He also pointed out: Contemporary scholars would not study current matters but would devote themselves to worshipping the ancient; they extolled the old order to oppose present-day politics so as to fool the people and upset them. Therefore, he proposed the prohibition of all unauthorized schools of thought and that their books be burnt. Those who dared to talk about the *Book of Songs* and the *Book of Historical Documents* secretly should be sentenced to death, and anyone who attacked the present with the past should be punished by killing his whole clan. Officials who knew of such violators and protected them should be punished in the same way. Those who refused to burn the prohibited books 30 days after the issuing of the order should be tattooed on the face and sent to build city walls for four years.

These were the methods Li Ssu worked out to prohibit people from attacking the present with the

past. His proposals were approved by Chin Shih Huang and were put into effect. The measures dealt a telling blow to those who "attacked the present with the past."

In 212 B.C., the year after the book-burning order was promulgated by Chin Shih Huang, the "necromancers" Hou and Lu launched another attack. Privately, they said that Chin Shih Huang was "obstinate and self-willed" and "greedy for power," merely relied on the officials in charge of punishment and paid little attention to the opinions of the 70 royal academicians. Their purpose obviously was to slander and attack Chin Shih Huang who had adopted Li Ssu's proposal to strengthen centralized power, air grievances for Chunyu Yueh and his like, and create public opinion for the Confucian royal academicians to seize power. The two necromancer-swindlers surreptitiously fled after they had made wild attacks on Chin Shih Huang. When he heard about this, he linked their attacks with the actions of the Confucian scholars who vilified the government in Hsienyang and who spread rumours to deceive the people. He ordered the judicial officials to question the scholars and thoroughly look into the case. Their confessions showed that more than 460 Confucian scholars had violated government laws and decrees. Chin Shih Huang buried all of them alive in the capital, Hsienyang, so that everybody should know of this event and take it as a warning. This was the famous incident of "burning books and burying Confucian scholars alive."

Its Aim and Nature

In "burning books" Chin Shih Huang had no intention of destroying culture and burning all books. His "burning books" was aimed at unifying thinking." What he wanted to destroy were the books of history of all the states except those of Chin, and the *Book of Songs*, the *Book of Historical Documents* and the classics and literature of the various schools of thought in private hands. It was specifically stipulated that the "books which the royal academicians were in charge of" and "books of medicine, pharmacology, divination, cultivation and agronomy" were not to be burnt. Therefore, it can be said that the books burnt by Chin Shih Huang were limited in number.

By "burying Confucian scholars alive," Chin Shih Huang wanted to strike at the opponents who advocated going back to the old order, and his intention was not to kill all Confucian scholars. No harm was done to Chou Ching-chen who supported the prefectural and county system or to law-abiding Confucianists. Many famous Confucianists who lived up to the early years of the Han Dynasty were not persecuted at that time. Moreover, the Chin court not only kept royal academicians of the Confucian school after the "burying Confucian scholars alive" incident, but continued to select others to be royal academicians.

For instance, when Chin Erh Shih — the second emperor of the Chin Dynasty — heard the news of the

revolt by Chen Sheng and Wu Kuang*, he called in the royal academicians of the Confucian school to discuss what they should do to cope with the situation. "More than 30 royal academicians" took part in this meeting. This proved that Chin Shih Huang did not kill the innocent Confucian scholars, and that he even appointed some of them royal academicians.

"Burning books and burying Confucian scholars alive" was, in nature, a progressive measure which "laid more stress on the present than on the past" and which opposed usurping power and restoration at that time. From the Spring and Autumn Period (770-476 B.C.) to the Warring States Period (475-221 B.C.), China was in a period of big social upheaval, moving from the slave system to the feudal system. The slave uprisings were dealing crushing blows to the slave system, and the new emerging landlord forces were steadily growing in strength and gradually seizing political power to carry out feudal social reforms. As a result, the few hundred small states in the country were merged into several big states, the new prefectural and county system gradually replaced the old system of installing hereditary nobles to rule their domains and the progressive feudal system replaced the decadent slave system.

The thought of the Confucian school represented by Confucius and Mencius reflected the reactionary nature of the slave-owning aristocrats who were making a last-ditch struggle to restore slavery. But the result was complete defeat. The thought of the Legalist school represented by Shang Yang and Han Fei reflected the progressive nature of the vigorous new emerging landlord class which was bent on carrying out social changes. The Legalist school triumphed.

Chin Shih Huang lived in such a period. He carried on with the reform endeavours of Shang Yang, took the political road of the Legalist school, gave important posts to such Legalists as Li Ssu, conquered six other states (Han, Wei, Chu, Chao, Yen and Chi) and accomplished the stupendous task of unifying all of China. During and after the unification of the country, he abolished the system of installing hereditary nobles to rule their domains and the political privileges of the slave-owning aristocrats, established prefectures and counties throughout the country, founded the feudal state system with the emperor as the centre, adopted a series of measures to consolidate unification and strengthen the centralized power of the feudal autocracy and thus established a fairly comprehensive feudal system.

*This revolt was the first great peasant uprising in Chinese history. Chen Sheng and Wu Kuang who were among the 900 conscripts on their way for garrison duty at a frontier post in 209 B.C. organized the conscripts to revolt in Chihhsien County (now Suhsien County in Anhwei Province) against Chin rule. This revolt won the response of the whole nation.

Unreconciled to their failure, the slave-owning aristocrats dreamt of crawling out of the historical garbage heap to usurp power and stage a restoration. Their spokesmen included such reactionary politicians and royal academicians of the Confucian school as Wang Wan, Chunyu Yueh and Hou and Lu mentioned above. Taking over the mantle of their supreme masters Confucius and Mencius, these men stubbornly stuck to the stand of the slave-owning aristocrats. Under the new circumstances, they praised the *Book of Songs* and the *Book of Historical Documents*, attacked the present with the past, spread rumours to mislead the people, advocated installing hereditary nobles to rule their domains and opposed the system of prefectures and counties. They tried to undermine unification, abolish the centralized power of the feudal autocracy and restore slavery. There was no question that their "attack on the present with the past" was reactionary.

Following the "trend of the times," Chin Shih Huang and Li Ssu negated the antiquated system of installing hereditary nobles to rule their domains, firmly upheld the already developed system of prefectures and counties, exposed the true features of the reactionaries in attacking the present with the past and dealt them telling blows. It was quite right for them to do so. Therefore, "burning books and burying Confucian scholars alive" by Chin Shih Huang was a political struggle between the landlord class that had newly risen to the ruling position and the slave-owning aristocrats who had been driven off the political stage. It was also a bold action on the part of the Chin Dynasty which had just unified the country to smash the restoration plot of the old forces and safeguard the new feudal rule, and a progressive measure to "lay more stress on the present than on the past." This was absolutely necessary at that time. We should appraise it in the context of history. Obviously, it was a big mistake for people like Chia Yi to describe the incident as a reactionary measure.

Its Positive Role

The effects of Chin Shih Huang's "burning books and burying Confucian scholars alive" should also be affirmed. After this event it was true that during Chin Shih Huang's reign there still were people who collected and studied the *Book of Songs*, the *Book of Historical Documents* and books of the various schools of thought and people who reviled Chin Shih Huang and the feudal state system. But none of the Confucian royal academicians in the Chin court dared openly to "attack the present with the past" and oppose the prefectural and county system and centralized power. This helped the prefectural and county system to develop fairly smoothly and steadily consolidated the unification of the landlord class' state.

Judged by Chinese history after the Chin Dynasty, its system of feudal rule had an extremely far-reaching influence on the feudal society which lasted 2,000 years. No matter how the feudal dynasties after the Chin Dynasty changed the names of their local ad-

ministrative areas, their local administrative division was fundamentally an adaptation or development of the prefectural and county system. No matter how the organization of their political system changed, it was fundamentally an evolution or development of centralization based on feudal autocracy.

Precisely as Wang Fu-chih* said early in the Ching Dynasty, the prefectural and county system lasted for 2,000 years and could not be changed. The more contemporary Tan Szu-tung** also said that the political system of 2,000 years came down from the Chin Dynasty. Therefore, we can say that under the then existing historical conditions Chin Shih Huang's "burning books and burying Confucian scholars alive" played a positive role in consolidating the unification of the feudal state and strengthening the centralization of the feudal autocracy.

Lin Piao's Sinister Aim in Reviling "Burning Books And Burying Confucian Scholars Alive"

Should we conclude that the downfall of the Chin Dynasty can be traced to "burning books and burying Confucian scholars alive" because it took place soon after that incident? We don't think so. In the first year of the reign of Chin Erh Shih, i.e., in 209 B.C. or three years after the incident, some slave-owning aristocrats betrayed Chin when Chen Sheng and Wu Kuang rose in revolt. The Chin Dynasty collapsed three years later in 206 B.C. Superficially, there seemed to be a direct relationship between its collapse and the incident. But a careful analysis of the contradictions at the time reveals that this was not so.

The state machinery has always been an instrument with which one class oppresses another. To consolidate the dictatorship of the landlord class when the feudal system had just replaced the slave system, the feudal rulers hit hard at the restoration activities of the remnant forces of the slave-owning aristocrats. On the other hand, they also suppressed the resistance struggle of the peasant class. "Burning books and burying Confucian scholars alive" was a measure taken by the Chin Dynasty to strike at the restoration activities of the reactionaries, but "giving the people no peace and tranquillity by implementing harsh laws and severe punishment" meant the Chin Dynasty's persecution of the people. The betrayal of the Chin Dynasty by some slave-owning aristocrats was fundamentally different in nature from the peasant uprisings.

The downfall of the Chin Dynasty was the result of intensified contradictions between the feudal rulers and the broad masses of the people. The revolt led by Chen Sheng and Wu Kuang was a revolutionary

* Wang Fu-chih (1619-92) was a famous thinker in the Ming and Ching Dynasties who systematically developed the primitive materialist thought of ancient China.

** Tan Szu-tung (1865-98) was a radical among the bourgeois reformists towards the end of the Ching Dynasty and an outstanding champion opposing the official ruling thought — idealist Neo-Confucianism.

struggle against the feudal exploiters and this led to the downfall of the Chin Dynasty. Thus, it was overthrown by the peasant revolution. Chang Chieh and his like, however, arbitrarily linked "burning books and burying Confucian scholars alive" with the revolt of Chen Sheng and Wu Kuang and with the destruction of the Chin Dynasty by Liu Pang and Hsiang Yu and affirmed their cause and effect relationship. In doing so, they were merely stretching a point to confuse right and wrong in history.

As to the historical incident of "burning books and burying Confucian scholars alive," we should today analyse it by means of historical materialism, sift the essence from the superficial phenomena of history and reveal the true features of history.

However, the bourgeois careerist, conspirator, counter-revolutionary double-dealer, renegade and traitor Lin Piao and his sworn followers cursed Chin Shih Huang for "burning books and burying Confucian scholars alive" and recited Chang Chieh's poem *Book-Burning Pits* to viciously attack our great Party and the socialist system under the dictatorship of the proletariat. They sympathized with reactionary forces in history such as Chunyu Yueh, Hou and the Confucian scholars who were buried alive, negated Chin Shih Huang's progressive measures of "laying more stress on the present than on the past," distorted history and turned things upside down in an attempt to reverse the advance of society. This is strong proof that they were out-and-out historical idealists. In view of their counter-revolutionary revisionist line and their criminal actions in betraying the Party and the country, their sinister aim in distorting history by means of the idealist conception of history and creating counter-revolutionary public opinion was to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism.

Chairman Mao has taught us: "Classes struggle, some classes triumph, others are eliminated. Such is history, such is the history of civilization for thousands of years." In the past, Chunyu Yueh and his kind represented the remnant forces of the decadent slave-owning aristocrats in history to oppose the unification of the Chin Dynasty and the feudal system in their efforts to restore the slave system. Representing the bourgeoisie and the interests of the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists, the Lin Piao anti-Party clique opposed today the dictatorship of the proletariat in its efforts to restore the "paradise" of the landlord class and the bourgeoisie. But all reactionaries going against the historical tide are short-lived. The plot for a restoration by Chunyu Yueh and his like was long ago crushed in the class struggle during the last years of the Chin and early years of the Han Dynasties. The plot for a restoration by the Lin Piao anti-Party clique was also smashed by the iron hammer of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the current class struggle. This is the law of history independent of the reactionaries' will.

ROUND THE WORLD

EUROPEAN VISIT

Cambodian Delegation in Yugoslavia and Romania

Invited by the Yugoslav Federal Executive Council and the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania, 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 head and Special Adviser to the Office of the Deputy Prime Minister of the R.G.N.U.C. Ieng Sary as deputy head, recently paid friendly visits to both countries.

During its stay in Yugoslavia from April 26 to 29, the delegation was warmly welcomed by Dzemal Bijedic, President of the Yugoslav Federal Executive Council, Peko Dapcevic, Vice-President of the Federal Assembly, and Belgrade citizens. Yugoslav President Josip Broz Tito received all members of the delegation on April 26. A joint communique was issued in Belgrade on April 29 by the Delegation of the National United Front of Cambodia and the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia and the Yugoslav Government Delegation following their official talks.

The communique reaffirmed that the two sides were resolved to continue their active struggle for peace and progress and the strengthening of international co-operation on the basis of equality.

The Cambodian delegation made an official friendship visit to Romania from April 29 to May 2. It was received on April 30 by Nicolae Ceausescu, General Secretary of the Romanian Communist Party and

Romanian President. A meeting was held by the "August 23" Plant in Bucharest to warmly welcome the distinguished Cambodian guests. A joint communique was published on May 2 at the end of formal talks between the Romanian delegation and the Cambodian delegation.

The communique expressed firm belief in the final victory of the heroic Cambodian people, warmly welcomed the great victory of the Vietnamese and Lao peoples and emphasized the role of the small and medium-sized countries in the settlement of current important problems.

MAY DAY

Worker Rallies in Various Countries

Vietnamese, Albanian, Korean and Romanian Party and government leaders joined the labouring masses last week in joyously celebrating May 1, International Labour Day. Workers and masses in other walks of life in many Asian, African and Latin American countries held rallies and parades to mark the occasion. Workers in West European countries and other capitalist countries staged demonstrations and strikes on May 1 against inflation and price rises.

May Day Celebrations. A grand mass meeting was held at Ba Dinh Hall in Hanoi, Viet Nam, on the evening of April 30 to celebrate International Labour Day. Ton Duc Thang, Le Duan, Truong Chinh, Pham Van Dong and other Vietnamese Party and government leaders attended the meeting. Hoang Quoc Viet, President of the Viet Nam General Federation of Trade Unions, spoke at the meeting, calling on the entire Vietnamese working people to strive for the all-round overfulfillment of the 1974 state plan.

A gigantic mass parade took place in Tirana, Albania, on May Day. The parade was reviewed by Enver

Hoxha, Haxhi Lleshi, Mehmet Shehu and other Albanian Party and government leaders. Rita Marko, Chairman of the Central Council of Albanian Trade Unions, spoke on the occasion. He concluded his speech by calling on all Albanian workers to rally closely round the Party of Labour, further mobilize and always be vigilant, defend the victorious fruits of the revolution and greet the 30th anniversary of the liberation of the motherland with great achievements.

May Day saw the national flags of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea fluttering on the streets of Pyongyang and streamers and posters strung on its many buildings with "Long live May Day—the international festival of the workers all over the world!" "Drive out U.S. imperialism and reunify the fatherland!" and other slogans. The working people poured into stadiums, parks and other places in the city which was filled with a joyous festive atmosphere. There was an evening party in Kim Il Sung Square on May Day to mark the occasion.

The working people of Bucharest, Romania, held a rally on May Day to celebrate the occasion. Attending the rally were Nicolae Ceausescu, General Secretary of the Romanian Communist Party and President of the Socialist Republic of Romania and other Party and government leaders. Mihai Dales, Alternate Member of the Executive Committee of the Party Central Committee and Chairman of the Central Council of the General Trade Union Confederation of Romania, spoke at the rally. He said that in responding to the Party's call with actual deeds, the Romanian workers, peasants and intellectuals had made remarkable achievements in the first three years of the Five-Year Plan period, and that a patriotic emulation drive to fulfil the Five-Year Plan ahead of schedule was now in full swing throughout the country.

Rallies and Parades. Workers in Algeria, Tanzania, the People's Republic of the Congo and many other African countries as well as Asian countries held rallies and parades on

May Day. Egyptian and Syrian leaders stressed at mass rallies the need to recover lost territories. Addressing the mass rally on behalf of President Hafiz Assad, Abdul Ahmer, Assistant Secretary-General of the Syrian Arab Baath Socialist Party, said: "The continuous battles on the Golan Heights and on the peaks of Sheikh Mountain show the firm determination and resolution of our people to recover their usurped rights and liberate their occupied lands, regardless of sacrifices and no matter how long the battle lasts." Speaking at a May Day rally in the industrial city of Helwan, Egyptian President Anwar Sadat said: "Events proved beyond any doubt that only a battle could facilitate a change in the situation." He reiterated: "What has been taken by force will only be restored by force and the state of no war, no peace cannot be allowed to continue."

Workers and other labouring people in many Latin American countries had rallies and parades to celebrate May Day. They expressed their determination to close ranks, defend their vital interests and safeguard their state sovereignty and natural resources. About one million workers and people from other walks of life paraded in Mexico City. They carried placards inscribed with slogans such as "Trans-national enterprises are agents of imperialism!" "Foreign companies not allowed to intervene in Mexico's political life!" and "Trans-national enterprises which suck the blood of our people should be nationalized!" In Panama City, more than 2,000 people held a meeting and a parade. Worker, peasant and student participants expressed their desire to recover Panama's sovereignty over the Canal Zone and to defend their vital interests. Addressing a mass rally, an Ecuadorian trade union leader said that Ecuadorian workers would accept neither Soviet social-imperialism nor American imperialism in Ecuador.

Demonstrations and Strikes. Workers in West European countries staged demonstrations and strikes on May Day. Demonstrators in France, the Federal Republic of Germany and Sweden held aloft banners and posters with slogans opposing the two

hegemonic powers, the United States and the Soviet Union.

British workers held demonstrations, protesting against price rises and demanding higher pay. Seven thousand dockers in Liverpool stopped work, leaving some 50 ships idle.

Tens of thousands of the French labouring people went into the streets in Paris. The demonstrators repeatedly sang *The Internationale* in different languages. The banners they carried were inscribed with slogans "Proletarians of all countries, oppressed peoples and nations, unite!" "The Commune is not dead!" "Down with U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism!" "Social-imperialism, the principal danger in Europe!"



"NUOVA UNITA" (ITALY)

More Acute Soviet-U.S. Contention for World Hegemony

The intensified contention between the two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States, for world domination camouflaged as "peace" and "detente" was recently exposed by *Nuova Unità*, organ of the Communist Party of Italy (Marxist-Leninist).

An article in the paper said that the two superpowers make inroads into the Mediterranean and the Middle East and "push their way into the traditional spheres of influence of European colonialism. Once again, they are locked in rivalry for complete control of this region on the basis of military power."

The article underlined the contention for domination of Europe between the Soviet Union and the United States. "The rivalry between the two superpowers for world domination has become steadily more acute. Each of them seeks to strengthen control over its own spheres of influence. The Soviet Union has stationed more troops in Eastern Europe, stepped up

There were mammoth rallies and demonstrations held in Lisbon by more than 300,000 Portuguese workers and other labouring people who had won the right to celebrate International Labour Day for the first time in nearly half a century. They hailed the collapse of the Marcello Caetano dictatorial government and demanded better working and living conditions for the workers and an end to the Portuguese colonial war in Africa. Some of the banners and placards carried by the demonstrators read: "Long live the Angola and Mozambique liberation movements!"

More than seven million Japanese workers in Tokyo and 20 other prefectures alone took part in rallies. After a rally, the workers staged a

military manoeuvres and sent more special agents to penetrate the state apparatus of its 'fraternal' allies." Some time ago the Soviet representative in Helsinki openly propagated the "theory of limited sovereignty" and "claimed the 'right' to interfere in such incidents as the Czechoslovak affair. Obviously, social-imperialism wants to make sure that the East European countries put their financial and human resources at the service of its criminal designs for world domination."

The United States also resorts to various means, the article noted, to bring other governments to submission and to strengthen its control of Western Europe.

The article said: "While chattering continuously about 'peace' and 'detente,' the United States and the Soviet Union go on increasing their nuclear arms stocks and refuse to make any commitment not to be the first to use the atomic bomb." "Facts have demonstrated the hypocrisy of the propaganda of 'peace' and 'detente.' In reality, imperialism's internal contradictions and conflicts have become more and more acute and war preparations are continuing at an accelerated pace."

demonstration in downtown Tokyo, holding aloft numerous placards and banners reading "Oppose inflation and rising price!" "Restore the right to strike!" "Smash the 'Yasukuni Shrine Bill!'" and "Oppose the revival of militarism!"

CASTRIES

Caribbean Community Membership Grows

The Caribbean Community (Caricom) and Common Market was initiated and founded by four independent Caribbean countries — Barbados, Guyana, Jamaica, and Trinidad and Tobago — on August 1, 1973. On April 17 this year, representatives of six new members, newly independent Grenada and five Caribbean territories — Belize, Dominica, Montserrat, St. Vincent and St. Lucia — signed the Caribbean Community Treaty. They became official members of the Caribbean

Community and Common Market on May 1.

The signing ceremony was held in Castries, capital of St. Lucia. Caricom leaders at the ceremony underlined the significance of unity for the Caribbean integration movement.

A Caricom statement issued after the ceremony said the community will maintain the closest possible economic ties with St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla until the latter attains full membership. The Bahamas and Antigua also favoured the principle of Caribbean integration.

The growth of Caricom membership reflects the common aspirations of the developing countries and territories in the Caribbean to unite to expand regional economic co-operation and promote national economic development and oppose colonialism and neo-colonialism.



(Continued from p. 21.)

in 1966, but the dam was wrecked by a flood when the work was nearly completed.

The class enemies gloated over this incident and spread superstitions such as: "How dare you harm the Dragon King! You're simply asking for trouble!" Turning a deaf ear to this trash, we and the poor and lower-middle peasants, spurred on by the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, repaired the dam before the rainy season in spring 1969. We finally conquered the "Dragon King" after overcoming many difficulties. We built a reservoir with a storage capacity of 200,000 cubic metres, thereby turning the floodwaters which once wreaked havoc into something beneficial. We had a bumper grain harvest that year. Total output was 5 times that of 1966. The dam has been reinforced and built higher each year and production conditions have steadily improved.

After flooding was put under control, we accumulated fertilizer and ameliorated the soil together with the poor and lower-middle peasants, and tested and popularized good seed strains. Grain output has increased every year. Total 1973 output was double that of 1968. As a result of the development of production in the last few years, we have bought tractors, diesel engines, rice milling machines and transplanter, crushers, threshers and other machines.

We also have set up sugar, oil and rice mills. In addition, we produce phosphate fertilizer from local materials. The 8 hectares of tea-oil trees and the 2,000 orange and tangerine trees we and the peas-

ants planted have borne rich fruit. We are glad we have contributed to the improvement of agricultural techniques. Whenever we recall our experience in the last few years, we are proud to have played a part in building a socialist new countryside. At the same time, we have a deeper understanding of the great significance that it is labour that creates the world. We love the working people more than before and our determination to make revolution in the countryside grows stronger. It is necessary for the educated youth to be tempered in the countryside and they are indispensable in building up the countryside.

Being officials after attending school was correct, while doing farm work after attending school was the wrong way — this was the code of the exploiting classes for thousands of years. We revolutionary educated youth must oppose this traditional conception and we must go against the feudal, bourgeois and revisionist tide. The reactionary classes placed their restoration hope on the younger generation, but their hope was smashed to smithereens by millions of educated youth settling in the countryside. We will not be tempted by the Confucian concept that "he who excels in learning can be an official," nor will we be moved by Lin Piao's slander that the educated youth going to the countryside is "reform through forced labour in a disguised form." In the struggle to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, we have come to see more clearly the ultra-Rightist nature of Lin Piao's counter-revolutionary revisionist line. Recently, we planted a pine symbolizing our determination to remain in the countryside and work for the revolution all our lives.

Booklet in English

Speech by Chairman of the
Delegation of the
People's Republic of China,
Teng Hsiao-ping, at the
Special Session of the U.N.
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