

PEKING REVIEW

50

December 13, 1974

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**Strategically Despise the Enemy,
Tactically Take Him Seriously**

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**Chin Shih Huang — The First
Ruler to Unify China**

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South African Racist Regime's Futile Struggle

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Greetings to New Central Committee of the Communist Party Of Romania Headed by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu

The Central Committee of the Communist Party
of Romania

Dear Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu:

We are glad to learn that the 11th Congress of the Communist Party of Romania has concluded triumphantly with the election of a new central committee and that Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu has been re-elected General Secretary of the Communist Party of Romania. We would like to extend our warmest greetings to you and the new Central Committee of the Communist Party of Romania.

May the heroic Romanian people led by the Communist Party of Romania headed by Comrade Ceausescu achieve new and greater victories in the implementation of all the fighting tasks put forth by the 11th Congress of the Communist Party of Romania and in the struggle for socialist construction and against imperialism and hegemonism.

The Central Committee of the
Communist Party of China

December 3, 1974

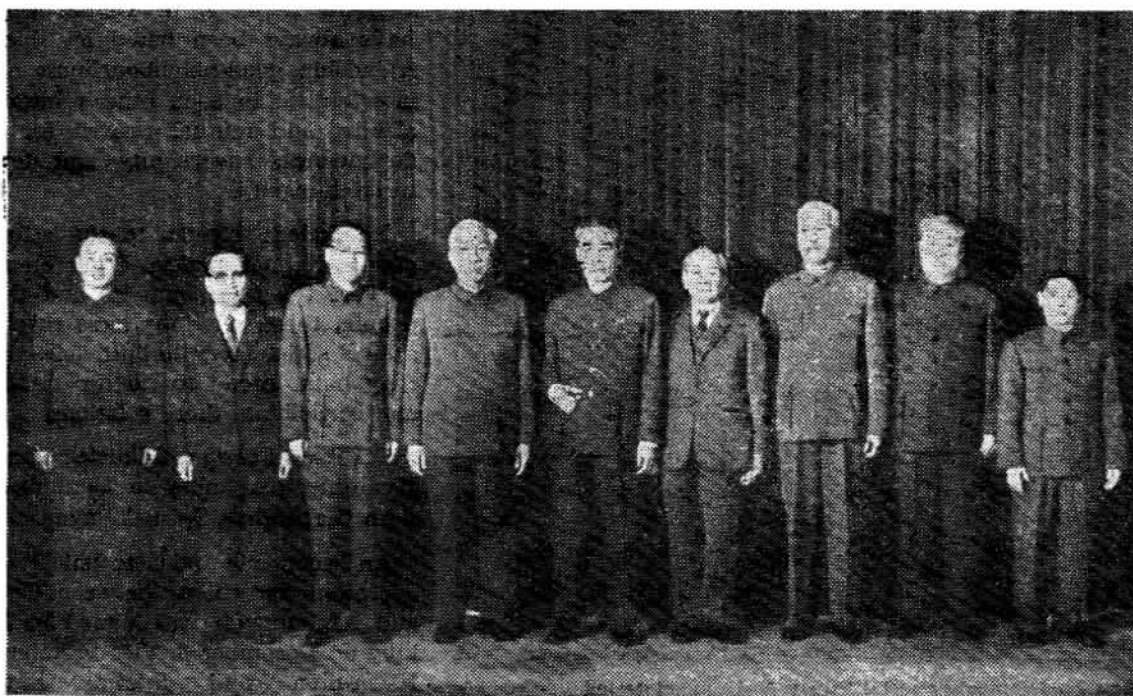
Comrade Chou En-lai Meets Comrades Le Duc Tho and Xuan Thuy

Chou En-lai, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Premier of the State Council, met in a hospital on December 5 with Le Duc Tho, Mem-

ber of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party, and Xuan Thuy, Member of the Central Committee and Member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the V.N.W.P. Present on the occasion was Comrade Chi Teng-kuei, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Commit-

tee of the Communist Party of China. The Vietnamese comrades stopped over in Peking en route back home.

Comrade Chi Teng-kuei gave a banquet the next day in honour of Comrades Le Duc Tho, Xuan Thuy and Tran Huu Duc, Member of the Central Committee of the V.N.W.P. and Vice-Premier of the Government



Comrade Chou En-lai
with Comrades Le
Duc Tho and Xuan
Thuy.

of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. Comrade Tran Huu Duc and his party arrived in Peking on December 6.

Afghan Special Envoy Naim Visits China

Mohammad Naim, Special Envoy of President of the Republic of Afghanistan Mohammed Daoud, and his party arrived in Peking on December 6 for a friendly visit to China.

Premier Chou En-lai met in a hospital on December 7 with Special Envoy Naim and Deputy Foreign Minister Sayed Waheed Abdullah accompanying him on the visit. Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien and Foreign Minister Chiao Kuan-hua were at the meeting.

Vice-Premier Li met and feted Special Envoy Naim and the other distinguished Afghan guests the same day.

Addressing the banquet, the Vice-Premier spoke highly of the Afghan people who have a glorious tradition of combating imperialism and colonialism. He said that, to safeguard their independence, the Afghan people for a century had

fought heroically against the colonialists, thereby winning the respect of the people of all countries. Pursuing a policy of peace, neutrality and non-alignment, he added, the Government of Afghanistan has made its contribution to the struggle against imperialism and colonialism.

Dwelling on the present world situation, the Vice-Premier stated: The superpowers' contention is the source of world tensions as well as the intranquillity in the South Asian region. The so-called "detente" they are playing up is sheer deception. He continued: The people of the South Asian countries have been heightening their vigilance against the wild ambitions of the superpowers. They want to be free from foreign interference, treat each other as equals, live in friendship and seek a settlement of the issues between their countries through peaceful consultation. Any superpower scheme to sow discord and fish in troubled waters by exploiting the issues between South Asian countries is doomed to fail.

Vice-Premier Li also referred to the friendship between China and Afghanistan. He said: President Mohammed Daoud has on several occasions expressed the wish to

strengthen the friendship between Afghanistan and China. The Chinese Government and people likewise attach great importance to developing friendly relations with Afghanistan. He expressed the conviction that, through the joint efforts of the two Governments and peoples, the friendship between the Chinese and Afghan peoples will grow stronger and develop further.

In his speech, Special Envoy Naim said he had come on another visit to China to exchange views on questions of common concern, especially on relations and sincere and effective co-operation between the two countries.

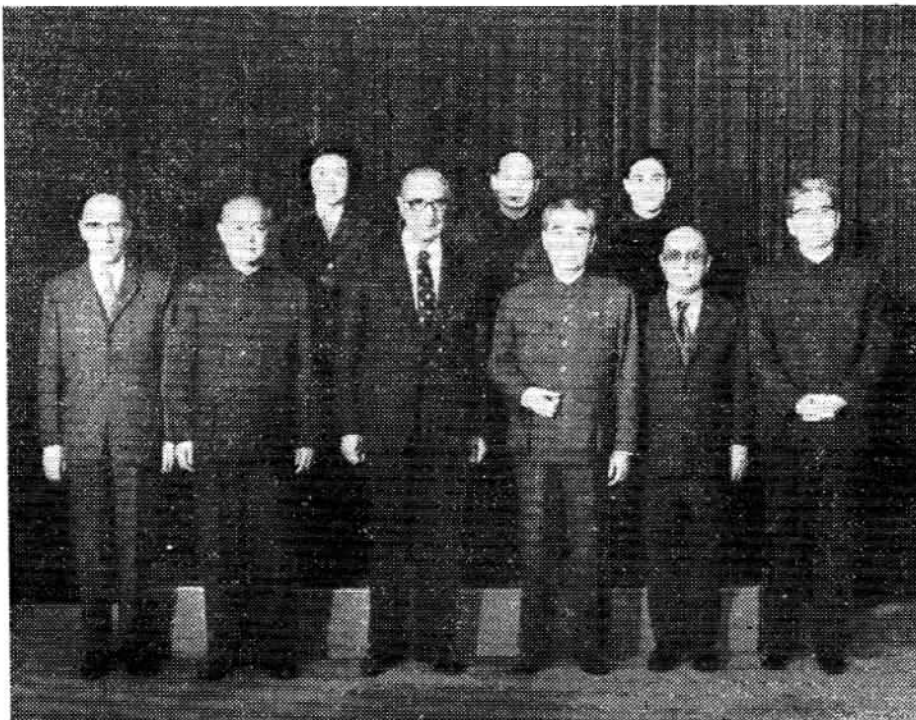
He said: Profound changes have taken place in the world in recent years. Countries subjected to foreign oppression, bullying and rule for centuries have awakened and are building a new life to ensure their national development, prosperity and dignity. An irresistible trend has emerged towards independence, freedom and full enjoyment of sovereign rights which are being used for the progress and prosperity of the people.

He expressed his elation at the friendly relations and fruitful co-operation between Afghanistan and China. He said: We attach great significance to our relations with the People's Republic of China, which have always been based on sincere friendship, good-neighbourliness, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, and mutual respect for independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity.

He added: Thanks to the efforts, good will and mutual trust on the part of the two countries and their people, these relations have reached a level satisfactory to both sides, and they both intend to further develop and consolidate these relations.

Chinese Foreign Minister Chiao Kuan-hua had talks on December 7 with the Afghan Special Envoy.

An economic and technical co-operation agreement between China and Afghanistan was signed in Peking on December 8. Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien and Special Envoy



Premier Chou En-lai meets Special Envoy Mohammad Naim.

Mohammad Naim attended the signing ceremony.

Daisaku Ikeda in Peking

On December 5, Premier Chou En-lai met in a Peking hospital with Daisaku Ikeda, President of the Japanese organization Sokagakkai, his wife Kaneko Ikeda and all members of the Second Japanese Sokagakkai Delegation led by him, with Vice-President Hisami Yamasaki as deputy leader and Minoru Harada as secretary-general.

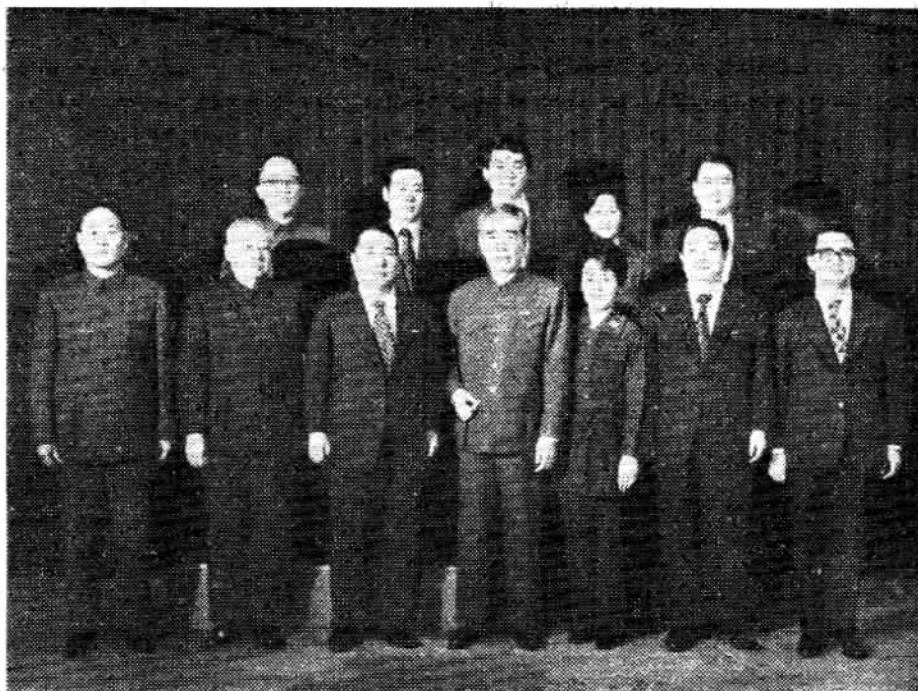
Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping also met the Japanese guests that day.

While in Peking, President Daisaku Ikeda presented 5,000 volumes of books to Peking University. Among them are reference books, theoretical works on the natural and social sciences, and engineering and technical books.

A grand book-presentation ceremony was held at the university on December 3. Liao Cheng-chih, President of the China-Japan Friendship Association, leading members of organizations concerned, and Peking University professors as well as more than 100 representatives of the worker-peasant-soldier students there attended.

Addressing the ceremony, President Ikeda expressed the hope that the books would help the students in their studies while serving as a tie of peace and friendship between China and Japan. He said Japan must uphold its friendly relations with China and that Japanese youth must work hard together with China's youth to build a bright world.

Expressing his heartfelt thanks in his speech, Wang Lien-lung, Chairman of the Peking University Revolutionary Committee, said: There is a history of more than two thousand years of friendly contacts and cultural exchanges between the people of China and Japan. By presenting the books, President Daisaku Ikeda is writing a new page in the annals of the long-standing friendly and cultural exchanges between the Chinese and Japanese people. Together with the people of the whole country, he said, the teachers and students of



Premier Chou En-lai meets Daisaku Ikeda.

Peking University would make positive efforts to further develop the friendship and cultural exchanges between the two peoples.

Capital Construction on the Farmland

Shensi, Kansu and Chinghai Provinces and the Ningsia Hui Autonomous Region in northwest China and Liaoning, Kirin and Heilungkiang Provinces in the northeast are busy carrying out capital construction on the farmland during the current slack winter season. Striking scenes of people working with picks and shovels at the work-sites, vehicles shuttling back and forth and the distant smoke of dynamite can be seen. Braving biting cold, rural cadres and commune members are levelling the fields, terracing hill slopes, deep-ploughing and improving the land, digging or repairing irrigation channels, sinking power-operated wells and building other water conservancy works.

The movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius has further increased the enthusiasm of rural cadres and commune members to speed up socialist construction. Capital construction was generally not carried out in the icy wintry months because the

land was frozen hard in the northeast and the practice was to "suspend work in winter." After the criticism of Lin Piao's revisionist line and the refutation of the fallacy that "everything is decided by heaven" spread by Confucius and Mencius, the commune members have further done away with the thinking that they were "at the mercy of nature." Instead of "suspending work in winter," they have made the Tachai Production Brigade, the national pace-setter in agriculture, their example and are turning the "slack winter season" into the "busy winter season," building water conservancy works in preparation for another rich harvest next year.

The special feature of capital construction on the farmland this year is that work has started early and is being done well at high speed and on a large scale.

In Shensi Province capital construction began soon after the autumn harvest and planting. With manpower rationally arranged, the province had by mid-November terraced 20,000 hectares of land, levelled 22,500 hectares, deep-ploughed and ameliorated nearly 200,000 hectares and sunk 1,540 power-operated wells

(Continued on p. 22.)

Strategically Despise the Enemy, Tactically Take Him Seriously

by Yen Feng

HOW to understand the essence of revolutionary forces and that of reactionary forces and build our correct strategic and tactical thinking is a question which a proletarian party must solve in leading revolutionary struggles.

By integrating Marxist theory with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution, our great leader Chairman Mao has summed up a very important principle from the prolonged struggle against the enemy, that is, strategically despising the enemy and tactically taking him seriously. In 1957 when Chairman Mao spoke about the famous thesis that **all reactionaries are paper tigers** (*Talk With the American Correspondent Anna Louise Strong*), he profoundly elaborated on this idea: "Over a long period we have developed this concept for the struggle against the enemy: strategically we should despise all our enemies, but tactically we should take them all seriously. This also means that we must despise the enemy with respect to the whole, but that we must take him seriously with respect to each and every concrete question. If we do not despise the enemy with respect to the whole, we shall be committing the error of opportunism. Marx and Engels were only two individuals, and yet in those early days they already declared that capitalism would be overthrown throughout the world. But in dealing with concrete problems and particular enemies we shall be committing the error of adventurism unless we take them seriously." (Speech at the Moscow Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, November 18, 1957.)

Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, the Chinese people have followed this great strategic and tactical thinking for several decades; with regard to the whole, they have dared to struggle and win victories; with respect to each and every part, they have been adept at waging struggles and they have paid special attention to the art of struggle. Consequently they were able to defeat strong enemies at home and abroad and won victory in the democratic revolution. In the wake of this victory they carried out deep-going socialist revolution on the economic and the political and ideological fronts, transformed the old economic base and the superstructure, thereby turning the dark semi-colonial and semi-feudal old China into a radiant socialist new China.

Born in the Course of Struggle Against Opportunism

"Correct political and military lines do not emerge and develop spontaneously and tranquilly, but only in

the course of struggle." (Mao Tsetung: *Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War*.) The Marxist strategic and tactical thinking — strategically despising the enemy and tactically taking him seriously — also takes shape and develops in the course of struggle against all sorts of opportunism.

Opportunists in the Party are lackeys of the bourgeoisie and they are scared to death by the class enemy's temporary and superficial power. Strategically, they always exaggerate the enemy's strength, lightly regard the people's strength and dare not struggle and win. They even give to the enemy with both hands the fruit of victory already won. Precisely as Lenin pointed out: "The opportunists were afraid of victory, were frightening the proletariat away from it, were predicting that trouble would come of it, were ridiculing the slogans that straightforwardly called for it." (*Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution*.) Tactically they often do not take the enemy seriously and act recklessly, causing losses to the revolution. This was so with the chieftains of opportunism in the Second International and the modern revisionists, as it is with the opportunist chieftains in our Party. At crucial junctures in the Chinese revolution, the renegade and traitor Lin Piao over and over revealed his ugly Right opportunist features.

As early as the beginning of the Second Revolutionary Civil War (1927-37) when the Chinese revolution was temporarily at an ebb, Lin Piao, taking the stand of the bourgeoisie and proceeding from his idealist reactionary world outlook, became pessimistic and dependent with regard to the revolution's future. He underestimated the subjective forces of the revolution, overestimated the forces of counter-revolution, lost faith in the possibility that there would soon be a high tide of revolution and raised the question of "how long can we keep the Red Flag flying." Countering Lin Piao's mistakes, Chairman Mao wrote the letter *A Single Spark Can Start a Prairie Fire* (See *Selected Works of Mao Tsetung, Vol. I*) and severely criticized Lin Piao's Right opportunist views. In this letter, Chairman Mao comprehensively examined the development of the various contradictions leading to a revolutionary high tide, scientifically analysed the existing situation and the balance of forces between ourselves and the enemy, and pointed out that the domestic situation showed that it was actually the time when the counter-revolutionary tide had begun to ebb and the revolutionary tide to rise again and that a revolutionary high tide was imminent. Chairman Mao vividly described the revolutionary high

tide in the following words: **It is like a ship far out at sea whose mast-head can already be seen from the shore; it is like the morning sun in the east whose shimmering rays are visible from a high mountain top; it is like a child about to be born moving restlessly in its mother's womb.** Chairman Mao's correct appraisal of the revolutionary situation tremendously inspired the revolutionary fighting will of the Party members and the masses.

To counter the theory of "national subjugation" and the theory of "quick victory" which caused a big hullabaloo for a while in and outside the Party during the period of the War of Resistance Against Japan (1937-45), Chairman Mao pointed out: **"In the eyes of the subjugationists the enemy are supermen and we Chinese are worthless, while in the eyes of the theorists of quick victory we Chinese are supermen and the enemy are worthless. Both are wrong."** (*On Protracted War.*) Basing himself on an overall analysis of the relative strength of the enemy and ourselves, Chairman Mao pointed out that the War of Resistance Against Japan was a "protracted war" and that **the final victory will go to China and not to Japan.** (*On Protracted War.*) He also formulated the correct line of boldly mobilizing the masses, expanding the people's forces, and defeating the aggressors and building a new China under our Party's leadership. In concert with what Wang Ming had advocated, Lin Piao stubbornly clung to his Right opportunist stand, opposed Chairman Mao's correct line and principles of conducting the war, and did not believe that under our Party's leadership the people of the whole country could defeat the Japanese invaders. Instead, he placed his hopes on the Kuomintang reactionaries, openly advocated class capitulationism and shamelessly extolled Chiang Kai-shek.

Lin Piao's Right opportunist features were exposed even more clearly in the Third Revolutionary Civil War (1945-49). Immediately after the victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan, Chairman Mao wisely pointed out: **"The new situation and task is domestic struggle. Chiang Kai-shek talks about 'building the country.' From now on the struggle will be, build what sort of country?"** (*The Situation and Our Policy After the Victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan.*) At that time two destinies and two futures confronted China: To unite the people of the whole country under the leadership of Chairman Mao and the Communist Party and build a new-democratic country of the broad masses of the people under the leadership of the proletariat, or to let Chiang Kai-shek usurp the fruits of victory of the War of Resistance Against Japan, launch a civil war, crush the Chinese revolution and build a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country under the dictatorship of the big landlords and the big bourgeoisie. At the crucial time of the decisive battle between these two destinies, Chairman Mao, showing his great mettle as a proletarian revolutionary, called on the entire Party and the people of the whole country to despise the Kuomintang reactionaries who had the support of U.S. imperialism and were outwardly strong, and adopt the

principle of **giving tit for tat and fighting for every inch of land in dealing with Chiang Kai-shek who tried to "wrest every ounce of power and every ounce of gain."**

After a profound analysis of the international and domestic situation at that time, Chairman Mao pointed out that **"Chiang Kai-shek's superiority in military forces was only transient, a factor which could play only a temporary role, that U.S. imperialist aid was likewise a factor which could play only a temporary role, while the anti-popular character of Chiang Kai-shek's war and the feelings of the people were factors that would play a constant role, and that in this respect the People's Liberation Army was in a superior position."** (*The Present Situation and Our Tasks.*) Therefore, **"we not only must defeat him [Chiang Kai-shek] but can defeat him."** (*The Present Situation and Our Tasks.*) Chairman Mao also warned the whole Party: **"We should rid our ranks of all impotent thinking. All views that overestimate the strength of the enemy and underestimate the strength of the people are wrong."** (*The Present Situation and Our Tasks.*)

But Lin Piao closely followed the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-chi's capitulationist line advocating a "new stage of peace and democracy." He dared not use revolutionary war to oppose counter-revolutionary war or conduct big battles of annihilation on an unprecedented scale; instead, he clamoured that he wanted to "co-operate with the Kuomintang in the northeast." When Chairman Mao decided with fortitude to fight the strategically decisive battle with the Kuomintang troops first in the northeast and launched the Liaohsi-Shenyang Campaign in 1948, Lin Piao jumped forth again and did all he could to oppose and sabotage Chairman Mao's great strategic decision. (See "Victory of Chairman Mao's Concept of Strategy—Notes on studying *The Concept of Operations for the Liaohsi-Shenyang Campaign*," *Peking Review*, No. 46, 1972.) Chairman Mao criticized Lin Piao's Right opportunist line in time and gave it tit for tat. Guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, the whole Party, the entire army and the people of the whole country were armed with the thinking of strategically despising the enemy and tactically taking him seriously and soon won the victories in the war of liberation in the northeast and all over the country.

The People Will Certainly Defeat the Reactionaries

The differences between the Marxists and the opportunists on the question of strategic thinking reflect the struggle between the two world outlooks of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. The proletariat's thinking of strategically despising the enemy is based on the scientific world outlook of dialectical and historical materialism and is derived from a correct understanding of the objective law of historical development. Chairman Mao has said: **"Communists the world over are wiser than the bourgeoisie, they understand the laws governing the existence and development of things, they understand dialectics and they can see farther."** (*On the People's Democratic Dictatorship.*) The dialectics of proletarian revolutionary theory and of proletarian

strategic and tactical thinking correctly reflect the laws inherent in the objective world.

Chairman Mao has said: **"The supersession of the old by the new is a general, eternal and inviolable law of the universe."** (*On Contradiction.*) Things which appear to be weak but which are growing will surely defeat those which are outwardly strong but which have become decadent. The entire history of human society advances according to this law. All revolutionary forces representing the advanced relations of production will always defeat the reactionary forces representing the backward relations of production. Precisely as Chairman Mao has pointed out: **"In past history, before they won state power and for some time afterwards, the slave-owning class, the feudal landlord class and the bourgeoisie were vigorous, revolutionary and progressive; they were real tigers. But with the lapse of time, because their opposites—the slave class, the peasant class and the proletariat—grew in strength step by step, struggled against them and became more and more formidable, these ruling classes changed step by step into the reverse, changed into reactionaries, changed into backward people, changed into paper tigers. And eventually they were overthrown, or will be overthrown, by the people."** (Explanatory note to *Talk With the American Correspondent Anna Louise Strong.*)

Therefore, the replacement of the declining slave-owning class by the newly emerging landlord class, the declining feudal landlord class by the newly rising bourgeoisie and the decadent and declining bourgeoisie by the proletariat is the inevitable result of historical development. The proletariat shoulders the historical mission of finally burying the exploiting systems. No matter how difficult and tortuous its road of progress is and no matter how big the price it has to pay in the course of struggle, it will certainly defeat the bourgeoisie and replace the decadent capitalist system with the advanced socialist system. Without exception, all exploiting classes will certainly be transformed into reactionaries and paper tigers and eventually be overthrown because they are divorced from and opposed to the people and their class interests stand opposed to those of the people.

Time and again Chairman Mao has taught us that we should grasp the essence in examining a question and should not be misled by temporary superficial phenomena. Outwardly, the reactionaries at certain times may seem to be fairly "powerful" and look terrifying, but in fact they are not so powerful. From a long-term point of view, it is the revolutionary people who are really powerful. Through indomitable and prolonged struggle, the people will surely defeat all the reactionaries at home and abroad. The people are the motive force in the making of history. Chairman Mao's thinking of despising the enemy strategically is based on the historical materialist concept of having full faith in the people's great creative power. This has enhanced the morale of the people and deflated the arrogance of the enemy and helped the revolutionary people build

up their confidence and determination in overcoming all class enemies.

Pay Special Attention to the Art of Struggle

When we say that imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers and that we must despise them strategically and with regard to the whole, this does not at all mean that tactically and with regard to each enemy and each specific struggle (military, political, economic or ideological) we should not take them seriously. This is because strategically despising the enemy and tactically taking him seriously are a unity of opposites. Without tactically taking the enemy seriously and being adept at waging struggle, the proletariat is still unable to win victory in the revolution even if it grasps the thinking of strategically despising the enemy and daring to struggle.

Chairman Mao has said: **"Just as there is not a single thing in the world without a dual nature (this is the law of the unity of opposites), so imperialism and all reactionaries have a dual nature—they are real tigers and paper tigers at the same time."** (Explanatory note to *Talk With the American Correspondent Anna Louise Strong.*) The reactionaries are real tigers in the sense that they temporarily still have strength; holding swords in their hands and armed to the teeth, they carry out last-ditch struggles to safeguard the interests of the reactionary classes and devour people by the millions and tens of millions. Therefore, in their life-and-death struggle against the reactionaries, the revolutionary people must be prudent and pay special attention to the art of struggle tactically and with regard to methods, to each part and each specific struggle and adopt proper forms of struggle at different times, in different places and under different conditions, so as to isolate and wipe out the enemy step by step and turn the possibility of seizing revolutionary victory into reality. Otherwise, if we follow adventurism and act recklessly in our tactics, we will commit errors and endanger the revolution. Similarly, with regard to the new problems continuously emerging in socialist revolution and construction, we cannot achieve the expected success in struggle unless we seriously deal with the problems and, on the basis of investigation and study, solve them by adopting proper principles, policies, tactics and measures which conform with the objective reality.

The ten major principles of operation (see box on next page) formulated by Chairman Mao for our army during the War of Liberation are a paragon of the high integration in military affairs of strategically despising the enemy with tactically taking him seriously. On the one hand, Chairman Mao made a profound analysis of the political and military situation at that time and clearly told the whole Party and the entire army that Chiang Kai-shek must be and could certainly be defeated by us. This proletarian thinking of daring to struggle and to win permeates the ten major principles of operation. On the other hand, Chairman Mao also pointed out that Chiang Kai-shek, for the time

The Ten Major Principles of Operation

The ten major principles of operation are:

1. Attack dispersed, isolated enemy forces first; attack concentrated, strong enemy forces later.

2. Take small and medium cities and extensive rural areas first; take big cities later.

3. Make wiping out the enemy's effective strength our main objective; do not make holding or seizing a city or place our main objective. Holding or seizing a city or place is the outcome of wiping out the enemy's effective strength, and often a city or place can be held or seized for good only after it has changed hands a number of times.

4. In every battle, concentrate an absolutely superior force (two, three, four and sometimes even five or six times the enemy's strength), encircle the enemy forces completely, strive to wipe them out thoroughly and do not let any escape from the net. In special circumstances, use the method of dealing crushing blows to the enemy, that is, concentrate all our strength to make a frontal attack and also to attack one or both of his flanks, with the aim of wiping out one part and routing another so that our army can swiftly move its troops to smash other enemy forces. Strive to avoid battles of attrition in which we lose more than we gain or only break even. In this way, although we are inferior as a whole (in terms of numbers), we are absolutely superior in every part and every specific campaign, and this ensures victory in the campaign. As time goes on, we shall become superior as a whole and eventually wipe out all the enemy.

5. Fight no battle unprepared, fight no battle you are not sure of winning; make every effort to be well prepared for each battle, make every effort to ensure victory in the given set of conditions as between the enemy and ourselves.

6. Give full play to our style of fighting — courage in battle, no fear of sacrifice, no fear of fatigue, and continuous fighting (that is, fighting successive battles in a short time without rest).

7. Strive to wipe out the enemy through mobile warfare. At the same time, pay attention to the tactics of positional attack and capture enemy fortified points and cities.

8. With regard to attacking cities, resolutely seize all enemy fortified points and cities which are weakly defended. Seize at opportune moments all enemy fortified points and cities defended with moderate strength, provided circumstances permit. As for strongly defended enemy fortified points and cities, wait till conditions are ripe and then take them.

9. Replenish our strength with all the arms and most of the personnel captured from the enemy. Our army's main sources of manpower and materiel are at the front.

10. Make good use of the intervals between campaigns to rest, train and consolidate our troops. Periods of rest, training and consolidation should in general not be very long, and the enemy should so far as possible be permitted no breathing space.

(Mao Tsetung: *The Present Situation and Our Tasks*.)

being, still had certain military strength and that to wipe it out thoroughly we had to be prudent and carry out the correct strategic principle of concentrating a superior force and making wiping out the enemy's effective strength our main objective. The ten major principles of operation are also permeated with the thinking of **making every effort to be well prepared for each battle, making every effort to ensure victory in the given set of conditions as between the enemy and ourselves.** (*The Present Situation and Our Tasks*.)

All the chieftains of opportunism in the Party are idealists. Proceeding from the reactionary stand of upholding the interests of the bourgeoisie, they always stubbornly resist the law of historical development. Actually, they consider the capitalist system eternal and the bourgeoisie unconquerable. Therefore, strategically they always exaggerate the enemy's strength and fail to see the people's strength. This was the case with Lin Piao. And this was the class origin and ideological roots that accounted for Lin Piao's consistent

Right deviation and vacillation in stand, his fear of the enemy as if it were a tiger and his final degeneration into a renegade and traitor.

Perseverance in Struggle Will Surely Lead to Victory

The basic line of our Party tells us: In the historical period of socialism, there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, there is the danger of capitalist restoration and there is the threat of subversion and aggression by imperialism and social-imperialism. To win thorough victory in the struggle against restoration, we must also strategically despise the enemy and tactically take him seriously. That the socialist system will defeat the capitalist system is an inevitable trend of historical development and no force can hold it back.

There is no need to fear the aggressive and subversive activities by imperialism and social-imperialism, the sabotage and trouble-making by domestic class

enemies or the emergence of revisionism in the Party. They are all decadent forces. Their sabotage and trouble-making stem from the nature of the reactionary classes, and this does not indicate that they are strong but reveals their weakness. The inevitable result of their disruptive activities will be: lifting a rock only to drop it on their own feet. We firmly believe that the future is bright. Of course, as to the possible twists and reverses in the historical period of socialism, we must have a correct estimate, maintain high vigilance and be prepared ideologically for prolonged struggles. Guided by Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, we should conscientiously carry out the Party's policies, pay special attention to the art of struggle and solve all sorts of problems on our road of advance in a deep-going, meticulous and down-to-earth way.

We are engaged in the socialist cause never undertaken before by our predecessors and it is inevitable that we run up against difficulties. But **our difficulties can be overcome because we are new and rising forces and have a bright future.** (*Greet the New High Tide of the Chinese Revolution.*) Strategically, we must despise difficulties and not be blinded and deterred by them; tactically, we must take them seriously and overcome them one by one. That is to say, we should take a broad and long-term view and at the same time do things realistically; we need both a dauntless revolutionary spirit and a strict scientific approach. Only in this way can we follow Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, carry out the principles of **digging tunnels deep, storing grain everywhere, and never seeking hegemony and grasping revolution, promoting production and**

other work and preparedness against war, and continuously push forward socialist revolution and construction.

At present the world situation is excellent. Countries want independence, nations want liberation and the people want revolution—this has become an irresistible trend of history. To enhance the confidence and determination of the world's people in their struggle against imperialism and social-imperialism and promote the development of the proletarian revolution and the cause of national liberation, Chairman Mao has on many occasions expounded the concept of strategically despising the enemy, pointing out: **"A weak nation can defeat a strong, a small nation can defeat a big. The people of a small country can certainly defeat aggression by a big country, if only they dare to rise in struggle, dare to take up arms and grasp in their own hands the destiny of their country."** (*People of the World, Unite and Defeat the U.S. Aggressors and All Their Running Dogs!*) At the same time, Chairman Mao also has pointed out that in the course of struggle against imperialism it is necessary to adopt a correct line, pay special attention to the tactics of struggle and unite with all patriotic anti-imperialist forces that can be united with. As long as they properly integrate strategically despising the enemy with tactically taking him seriously and persevere in struggle, the revolutionary people of the world will certainly be able to defeat imperialism and social-imperialism.

(A slightly abridged translation of an article in "Hongqi," No. 11, 1974. Subheads are ours.)

Chin Shih Huang — The First Ruler To Unify China

by Chin Chung

CHIN Shih Huang* (259-210 B.C.) was the most outstanding political exponent of the rising landlord class in ancient China. He upheld the Legalist school and opposed the Confucian school, stressed the present more than the past and stood firmly for progress and against retrogression, carrying out a political line of change and reform. As the first ruler to unify China, he played an important progressive role in Chinese history. In the past 2,000 years, however, spokesmen of the reactionary ruling classes showered Chin Shih Huang with abuse. Lin Piao and his gang and the Soviet revisionist renegade clique also denounced him in their attack against China's dictatorship of the proletariat. The controversy over Chin Shih

Huang is not only a question of how to evaluate a historical character, but a manifestation of the political struggle between progress and retrogression. In the present epoch, it is, in the final analysis, a struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and their world outlook. Thus it is necessary to use Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought as the guide to make a correct evaluation of Chin Shih Huang on the basis of historical facts.

Chin Shih Huang's Historical Period

Chin Shih Huang lived in the latter part of the Warring States Period (475-221 B.C.), a time of great social changes. It was a period of transition from a feudal kingdom with independent ducal states to a unified feudal empire with centralized power, during which the remnants of the slave system were being

* Chin Shih Huang, or the First Emperor of Chin, was the title King Ying Cheng assumed after he had unified the country in 221 B.C.

further destroyed and the feudal system was being established and developed all over the country.

It was during this period that the *ching tien* (nine squares) land system of the slave society was gradually disintegrating. Large numbers of slaves became serfs or peasants and their enthusiasm in production was raised to some extent. Iron farm tools and oxen were used on a wide scale in cultivating the land. Large tracts of barren land were brought under the plough and forests were opened up to expand the farmland. A feudal economy was slowly evolving. The monopoly of the slave-owning aristocracy in handicrafts and commerce was being broken by degrees. Folk handicrafts and commerce prospered. However, existing barriers between independent ducal states hindered further progress of the social economy. The states had vastly different systems of currency and weights and measures, and their defensive barricades and customs barriers hampered the flow of goods. States fighting each other year after year undermined farming. Obviously, if the continual wars between the independent ducal regimes were not ended, if the country was not unified and the restorationist activities of the remnant forces of the slave-owners were not countered and the remnants of slavery not swept away, the further progress of the rising feudal economy would be seriously affected. Speaking for the interests of the rising landlord class, the Legalists advocated setting up a unified feudal country with centralized power. This reflected the historical need of the times and conformed to the wishes of the people.

Who could accomplish this historical task? Among the then existing seven main ducal states, the six states of Chi, Chu, Yen, Han, Chao and Wei east of the Han-kukuan Pass (in today's northeastern part of Lingpao County in Honan Province) had not carried out thoroughgoing reforms in going from the slave system to the feudal system and still retained many vestiges of the slave system. Politically, these states were weak and corrupt. The situation in the State of Chin was quite different. Spurred on by slave uprisings in the middle of the Warring States Period, Duke Hsiao of Chin employed the Legalist Shang Yang (c. 390-338 B.C.) to make reforms. Feudal political and economic systems were set up which resulted in the swift growth of its economic and military strength. (See "On Shang Yang," *Peking Review*, No. 34, 1974.) By the time of Chin Shih Huang, the State of Chin had already had seven rulers over a period of more than 100 years. Compared with the other six ducal states, Chin was more progressive politically, ideologically, economically and militarily. Its boundary had expanded from what is now Shensi and the southeastern part of Kansu to present-day Shansi, the western parts of Honan and Hupeh, and Szechuan. Conditions

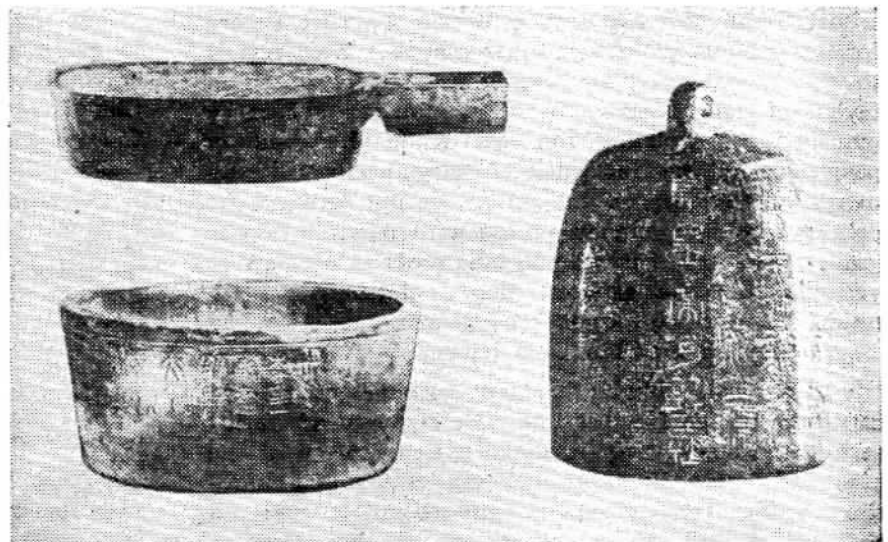
were ripe for the unification of China under Chin Shih Huang by shattering the restoration efforts of the remnant forces of the slave-owners and wiping out the independent ducal states, thereby consolidating and developing the feudal system.

Smashing the Slave-Owners' Restoration Clique

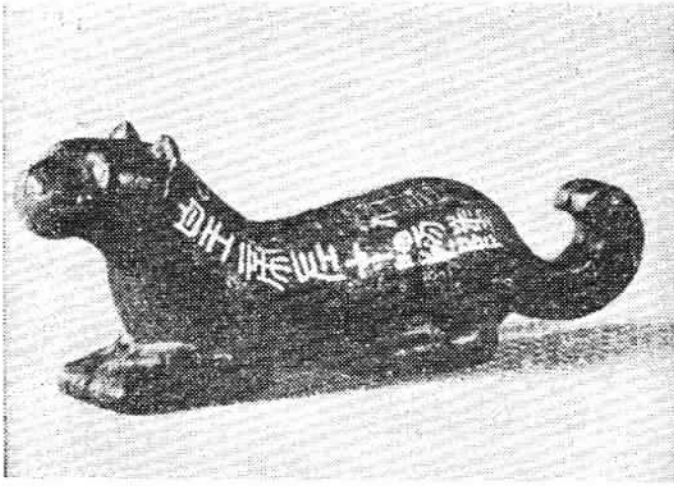
Chin Shih Huang ascended the throne at the age of 13 and took over the reins of government when he was 22. In the next two years, he firmly suppressed the powerful slave-owners' restoration clique with Lu Pu-wei and Lao Ai as the ringleaders.

A big merchant and owner of 10,000 slaves, Lu Pu-wei rose by way of political opportunism to the post of prime minister in the State of Chin. Hand-picked and fostered by Lu, the eunuch Lao Ai also became a big slave-owner with several thousand slaves. Their underlings held important posts, and one of them was head of the palace guards. While Chin Shih Huang was too young to rule, Lu and Lao took the opportunity to seize central power and push the reactionary Confucianist line of opposing unification, adhering to splits and trying to restore the slave system.

Chin Shih Huang's coronation took place in 238 B.C. when he became an adult and was ready to take over state affairs. At this crucial moment, Lao Ai and members of his clique staged an armed coup aimed at attacking the Chinien Palace where Chin Shih Huang stayed. But Chin Shih Huang was fully aware of their intrigues. So when they started the coup, Chin Shih Huang immediately sent troops to suppress it. The rebels were defeated and Lao Ai and his cohorts were arrested and executed. As a result, Lu Pu-wei was exposed and isolated and was removed from the post of prime minister the following year. Not reconciled to his defeat, Lu secretly worked together with the aristocrats of the other six states and plotted a rebel-



Standardized weights and measures after Chin unified the country.
Bell-like bronze weight (right) Bronze sheng (upper left)
Pottery tou (lower left)



Chin Dynasty tiger tally, cast in bronze with inscription on back and divided into two pieces. The right half was kept by the emperor, the left half issued to local officials or army commanders. Only when both halves were in the hands of a commander could an army be dispatched. This shows the highly centralized power at that time.

lion. When this was uncovered, he committed suicide in 235 B.C.

Leading the War to Unify China

Chin Shih Huang not only gave high official posts to the Legalists but actively put their ideas into practice. Encouraged and helped by Legalists Han Fei (c. 280-233 B.C.), Li Ssu (?-208 B.C.) and Wei Liao, he formulated the correct political and military lines and succeeded in leading the war that wiped out the six ducal states and unified China.

Han Fei had inherited most of the Legalist ideas and was an outstanding exponent of the Legalist school. (See *Peking Review*, No. 46, 1974.) When his writings reached the State of Chin, Chin Shih Huang read them and said with emotion: "If I could meet the author and make friends with him, I would die without any regret." Han Fei was a progressive who stood for reforms. He advocated the elimination of "private schools" and the substitution of the Legalist theory for the theories of various other schools. With regard to law, he said that law should not be prejudiced in favour of the aristocrats and that ministers should be punished for violating the law while the ordinary people should be rewarded if they performed any meritorious service for the state. He put forward the policy of boldly promoting those with talent from the grass-roots level to take important posts as officials or generals, and he stressed the establishment of a feudal country with centralized power. All this had a great impact on Chin Shih Huang.

Li Ssu was Chin Shih Huang's right-hand man in carrying out the Legalist line. He strongly advocated seizing the opportunity to make a clean sweep of the aristocrats' rule in the other six states and unify the country. He advised the emperor not to expel all the political and military personnel who had come to Chin from those six states, but make an analysis as to their true character. This helped Chin Shih Huang

employ more political and military personages of the landlord class from outside Chin, thereby expanding its strength. Li Ssu himself was appointed *ting wei*, the highest judicial magistrate, and was later promoted to be Chin's prime minister.* In working out the strategy for unifying the country, Li Ssu again made the important proposal of "destroying the enemy forces one by one." He thus made great contributions to Chin Shih Huang's cause of unifying China.

Wei Liao who was well versed in military treatises, strategy and tactics was appointed supreme commander of the army by Chin Shih Huang. He also made great contributions to the war that unified China.

Chin Shih Huang achieved the great victory of unifying the country in the short period of ten years because he had adopted the Legalist line and also because of the victories won in arduous battles by his officers and men.

First of all, Chin Shih Huang launched a powerful political offensive, smashing the policy of alignment adopted by the dukes of the six other states in dealing with Chin. Then he concentrated a superior force to destroy the enemy forces one by one. At critical junctures, he went to the front three times to personally direct the battles, a factor contributing to victory in the war. At the same time, he paid attention to promoting capable generals and gave full scope to their initiative.

Chin's unification of China ended the situation of independent ducal regimes and continuous wars of several hundred years. This was a victory for the rising landlord class and also a victory for Legalist ideas.

After wiping out the six other states, Chin Shih Huang sent 500,000 troops south of the five mountain ranges and moved 500,000 people there from inland China. All this promoted economic and cultural exchanges and amalgamation between China's various nationalities, and laid the foundation for the further progress of a multi-national unified country.

In the north, Chin Shih Huang took positive steps to guard against invasion by the slave-owning aristocrats of the Hsiung Nu, one of the nationalities in north China. In 215 B.C., he personally made an inspection tour of the north and sent his general Meng Tien in

*Starting from Duke Hsiao to Chin Shih Huang, the State of Chin employed large numbers of *keching*, visiting ministers from other states. Many were representatives of the rising landlord class, such as Shang Yang who came from the State of Wei, Han Fei from the State of Han, Li Ssu from Chu and Wei Liao from Wei. (This Wei and the former Wei are two different Chinese characters with the same pronunciation.) These Legalists standing for reform were the thorn in the side of the aristocrats of the royal families of the old Chin court, who tried by every means to drive them away. Among the visiting ministers there were also exponents of the slave-owning aristocrats, like Lu Pu-wei from Wei. That year when Chin Shih Huang smashed the Lu Pu-wei restorationist clique, he ordered the expulsion of the visiting ministers because Lu had recruited a large number of Confucian scholars from the other six states. This order was rescinded at Li Ssu's suggestion.

command of 300,000 troops to twice defeat the invasion of the Hsiung Nu slave-owning aristocrats in 215 and 214 B.C. A long wall was built for defensive purposes. Added to the long walls built by the states of Chin, Chao and Yen, the Great Wall extended for over 10,000 *li* (5,000 kilometres).

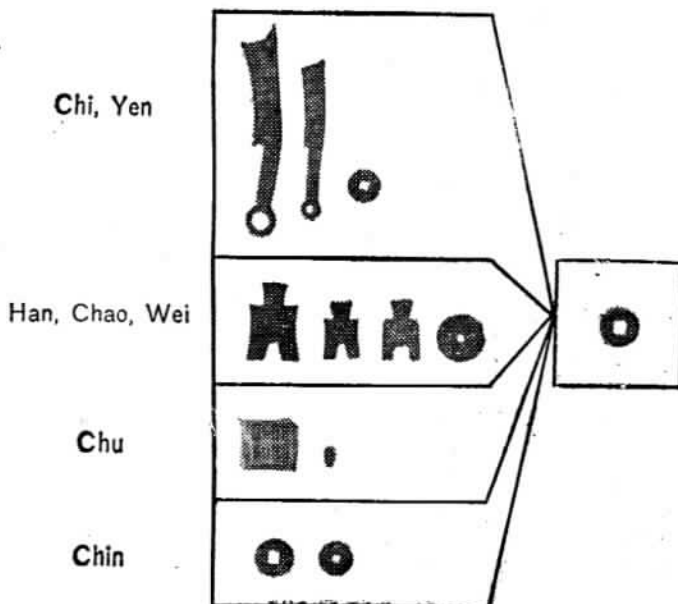
The First Feudal Country With Centralized Power

A big controversy centring on "whither the Chin Dynasty" arose after Chin Shih Huang had unified China. The focus of the struggle was whether to establish the prefecture and county system with centralized power or to restore the ducal states system of the slave-owning class. Its essence was a struggle between the two lines — one of which persisted in progress and unification and the other stood for restoration, retrogression and split.

In this big controversy, the side headed by Prime Minister Wang Wan, proceeding from the standpoint of the slave-owning aristocrats, stubbornly advocated following the Yin (c. 16th-11th century B.C.) and Chou Dynasties (c. 11th century-249 B.C.) in decreeing members of the royal families to be the dukes of independent states. Legalist Li Ssu opposed the system of ducal states and was firm in defending the interests of the rising landlord class. He pointed out that the system of installing hereditary nobles to rule their domains was the root cause of continual warfare between the dukes, and he firmly stood for the prefecture and county system with centralized power. Having drawn a lesson from past "sufferings of the people in the country" due to the never-ending wars between different states, Chin Shih Huang adopted Li Ssu's proposal and steadfastly pushed ahead with the prefecture and county system.

Chairman Mao has said: "It [the feudal state] became autocratic and centralized after the first Chin em-

Standardization of Currency In the Chin Dynasty



peror unified China." (*The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party.*) An expert in stressing the present more than the past, Chin Shih Huang set up the first centralized feudal state with a revolutionary approach.

First of all, he abolished throughout the country the system of "hereditary official posts and emolument" and of "parcelling out the land and installing hereditary nobles," a system left over from the slave society. This was an important plank of the pre-Chin Legalists and an indication of the establishment of an autocratic state with centralized power.

In the central government, the administrative structure of three *kung* and nine *ching* was set up. The emperor selected those with talent and merit to be *kung* or *ching*. The three *kung* were the *cheng hsiang*, *tai wei* and *yu shih ta fu*. Both the right- and left-hand *cheng hsiang* were the supreme officials of the central administrative organ who helped the emperor handle important state affairs. The *tai wei* was the central military commander who helped the emperor in military affairs. The *yu shih ta fu* helped the emperor supervise the administration of all the officials. The nine *ching* were in charge of the work in the imperial ancestral temple, the court attendants and guards, horses and chariots, jurisdiction, protocol, finances, officially run handicrafts and other affairs.

The prefecture and county system was enforced in local government. The whole country was divided into 36 prefectures and the number grew to over 40 towards the end of the Chin Dynasty. Every prefecture was governed by a *chun shou* (magistrate) directly under the central government. There were also the *chun wei* in charge of prefectural military affairs and the *chien yu shih* in charge of censorship and law enforcement in the prefecture. Each prefecture consisted of several counties where the *hsien ling* (county head) ruled, with the *hsien wei* looking after military affairs and the *hsien cheng* in charge of jurisdiction. All the major officials in the local government were appointed or removed by the emperor, and no post was hereditary. This was an important reform. National military affairs were run by the emperor himself who also issued laws and decrees.



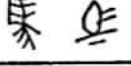
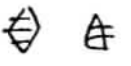

Thus an autocratic system of centralized power took shape. Its establishment was of major significance in consolidating a multi-national unified country and in developing feudal economy and culture. Basically speaking, this system was adhered to throughout the long period of China's feudal society.


Economic and Cultural Achievements

Chin Shih Huang devoted much effort to reforming the economic and cultural systems and brought about a series of important changes. These served to further consolidate the centralized power of the landlord class and develop the feudal culture and economy. Following were the main reforms:

Feudal Ownership of Land Enforced Across the Country. In 216 B.C., Chin Shih Huang promulgated a decree

An Example of the Standardization of the Character Ma (Horse) in the Warring States Period

Name of state	Different ways of writing ma before standardization
Chin	
Chi	
Chu	
Han, Chao, Wei	
Yen	



After standardization
in *hsiao chuan*
(lesser seal style)

directing all landlords and peasants to report the size of their holdings to the government and pay taxes accordingly, after which the government would recognize their land ownership as legal. This was a progressive measure in extending the feudal ownership of land and wiping out the remnants of the system of land ownership under slavery.

Building Water Conservancy Works to Develop Agriculture. Contrary to the Confucianists, the Legalists always emphasized farming and military affairs. Chin Shih Huang put the Legalist policies into practice in these fields. Before the unification of China, Chin Shih Huang had built the 150-kilometre-long Chengkuo Canal in Kuanchung (in what is now Shensi) which was important to irrigation. The *Historical Records* said: "Fields in Kuanchung were fertile and there were no lean years. This was why Chin became rich and powerful." After China's unification, Chin Shih Huang built the 35-kilometre-long Lingchu Canal (in the northern part of present-day Kwangsi) linking the Yangtze River system with the Pearl River system. These water conservancy works played a big part politically, militarily, economically and culturally as well as in agricultural development.

Unifying the Currency and Weights and Measures. After unification, Chin discarded the old currencies of the six ducal states and used one standard currency instead. This consisted of two categories, the higher being gold, the lower round coins which had been in circulation in the Chin State. The weights and measures of the whole country were standardized in 221 B.C. Because of the differences in currency and weights and measures in the past, the slave-owners engaged in handicrafts and commerce took advantage to make trouble. Unification ended their speculation and was a heavy blow to these slave-owners and favourable to the consolidation of the political power of the rising landlord class. Moreover, these measures created con-

ditions for unifying the tax system and the pay system of the officials, and were a positive factor in the exchange of commodities between the labouring people and in the economic interflow within the country.

Standardizing the Cart Wheel Gauge and Building Roads. After unification, Chin Shih Huang ordered the destruction of all the customs barriers, barricades and strongholds on the borders of the former six ducal states and standardized the gauge of the cart wheels to facilitate communications and transport. The following year roads were built on a large scale, and this facilitated relaying government orders to the whole country, exchanging goods and moving troops. It was of significance in consolidating national unification.

Standardizing Written Chinese Throughout the Country. The existence of independent ducal regimes over the years had led to different pronunciations in the spoken language and different forms of writing Chinese characters. This seriously hampered cultural intercourse and development. After unification, Chin Shih Huang ordered that the written Chinese be readjusted. Li Ssu, Hu Wu-ching and others were appointed to work out standardized written Chinese characters on the basis of *hsiao chuan* (lesser seal style, also called *chin chuan*). In popularizing *hsiao chuan*, the clerical script *li shu* which was popular among the people and much simpler and easier to write than *hsiao chuan* was also brought into use. These measures were in reality a summary of the changes, differentiations and development of the Chinese script since the Yin Dynasty when words were carved on the oracle bones. This led to the simplification and standardization of written Chinese. It not only had a direct impact on unifying the laws and decrees, relaying official documents and strengthening centralized power, but benefited the preservation, interflow and popularization of culture.

Suppressing Counter-Revolutionary Restoration Activities

The struggle between restoration and counter-restoration raged even after the establishment of the Chin Dynasty. The historically famous incident "burning books and burying Confucian scholars alive" was a manifestation of this sharp struggle. (See "Clarifying 'Burning Books and Burying Confucian Scholars Alive,'" *Peking Review*, No. 19, 1974.)

In 213 B.C., the Confucian scholar Chunyu Yueh, a royal academician, started the controversy when Chin Shih Huang was giving a big feast for his ministers. He accused and attacked the emperor in his presence for enforcing the Legalist line which, he alleged, was "doing things without following the ancient way" and therefore would be short-lived. Chunyu Yueh eulogized instead the so-called "over one-thousand-year reign of the Yin and Chou Dynasties," and advocated the enfeoffment of the members of royal families and meritorious officials and the restoration of the slave system of the Yin and Chou Dynasties. Li Ssu scathingly refuted these reactionary fallacies of "following the ancient way." He emphasized that every era should have its own political system and this was an inevitable

outcome of the changes of the times; following the old way without any changes and going back to the old order would lead nowhere. Furthermore, he exposed the Confucian scholars' activities of forming cliques and spreading rumours in attacking the new system under the cloak of running "private schools." Therefore Li Ssu suggested to Chin Shih Huang that the Confucianists be deprived of their monopoly of culture and education so that they could not use these to carry out restoration activities. Accepting the advice, the emperor banned the "private schools" and confiscated and destroyed the *Book of Songs*, the *Book of Historical Documents* and the classics and literature of the various schools of thought except the *Book of History of Chin*, books on medicine and pharmacology and on tree planting and books collected by the royal academicians or entrusted to their care. The emperor did this so that "those under the sun would not attack the present with the past." This was the "burning books" incident.

Burning books was a heavy blow to those Confucian scholars who persisted in the line of restoration and retrogression. But the struggle did not end there. The next year, Confucian scholars represented by Lu and Hou came out again to oppose the feudal system. They did their utmost to vilify feudal centralized power and slandered that the rule of "law" was "enjoying the power of punishment and slaughter." They cursed Chin Shih Huang as a man "greedy for power" and "obstinate

and self-willed." They were against the dictatorship of the rising landlord class over the restoration forces of the slave-owners. They fanned the flame everywhere in the hope that chaos would prevail. This forced the emperor to adopt further suppressive measures against these reactionary Confucian scholars. He arrested 460 who had committed the most serious crimes in "attacking the present with the past" and "buried them alive in Hsienyang." This was the "burying Confucian scholars alive" incident.

From all this we can see that "burning books and burying Confucian scholars alive" was not because Chin Shih Huang was born a "tyrant," but it was the natural outcome of class struggle. If no attack had been made on those reactionary Confucian scholars who obstinately clung to the stand of the declining slave-owners and were hostile to the new feudal regime, there could have been no consolidation of the state power and economic base of the rising landlord class. Lu Hsun (1881-1936), China's great man of letters and a great thinker and revolutionary, incisively pointed out: "Yes, Chin Shih Huang burnt books, only for the purpose of unifying thinking. But he did not burn books on farming and medicine. He recruited many *keching*, visiting ministers from other states, and embraced different schools of thinking instead of emphasizing 'Chin's thinking' only."

(Continued on p. 20.)

At United Nations

Proposals for Establishing Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zones

TO oppose the superpowers' policy of nuclear threats and blackmail and defend their national independence, peace and security, Third World countries have on different occasions made proposals for the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones in some regions.

The proposals for establishing nuclear-weapon-free zones in South Asia and in the Middle East, sponsored by Pakistan and Iran and others respectively, were put on the agenda of the 29th U.N. General Assembly, and the First Committee of the U.N. General Assembly on November 20 and 23 respectively adopted draft resolutions endorsing in principle the concept of a South Asian nuclear-weapon-free zone and approving the idea of the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the region of the Middle East.

South Asian Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zone. The draft resolution on the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in South Asia was adopted by a vote of 84 in favour, including China and many other Third World

countries. India voted against it. The Soviet Union, the United States and others abstained.

Explaining his vote for the draft resolution at the November 20 meeting, Chinese Representative Lin Fang said: We hold that the Pakistan proposal for the establishment of a nuclear-free zone in South Asia is just and reasonable. The Chinese delegation will vote for the draft resolution and the Chinese Government is ready to undertake due obligations according to its consistent stand on nuclear disarmament and nuclear-free zone. He said: "The South Asian subcontinent has seen the intensifying contention between the two superpowers, one of which has supported the expansionist policies of a certain country in the region in addition to carrying out intervention and subversion by all means against some countries there. This has caused prolonged turbulence and unrest in the South Asian situation. Therefore, if the desire for the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in South Asia is to be realized, it is imperative to guard against and oppose

the superpower aggression and intervention and the expansionist acts of any country."

Lin Fang pointed out that in its preambular part, the draft resolution referred to the questions of general and complete disarmament and non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. The Chinese delegation had its own views on these questions and therefore had reservations on these references, he said.

Middle East Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zone. The draft resolution on establishing the Middle East nuclear-weapon-free zone was adopted by the First Committee of the U.N. General Assembly by 103 votes in favour, none against with 3 abstentions. Chinese Representative Lin Fang, in his speech explaining his vote for the draft resolution, pointed out: "The root cause of the turbulence and unrest in the Middle East lies in the contention between the two superpowers for hegemony and Israeli Zionist aggression. Therefore, to realize the desire to make the Middle East a nuclear-weapon-free zone, it is imperative to oppose firmly superpower hegemonism and the Zionist policies of aggression and expansion." He also said that China had its own views and reservations on the references to the treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and the question of general and complete disarmament contained in the preambular and operative parts of the draft.

The First Committee of the U.N. General Assembly also discussed other nuclear-weapon-free zone proposals by Third World countries, proposals for an African nuclear-free zone, a Latin American nuclear-free zone and an Indian Ocean peace zone. These had been discussed in previous U.N. sessions, and some related resolutions had been adopted.

African Nuclear-Free Zone. The first proposal for a nuclear-free zone in Africa was made by Ethiopia and seven other African countries in December 1960 at the 15th U.N. General Assembly but was not put to a vote at the time. At the 16th U.N. General Assembly, 14 African countries submitted a draft resolution to the same effect, which was adopted. The Conferences of Heads of State and Government of Africa in 1963 and 1964 and the Second Summit Conference of the Non-Aligned Countries all called for the establishment of a nuclear-free zone in Africa. The U.N. General Assembly of 1965 adopted the draft resolution "Declaration of Denuclearization of Africa" co-sponsored by 28 African countries, reiterating respect for the African nuclear-free zone and calling on every state to refrain from testing, manufacturing, using, deploying and obtaining nuclear weapons in Africa and from transferring as well as helping other countries manufacture or use nuclear weapons in Africa. The First Committee of the current U.N. General Assembly adopted a draft resolution on denuclearization of Africa on November 21. Co-sponsored by 25 African countries, it called on all states to refrain from testing, manufacturing, deploying, transporting, storing, using or threatening to use nuclear weapons on the African continent.

Latin American Nuclear-Free Zone. The two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, engaged

in a frantic nuclear arms race and nuclear blackmail in Latin America in 1962, seriously menacing the security of the countries there and causing their general discontent. On October 29 that year, Brazil, Chile, Bolivia and other Latin American countries submitted the first draft resolution on establishing a nuclear-free zone in Latin America to the U.N. Political Committee. On April 29, 1963, the Presidents of Mexico, Brazil, Chile, Bolivia and Ecuador, at the initiative of the Mexican Government, issued a statement calling on the Latin American countries to sign multilateral agreements to make Latin America a nuclear-free zone as soon as possible. In November the same year, the aforesaid five countries as well as six other Latin American countries again introduced another draft resolution of the same nature at the 18th U.N. General Assembly, which was adopted.

Twenty-one Latin American countries formally signed the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (Tlatelolco treaty) in Tlatelolco of Mexico City on February 11, 1967. It stipulates that the signatory states are prohibited from manufacturing, testing or possessing nuclear weapons in their territories, or receiving, storing and installing any nuclear weapon. Signatory states can use nuclear materials and nuclear devices for peaceful purposes only. It also provides for the setting up of an institute to supervise the implementation. There are two additional protocols to the treaty. Additional protocol I calls on the states outside the Latin American nuclear-free zone to respect the treaty; additional protocol II demands that nuclear powers refrain from taking any action in contravention of the treaty or using or threatening to use nuclear weapons against the signatory states.

To date, all countries possessing nuclear weapons, except the Soviet Union, have signed and ratified Additional Protocol II to the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America. China signed the protocol in August 1973 and ratified it in April this year. The First Committee of the 28th U.N. General Assembly on November 13, 1973 adopted a draft resolution co-sponsored by 19 Latin American countries calling on the Soviet Union to sign and ratify additional protocol II, as repeatedly requested by the U.N. General Assembly. When the draft resolution was put to a vote, the Soviet representative abstained. On November 19 this year, the U.N. First Committee again adopted a draft resolution urging the Soviet Union to sign and ratify additional protocol II. Again the Soviet representative abstained in voting. In his speech, he tried to justify the Soviet refusal to sign the protocol with lame excuses, revealing once more the true features of the Soviet Union which seeks sham disarmament but really refuses to cease the arms race aimed at contending for nuclear supremacy and hegemony.

Indian Ocean Peace Zone. The proposal to declare the Indian Ocean and the southern Atlantic Ocean a nuclear-free zone was first made by Sri Lanka at the Second Summit Conference of the Non-Aligned Countries in October 1964. At the Lusaka non-aligned coun-

tries summit in September 1970 and at the Conference of British Commonwealth Prime Ministers in Singapore in January 1971, Prime Minister Madame Bandaranaike of Sri Lanka also proposed establishing the Indian Ocean peace zone. As the superpowers stepped up their expansion and contention in the Indian Ocean region, posing an increasingly serious threat to the independence and security of the countries there, Sri Lanka and 12 other countries jointly submitted a draft resolution — "Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Peace Zone" — to the 26th U.N. General Assembly in 1971. It was adopted on December 16 the same year. The Soviet Union and the United States abstained. The resolution called on the great powers to put an end to military escalation and dismantle all bases, military installations and nuclear weapon disposition in the Indian

Ocean. It also provided that no threat or force should be used against the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of the Indian Ocean countries. On November 14 this year, the U.N. First Committee adopted a draft resolution urging all states concerned, including the permanent members of the Security Council, to give tangible support to the establishment and preservation of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace. The United States and the Soviet Union abstained when the draft was put to a vote.

The superpowers' passive attitude to the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones shows that it is necessary to firmly oppose their policies of aggression, expansion and rivalry for hegemony and insist that they undertake their due obligations if the just proposals of setting up nuclear-weapon-free zones are to be realized.

South African Racist Regime's Futile Struggle

by Pi Yuan

THE African situation today is excellent. The people of Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique have scored major victories in their struggle for national independence. The national-liberation movement in southern Africa is developing in depth. In Azania where the people are awakening daily, there is an upsurge of strikes by workers and students and demonstrations to resist South African racist rule. The Namibian people's fight against South Africa's colonial rule is on the upswing. In Zimbabwe, the people's armed struggle against Rhodesian racist rule is raging without let-up. At the United Nations, South African racism is now as unprecedentedly isolated as it is in Africa and other parts of the world.

Using Counter-Revolutionary Dual Tactics

Greatly alarmed by the development of events, the South African white racist regime is in a last-ditch struggle, making efforts to use still more cunning counter-revolutionary dual tactics — large-scale political deception coupled with intensified savage repression.

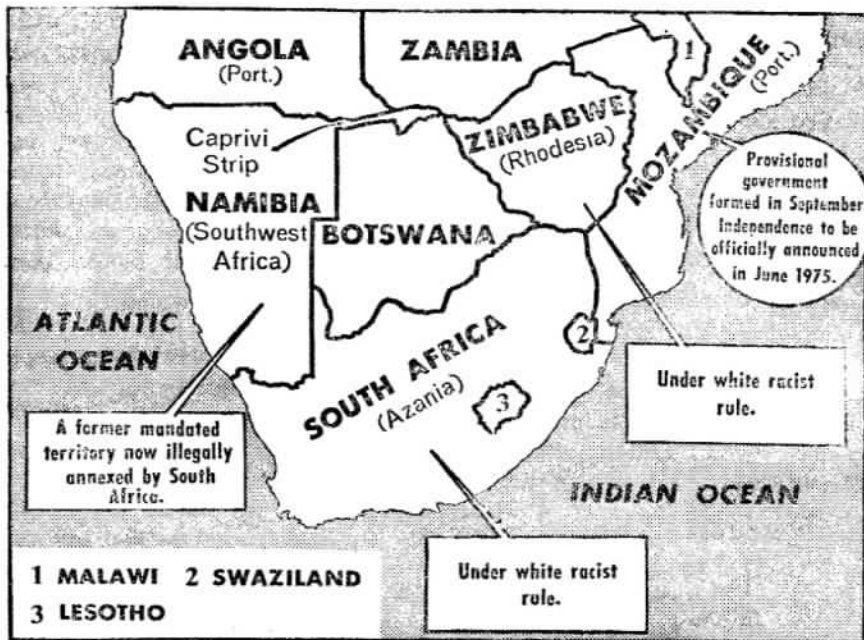
In recent months, the reactionary authorities there have been using their mass media to whitewash their reactionary home and foreign policies as much as possible. Giving intense publicity to their policy of dividing the black people and rule, they allege that this will lead the black people of different ethnic groups in South Africa towards "independence" one by one and that South Africa, like Europe, will "coexist on an equal footing" with these small nations. They also talk a great deal about "friendship" and "good neighbourliness" with the African countries, pretending to be "happy" and "sympathetic" with today's changing African situa-

tion. More recently, Vorster, chieftain of South African racism, himself came forward proposing that Africa make "peace" and strengthen "co-operation" with his regime.

Can it really be that the reactionary authorities in Pretoria mean to mend their ways and turn over a new leaf? Their deeds provide the answer.

After the downfall of the Portuguese fascist regime in a coup, the reactionary South African authorities took immediate action to adopt a series of "emergency measures" top and bottom, at home and abroad. In the name of "maintaining internal order," they have increased "defence" spending by about 50 per cent to greatly expand the size of their armed forces. At the same time, they have redoubled efforts to push the deceitful plan to set up so-called "black homelands," by driving the 15 million Africans making up 85 per cent of the population in South Africa into nine areas under separate rule, which cover less than 13 per cent of South Africa's total land area. These Africans are under close surveillance by a police force nearly 50,000 strong. High-handed measures are also being used to put down workers' strikes. On June 11 this year when black miners at the Merrispruit Gold Mine demonstrated against brutal exploitation, 19 were killed or wounded by a massive police force sent to suppress the demonstrators. This is what the reactionary authorities in South Africa mean by "independence" and "equality."

Alongside repression at home, they are stepping up activities to sabotage the national-liberation movements in southern Africa. Large military reinforcements have been sent to areas bordering Mozambique and Angola



power hegemonism are colluding further with the racists, doing all they can to prop up this reactionary regime.

Vorster's "litany of peace" is nothing new. In the excellent situation as evidenced by the fall of the Portuguese fascist regime and the rapid advance of the national-liberation movement in Africa, Soviet social-imperialism has long spouted its revisionist rhetoric. It has trumpeted that "the progress of political detente has created still more favourable conditions for the national-liberation movement." But this flyblown statement has no market among the African people. And when Vorster mouths the same, it simply educates people from the negative side. They see clearly whose needs Soviet revisionism has served by chanting the "litany of detente."

and secret military bases have been built there. Lately, in Caprivi Strip, the heavily guarded borderland between Namibia, Angola, Zambia and Botswana, a highway network has been constructed and large numbers of troops have been concentrated. There have also been strenuous efforts to foster colonialists in Mozambique and Angola with a view to making trouble and engaging in sabotage activities. Feverish backing is given to the reactionary organizations of the whites in Angola in massacring the black people. Energetic support is offered to the ringleader of the colonial forces in Mozambique by the name of Jorge Jardim in organizing mercenaries against the national-liberation movement. Even more, the secret service agency in South Africa, otherwise known as the "national security bureau," gives special training to Portuguese fascists recruited on a big scale for sabotaging the national-liberation movements in Africa. This is the reactionary South African authorities' "sympathy" for and "aid" to the African people!

Imperialist and Superpower Backing

The reason for the Vorster regime going on such a rampage is that imperialism and a superpower are behind it. As was disclosed by the U.S. daily *Christian Science Monitor*, South Africa's chief of staff Bierman had been active since early May during his prolonged stay in Washington, where he openly offered to give the United States the "best bases" and "high profits" and asked it for military aid. Not long ago, when the Security Council discussed the expulsion of South Africa from the United Nations, imperialism and a superpower, disregarding the resolute opposition of a large number of Third World countries, came out in the open to support the South African racist regime. All this shows once again that the question of southern Africa is not an isolated one. To preserve their harsh exploitation and plunder there, colonialism, imperialism and big-

Sly Wolf No Match for Good Hunter

In the past, Vorster and his like never talked "peace" in dealing with the African people. In external affairs, they openly sided with the Rhodesian racist regime and the Portuguese colonial authorities in waging wanton colonial wars; internally, they push the policy of racial oppression. Now in the face of the march of events, they have had no alternative but to resort to counter-revolutionary dual tactics. While actively working for large-scale suppression of the African people, they try to look quite harmless and even friendly. But a wolf, however sly, is no match for an outstanding hunter. The African people certainly do not judge friends and foes merely by what they say. They not only listen to their words but need to see their deeds as well — not just what they do now but what they did in the past. From their experience in long years of struggle, the African people have come to know for quite some time that before racism is uprooted and the masses of the African people are liberated, "peace" and "detente" are simply out of the question in southern Africa.

Neither the sweet words of the South African racist regime nor its efforts to make trouble and sabotage can get anywhere. The U.N. General Assembly recently adopted by an overwhelming majority the ruling of its president to reject the participation of the South African regime's representatives in the work of the assembly. In this way the African countries and the Third World as a whole have given a point-blank answer to the counter-revolutionary dual tactics of the Vorster regime.

It is certain that the people in southern Africa will succeed in toppling the evil racist rule and finally emerge victorious from their protracted fight for national liberation, the desperate death-bed struggle of the racist regime in South Africa notwithstanding.

U.S. Economic Situation Deteriorates

WE are moving into a recession." "Economic statistics had shown an erosion." This was what White House spokesman Ron Nessen told the press on November 12. It looks that the economic situation in the United States is so bad that the U.S. Government, which once refused to acknowledge the "economic recession," now has to admit the seriousness of the problem.

Double-Digit Inflation

The sharp edge of the U.S. monetary inflation — the rate was as high as 12 per cent in the first three quarters of this year — is still a problem that has the entire nation worried. According to a Labour Department announcement (November 14), the October wholesale price index, taking the 1967 average as 100, stood at 170, 22.6 per cent higher than a year earlier, the biggest 12-month increase since 1947. The consumer price index in October spurted ahead 12.2 per cent compared with a year earlier, also the biggest yearly rise since September 1947. Confronted by this runaway inflation, the U.S. Government is as perplexed as bourgeois economists are divided in their opinions. Revealing his anxiety, Alan Greenspan, economic adviser to the U.S. President, is of the opinion that "the United States can't persist in its present system or social structure with double-digit inflation."

Meanwhile, the GNP in the United States kept falling in the first three quarters of 1974 and economic activities were at a standstill. Together with the production slump, they are the main signs of the U.S. economy entering a new and profound crisis.

Declining Industrial Production

According to a November 15 announcement of the U.S. Federal Reserve Board, the U.S. industrial production index had dropped 0.6 per cent the previous month. Except for three months in which there was a slight upturn, industrial production has declined or remained stagnant since December 1973. Taking 1967 as 100, the industrial production index had dropped from 127.5 in November 1973 to 124.9 in October this year.

Take October for instance. The industrial production downturn swept through most industrial branches. Autos, housing and iron and steel, the sinews of U.S. industry, were the worst hit. Housing was over 50 per cent lower than in January 1973; auto production was over 25 per cent less than in the corresponding 1973 period.

The increase in nominal wages of U.S. workers has failed to catch up with double-digit inflation. According to data released by the U.S. Labour Department on November 21, workers' average real spendable earn-

ings in October, due to soaring prices, went down by 0.3 per cent from the previous month, or a 4.9 per cent drop from the corresponding period in 1973.

As purchasing power dwindles, sales of merchandise are dull, with a sharp rise in inventories. By the end of August, the nation's inventory of goods was worth 139,300 million U.S. dollars, a 21 per cent increase over that of the corresponding 1973 period. At the end of August, manufacturers' stocks were worth 18,400 million dollars more than at the close of last year, 40 per cent more than the volume of increase in all of 1973. Take the auto industry as an illustration. Of the three main U.S. car producers, Chrysler had a four-month supply of unsold cars; General Motors and Ford had unsold stocks for 70 and 75 days respectively.

A large number of enterprises, especially small and medium-sized ones, have gone bankrupt because they had run into huge debts and carrying on business was difficult. In the first half of this year alone, there were 5,200 bankruptcies, 6 per cent more than the figure a year ago; the figure for the second quarter was 15 per cent higher than that for the first quarter.

Sharp Unemployment Rise

Unemployment reached 5.5 million in October, an increase of 1.2 million over a year ago. Thus, the rate of unemployment had climbed to 6 per cent (11 per cent in the case of the black people), the highest figure in the last three years. Lately, the U.S. monopolies, especially the auto and steel firms, have continued laying off workers or even closing down plants with ten thousand or so losing their jobs in a single layoff. With such layoffs spreading fast, the number of unemployed definitely will grow still larger. (By November, the figure had already reached 6 million and the rate of unemployment was 6.5 per cent.)

Crop failures have further exacerbated the U.S. economic plight. According to a U.S. Department of Agriculture estimate on November 1, there will be an overall decrease in autumn crops. Compared with last year, corn production will be down 18 per cent; soy beans, 21 per cent; cotton, 7 per cent. This not only will cause food prices to keep going up and inflation to be further out of control, but it also will affect U.S. exports.

Huge Trade Deficits

U.S. foreign trade and balance of payments too are rapidly deteriorating. According to a Department of Commerce announcement on November 15, trade deficits in the third quarter reached 2,600 million dollars, an increase of 1,000 million over the second quarter's 1,600 million. The deficit position in the net liquidity balance (the entire balance of payments in-

volving both the government and private individuals) stood at 4,800 million dollars in the third quarter.

In the circumstances of an overall deterioration of the U.S. economy, prices on the U.S. stock exchange have gone down by a wide margin. The Dow-Jones average for 30 industrial stocks dropped from its highest point in January last year to its lowest point on October 4 this year, a decline of 45 per cent. The total figure for the fall came to 600,000 million dollars. This had not occurred in the years since the great depression of the 1930s. The stock exchange is the economic and political barometer in capitalist countries and the sharp descent in the prices of U.S. stocks is a reflection of the seriousness of the current economic problems in the United States.

"Anti-Crisis" Measures Aggravate Crisis

It is neither strange nor fortuitous that such grave monetary inflation should go hand in hand with a production slump in the United States. This is a logical manifestation of the sharpening of the contradictions inherent in the U.S. capitalist economy. Moreover, the various "anti-crisis" measures which the U.S. Government had adopted in a still more vigorous way in the post-war period have further intensified the seriousness of the problem.

It was through increased military and government spending and greater consumption by private individuals since the end of World War II that the U.S. Government created an artificial social demand to absorb "surplus" products on the market and stimulated fixed capital investment, resulting in a temporary false boom. But this rob-Peter-to-pay-Paul way of doing things has brought on still graver consequences. The July 1 issue of *U.S. News & World Report* in the article "Growing Mountain of U.S. Debt" reported that up to 1973, the total debt in the United States, both public and private, had been 2,525,800 million dollars, two and a half times the U.S. national income for the year. There is not the slightest doubt that of this, the government debt which amounted to 593,400 million will eventually

(Continued from p. 15.)

Chin Shih Huang did not "destroy" culture and did not indiscriminately slaughter Confucian scholars, as reactionaries throughout the ages and modern revisionism have maliciously alleged. On the contrary, those he suppressed numbered too few so that the bad ones representing the interests of the overthrown slave-owning class could sneak into the heart of the Chin Dynasty to carry out restoration activities. All in all, the "burning books and burying Confucian scholars alive" incident was a necessary measure of dictatorship for consolidating the newly established political power of the landlord class and a revolutionary action in upholding the new relations of production in Chinese history. It was a victory for the progressive political and ideological line of the Legalist school and a revolutionary summary of the struggle between the Confucian and Legalist schools since the pre-Chin period.

Facts on File

Five Economic Crises

The United States has experienced five economic crises since the end of World War II:

1948-49. A 10.1 per cent industrial production decline lasting 15 months. Business failures: over 9,000. Unemployment: exceeding 4.9 million.

1953-54. A 9.1 per cent industrial production decline lasting 8 months. Business failures: More than 11,000. Unemployment: over 3.9 million.

1957-58. A 13.5 per cent industrial production decline lasting 14 months. Business failures: Over 14,000. Unemployment: more than 5.07 million.

1960-61. An 8.6 per cent industrial production decline lasting 13 months. Business failures: Over 17,000. Unemployment: More than 5 million.

1969-70. An 8.1 per cent industrial production decline lasting 14 months. Business failures: Over 10,000. Unemployment: 5.06 million.

be met by squeezing the working people at home, while the individual debts (821,300 million) were no more than a drawing out in advance of income that could be earned only years afterwards. Obviously, this kind of "boom" is like a tree without roots, a river without a source, something that cannot last long. The destructive role of these "anti-crisis" measures lies in the fact that, on the one hand, they seriously weaken the purchasing power of the working masses who are the principal consumers in society, and, on the other hand, they cause greater blindness and more abnormal development in production, thus further sharpening the contradiction between capitalism's blind expanded production and the relative diminishment of the working people's ability to pay. This eventually will lead to a further deepening of the economic crisis.

The political life of Chin Shih Huang illustrated the vigorous characteristics of the rising landlord class in the early period of the feudal society. Just as Chairman Mao has pointed out: "In past history, before they won state power and for some time afterwards, the slave-owning class, the feudal landlord class and the bourgeoisie were vigorous, revolutionary and progressive; they were real tigers." In the final analysis, the rising landlord class was of course an exploiting class and Chin Shih Huang was a political exponent of an exploiting class. He also exploited and oppressed the labouring people, which was determined by his class nature. Nevertheless, if we evaluate Chin Shih Huang in an all-round way from the viewpoint of historical materialism, we should say that his merits outweigh his demerits.

ROUND THE WORLD

CAMBODIA

People's Genuine Representative

The Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia is the genuine representative of the whole nation and people. This indisputable fact cannot in the least be changed by the Lon Nol clique's continued illegal usurpation of the country's seat in the United Nations.

The Royal Government of National Union administers liberated areas comprising 90 per cent of the country's territory with over 80 per cent of the population. All of this government's ministries carrying out their missions outside the country returned home in November last year and have successfully exercised their functions there. Organs of people's power at all levels have been established in the liberated areas through real democratic elections. The people have become masters of the country and of their destiny.

Warmly supported by the people, the People's Armed Forces of National Liberation of Cambodia have gone from strength to strength and become a powerful force in the struggle for national liberation and the overthrow of the traitorous Lon Nol clique. It has been reported that in this year's rainy season, the people's armed forces have annihilated over 60,000 puppet troops and seized more than 12,000 weapons of different kinds on various battlefields. They mounted uninterrupted attacks on puppet troops, killing, wounding and capturing over 7,600 enemy troops in November, the first month of the dry season. In addition, they wrecked nine enemy tanks and armoured cars, brought down or destroyed on the ground five warplanes, sank, burned up or severely damaged 65 vessels of various kinds and demolished 53 strongholds. They also captured 1,831 weapons, 13 vessels, 56 radio transmitters, over 30 tons of munitions and more than 100 tons of other war material.

Displaying the spirit of self-reliance, the people in the liberated areas have promoted production in a big way, getting good grain harvests for years running. Moreover, traditional national handicrafts such as weaving, iron smelting and salt extraction, also have been restored and developed step by step. The people in the liberated areas now are more than self-sufficient in food.

In an abyss of suffering and seeing the reactionary features of the Lon Nol clique with increasing clarity, the people in the enemy-held zone have continued to rise up in courageous struggle. Their hopes are on the Royal Government of National Union. Between November last year and last May, 210,000 inhabitants freed themselves from enemy control and tens of thousands more went to the liberated areas during this year's rainy season.

LAO NATIONAL COALITION POLITICAL COUNCIL

Second Plenary Session

The Second Plenary Session of the Lao National Coalition Political Council opened in Luang Prabang on December 4.

Prince Souphanouvong, Chairman of the National Coalition Political Council, chaired the meeting. Referring to the situation in Laos in the opening speech, the prince said: "Since the First Plenary Session of the National Coalition Political Council, positive results have been achieved in the implementation of the Vientiane agreement and the protocol by the National Coalition Political Council, the Provisional National Union Government and the Central Joint Commission for the Implementation of the Agreement. But, under the direction of neo-colonialists and bellicose foreign forces, the ultra-Rightist reactionaries at home sabotaged the implementation of the agreement and the protocol and placed obstacles in the work of the Provisional National Union Government and the

National Coalition Political Council so that the ceasefire has not been strictly observed, the neutralization of the two cities has not been entirely realized and the people's democratic rights and freedoms have not been completely won."

Prince Souphanouvong pointed out that in such a situation, "if we do not heighten our vigilance and clear out these bellicose forces from our land, obviously tranquillity cannot be established in our kingdom and our people cannot achieve happiness."

Speaking of the tasks of the current session, he said: The session will discuss the proposals put forward by the Provisional National Union Government for realizing the Political Programme for Building a Peaceful, Independent, Neutral, Democratic, Unified and Prosperous Kingdom of Laos and Provisional Regulations for Safeguarding the Freedoms and Democratic Rights of the Lao People. It will study and seek methods and ways of helping the Provisional National Union Government implement the government's 10 principles of work and the 18-point political programme. It will mobilize the masses to struggle against all plots to sabotage the agreement, peace and national concord and for the implementation of the political programme.

ARAB PEOPLE

New Israeli War Provocation Countered

There has been a recent Israeli Zionist plot to unleash a new war of aggression. Israeli defence minister Shimon Peres announced on November 16 that Israeli troops had taken "preventive measures" along the Syrian border. Israel moved troops and tanks into the Golan Heights front and mobilized one-third of its reserves. Some leaders repeatedly clamoured for a "fifth Middle East war" and a "pre-emptive attack" on the Arab countries. Israel carried out repeated armed intrusions into Lebanese territory and territorial waters to attack south Lebanese villages and Palestinian refugee camps.

Fired with a common hatred for the new war threat of the enemy, the

Arab countries and the Palestinian armed forces and people were well prepared against aggression. In a statement, Syrian Foreign Minister Abdel Halim Khaddam said: "Syria has the capability and the determination to repulse any Israeli aggression against it." He said Syrian troops had been fully prepared. In his November 17 message to Syrian President Hafez Assad, Egyptian President Anwar Sadat reiterated that Egyptian troops would fight side by side with Syria as they had in the October war of 1973. Statements and talks by some Arab governments and leaders expressed the Arab countries' determination to heighten their vigilance and co-ordinate their stand so as to smash Israel's scheme for a new aggression.

Palestinian guerrillas have recently launched frequent attacks on Israel-occupied areas, with successive new battle results. The Lebanese armed forces also have crushed repeated intrusions by Israeli aggressor troops.

In the hegemony scramble in the Middle East, the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, are engaging in new manoeuvring. While trying hard to bring the Middle East question into their orbit of "political solution," the two hegemonic powers are scheming to foment or utilize a tense Middle East situation to achieve their aim of seizing spheres of influence. Of late, the United States has stepped up arming Israel while the Soviet revisionists have shipped arms to some Arab countries for the sole purpose of controlling them and making huge profits. Recent developments once again have proved that Soviet revisionism is by no means the "natural ally" of the Arab countries as it has professed, but an obstinate saboteur and opponent of the Arab and Palestinian people's struggle against aggression. It has been reported that while Israel was deploying its forces as a war threat, Brezhnev kept sending cables to Syrian President Hafez Assad and Egyptian President Anwar Sadat urging them to restrain themselves.

The Middle East situation remains in turmoil. So long as the Palestinian

and other Arab people close ranks and persist in unremitting struggle and get rid of superpower interference and control, they will certainly win new victories in their fight against aggression.

JAPAN

"Overproduction" in Big Enterprises

There has been a continuous production decline and a steady increase of goods in stock in some big enterprises due to export difficulties and shrinking domestic markets in recent months. The "overproduction" situation is grave. All this marks the deepening economic difficulties in Japan.

Auto production in the first ten months of the year showed an 8.6 per cent decrease compared with the same period last year. The Toyota and Nissan Motor Companies, which account for 70 per cent of Japan's auto production, respectively turned out 10.3 and 13.6 per cent less cars in the first ten months of the year than in the corresponding period last year.

Auto, steel and electricity are known as the three pillars of Japan's industry. The decline of the auto industry has had deep-going effects on the iron and steel, power, non-ferrous metallurgical and petro-chemical industries. According to official Japanese statistics, a decrease of 100,000 million yen in the output value of the auto industry would mean a loss of 280,000 million yen in Japan's total industrial output value.

Statistics released by the five biggest steel companies on November 8 showed that production of crude steel in three companies declined in the April-September period. Steel product stocks recorded a big increase because the decrease in sales was greater than the production cut. Stocks of ordinary steel products in the whole country reached 6,769,000 tons in September, a 27 per cent increase over the previous peak inventory figure at the end of August. This has forced big steel companies to reduce crude steel production even more drastically and further cut down production of various steel products.

Meanwhile, stocks of basic petro-chemical products have been piling up to a serious extent. For instance, the countrywide stock of 127,000 tons of polythene products in September was a record high for the country. Big petro-chemical enterprises have been compelled to sharply reduce output since November. Some enterprises had to stop operations partially or wholly by overhauling equipment ahead of schedule.

Production of non-ferrous metals showed a month-to-month drop from July, but inventories, particularly of copper, zinc and aluminium ingots, are still on the increase. Stocks of aluminium ingots almost doubled from 65,000 tons in January to 120,000 in September. The Mitsui Mining and Smelting Company, Japan's biggest zinc producer, was compelled to cut production by 10 per cent in December. Zinc production is expected to go down further in 1975.

(Continued from p. 5.)

complete with necessary equipment. Of the 4,000 water-control projects started this winter, half had been completed.

By November 20, over 77 million cubic metres of earth and stone work had been completed in Heilungkiang Province, 266,000 hectares of land terraced and levelled in Kirin Province and 466,000 hectares terraced and levelled in Liaoning Province. Construction of tens of thousands of water-control works are now going on in Liaoning, including the building of embankments, reservoirs, culverts and power-operated wells. The scale, speed and quality of projects in Liaoning, Kirin and Heilungkiang this winter have all surpassed those of any previous year.

Leading cadres at various levels work alongside the peasants and join them in the criticism of Lin Biao and Confucius. Carrying bed-rolls and shovels with them, nearly 100,000 cadres have gone to the construction sites to take part in the struggle to transform nature in the three snow-bound provinces in the northeast. Their spirit has encouraged the fighting will of the commune members.

ON THE HOME FRONT

Woollen Textile Industry

CHINA'S present annual output of woollen fabrics is 12 times what it was before liberation. This industry not only supplies the home market with a rich variety of goods but exports them to dozens of foreign countries.

Before liberation there were only about 20 woollen mills in the country, mostly in the few coastal cities, but none in the major wool-producing areas of Sinkiang, Tibet and Chinghai. At that time, both equipment and raw materials had to be imported.

Goat wool of which China has an abundant supply is an excellent raw material for making woollen fabrics. In pre-liberation days, however, trade in this commodity was a monopoly of foreign capitalists who bought at cheap prices, shipped it abroad for processing and then sold it back to China. As the domestic market was glutted with foreign goods, the hard-pressed woollen textile industry, like other national industries, found it difficult to continue, let alone expand.

Now woollen mills have been set up in all wool-producing areas. Shanghai, Tientsin, Shenyang, Inner Mongolia and other places have become centres of woollen textile industry.

The outdated imported woollen textile machinery inherited from pre-liberation times has been replaced by new-type machines made in China. The Huhehot Woollen Mill in Inner Mongolia, founded in 1934 with two small workshops and a work force of less than 100, has made rapid progress since 1949, and especially since the start of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in 1966. There are now 1,000 workers. The factory buildings, six times the size of the old workshops, have been completely re-equipped with new Chinese-made machinery. Local wool is used to turn out dozens of products including woollen blankets with relief patterns, whereas in the

old days over and above ordinary woollen material for making overcoats and suits, there was little variety.

Alongside these advances, the number of engineers and technicians working in the woollen textile industry has increased considerably since liberation.

Rural Credit Co-operatives

ON the eve of the founding of the People's Republic of China, Chairman Mao pointed out: "It is necessary to organize producers', consumers' and credit co-operatives." In response to his teaching, credit co-operatives serving as auxiliaries to the state bank were set up all over China's rural areas after 1949. They have developed further during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution so that now every rural people's commune has its own, and one-third of the production brigades have branches, thus initially forming a brand-new socialist financial network in the Chinese countryside.

Individual peasants or collectives deposit their money or get loans at the credit co-ops. When they were first established, these co-ops played a great role in absorbing scattered funds and issuing loans to help peasants tide over difficulties in production or livelihood and curb usurious transactions. They have also contributed to consolidating and developing the socialist collective economy.

The expansion of socialist agricultural production has brought with it a rise in the peasants' income. More and more of them have savings in the credit co-ops, while the number of accounts on the debit side has greatly diminished. By the end of last June, commune members' deposits had risen to 3.1 times the figure at the end of June 1965, the year before the Great Cultural Revolution began. Increased savings, both collective and individual, make it possible for over 60 per cent of the credit co-ops in the country to provide the local communes and brigades with all or the bulk of the funds

they need in agricultural production. Many rural credit co-ops deposit their surplus funds in the state bank to aid socialist construction. The amount they had deposited in the state bank by the end of June this year was 2.6 times that at the end of June 1965.

Transplanting Winter Wheat

RURAL areas around Peking are now actively popularizing a new technique for growing winter wheat which involves transplanting. This year the method has been applied to 4,660 hectares of land, treble the figure for last year. In the Langfang area of Hopei Province not far from Peking, transplanting has been carried out on 9,200 hectares this year.

Peking's outskirts and the Langfang area began experimenting with this new agro-technique in 1972. Experience gained over the last two years show that this method produces higher per-hectare yields. In the past, winter wheat was sown immediately after the late autumn crops were gathered. Low temperatures in late autumn retarded sprouting and affected the growth of the wheat seedlings. Now, seedlings are cultivated in advance in nurseries and transplanted earlier than the traditional planting season. As seedlings grow better in nurseries, so after transplantation the plants are evenly distributed and can fully use the favourable conditions of soil, water, fertilizer and light. In the later period of their growth, the stems are strong and resist lodging, while the ears are large with more grains. Records show that transplanting brought 20-30 per cent higher yields than the method of sowing directly. On some plots, the yield averaged 8.25 tons per hectare.

One of the production brigades in Pingku County on the outskirts of Peking transplanted winter wheat to 30 hectares of land in the autumn of 1973 with a yield averaging 1.1 tons per hectare more than under the old method.

Another merit of transplanting winter wheat is that it saves a lot of seeds, and the seedlings thrive even when transplanted in alkaline land.

Murals from the Han To the Tang Dynasties

(Chinese edition with explanatory
notes in English, French or Japanese)

This album contains a selection of mural paintings from 13 tombs exhumed since the founding of New China, particularly since the start of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. These tombs in which members of feudal imperial households and court officials were buried date back to the period from the late Western Han to the Tang Dynasties (1 B.C.-8 A.D.).

These mural paintings mainly show the luxurious and extravagant life of the feudal rulers and the struggle for production of the labouring people. They reveal the class contradictions in Chinese feudal society from the Han to the Tang Dynasties and reflect the painters' superb skill and the standard of painting at that time. Rich and colourful, they are valuable in the study of Chinese painting of that period.

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