

# PEKING REVIEW

9

February 28, 1975

北  
京  
周  
報

**Marx, Engels and Lenin on the  
Dictatorship of the Proletariat**

**President Samora Visits China**

*Build a Theoretical Force for Combating  
And Preventing Revisionism*

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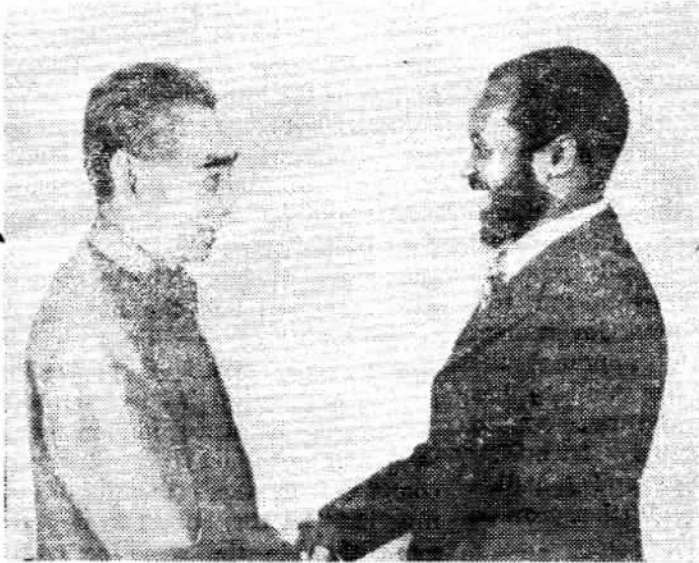
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## President Samora Visits China

**T**HE Mozambique Friendship Delegation led by Samora Moises Machel, President of the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO), arrived in Peking by special plane on February 20 for an official visit

7, 1974 agreement on Mozambique's independence. The Chinese people are elated that President Samora now visits China at the head of the delegation, bringing with him the Mozambican people's happy



Premier Chou En-lai meets with President Samora.

to China. Chinese leaders Teng Hsiao-ping, Ni Chih-fu and Ngapo Ngawang-Jigme, Foreign Minister Chiao Kuan-hua and a throng of several thousand were at the airport to warmly welcome comrades-in-arms from the African forefront of the struggle against colonialism and imperialism.

The Mozambican people, led by FRELIMO, sparked the flames of armed struggle on September 25, 1964 when they took up arms in attacks against the Portuguese colonialists. They finally won the right to national independence after a decade of hard, bloody battles, forcing the Portuguese Government to sign the September

tidings of victory and their comradeship-in-arms.

The people of the capital gave the Mozambican people a militant salute. The streets were alive with a warm atmosphere of friendship. The flag of FRELIMO and the Chinese national

flag flew side by side over the airport. Colourful bunting fluttered on the city's main thoroughfare. Huge streamers on tall buildings carried the slogans: "Firm support for the Mozambican people in their just struggle against imperialism and colonialism!" "Firm support for the Mozambican people in their just struggle to win and consolidate national independence!" "Long live the friendship between the people of China and Mozambique!" "Long live the great unity of the people of the third world!"

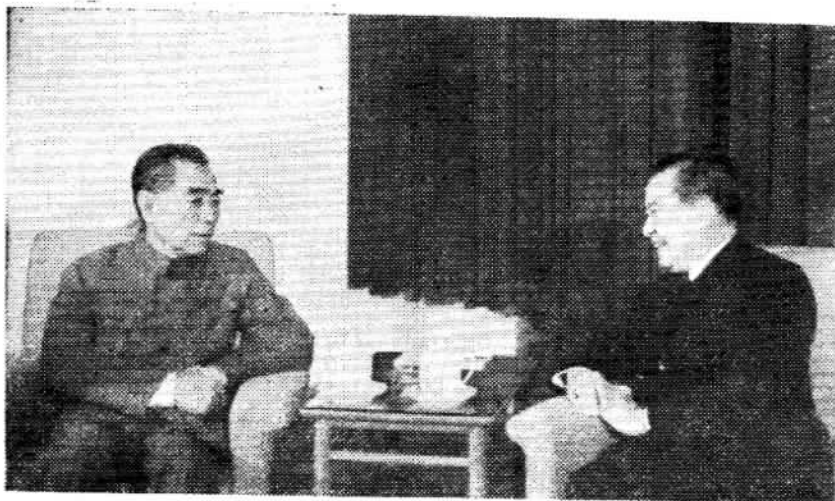
A grand welcoming ceremony was held at the airport. The official anthem of FRELIMO and the Chinese national anthem were played. President Samora, accompanied by Vice-Premier Teng, reviewed a guard of honour made up of men of the ground, naval and air forces of the Chinese People's Liberation Army.

That evening Premier Chou En-lai met in a hospital with President Samora Moises Machel and delegation members Jorge Rebelo, Gideon Ndobe and Rui Baltazar.

Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping gave a grand welcoming banquet at the Great Hall of the People the same evening in the name of Premier Chou. Both Vice-Premier Teng and President Samora spoke at the occasion. (For excerpts of their speeches see pp. 13-15.)



The Mozambique Friendship Delegation led by President Samora receives a rousing welcome at Peking Airport.



Premier Chou En-lai meets Samdech Norodom Sihanouk.

### Premier Chou Meets Samdech Norodom Sihanouk

Premier Chou En-lai met with Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia and Chairman of the National United Front of Cambodia, in a hospital on February 24.

Foreign Minister Chiao Kuan-hua, Chinese Ambassador to Cambodia Sun Hao and Deputy Department Director of the Foreign Ministry Kao Chien-chung were at the meeting.

### Coronation of King of Nepal Congratulated

Chu Teh, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, and Chou En-lai, Premier of the State Council, sent a message on February 22 to King Birendra Bir Bikram Shah Dev of Nepal, extending warmest congratulations and best wishes on His Majesty's coronation.

The message reads: "Your Majesty is an esteemed and well-acquainted friend of the Chinese people and an outstanding statesman of Nepal. Under Your Majesty's leadership, the Nepalese Government and people have carried on an unremitting struggle to safeguard national independence, defend state sovereignty and develop the national economy. The Chinese Government and people greatly admire Nepal's valiant spirit of defying duress and daring to fight and will, as always, firmly support the Nepalese Government and people in their just struggle.

"Your Majesty firmly pursues a policy of friendship towards China and has made important contributions towards developing China-Nepal friendship and the friendly relations and co-operation between our two countries. The Chinese Government and people highly appraise the valuable efforts Your Majesty has made in this regard and are convinced that the traditional friendship between the Chinese and Nepalese peoples will certainly further grow in strength and develop."

To attend the coronation of King Birendra, Vice-Premier Chen Hsi-lien, Special Envoy of the People's Republic of China, and his party including Vice-Foreign Minister Han Nien-lung and Deputy Director of the Foreign Ministry's Asian Affairs Department Chang Han-chih arrived in Kathmandu by special plane on February 22.

When Vice-Premier Chen left Peking, he was seen off at the airport by Vice-Premiers Teng Hsiao-ping and Chi Teng-kuei, Vice-Chairmen of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress Hsu Hsiang-chien and Ngapo Ngawang-Jigme, Foreign Minister Chiao Kuan-hua and others.

### Solicitude for Mauritian People In Cyclone Afflicted Areas

Premier Chou En-lai on February 20 sent a message to Prime Minister of Mauritius Sir Seewoosagar Ramgoolam, expressing deep sympathy for the Mauritian people in cyclone afflicted areas.

The Chinese Red Cross Society contributed 20,000 yuan worth of canned food to help the people in the afflicted areas tide over their temporary difficulties.

### Achievements in Farm Capital Construction

China's peasants have been doing farm capital construction work on a gigantic scale since autumn harvests ended. They are busy building farmland improvement projects everywhere, from the Heilung River in the northeast to Hainan Island in the south, from the Tibetan Plateau known as the "Roof of the World" to the southeast coast. They are reshaping mountains, harnessing rivers, building reservoirs and levelling land, building terraced fields and garden-like fields, and digging canals and ditches. The amount of earth removed and the number of people taking part are the largest in recent years. Work is proceeding swiftly and the quality is good.

Upwards of 6,200 million cubic metres of earth and stone work were completed in three months beginning last October, almost 50 per cent more than in the same period of 1973. The amount of earth removed is equivalent to over 30 times that removed in building the Panama Canal. More than a hundred million people have taken part.

Of the 900,000 different water conservancy projects undertaken throughout China, half a million had been completed by the end of 1974. Irrigation was added or improved on some 1,460,000 hectares of land.

"Piecemeal work means little, and we must dare to reshape mountains and rivers for socialist agriculture," say members of the Tachai Production Brigade in Shansi Province, national pace-setter in agriculture. They speak the minds of peasants throughout China.

In Hsiyang County where the Tachai Brigade is located, hillocks are being blasted and plains created on hills and slopes, over 50 "man-made plains" projects have been engaged in by the county this winter.

In Liaoning, Kirin and Heilungkiang Provinces where temperatures

(Continued on p. 19.)

# MARX, ENGELS AND LENIN ON THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT

*In accordance with Chairman Mao's instruction, "Renmin Ribao" and "Hongqi" selected and compiled part of the expositions from Marx, Engels and Lenin on the dictatorship of the proletariat. On February 22, "Renmin Ribao" devoted three and a half pages to these quotations together with an editor's note by "Renmin Ribao" and "Hongqi." Following are the editor's note and the quotations. — P.R. Ed.*

Our great leader Chairman Mao recently gave an important instruction on the question of theory.

Chairman Mao said: **Why did Lenin speak of exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie? This question must be thoroughly understood. Lack of clarity on this question will lead to revisionism. This should be made known to the whole nation.**

Speaking of the socialist system, Chairman Mao said: **In a word, China is a socialist country. Before liberation she was much the same as capitalism. Even now she practises an eight-grade wage system, distribution to each according to his work and exchange by means of money, which are scarcely different from those in the old society. What is different is that the system of ownership has changed. Chairman Mao pointed out: Our country at present practises a commodity system, and the wage system is unequal too, there being the eight-grade wage system, etc. These can only be restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Thus it would be quite easy for people like Lin Piao to push the capitalist system if they come to power. Therefore, we should read some more Marxist-Leninist works.**

Chairman Mao also pointed out: **Lenin said, "Small production engenders capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously, and on a mass scale." This also occurs among a section of the workers and a section of the Party members. Both within the ranks of the proletariat and among the personnel of state organs there are people who follow the bourgeois style of life.**

Chairman Mao's instruction profoundly expounds the Marxist theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat and indicates the utmost importance of the study of the theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat at present. This should draw top attention among the comrades of the whole Party and the people of the whole country.

In accordance with Chairman Mao's instruction, we have selected and compiled part of the expositions by Marx, Engels and Lenin on the dictatorship of the proletariat for everybody to study. First of all, the leading cadres should be in the van in studying these quotations well and they should conscientiously study the principal works on the dictatorship of the proletariat by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and by Chairman Mao. At the same time, it is necessary to organize the Party members, cadres and the broad masses to study them well;

We should fully grasp the tremendous current significance and the far-reaching historical significance of Chairman Mao's instruction.

It is a major matter of combating and preventing revisionism and consolidating and strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat for the hundreds of millions of people throughout the country to study and master the Marxist theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Party committees at all levels should firmly and effectively grasp the study of the theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat, more consciously implement the Party's basic line and policies, achieve greater success in the movement to criticize Lin Biao and Confucius, and continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat through to the end.

No credit is due to me for discovering the existence of classes in modern society, nor yet the struggle between them. Long before me bourgeois historians had described the historical development of this class struggle and bourgeois economists the economic anatomy of the classes. What I did that was new was to prove: 1) that the *existence of classes* is only bound up with *particular historical phases in the development of production*, 2) that the class struggle necessarily leads to the *dictatorship of the proletariat*, 3) that this dictatorship itself only constitutes the transition to the *abolition of all classes* and to a *classless society*.

Marx to J. Weydemeyer (March 5, 1852)

Between capitalist and communist society lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into the other. There corresponds to this also a political transition period in which the state can be nothing but *the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat*.

Karl Marx: *Critique of the Gotha Programme* (April-early May 1875)

This Socialism is the *declaration of the permanence of the revolution*, the *class dictatorship* of the proletariat as the necessary transit point to the *abolition of class distinctions generally*, to the abolition of all the relations of production on which they rest, to the abolition of all the social relations that correspond to these relations of production, to the revolutionizing of all the ideas that result from these social relations.

Karl Marx: *The Class Struggles in France, 1848-1850* (January-November 1, 1850)

In destroying the existing conditions of oppression by transferring all the means of labour to the productive labourer, and thereby compelling every able-bodied individual to work for a living, the only base for class rule and oppression would be removed.

But before such a change can be consummated, a dictatorship of the proletariat is necessary, and its first premiss is an army of the proletariat.

Karl Marx: *Speech on the Seventh Anniversary of the International* (September 1871)

The Communist revolution is the most radical rupture with traditional property relations; no wonder that its development involves the most radical rupture with traditional ideas.

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels: *Manifesto of the Communist Party* (February 1848)

Those who recognize *only* the class struggle are not yet Marxists; they may be found to be still within the boundaries of bourgeois thinking and bourgeois politics. To confine Marxism to the doctrine of the class struggle means curtailing Marxism, distorting it, reducing it to something which is acceptable to the bourgeoisie. Only he is a Marxist who *extends* the recognition of the class struggle to the recognition of the *dictatorship of the proletariat*. This is what constitutes the most profound difference between the Marxist and the ordinary petty (as well as big) bourgeois. This is the touchstone on which the *real* understanding and recognition of Marxism is to be tested.

V.I. Lenin: *The State and Revolution* (August-September 1917)

The dictatorship of the proletariat is a most determined and most ruthless war waged by the new class against a *more powerful* enemy, the bourgeoisie, whose resistance is increased *tenfold* by its overthrow (even if only in one country), and whose power lies not only in the strength of international capital, in the strength and durability of the international connections of the bourgeoisie, but also in the *force of habit*, in the strength of *small produc-*

tion. For, unfortunately, small production is still very, very widespread in the world, and small production engenders capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously, and on a mass scale. For all these reasons the dictatorship of the proletariat is essential, and victory over the bourgeoisie is impossible without a long, stubborn and desperate war of life and death, a war demanding perseverance, discipline, firmness, indomitableness and unity of will.

V.I. Lenin: "Left-Wing" Communism, An Infantile Disorder (April-May 1920)

During every transition from capitalism to Socialism, dictatorship is necessary for two main reasons, or along two main channels. Firstly, capitalism cannot be defeated and eradicated without the ruthless suppression of the resistance of the exploiters, who cannot at once be deprived of their wealth, of their advantages of organization and knowledge, and consequently for a fairly long period will inevitably try to overthrow the hated rule of the poor; secondly, every great revolution, and a socialist revolution in particular, even if there were no external war, is inconceivable without internal war, i.e., civil war, which is even more devastating than external war, and involves thousands and millions of cases of wavering and desertion from one side to another, implies a state of extreme indefiniteness, lack of equilibrium and chaos. And of course, all the elements of disintegration of the old society, which are inevitably very numerous and connected mainly with the petty bourgeoisie (because it is the petty bourgeoisie that every war and every crisis ruins and destroys first) cannot but "reveal themselves" during such a profound revolution. And these elements of disintegration cannot "reveal themselves" otherwise than in the increase of crime, hooliganism, corruption, profiteering and outrages of every kind. To put these down requires time and requires an iron hand.

There has not been a single great revolution in history in which the people did not instinctively realize this and did not reveal salutary firmness by shooting thieves on the spot. The misfortune of previous revolutions was that the revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses, which sustained them in their state of tension and gave them the strength ruthlessly to suppress the elements of disintegration, did not last long. The social, i.e., the class reason for this instability of the revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses was the weakness of the proletariat, which alone is able (if it is sufficiently numerous, class conscious and disciplined) to win

over to its side the majority of the working and exploited people (the majority of the poor, to speak more simply and popularly) and retain power sufficiently long to suppress completely all the exploiters as well as all the elements of disintegration.

It was this historical experience of all revolutions, it was this world-historical — economic and political — lesson that Marx summed up in giving his short, sharp, concise and expressive formula: dictatorship of the proletariat.

V.I. Lenin: *The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government* (March-April 1918)

The class of exploiters, the landlords and capitalists, has not disappeared and cannot disappear all at once under the dictatorship of the proletariat. The exploiters have been smashed, but not destroyed. They still have an international base in the form of international capital, a branch of which they represent. They still retain a part of certain means of production, they still have money, they still have vast social connections. Just because they have been defeated, their energy of resistance has increased a hundred- and thousand-fold. The "art" of state, military and economic administration gives them a superiority, and a very great superiority, so that their importance is incomparably greater than their numerical strength among the population would warrant. The class struggle waged by the overthrown exploiters against the victorious vanguard of the exploited, i.e., the proletariat, has become incomparably more bitter. And it cannot be otherwise in the case of a revolution, if this concept is not replaced (as it is by all the heroes of the Second International) by reformist illusions.

V.I. Lenin: *Economics and Politics in the Era of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat* (October 1919)

We in Russia (in the third year since the overthrow of the bourgeoisie) are going through the first steps in the transition from capitalism to Socialism, or the lower stage of Communism. Classes have remained, and will remain everywhere for years after the conquest of power by the proletariat. Perhaps in England, where there is no peasantry (but where there are small owners!), this period may be shorter. The abolition of classes means not only driving out the landlords and capitalists — that we accomplished with comparative ease — it also means abolishing the small commodity producers, and they cannot be driven out, or crushed; we must live in harmony with them;

they can (and must) be remoulded and re-educated only by very prolonged, slow, cautious organizational work. They encircle the proletariat on every side with a petty-bourgeois atmosphere, which permeates and corrupts the proletariat and causes constant relapses among the proletariat into petty-bourgeois spinelessness, disunity, individualism, and alternate moods of exaltation and dejection. The strictest centralization and discipline are required within the political party of the proletariat in order to counteract this, in order that the *organizational* role of the proletariat (and that is its *principal* role) may be exercised correctly, successfully, victoriously. The dictatorship of the proletariat is a persistent struggle — bloody and bloodless, violent and peaceful, military and economic, educational and administrative — against the forces and traditions of the old society. The force of habit of millions and tens of millions is a most terrible force. Without an iron party tempered in the struggle, without a party enjoying the confidence of all that is honest in the given class, without a party capable of watching and influencing the mood of the masses, it is impossible to conduct such a struggle successfully. It is a thousand times easier to vanquish the centralized big bourgeoisie than to “vanquish” the millions and millions of small owners; yet they, by their ordinary, everyday, imperceptible, elusive, demoralizing activity, achieve the *very* results which the bourgeoisie need and which tend to *restore* the bourgeoisie. Whoever weakens ever so little the iron discipline of the party of the proletariat (especially during the time of *its* dictatorship), actually aids the bourgeoisie against the proletariat.

V.I. Lenin: “Left-Wing” Communism, *An Infantile Disorder* (April-May 1920)

Ay, the working class is not severed by a Chinese Wall from the old bourgeois society. And when a revolution takes place, it does not happen as in the case of the death of an individual, when the deceased person is simply removed. When the old society perishes, you cannot nail the corpse of bourgeois society into a coffin and lower it into the grave. It disintegrates in our midst; the corpse rots and poisons us.

V.I. Lenin: *Report to a Joint Session of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee, the Moscow Soviet of Workers', Peasants', and Red Army Deputies and the Trade Unions* (June 1918)

What we have to deal with here is a communist society, not as it has *developed* on its own foundations, but, on the contrary, just as it *emerges* from

capitalist society; which is thus in every respect, economically, morally and intellectually, still stamped with the birth marks of the old society from whose womb it emerges. Accordingly, the individual producer receives back from society — after the deductions have been made — exactly what he gives to it. What he has given to it is his individual quantum of labour. For example, the social working day consists of the sum of the individual hours of work; the individual labour time of the individual producer is the part of the social working day contributed by him, his share in it. He receives a certificate from society that he has furnished such and such an amount of labour (after deducting his labour for the common funds), and with this certificate he draws from the social stock of means of consumption as much as the same amount of labour costs. The same amount of labour which he has given to society in one form he receives back in another.

Here obviously the same principle prevails as that which regulates the exchange of commodities, as far as this is exchange of equal values. Content and form are changed, because under the altered circumstances no one can give anything except his labour, and because, on the other hand, nothing can pass into the ownership of individuals except individual means of consumption. But, as far as the distribution of the latter among the individual producers is concerned, the same principle prevails as in the exchange of commodity-equivalents: a given amount of labour in one form is exchanged for an equal amount of labour in another form.

Hence, *equal right* here is still — in principle — *bourgeois right*, although principle and practice are no longer at loggerheads, while the exchange of equivalents in commodity exchange exists only on *the average* and not in the individual case.

In spite of this advance, this *equal right* is still perpetually burdened with a bourgeois limitation. The right of the producers is *proportional* to the labour they supply; the equality consists in the fact that measurement is made with an *equal standard*, labour. But one man is superior to another physically or mentally and so supplies more labour in the same time, or can work for a longer time; and labour, to serve as a measure, must be defined by its duration or intensity, otherwise it ceases to be a standard of measurement. This *equal right* is an unequal right for unequal labour. It recognizes no class differences, because everyone is only a worker like everyone else; but it tacitly recognizes unequal individual endowment and thus productive capacity of the worker as natural privileges. *It is, therefore,*



a right of inequality, in its content, like every right. Right by its very nature can consist only in the application of an equal standard; but unequal individuals (and they would not be different individuals if they were not unequal) are measurable only by the same standard in so far as they are brought under the same point of view, are taken from one definite side only, for instance, in the present case, are regarded *only as workers*, and nothing more is seen in them, everything else being ignored. Further, one worker is married, another not; one has more children than another, and so on and so forth. Thus, with an equal performance of labour, and hence an equal share in the social consumption fund, one will in fact receive more than another, one will be richer than another, and so on. To avoid all these defects, right instead of being equal would have to be unequal.

But these defects are inevitable in the first phase of communist society as it is when it has just emerged after prolonged birth pangs from capitalist society. Right can never be higher than the economic structure of society and its cultural development conditioned thereby.

Karl Marx: *Critique of the Gotha Programme* (April-early May 1875)

In the first phase of communist society (usually called Socialism) "bourgeois right" is *not* abolished in its entirety, but only in part, only in proportion to the economic revolution so far attained, i.e., only in respect of the means of production. "Bourgeois right" recognizes them as the private property of individuals. Socialism converts them into *common* property. To that extent — and to that extent alone — "bourgeois right" disappears.

However, it continues to exist as far as its other part is concerned; it continues to exist in the capacity of regulator (determining factor) in the distribution of products and the allotment of labour among the members of society. The socialist principle: "He who does not work, neither shall he eat." is *already* realized; the other socialist principle: "An equal amount of products for an equal amount of labour," is also *already* realized. But this is not yet Communism, and it does not yet abolish "bourgeois right," which gives to unequal individuals, in return for unequal (really unequal) amounts of labour, equal amounts of products.

V.I. Lenin: *The State and Revolution* (August-September 1917)

Marx not only most scrupulously takes account of the inevitable inequality of men, but he also takes into account the fact that the mere conversion of the means of production into the common property of the whole of society (commonly called "Socialism") *does not remove* the defects of distribution and the inequality of "bourgeois right" which *continues to prevail* as long as products are divided "according to the amount of labour performed."

V.I. Lenin: *The State and Revolution* (August-September 1917)

Of course, bourgeois right in regard to the distribution of articles of *consumption* inevitably presupposes the existence of the *bourgeois state*, for right is nothing without an apparatus capable of *enforcing* the observance of the standards of right.

It follows that under Communism there remains for a time not only bourgeois right, but even the bourgeois state — without the bourgeoisie!

V.I. Lenin: *The State and Revolution* (August-September 1917)

Herr Duhring gives everyone a right to "quantitatively equal consumption," but he cannot compel anyone to exercise it. On the contrary, he is proud that in the world he has created everyone can do what he likes with his money. He therefore cannot prevent some from setting aside a small money hoard, while others are unable to make ends meet on the wage paid to them. He even makes this inevitable by explicitly recognizing in the right of inheritance that family property should be owned in common; whence comes also the obligation of the parents to maintain their children. But this makes a wide breach in quantitatively equal consumption. The bachelor lives like a lord, happy and content with his eight or twelve shillings a day, while the widower with eight minor children finds it very difficult to manage on this sum. On the other hand, by accepting money in payment without any question, the commune leaves open the door to the possibility that this money may have been obtained otherwise than by the individual's own labour. *Non olet*.\* The commune does not know where it comes from. But in this way all conditions are created permitting metallic money, which hitherto played the role of a mere labour certificate,

\* It (money) does not smell.

to exercise its real money function. Both the opportunity and the motive are present, on the one hand to form a hoard, and on the other to run into debt. The needy individual borrows from the individual who builds up a hoard. The borrowed money, accepted by the commune in payment for means of subsistence, once more becomes what it is in present-day society, the social incarnation of human labour, the real measure of labour, the general medium of circulation. All the "laws and administrative regulations" in the world are just as powerless against it as they are against the multiplication table or the chemical composition of water. And as the builder of the hoard is in a position to extort interest from people in need, usury is restored along with metallic money functioning as money.

Frederick Engels: *Anti-Duhring* (September 1876-June 1878)

Once the commodity-producing society has further developed the value form, which is inherent in commodities as such, to the money form, various germs still hidden in value break through to the light of day. The first and most essential effect is the generalization of the commodity form. Money forces the commodity form even on the objects which have hitherto been produced directly for self-consumption; it drags them into exchange. Thereby the commodity form and money penetrate the internal husbandry of the communities directly associated for production; they break one tie of communion after another, and dissolve the community into a mass of private producers.

Frederick Engels: *Anti-Duhring* (September 1876-June 1878)

What is freedom of turnover? Freedom of turnover is freedom to trade, and freedom to trade means going back to capitalism. Freedom of turnover and freedom to trade mean commodity exchange between individual, small proprietors. All of us who have learnt at least the ABC of Marxism know that this turnover and freedom to trade inevitably lead to the division of the commodity producers into owners of capital and owners of labour power, a division into capitalists and wage workers, i.e., the restoration of capitalist wage slavery, which does not come like a bolt from the blue, but all over the world grows precisely out of commodity agriculture. We know this perfectly well, theoretically, and in Russia no one who has watched the life and

economic conditions of the small farmer can have failed to observe this.

V.I. Lenin: *Report at the Tenth Congress of the R.C.P. (B.)* (March 1921)

The bourgeoisie is born of commodity production; the peasant who has a surplus of hundreds of poods of grain that he does not need for his family and does not deliver to the workers' state as a loan to help the hungry worker, and profiteers under the prevailing conditions of commodity production — what is he? Is he not a bourgeois? Is the bourgeoisie not born in this way?

V.I. Lenin: *Seventh All-Russia Congress of Soviets* (December 1919)

Yes, by overthrowing the landowners and bourgeoisie we cleared the way but we did not build the edifice of socialism. On the ground cleared of the bourgeois generation, new generations continually appear in history, as long as the ground gives rise to them, and it does give rise to any number of bourgeois. As for those who look at the victory over the capitalists in the way that the petty proprietors look at it — "they grabbed, let me have a go too" — indeed, every one of them is the source of a new generation of bourgeois.

V.I. Lenin: *Session of the All-Russia C.E.C.* (April 1918)

Comrade Rykov, who in the economic sphere knows the facts very well, told us of the new bourgeoisie which exists in our country. That is true. It is arising not only from among our Soviet government employees — to an insignificant degree it can arise from them also — it is arising from among the peasants and handicraftsmen, who have been liberated from the yoke of the capitalist banks and who are now cut off from railway transport. That is a fact. How do you expect to get around this fact? You are only flattering your illusions, or introducing badly digested book learning into reality, which is far more complex. It shows us that even in Russia capitalist commodity production is alive, operating, developing and giving birth to a bourgeoisie, just as in every capitalist society.

V.I. Lenin: *At the Eighth Congress of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks)* (March 1919)

Among the Soviet engineers, the Soviet school-teachers and the privileged, i.e., the most highly

skilled and best situated, *workers* in the Soviet factories, we observe a constant revival of absolutely all the negative traits peculiar to bourgeois parliamentarism, and we are conquering this evil — gradually — only by tireless, constant, prolonged and persistent struggle, proletarian organization and discipline.

V.I. Lenin: *"Left-Wing" Communism, An Infantile Disorder* (April-May 1920)

The workers were never separated by a Chinese Wall from the old society. And they have preserved a good deal of the traditional mentality of capitalist society. The workers are building a new society without themselves having become new people, cleansed of the filth of the old world; they are still standing up to their knees in that filth. We can only dream of cleansing ourselves of that filth. It would be the height of utopianism to think that this can be done all at once. It would be a utopianism which in practice would only postpone socialism to kingdom come.

No, that is not the way we are setting out to build socialism. We are doing so while still standing on the soil of capitalist society, combating all those weaknesses and shortcomings with which the working people are also affected and which tend to drag the proletariat down.

V.I. Lenin: *Report at Second All-Russian Trade Union Congress* (January 1919)

There is a petty-bourgeois tendency to transform the members of the Soviets into "parliamentarians," or else into bureaucrats. We must combat this by drawing all the members of the Soviets into the practical work of administration. In many places the departments of the Soviets are gradually becoming merged with the Commissariats. Our aim is to draw the whole of the poor into the practical work of administration, and every step that is taken in this direction — the more varied they are, the better — should be carefully recorded, studied, systematized, tested by wider experience and embodied in law. Our aim is to ensure that every toiler, after having finished his eight hours' "task" in productive labour, shall perform state duties without pay: the transition to this is particularly difficult, but this transition alone can guarantee the final consolidation of Socialism.

V.I. Lenin: *The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government* (March-April 1918)

We do not need fictitious Party members even as a gift. Our Party, the Party of the revolutionary working class, is the only government party in the world which is concerned not in increasing its membership but in improving its quality, and in purging itself of "self-seekers." We have more than once carried out re-registration of Party members in order to get rid of these "self-seekers" and to leave in the Party only politically enlightened elements who are sincerely devoted to Communism. We have further taken advantage of the mobilizations for the front and of the subbotniks to purge the Party of those who are only "out for" the benefits accruing to membership of a government party and do not want to bear the burden of self-sacrificing work on behalf of Communism.

V.I. Lenin: *The Workers' State and Party Week* (October 1919)

Opportunism is our principal enemy. Opportunism in the upper ranks of the working class movement is not proletarian socialism, but bourgeois socialism. Practice has shown that the active people in the working class movement who adhere to the opportunist trend are better defenders of the bourgeoisie, than the bourgeoisie itself.

V.I. Lenin: *Report at the Second Congress of the Communist International* (July-August 1920)

The bourgeoisie in our country has been vanquished, but it has not yet been uprooted, not yet destroyed, and not even utterly broken. That is why a new and higher form of struggle against the bourgeoisie is on the order of the day, the transition from the very simple task of further expropriating the capitalists to the much more complicated and difficult task of creating conditions in which it will be impossible for the bourgeoisie to exist, or for a new bourgeoisie to arise. Clearly, this task is immeasurably more significant than the previous one; and until it is fulfilled there will be no Socialism.

V.I. Lenin: *The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government* (March-April 1918)

Clearly, in order to abolish classes completely, it is not enough to overthrow the exploiters, the landlords and capitalists, not enough to abolish their rights of ownership; it is necessary also to abolish all private ownership of the means of production, it is

necessary to abolish the distinction between town and country, as well as the distinction between manual workers and brain workers. This requires a very long period of time.

V.I. Lenin: *A Great Beginning* (June 1919)

"Communist" features begin only with the appearance of subbotniks, that is, the unpaid work of individual persons, unregulated by any government or state, performed on a wide scale for the public good. This is not help rendered to a neighbour, such as was always practised in the countryside; this is labour to satisfy a general need of the state, organized on a wide scale, and unpaid. It would therefore be more correct to apply the word communist not only to the name of the Party, but also, and exclusively, to such economic phenomena in our social life as are "communist" in fact. If there is anything communistic in our present system in Russia it is the subbotniks, and only the subbotniks; everything else is but a fight against capitalism for the consolidation of socialism, from which, after its complete triumph, should grow that communism which we observe in the subbotniks, not as a theoretical thing but as an actual fact.

V.I. Lenin: *Subbotniks* (December 1919)

The revolution we have begun and have already been making for two years, and which we are firmly determined to carry to its conclusion, is possible and feasible only provided we achieve the transfer of power to the new class, provided the bourgeoisie, the capitalist slave-owners, the bourgeois intellectuals, the representatives of all the owners and property holders are replaced by the new class in all spheres of government, in all government affairs, in the entire business of directing the new life, from top to bottom.

V.I. Lenin: *Report at Second All-Russian Trade Union Congress* (January 1919)

In a higher phase of communist society, after the enslaving subordination of the individual to the division of labour, and with it also the antithesis between mental and physical labour, has vanished; after labour has become not only a means of life but itself life's prime want; after the productive forces have also increased with the all-round development of the individual, and all the springs of co-operative wealth flow more abundantly — only then can the

narrow horizon of bourgeois right be crossed in its entirety and society inscribe on its banners: From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs!

Karl Marx: *Critique of the Gotha Programme* (April-early May 1875)

The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions. Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communistic revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win.

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels: *Manifesto of the Communist Party* (February 1848)

I also hope that in addition to talks and lectures you will devote some time to reading at least some of the most important works of Marx and Engels. I have no doubt that these most important works are to be found in the catalogues of literature and in the handbooks which are available to the pupils of the Soviet and Party school; and although, again, some of you may at first be dismayed by the difficulty of the exposition, I must again warn you that you should not be perturbed by this fact and that what is unclear at a first reading will become clear at a second reading, or when you subsequently approach the question from a somewhat different angle. For I once more repeat that the question is so complex and has been so confused by bourgeois scholars and writers that anybody who desires to study this question seriously and to master it independently must attack it several times, return to it again and again and consider the question from various angles in order to attain a clear and definite understanding of it. And it will be all the easier to return to this question because it is such a fundamental, such a basic question of all politics, and because not only in such stormy and revolutionary times as the present, but even in the most peaceful times, you will come across this question in any newspaper in connection with any economic or political question. Every day, in one connection or another, you will be returning to this question: what is the state, what is its nature, what is its significance and what is the attitude of our Party, the Party that is fighting for the overthrow of capitalism, the Communist Party — what is its attitude to the state?

V.I. Lenin: *The State* (July 1919)

# Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping's Speech

(Excerpts)

PRESIDENT Samora is a well-acquainted and esteemed friend of the Chinese people, who visited China twice in the years when he was fighting for the independence of Mozambique. Today, it fills us with exceptional warmth to meet our comrade-in-arms again. I am entrusted by Premier Chou En-lai with the task of hosting this welcoming banquet. On behalf of Chairman Mao Tsetung, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress Chu Teh, Premier Chou En-lai and the Chinese Government and people, I express warm welcome to President Samora and the other distinguished guests from Mozambique.

The people of Mozambique are a heroic people with a glorious tradition of combating imperialism and colonialism. Over the last five centuries, they have waged a protracted, dauntless and valiant struggle for national independence and freedom against Portuguese colonial rule, adding an epic chapter to the history of the African people's anti-imperialist struggle. In September 1964, in particular, the people of Mozambique, under the leadership of the Mozambique Liberation Front [FRELIMO], took the correct road of armed struggle and have since then constantly expanded their own forces in the struggle, dealt increasingly heavy blows at the Portuguese colonialists and finally compelled Portugal to recognize the Mozambican people's right to independence. This is a great victory for the people of Mozambique who have persisted in protracted armed struggle. It is a heavy blow at the white racist regimes in South Africa and Rhodesia and a strong encouragement to the liberation struggles of the people in the non-independent territories in southern Africa. Of course, the colonialist and racist forces will not be resigned to their defeat but will invariably seek an opportunity to stage a comeback, and neo-colonialism of various descriptions are attempting to carry out sabotage and make trouble. We are convinced, however, that under the leadership of President Samora and FRELIMO, the people of Mozambique, who have been tempered in protracted armed struggle, carrying forward the glorious revolutionary tradition, heightening their vigilance and persevering in struggle, will certainly win greater victories in their struggle for realizing and consolidating national independence.

At present, the international situation is excellent; the people of the world are striding forward in this situation characterized by great disorder under heaven. Countries want independence, nations want liberation, and the people want revolution — this historical torrent is surging forward irresistibly. The two superpowers which are contending for world hegemony are condemn-

ed and opposed ever more strongly by the people of the world, particularly the countries and the people of the third world, and are having a very tough time. In an attempt to extricate themselves from their crises at home and abroad, they are intensifying their contention for world hegemony and stepping up their expansion abroad. Every day they are talking about peace but actually preparing for war. The danger of a new world war is increasing, and the people of all countries must get prepared against this. But, looking into the world's future, we are full of confidence; the people of the world are forging ahead, and the factors for revolution are increasing. Whether war gives rise to revolution or revolution prevents war, in either case the future of the world will be bright.

At present, the African people are constantly winning new victories in their struggle against imperialism, colonialism, racism, Zionism and big-power hegemonism. The five-century-old Portuguese colonial rule in Africa has crumbled under the blow of the protracted armed struggle of the African people. In Zimbabwe, Namibia and Azania, which are under the rule of white racist regimes, the African people's armed struggles and mass movements for national liberation are increasingly deepening. The numerous independent African states are continuing their triumphant advance along the road of consolidating political independence and striving for economic independence. With common hatred against the enemy, the African peoples are supporting one another in their common struggle, presenting an excellent situation of unity against imperialism. Yet experience tells us that no reactionary forces will step down from the stage of history of their own accord. What merits attention now is that in order to save themselves from their doom, the white racist regimes in South Africa and Rhodesia, supported by imperialism and instigated by the superpowers, have changed their tactics and are energetically advocating "reconciliation," attempting thereby to put out the flames of the African people's armed struggle. The reactionaries habitually resort to the counter-revolutionary dual tactics of armed suppression and political deception. The revolutionary people must guard against this and be good at using revolutionary dual tactics to oppose the counter-revolutionary dual tactics. In negotiations, one should base himself on fighting. As is pointed out in the Dar-es-Salaam Declaration adopted by the Liberation Committee of the Organization of African Unity at its 24th session, if facts show that armed struggle is the only way of gaining their liberation, Africans "will continue fighting until that objective is achieved." We are convinced that

the African people, maintaining vigilance, strengthening their unity and persevering in struggle, will certainly foil all schemes of the enemy and win complete independence and liberation for the entire African continent. Following Chairman Mao's consistent teachings, the Chinese people will, as always, firmly support the African people in their just struggle.

Although China and Mozambique are separated by mountains and oceans, the common struggle against im-

perialism and colonialism closely links our two peoples. We are comrades-in-arms on the same front. Now, on the eve of the independence of Mozambique, His Excellency President Samora has personally led the Mozambique Friendship Delegation in visiting our country. This will surely make a new contribution to further enhancing the militant friendship between the peoples of China and Mozambique. We sincerely wish complete success to the official visit of His Excellency President Samora and his delegation.

## President Samora's Speech

(Excerpts)

**A**N old friendship, forged and tested in the most difficult hours of the life of our people, a friendship that expresses the comradeship-in-arms existing between us, has led us to the People's Republic of China.

During ten years of people's war, under the leadership of FRELIMO and because the political line of FRELIMO was correct, the Mozambican people, starting from nothing, gradually became strong and were thus able to crush the colonialist-imperialist aggression and overthrow the tyranny of Lisbon. Along with this effort for liberation against the foreign occupationists and because practice has clearly proved that it is impossible to separate the process of social liberation from the radical transformation of socio-economic structures, FRELIMO has led the masses in deepening the content and objectives of the struggle, thus turning the liberation struggle into a democratic people's revolution.

With the independence of Mozambique on June 25 this year, the first stage of our struggle will have concluded victoriously.

The victory of our people is also the outcome of sacrifices sustained by the broad movement of solidarity that has supported us, sacrifices of the fraternal peoples of Tanzania, Zambia and all Africa, and sacrifices of the democratic and progressive forces of the whole world.

Our victory is also in particular the outcome of the great support rendered by our natural allies, the socialist countries.

Ever since the beginning of our struggle, the People's Republic of China has stood in the vanguard of the magnificent movement supporting us. Educated by Chairman Mao Tsetung and carrying forward the internationalist tradition of the Communist Party of China, the Chinese Government and people have always been and constitute now a great and reliable strategic rear area for our fight and an invincible base supporting the struggle of the oppressed peoples.

We can say, and it is justifiable to say, that together we have fought and together we have won victory.

That is why we hold that together we must consolidate our victory.

We have come to the People's Republic of China at a time when we are engaged in the tough and glorious task of expanding and consolidating throughout the country the people's democratic power already established in the Liberated Areas.

We have come here to study and learn from your revolutionary experience of building the people's power and reconstructing a country ruined by feudal pillage and the wars of aggression launched by the reactionaries and imperialists.

We have come here to express our gratitude and the friendship, complete solidarity and comradeship-in-arms that unite our two peoples.

We have come so that we may together find the means of consolidating the common victory and further strengthening the indestructible ties that bind us.

The victory of the peoples of Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde, Mozambique, Sao Thome and Principe and the victory of the Portuguese people show clearly the irreversible trend which leads countries to national liberation and peoples in overthrowing societies of oppression and building a new society free from exploitation.

The Mozambican people, who in their fight have been supported and inspired by the heroic and exemplary struggle of the peoples of Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia, will do their best so that independent Mozambique should become a new base supporting the fraternal peoples of Indochina.

The struggle of the Arab peoples for the liberation of the occupied territories and the fight of the Palestinian people for their national rights form an integral part of the common struggle of all peoples for freedom, independence, justice and peace, and are also our own struggle.

The Mozambican people firmly support the Korean people in their fight to consolidate the socialist revolution in the north, achieve the peaceful reunification of their fatherland and put an end to the occupation and aggression in the south.

The ignominious defeat of Portuguese colonialism has tipped the balance of power in Africa in general and southern Africa in particular in favour of the forces of freedom and independence.

The formation of a united movement for the liberation of Zimbabwe under the leadership of the African National Council (ANC) is a guarantee for the successful development of the process of liberation.

In South Africa and Namibia, the struggle of the masses are creating increasingly favourable conditions for the victory of the people.

The Mozambican people, who have lived through ten years of war, desire peace. But, just as we made

sacrifices for our liberation, we will readily make sacrifices in fulfilling, as always, our international duty.

The occupation of Taiwan by the aggressive forces of U.S. imperialism is condemned by the Mozambican people and all peoples of the world. We resolutely support the just struggle of the Chinese people for the liberation of Taiwan.

Your freedom, your victories and the building of an advanced socialist society in China prove to us that for the revolution to triumph it is necessary that the people are united and organized by a correct line.

However, the victory of the correct line is not an automatic process, it is a permanent struggle against the forces of the past and of imperialism.

The victory of the correct line in China is also an expression of the wise vision and exemplary struggle of the great revolutionary, Comrade Chairman Mao Tsetung.

# Build a Theoretical Force for Combating And Preventing Revisionism

by Yuan Ching

IN the excellent situation in which we are continuing to broaden, deepen and persevere in the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, the whole Party is redoubling its efforts to build a Marxist theoretical force in accordance with the directives of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee. A review of the history of struggles on the theoretical front since the founding of New China, particularly since the start of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, will help us better understand the importance of strengthening the building of such a force and the proper way of doing the job, so as to grasp it firmly and well as a really crucial matter for the coming generations in combating and preventing revisionism and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat.

## Struggles on Theoretical Front Since Birth Of New China

The struggles on the theoretical front have always been an important aspect of class struggle. Under the conditions of socialism, theoretical struggles invariably centre around the question of consolidating or subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat and the question of struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and between the socialist road and the capitalist road. Chairman Mao has pointed out: "We advocate 'letting a hundred schools of thought contend,' and in every branch of learning there may be many schools and trends; in the matter of world outlook, however, today there are basically only two schools, the proletarian

and the bourgeois." (*Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work.*) The struggle of the proletarian world outlook against the bourgeois world outlook, including the struggle against revisionism, is a basic task in the struggles on the theoretical front for a long period of time.

Classes and class struggle still exist in socialist society. "There are still remnants of the overthrown landlord and comprador classes, there is still a bourgeoisie, and the remoulding of the petty bourgeoisie has only just started. The class struggle is by no means over. The class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the class struggle between the different political forces, and the class struggle in the ideological field between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie will continue to be long and tortuous and at times will even become very acute." (Mao Tsetung: *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People.*) Such a state of affairs is bound to find expression on the theoretical front. The landlord and capitalist classes, which vainly try for a come-back, and their representatives within the Party invariably take advantage of their positions in the sphere of ideology to create counter-revolutionary public opinion and use all sorts of bourgeois and revisionist theories, trends of thought and slogans to deceive the people and to oppose and sabotage the socialist revolution.

When the socialist transformation of ownership began in the early 1950s, Liu Shao-chi brought out the

bourgeois slogan: "Consolidate the new-democratic order." After the basic completion of this transformation in 1956, he and Chen Po-ta came up with the reactionary theory that "the contradiction between the advanced socialist system and the backward forces of social production" was the principal contradiction in socialist society. During the socialist education movement in the cities and countryside in the early 1960s, Liu Shao-chi distorted the principal contradiction in socialist society and publicized such fallacies as "the contradiction between four cleans (i.e., clean things up politically, economically, organizationally and ideologically) and four unclean" and "the intertwining of the contradictions inside and outside the Party." These absurdities were all intended to obliterate and distort this basic fact: The principal contradiction in our socialist society under the dictatorship of the proletariat is the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and the struggle between the socialist and capitalist roads, and inner-Party struggles between the two lines are a reflection in the Party of class struggle in society. The above-mentioned fallacies and slogans betrayed Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, opposed our Party's fundamental theory and practice in the socialist period, the Party's basic line and the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie. They were all designed to restore capitalism.

Pinpointing Liu Shao-chi's revisionist trash, Chairman Mao again pointed out in January 1965: "**Class contradiction, the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road exist throughout the transitional period. We shall go astray if we forget this fundamental theory and practice of our Party over the last dozen years or so.**" Conscientiously putting into practice this teaching of Chairman Mao's over the last decade, we have upheld the Party's basic line, smashed the bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-chi and of Lin Piao, refuted, exposed and criticized their counter-revolutionary rumours and sophistry, thus winning tremendous victories in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and other work and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat.

All the other major theoretical struggles in the political and ideological spheres carried out since the founding of the People's Republic of China were linked with the question of upholding or opposing the Party's basic line for the socialist period. These struggles included the criticism of the reactionary film *The Life of Wu Hsun*<sup>1</sup>, the criticism of bourgeois idealism in the study of *The Dream of the Red Chamber*<sup>2</sup>, the criticism of the Hu Feng counter-revolutionary clique<sup>3</sup>, the struggle against the Rightists<sup>4</sup>, the criticism of the reactionary metaphysical fallacy that "two combine into one."<sup>5</sup> Every step forward in the socialist revolution is always accompanied by a struggle between Marxism and revisionism and between the proletarian and bourgeois world outlooks. This is determined by

the law and characteristics of class struggle in the socialist period.

The resounding victory of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has brought revolutionary changes to the realm of the superstructure, but classes and class struggle still exist, capitalist forces and influence are still there and the struggle between Marxism and revisionism on the theoretical front remains sharp and complex. After the downfall of the bourgeois headquarters with Liu Shao-chi as its ringleader, the Lin Piao anti-Party clique took over Liu Shao-chi's counter-revolutionary cause and continued the trial of strength with our Party and people politically and ideologically. In leading the entire Party and the people of the whole country to fight against the Lin Piao anti-Party clique, Chairman Mao again and again exposed and criticized its anti-Marxist theories, trends of thought, slogans and tendencies, thereby setting right for us the socialist orientation and guiding us to win one new victory after another on the theoretical front.

To usurp supreme power in the Party and state and oppose dialectical materialism upheld by Chairman Mao and his many instructions, the renegade Lin Piao racked his brains to get "nourishment" from the garbage heap of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, capitalism and old and new revisionism and patched together counter-revolutionary theories. At the Second Plenary Session of the Party's Ninth Central Committee held in August 1970, the Lin Piao anti-Party clique trotted out the "theory of genius" which was its anti-Party theoretical programme in the service of its plot for a counter-revolutionary coup. They used idealist apriorism to oppose the materialist theory of reflection, used the idealist conception of history to oppose the materialist conception of history and resorted to rumours and sophistry in creating theoretical frauds. Some comrades for a time were duped because they did not study Marxism-Leninism well enough to distinguish materialism from idealism. It was at this crucial moment that our great leader Chairman Mao with great insight saw through the intrigues of Lin Piao and his followers and in good time warned the whole Party not to be deceived by those persons who professed to have understood Marx's works but actually did not have an inkling of them. This was a telling blow to the Lin Piao anti-Party clique's plot to stage a counter-revolutionary coup and a great victory of Marxism over revisionism.

The Lin Piao anti-Party clique raised a variety of reactionary slogans in a futile attempt to split our Party. The slogans had one thing in common, that is, they denied that the struggle between the two classes and the two roads is the principal contradiction in socialist society, negated the dictatorship of the proletariat and opposed continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. They distorted the serious class struggle and two-line struggle as contradictions be-



tween "this section of people" and "the other section of people" in the vain hope of hoodwinking some people. Doing everything possible to attack and vilify the socialist system under the dictatorship of the proletariat, they slandered the Party leadership as a "feudal autocracy," fruitlessly trying to negate our Party's democratic centralism and our Party's using Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought as the theoretical basis to guide its thinking. Thanks to Chairman Mao's teachings, the Party membership enhanced its consciousness of the line, resolutely safeguarded the unity of the Party, and completely smashed Lin Piao's splittist scheme.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has pushed the socialist cause forward. The prevailing excellent situation is getting still better and better. But the struggle over the question of affirming or negating the excellent situation has always been very intense. Because of their counter-revolutionary nature, Lin Piao and his followers and the handful of class enemies at home and abroad they represented invariably attacked one particular point without considering the situation as a whole, and described the excellent situation in our country as pitch dark. This was not strange. Prompted by their counter-revolutionary class nature, they were bound to use the bourgeois viewpoint to oppose and undermine the socialist economic base and superstructure. On the other hand, some of our comrades sometimes are not quite correct in viewing the excellent situation; this is because they do not have a good grasp of materialist dialectics. In this case, Chairman Mao has once again taught us to employ the Marxist-Leninist method to analyse the political situation and size up the class forces, thus clarifying the muddled ideas of some comrades regarding the situation and enabling us to understand that under the guidance of the correct line the situation is always excellent and that achievements always make up the main aspect, and consequently to have full confidence in the certain victory of the socialist cause.

Similarly, the movement to criticize Lin Piao and rectify the style of work and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius also involve a struggle on the theoretical front. Criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius itself is a struggle in the superstructure through which the proletariat defeats the bourgeoisie and Marxism triumphs over revisionism. Over the past three years, Chairman Mao, by continuously indicating the course we should take regarding theoretical problems, has guided us to deepen our criticisms of Lin Piao's revisionist line, the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius and the reactionary ideology of worshipping the Confucian school and opposing the Legalist school and to keep strengthening our revolutionary unity. He has also guided some comrades to correctly understand such problems as the relationship between individual character and general character and whether the criticism of Lin Piao should be directed at his ultra-Rightist nature of betraying the Party and country and trying to restore capitalism or at ultra-"Leftism." A review

of all this will enable us to see the importance of arming our minds with Marxist theory.

### A Vast Marxist Theoretical Force Needed

Class struggle on the theoretical front in the last two decades and more tells us that the opposition between materialism and idealism, between dialectics and metaphysics and between Marxism and revisionism will exist for a long time. So long as there are classes and class struggle, especially at the crucial moments in class struggle and in the course of revolution, anti-Marxist trends of thought and schools of all descriptions, the distortion and revision of the basic theories of Marxism by revisionism and the erosion and contamination of proletarian revolutionary principles by bourgeois ideology will inevitably emerge. The socialist system under the dictatorship of the proletariat cannot possibly be consolidated in the absence of a persistent struggle against the bourgeoisie and revisionism. Neglecting the study of revolutionary theory and taking theoretical struggle lightly, many people failed to differentiate between genuine and sham Marxism, with the result that for a time they supported certain erroneous viewpoints and wrong tendencies as correct and followed the wrong trend. Such cases have occurred many times in the course of class struggle and two-line struggle. Practice in struggles has brought home to us the danger of losing our bearings theoretically. We must soberly keep this serious lesson in mind.

The facts of class struggle on the ideological and theoretical fronts also show that we must have a vast theoretical force capable of using Marxism to make criticisms in order to repulse the attacks by bourgeois and revisionist trends of thought and to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat. Precisely because of this, Chairman Mao, proceeding from the high plane of combating and preventing revisionism, has on many occasions stressed the importance of building a Marxist theoretical force and held that the proletarian revolutionary cause cannot be fully consolidated without forming such a force. He also has paid great attention to and shown deep concern for the new emerging forces on the theoretical front, always wholeheartedly cherishing and supporting the "nobodies" who dare use Marxism to criticize the bourgeois world outlook and various anti-Marxist tendencies. Prior to the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, certain areas and units had trained a number of people in theoretical study, but because of the interference and sabotage by Liu Shao-chi's revisionist line, quite a number of them followed the wrong orientation and thus failed to play the militant role expected of them in theoretical struggles, and some even sank into the quagmire of revisionism. Such experience and lessons have enabled us to profoundly realize that in building a Marxist theoretical force, first of all it is necessary to grasp problems concerning the orientation and line. Only when both are correct can members of our theoretical force become daring fighters in theoretical struggles

who are not afraid to charge forward and take the enemy's ideological strongholds. The reason why some theoretical workers have been able to do much work and make some contributions in the struggle of criticizing the revisionist line of Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao since the start of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is that they have firmly implemented Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and persisted in making theoretical work serve present-day class struggle and two-line struggle.

With the deepening of the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, theoretical contingents have been mushrooming and growing in strength in various areas and units. As a result, there has emerged an excellent situation characterized by the mass study of the history of the struggle between the Confucian and the Legalist schools and of class struggle as a whole, with these theoretical contingents as the backbone. This is a revolutionary new thing worth supporting. The criticism of Confucius is more difficult than the criticism of Lin Piao, but once the masses rise in action and carry out criticisms, Confucius is toppled in no time. Needless to say, we must fully understand that theoretical work is not a matter of studying one or two problems, nor is it something that covers only one or two years, but is a long-term fighting task. Theoretical contingents are confronted with a host of problems to be studied. It is necessary to continue taking firm hold of the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius, and on no account should we relax our fighting will just because of the successes already achieved. Much remains to be done in this respect. It is imperative to conscientiously study the theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought on the dictatorship of the proletariat and make efforts to further enhance our consciousness of persevering in continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Lenin pointed out: "The essence of Marx's teaching on the state has been mastered only by those who understand that" the dictatorship of the proletariat "is necessary . . . not only for the proletariat which has overthrown the bourgeoisie, but also for the entire historical period which separates capitalism from 'classless society,' from Communism." (*The State and Revolution*.)

We must have a better understanding of the question of strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie and sum up the experience in carrying out Chairman Mao's directive that "the proletariat must exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in the realm of the superstructure, including the various spheres of culture." Not only must we study and sum up the experience of past and present class struggles in our country, but we must also pay attention to studying the various problems cropping up in class struggle in the international arena, including the contention between the two hegemonic powers and the economic crisis of capitalism. To fulfil this task, it is necessary to continue the work of popularization guided by the raising of standards, and constantly raise the standards on the basis of popu-

larization. It is necessary to give first place to assiduously studying works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and by Chairman Mao and strive to have a good grasp of the basic theories of Marxism. An important way of raising the standards of theoretical contingents is to combine serious reading and study with actual struggles. Only thus can Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought really become a weapon in our hands in fighting the bourgeoisie and revisionism. Taking into consideration the characteristics of the contingents of professional theoretical workers and those of part-time worker-peasant-soldier theoretical workers, many places have gained valuable experience in raising their Marxist theoretical level, which should be summed up and popularized.

### **Carry the Struggle of Combating and Preventing Revisionism Through to the End**

An important aspect in building a Marxist theoretical force is to learn to use Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought to differentiate various kinds of theories, trends of thought and slogans and distinguish between what is correct and what is wrong. As socialism enjoys a superior position in the ideological struggle and the basic force of political power is in the hands of the working people led by the proletariat, bourgeois and revisionist theories, trends of thought and slogans of all descriptions that appear in society invariably disguise themselves in order to deceive people. But so long as we master Marxism which serves as our telescope and microscope, we will be able to discover that they are all products of a given economic base and that they reflect the interests of a particular class, and we will be able to expose their reactionary class nature. By employing the fundamental viewpoint of dialectical materialism and historical materialism to examine the answers of various kinds of anti-Marxist theories, trends of thought and slogans to basic philosophical problems and look carefully at their attitude towards the law of historical development, we will be able to see that the ideological and political line they push is theoretically based on idealism and metaphysics and is "characterized by the breach between the subjective and the objective, by the separation of knowledge from practice." (Mao Tsetung: *On Practice*.) Their aim is to try to turn back the wheel of history and restore the old relations of production and social system. Present-day struggles are a continuation and development of those in the past. All anti-Marxist trends of thought that appear in society today have their historical origins. To discern them, it is necessary to link present-day struggles with those in the past and trace the "stream" to its "fountain-head," so as to study how they go back to their "predecessors" and how they inherit those viewpoints that have already been overcome and put on a new farce of counter-revolutionary restoration by invoking the dead souls of history. We must strive to master this method of materialist, dialectical and historical analysis in the course of struggle. If, after learning some Marxist

theory, we should lose our ability to criticize when faced by erroneous ideas and tendencies, it shows we have not studied well. An important criterion for judging whether or not the level of a theoretical contingent is high and its fighting power strong is whether or not it can discern various kinds of anti-Marxist trash in the course of theoretical struggle and carry out an unremitting struggle against them.

The struggle against the bourgeoisie and revisionism is a long-term task on the theoretical front. The deepening struggle of criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius is of far-reaching significance to consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, developing the socialist cause and preventing capitalist restoration. Worshipping the Confucian school and opposing the Legalist school, Lin Piao attacked Chin Shih Huang (see *Peking Review*, No. 50, 1974), and he used the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius as his ideological weapon in his attempt at a counter-revolutionary restoration. We should apply the Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoint and method to study the history of the struggle between the Confucian and the Legalist schools, expose the reactionary and deceptive nature of Confucianism, do away with the distortions by reactionaries in the past against the Legalist school, scientifically sum up the experience and lessons of class struggle in history and absorb what is useful to the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, all in the service of present-day struggle of combating and preventing revisionism. We are deeply convinced that through tempering in actual class struggle and two-line struggle, a vast Marxist theoretical force is bound to grow in strength at a faster pace to seize still greater victories in the struggle of criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius and carry the great struggle of combating and preventing revisionism and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat through to the end.

#### NOTES

1. *The Life of Wu Hsun* was a reactionary film publicizing bourgeois reformism and smearing the people's rev-

olution. Wu Hsun (1838-96), whom the film lauded to the skies, was a diehard defender of feudalism and an extremely despicable worshipper of the Confucian school. When the peasants' revolutionary movement was gaining momentum, he obsequiously served the feudal ruling class by raising funds to run schools and feverishly spread feudal culture, for which he was amply rewarded. Under Chairman Mao's personal leadership, the nation criticized this reactionary film in 1951.

2. *The Dream of the Red Chamber*, a famous Chinese classical novel written in the 18th century, mirrored the class struggle in feudal society, exposed the decadent and moribund feudal system and the trend of its inevitable collapse. Initiated and led by Chairman Mao himself, a systematic criticism of bourgeois idealist viewpoints in the study of this novel was carried out in 1954.

3. This refers to the counter-revolutionary clique of which the renegade Hu Feng was the ringleader and whose members had wormed their way into the revolutionary ranks. In his "My Opinions" written in 1954, Hu Feng advanced a wholesale anti-socialist programme on literature and art, maliciously attacking the Party's principles for literature and art and the dictatorship of the proletariat. The following year, *Renmin Ribao* successively published three batches of material on this counter-revolutionary clique. Chairman Mao wrote the accompanying editor's notes which thoroughly exposed and smashed the clique's counter-revolutionary schemes.

4. A reference to the beating back in 1957 of the bourgeois Rightists who had taken advantage of our Party's rectification campaign to make wild attacks against the proletariat.

5. The theory of "two combine into one" was a reactionary fallacy of bourgeois idealism and metaphysics openly dished up in May 1964 by the renegade Liu Shao-chi and his agent in the philosophical field, Yang Hsien-chen, in opposition to the Marxist materialist dialectical theory that "one divides into two." The essence of this reactionary theory lay in deliberately obliterating the fact that the two aspects of a contradiction struggle against each other and are in opposition to each other, negating the struggle and transformation of opposites into each other and spreading the bourgeois theory of the merging of contradictions. Its political aim was to tamper with our Party's basic line for the historical period of socialism and to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism in China.

(A translation of an article in "Hongqi," No. 1, 1975. Subheads and notes are ours.)

(Continued from p. 4.)

drop to 20-30 degrees below zero in winter, nearly ten million people are working on projects every day.

Owing to large-scale farm capital construction in the past two decades, the north China provinces of Hopei, Shantung and Honan, traditionally disaster-ridden, low-yielding and grain-deficient areas, have become self-sufficient in grain. This winter, local cadres and peasants are speeding up their efforts to tame the Yellow, Huai and Haiho Rivers while sinking wells to tap water, levelling land and improving soil and seeing to it that a larger

acreage can be irrigated or drained as the case may be.

Commune members in the Tibet Autonomous Region wrested a bumper harvest last year. One-third of the able-bodied commune members in the region turned out this winter to build over a hundred ditches, a dozen reservoirs and many more ponds in the snow-covered mountains and valleys.

The southern areas favoured by better farming conditions and higher yields of grain and industrial crops, neat, garden-like fields are being laid out to give good and stable yields despite drought or too much

rain. People in some coastal regions are building strong dykes to hold off the sea and make farmland of the huge enclosed areas.

The present upsurge in farm capital construction has risen on such a huge scale because the hundreds of millions of peasants have greater socialist initiative as a result of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius. The convocation of the Fourth National People's Congress has imbued the masses with still greater revolutionary enthusiasm and enhanced their determination to accelerate agricultural development.

# Put Prevention First

by Dr. Wu Chieh-ping

*This is the second article in a series on China's medicine and health work. The first, "For Workers, Peasants and Soldiers," appeared in our last issue. — Ed.*

ONE of the guiding principles in China's medical and health work is to "put prevention first." It is closely linked with the concept of serving the people, first of all the workers, peasants and soldiers. The fundamental task of medical and health work is improving the people's health so that they may serve socialist revolution and construction better. With this in mind, medical workers should not wait passively for the people to come for treatment, but should do their best to mobilize the masses to prevent disease in every way. From a long-term point of view, improving the physique of the people and reducing the incidence of disease are the basic ways of raising the health level.

The correctness of putting prevention first is self-evident. Yet this could not be carried out before China's liberation when medical work served only the few who could afford it. Living in dire poverty, millions of labouring people had no means to pay much attention to hygiene, still less were preventive measures available to them. The incidence of epidemics, parasitic and endemic diseases was high, sometimes rampant, and brought a sharp decline in the population of some areas and of some national minorities. At that time, not one health centre for the prevention of disease existed in all China.

Guided by the principle of putting prevention first since liberation in 1949, the hospital has become not only a place for treatment, but also the people's health centre. Every hospital in China takes upon itself the task of conducting propaganda concerning public health, giving vaccines and prophylactic inoculations, health check-ups as well as the care of sick in the countryside and at construction sites. Medical colleges, research institutes and pharmaceutical plants all do their work in line with the principle of putting prevention first. Every province, municipality, autonomous region, prefecture and county as well as the railway system has health centres for preventing diseases. By the end of 1973, there were

over 2,000 such health centres in the country. These are responsible for spreading hygienic knowledge among the masses, giving technical guidance to mass health campaigns, reporting infectious diseases and carrying out effective measures for preventing diseases.

Paying great attention to preventing and treating diseases, the Party's Central Committee has set up leading groups for giving all-round leadership in treating and preventing endemic diseases in north China and schistosomiasis in the 11 provinces, one municipality and one autonomous region of south China, with responsible comrades in the Party in the locality concerned taking part.

## Controlling Infectious Diseases

The principle of putting prevention first is significant in the elimination of various infectious diseases left over by old China where millions suffered from acute or chronic infectious diseases with a high mortality rate.

Nearly all these infectious diseases can be prevented. The People's Republic took immediate steps after its establishment in 1949 to treat and prevent various infectious diseases. Emphasis in the early



A barefoot doctor brings preventive medicine to the fields.

period was on highly contagious and serious diseases like smallpox, plague and cholera. Apart from vaccination and prophylactic inoculations, once a victim of these diseases was reported, he or she was isolated and given treatment to check any spreading. Within a short period, those diseases most harmful to the people's health had been wiped out throughout the country. Syphilis and gonorrhoea which were prevalent in old China rapidly declined in incidence after liberation and were later wiped out. As a result of mass health campaigns and the use of vaccines and prophylactic inoculations, the incidence of other infectious diseases has decreased markedly, and some have been brought under control.



An anti-infectious disease team visits a hamlet of the Li nationality people on Hainan Island.

by Wei Chih-jen

Generally speaking, every new-born child in the cities or countryside gets BCG and a smallpox vaccination. Other preventive vaccines, such as those for infantile paralysis, diphtheria, whooping-cough, tetanus, measles and encephalitis (B), are given regularly according to age and season. Systematic prophylactic measures continue up to school age, some even until the child is 15. In addition, adults get the necessary injections for prevention of common diseases. All vaccines and preventive medicines are provided by the state free of charge.

### Health Examination

In putting prevention first, one effective measure is health check-ups, so that diseases can be discovered and treated at an early stage.

Nearly 80 per cent of the citizens of Tientsin, an industrial city in north China, underwent a health check-up in 1972. On the basis of this, the city's medical and health organizations gave treatments and adopted preventive measures as required.

To prevent and treat tuberculosis, check-ups are given in factories and rural people's communes in many localities. In one production brigade of the Wenchuan Commune on Peking's northwestern outskirts, everyone over seven gets a fluoroscopy of the chest and children from two months to seven years old get tuberculin tests. The few cases thus found received immediate treatment. Apart from regular check-ups for workers and staff against tuberculosis, Peking's Shoutu Iron and Steel Company since 1972 has had examinations for those family members of the workers who have contact with tuberculosis, so that new cases can be located in an early stage. Along with the anti-tuberculosis campaign, work on prevention of cancer has also been done in Shanghai. Cases of cancer of lung were discovered

and satisfactory results have been obtained with early treatment.

Cancer of the esophagus is rather common in some parts of north China. City hospital statistics revealed that most patients who had come for treatment were late cases. Operations did not produce the desired results for over half of them. Thus, diagnosing at an early stage is an important matter for medical workers.

Starting from 1959, medical personnel in Honan Province, in co-operation with those from the Chinese Academy of Medical Sciences, have carried out examinations in one area of the province to determine cases of cancer of the esophagus. They use self-made tubes with abrasive balloon to collect specimens for cytological study to discover early cases of cancer of esophagus. During 1963-69, one of the research groups examined all the adults who had symptoms of the upper gastrointestinal tract, and during 1970-72 everyone above 30 was examined in selected areas. This type of survey helps a great deal in detecting early cases of cancer of esophagus and more patients were cured with early treatment. A co-ordinated group of clinical and pre-clinical specialists organized by the Chinese Academy of Medical Sciences later carried out a mass survey of 50 million people living in the 181 counties (or cities) around the Taihang Mountains in north China. Initial findings indicate that the incidence of cancer of the esophagus in north China shows a definite geographical distribution. With such epidemiological survey as a basis, various etiological factors have been studied. Practical measures to block or inhibit the carcinogenic factors or to "catch" the disease at its earliest stage are being given clinical trials on the spot.

(Continued on p. 31.)

## 240,000 Workers Study Theory in Spare-Time Schools

**A** TOTAL of 240,000 workers in Peking are now studying in more than 1,500 spare-time schools run by industrial and mining enterprises. This has played an important role in furthering the workers' study of Marxism and in broadening, deepening and persevering in the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius. It has also helped raise the workers' technical level.

Through their criticism of the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the workers in industrial, transport and capital construction departments have become more keenly aware of the importance of studying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. As a result, they have set up on a voluntary basis many spare-time study groups and they have also made energetic efforts to learn production techniques for the revolution. In compliance with the workers' requests, many factories and mines have established spare-time schools which numbered over 370 at the end of 1973 and increased more than fourfold last year during the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius.

With the study of works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and by Chairman Mao as the main subject, the spare-time schools also help the workers raise their cultural and technical levels. Courses are given by workers, cadres, technicians and some full-time teachers in close combination with the needs of the three great revolutionary movements — class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment. The workers say: We labouring people were deprived of the right to education in the old society. Now that the Party organizations have provided us with good conditions for studying revolutionary theory and technology and raising our cultural level, we must read and study conscientiously and have a good grasp of Marxism, and be fighters who consciously implement Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, so as to make our due contributions to the Chinese revolution and world revolution.

Many spare-time schools have organized the worker-students to study *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, *Critique of the Gotha Programme*, *The Civil War in France*, *The State and Revolution*, and *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* by Marx, Engels and Lenin as well as Chairman Mao's works *On Practice*, *On Contradiction*, *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions*

*Among the People* and *Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan*.

In the Peking People's Machinery Plant, when the workers studied *Critique of the Gotha Programme*, *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* and *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People* in the spare-time school, the Party committee organized more than 360 lectures and ran five study classes to help the workers study political theory. In addition, guidance to theoretical study according to the different educational levels of the workers was given. All this has resulted in a much greater keenness in earnestly reading and studying throughout the plant. Many workers have learnt the Marxist stand, viewpoint and method and applied them to their study of the history and present conditions of the Chinese revolution, the current international situation and the economic crisis in the capitalist world, thus greatly increasing their consciousness of class struggle and two-line struggle.

The worker-students combine their study with criticism and thus broaden, deepen and persevere in the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius. In the past year, a group of veteran workers attending the spare-time school at the Peking No. 2 Cotton Mill has written over 170 critical articles and on several occasions given speeches or reports in the mill or nearby middle and primary schools criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius. Employing the Marxist stand, viewpoint and method, many old and young worker-students have joined efforts to study the history of the struggle between the Confucian and the Legalist schools and of class struggle as a whole, annotated works by the Legalists, criticized bad books, plays and sayings that spread the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, and criticized Lin Piao's counter-revolutionary revisionist line. They have also written many militant critical articles, many of which have appeared in the press.

Many workers' spare-time schools have opened courses or classes on politics, economics, philosophy, history and culture. Some have sponsored lectures on Lu Hsun, China's great man of letters, thinker and revolutionary, while others have organized lectures on *The Dream of the Red Chamber*, an 18th-century Chinese classical novel. Workers are encouraged to write stories about revolution and past class struggle, to write poems

and to paint as well as create and perform theatrical items, thereby occupying all positions of culture and ideology with Marxism.

While raising their political consciousness, many worker-students have tried their best to improve production techniques. The Peking Silk Mill ran a class for electronics to help the workers acquire this new technol-

ogy and apply it to their looms. This has raised productivity, improved quality and reduced labour intensity.

These spare-time schools have trained large numbers of activists in the study of revolutionary theory, and many have become teachers in these schools. The number of these teachers rose from more than 10,000 at the end of 1973 to over 60,000 last year.

## Laos

# Two Years After the Vientiane Agreement

**T**WO years have passed since the signing of the Agreement on Restoring Peace and Achieving National Concord in Laos on February 21, 1973 in Vientiane. The Lao people in these years have had many successes in their sustained struggle to safeguard their revolutionary gains and implement and defend the Vientiane agreement.

The agreement represented a victory for the Lao people in their protracted war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation under the leadership of the Lao Patriotic Front. It ushered in a new stage in the revolutionary struggle of the Lao people.

### Consolidating and Building Liberated Areas

The consolidation and reconstruction of the liberated areas are an important part of the Lao people's defence of their revolutionary gains and the agreement in this new stage. For the past two years, the broad masses of the people and their armed forces in the liberated areas have sharpened revolutionary vigilance and, holding on to their rifles, repeatedly smashed the Vientiane ultra-Rightists' sabotage and nibbling operations conducted with aircraft, troops and spies. They also have repulsed intrusions and harassment by Saigon forces backed by the United States. At the same time, under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Lao Patriotic Front, they are hard at work to heal wounds of war and rehabilitate and develop the economy by bringing into full play their revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and hard struggle. In 1974 alone, over 4,000 hectares of waste land were reclaimed and 60-odd small and medium-sized irrigation projects and thousands of dykes and canals built. Many places had bumper grain harvests. A road network linking villages and towns is under rapid construction. Nine hundred kilometres of roads were built in 1974 in seven provinces including Savannakhet, Phong Saly and Luang Nam Tha. Culture, education and public health work

are making rapid headway. Stretching contiguously from south to north, the liberated areas, covering four-fifths of the country's territory and having one half of its population, are now being consolidated and developed into strong revolutionary bases.

### Opposing Ultra-Rightists' Sabotage Activities

To defend the Vientiane agreement, the people in the liberated areas, together with those in areas under Rightist control, constantly expose and oppose the violation of the agreement by the ultra-Rightists of Vientiane in every way. In August 1973, the Lao people frustrated a short-lived coup d'etat hatched by the ultra-Rightists. Later, on September 14, the two sides in Laos signed the protocol to the Vientiane agreement. Supported by the entire Lao people, the Lao patriotic forces and peace-loving personages on the Vientiane side in 1974 repeatedly smashed obstruction and sabotage by the Vientiane ultra-Rightists and formed the Provisional National Union Government with Prince Souvanna Phouma as Prime Minister and the National Coalition Political Council with Prince Souphanouvong as Chairman. In addition, they attained initial neutralization of the two cities of Vientiane and Luang Prabang.

On May 24, 1974, the First Session of the Lao National Coalition Political Council unanimously adopted the 18-point political programme which embodies the Lao people's interests. On January 28, the Provisional National Union Government promulgated the political programme, which was hailed by the entire Lao people.

### Watching Out for Enemy Intrigue

Unreconciled to defeat, the Vientiane ultra-Rightists, however, have stepped up putting together their forces to plot sabotage. They have used every

means to obstruct the implementation of the Vientiane agreement and the work of the Provisional National Union Government. They have also plotted against the lives of National Coalition Political Council members and schemed to oppose the decision by the Provisional National Union Government on dissolution of the Vientiane assembly. Moreover, they have continued sending their troops to launch nibbling operations against the liberated areas and barbarously suppressed the just struggles of the patriotic people in the Rightist-held

areas. They have gone so far as to plot a reactionary coup d'etat to overthrow the Provisional National Union Government.

At present, the Lao people are closely watching the Vientiane ultra-Rightists' actions while strengthening unity and heightening vigilance in their persistent struggle to implement the Vientiane agreement and its protocol and the 18-point political programme and build a Laos of peace, independence, neutrality, democracy, unity and prosperity.

## Vienna Talks

# Soviet Revisionists' New Ruse

WHEN a "new Soviet proposal" was submitted to the Vienna talks on force reduction in Central Europe, the Soviet revisionist propaganda machine brazenly advertised that adoption of the proposal "will greatly check the arms race in Central Europe" and "will keep anyone from obtaining an unilateral military superiority." However, initial analysis of the "new proposal" shows it to be something entirely different.

What is the content of this "new Soviet proposal"? It requires some NATO and Warsaw Pact countries participating in the Vienna talks to make "a joint declaration with the obligation not to increase the manpower of their armed forces in the areas (i.e. Central Europe) for the duration of the talks." There is nothing at all about disarmament, just "a freeze of the status quo." It is well known that the Soviet revisionists have all along had the advantage over the West in the strength of conventional forces in Central Europe. Far from doing any harm to them, a "freeze of the status quo" can only benefit them. Rejecting the "new Soviet proposal," a NATO spokesman said that "a freeze in advance of agreement on reductions would codify the existing disparity of forces which strongly favours the Warsaw Pact."

The Soviet revisionists have now come out with the proposal for a troop "freeze" during the talks. Yet for more than the last year when the negotiations were under way, they deployed more arms and troops in Central Europe in a drive to fortify their superior military position there. Tens of thousands of Soviet reinforcements reportedly were sent to European frontlines last year. Soviet ground, naval and air forces stationed in Europe were also fortified with vast numbers of new-type weapons. "Reinforcement first, freeze afterwards"—this is the "force reduction" ruse of the Soviet revisionists.

Still more, "freeze" advocates have kept the levels at which the Warsaw Pact bloc forces are to be frozen

a secret. A spokesman for the Soviet side is reported to have said that data on Warsaw Pact troop strength will not be made available until an agreement on principle is reached. Since no data is being made available, the Soviet revisionists are of course free to continue to reinforce their military strength in Central Europe.

Instead of "freezing" their arms expansion and war preparations in Europe, the Soviet revisionists' proposal has served to "freeze" the force reduction talks themselves. A Western reporter noted that the Soviet proposal "produced the latest in a series of deadlock situations in the 16-month negotiations."

The Soviet revisionists have been continually stepping up arms expansion and war preparations while talking profusely about "detente" and "disarmament." A few days after submission of the new "proposal," they announced that large-scale military manoeuvres will take place in the European area in March. This is another self-exposure of the so-called "freeze."

Nothing in the world can be frozen for ever. The contention between the two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States, for world hegemony and for domination in Europe has not been and can never be "frozen." It is becoming, on the contrary, fiercer and fiercer. The situation in Europe has not been and can never be "frozen." By stepping up arms expansion and war preparations in Europe, the Soviet revisionists are steadily aggravating tension and the danger of war. The consciousness and strength of the masses of peoples of different countries in their struggle against the superpowers can never be "frozen." They are increasingly heightening their vigilance against Soviet revisionist social-imperialism and dealing with it seriously.

(A commentary by Hsinhua Correspondent, February 23)



## Economic Situation in Western Europe's Major Capitalist Countries in 1974

**Italy.** Next to that of Japan, inflation rate in Italy last year was higher than in any other major capitalist country. December consumer prices went up 25.3 per cent over the same month of 1973.

The drastic increase in trade deficits was also most striking. According to the Italian Central Institute of Statistics, they reached 6,896,200 million lire for 11 of 1974. Astronomical trade deficits like these could no longer be made up, as in previous years, by earnings from tourism, services and overseas remittances, resulting in an enormous balance of payments deficit for the whole of 1974 which stood at 5,444 million dollars.

In these circumstances, Italy has been borrowing heavily abroad. As was disclosed by Minister of the Treasury Colombo, its foreign indebtedness already totalled 9,000,000 million lire (around 13,840 million dollars) at the end of 1974.

Industrial growth began slowing down markedly at the end of April. In August, industrial production index registered its first decline in 17 months, a 4.6 per cent drop from a year earlier. In the third quarter it was down nearly 5 per cent from the second; it fell by 5 per cent in October and by 11.9 per cent in November as compared with the corresponding months of 1973.

The construction industry is gripped by the most serious crisis since World War II. From 1971 to 1973, housing starts in the country averaged 200,000 annually, or less than half the domestic demand. They dropped to 150,000 last year.

Also in deep trouble is the auto industry. Fiat, the largest auto company in Italy, witnessed a tail-spin in sales, with a big backlog of unsold cars and under-capacity operation. Sales plunged 55 per cent in July as compared with a year earlier. Demand for its cars sagged nearly 40 per cent in the final quarter, with the number of unsold in stock more than triple the normal level. As a result, the company has slashed production, and 71,000 of the 200,000-odd Fiat workers have been on a three-day week since early October. Domestic sales of the Alfa-Romeo, the No. 2 auto producer, fell 40 per cent last year.

Things were no better in the textile industry. The Marzotto Wool Company, the second largest of its kind

in Italy, for example, had 6,000 of its 7,000 workers on a 24-hour week.

The ripple from the production slump has also had an effect on the machinery, chemical and other industries.

The small and medium-sized enterprises were the hardest hit. In the Piedmont area, 80 per cent of the 21,620 small firms which supply services to Fiat were either in desperate straits or faced liquidation in the last few months.

Italy leads the West European capitalist countries in unemployment. According to official figures, over 1,202 million workers, or 6 per cent of the labour force, were out of job as 1974 drew to a close.

Runaway inflation, rising unemployment and heavy taxes have noticeably forced down the working people's living standard. Christmas sales were off 20 to 30 per cent from those of 1973, and as much as more than 50 per cent in the case of some commodities. "A very bitter Christmas" was one paper's comment. "This has been a festival rarely experienced before, and a grievous holiday. The economy is as chilly as the weather," said *Il Corriere della Sera*. As things stand, class contradictions have become more acute with massive strikes taking place one after another. Striking workers occupied 45 factories in the country during the yuletide season with 5,000 workers spending their Christmas holiday in plants they occupied.

Italy's economic crisis still carries a punch. The ruling group has failed to find a real cure for rampant inflation and the concurrent production slump. To cope with the former and reduce trade deficits, the Italian Government has tightened credits, hoisted taxes and enforced foreign trade restrictions. These measures have, however, caused domestic demand to go down further, the market to shrink, investments to decrease and stock prices to sink.

**Britain.** The economy has been in serious disarray for years. Since November 1973, Britain has been so plagued by the concurrence of overproduction crisis, financial troubles and inflation that its economy has become one of the weakest links in the capitalist economy of the West.

Official figures show that industrial output index in December was 103.9, a drop of 7.5 points from the highest point 111.4 (taking 1970 index as 100) in the pre-crisis October of 1973. The most drastic drop was in such major industrial branches as steel, auto, construction and textiles. Compared with the corresponding 1973 period, the weekly average steel production in the first 11 months of 1974 dropped by 16.6 per cent and car production by 12 per cent.

Meanwhile, many enterprises have been operating under capacity. The Confederation of British Industry reported under-capacity operation in 56 per cent of the 1,200-odd companies it had investigated. Many others had closed down because of funds shortage. The same report showed that 60 per cent of the enterprises were short of funds. The nation's largest car producer British Leyland Motor Corporation, the well-known Rolls-Royce Company and Ferranti had appealed to the government to help them out of their financial difficulties. A number of large enterprises including Jessel Securities, which boasted 1,000 million dollars in assets, British Caledonian, the country's second largest airways company, and the Triumph Investment Trust had gone bankrupt. Small and medium-sized enterprises were harder hit. Over 3,960 such establishments collapsed or closed down in the first nine months of the year.

Hoping to pass on the crisis, the monopolies fell back on massive lay-offs so that more and more workers lost their jobs. The *Financial Times* reported that in the first 11 months of 1974, 112,000 workers had been pruned from the payroll. By November, the number of unemployed had reached 653,000.

Both inflation and the monetary crisis gathered momentum. The annual rate of inflation at the end of 1973 had been 11 per cent; it climbed month by month in 1974 to over 20 per cent at the end of that year. Wholesale prices averaged 28 per cent increase for a year ending in November. In the same month the retail price index went up by 18.3 per cent over the 1973 corresponding period.

Foreign trade takes a very important place in Britain's economic life because it has to import 80 per cent of its industrial raw materials and more than 50 per cent of its foodstuffs. This calls for large exports to strike a balance. As the West's economic crisis develops, the scramble for markets has become increasingly fierce. Since British commodities are less competitive abroad, the upshot is a rapid deterioration of Britain's foreign trade position.

The trade deficit ran to a total of 5,000 million pounds in the whole year, representing an increase of more than 100 per cent compared with the deficit for the whole of 1973. The huge trade deficit has led to an enormous unfavourable balance in international payments. From January to October, the international payments deficit totalled 3,224 million pounds, more than double the total deficit of 1,500 million

pounds for 1973. Official estimates were that the 1974 trade deficit and international payments deficit would hit record postwar levels. In this situation, the pound weakened further. In early December the parity of the pound in relation to other major Western currencies at one time slid 21.5 per cent on foreign exchange markets; the sharpest drop in three years. Refusal of the British pound, as announced by Saudi Arabia, as the means of payment for its crude oil was a heavy blow to the already fragile pound.

In its attempts to meet the crisis, the Labour government presented three budgets in the past year, something unknown in the nation's history. Huge deficits were registered in each budget. In the third one submitted last November the figure in the red was 6,300 million pounds. As a result, inflation worsened. The authorities have borrowed large amounts of money from foreign countries, with new foreign debts in 1974 exceeding 3,000 million pounds, or 9,000 million dollars. The monopolies at the same time turned down workers' demands for wage increases and called on them to make "sacrifices." But all this could not reverse the trend of a deepening economic crisis.

In the face of the serious economic plight, the British ruling class is as worried as it is helpless. On November 28 at Labour's annual conference, Harold Wilson said: "The going from now on will be tougher than we have known in this generation."

**France.** The country's economy worsened continuously in 1974. Industrial production declined, unemployment reached an all-time high since World War II, prices soared and there were huge balance of payments deficits.

According to figures released by the National Institute of Statistics and Economic Studies, after climbing to its peak in January 1974, the French industrial production index (not including construction and public works) began a descending spiral. It had declined 6 per cent by September and dropped further in the last quarter.

"The list of sectors in crisis grew longer. As in the automobile and construction industries — which declined 30 per cent and 50 per cent respectively — production slowed down in the chemical and steel and iron industries. The electrical and even the domestic equipment industries were affected in turn," reported *France-Soir* in its December 28 issue.

After survey of 1,500 industrialists in November-December, the National Institute of Statistics and Economic Studies reported that "orders are very few" in the French industry, and that "the stock of finished goods is in the main higher than normal," with "41 per cent of the (interviewed) industrialists planning to reduce production in the coming months."

The rate of investment by private French enterprises in 1974 was 30 per cent off from 1973. Stock

prices plunged. The Paris stock market slumped 35 per cent; with depreciation of the French franc, the actual fall was 50 per cent, close to the 52 per cent decline during the Great Depression in the 1930s.

Meanwhile, widespread unemployment appeared. The registered figure for job vacancies was 534,000 in September, the highest since World War II; it continued to climb in the following months until it reached 723,000 at the end of December.

Partial unemployment as a result of shorter work hours is also spreading. Of the 2.5 million workers in the metallurgical industry, 20 per cent were affected in December by various forms of reduced work hours. Partial unemployment rate in the textile industry reached 80 per cent, and it was also high in the chemical, clothing and leather industries.

Prices skyrocketed. According to government figures, retail prices ballooned 15.2 per cent throughout the year, much greater than the rate of 8.5 per cent for all of 1973.

France had had a favourable foreign trade balance for a few years. But last year there was a deficit every month totalling 19,000 million francs for the whole of 1974. This resulted in a huge balance of payments deficit. With a view to tackling the problem, both the French Government and private enterprises borrowed from foreign banks. French foreign indebtedness has reached 8,500 million dollars.

The bourgeois press in France is pessimistic about this year's economic outlook. The weekly *Enterprise* (December 27, 1974) commented that the Western world was entering a recession, and France could not hope to escape it. For France, it noted, "the year 1975 will be a still harder year."

**Federal Republic of Germany.** Last year also witnessed a worsening economic situation in this country which had been believed to be not so badly off as other major Western capitalist countries.

Statistics show that the F.R.G.'s GNP went down 1 per cent in the second quarter of 1974 and over 1 per cent in the third. Industrial production dropped 4.4 per cent in October from the January level; industrial orders went down 13 per cent with domestic orders suffering a still greater decline. Actually, only 79 per cent of the country's industrial capacity was in operation, the lowest in all of its postwar crises. In industries where the production slump began sometime ago, difficulties increased. The construction industry was operating at only 55 per cent of capacity, and production steadily declined with an estimated 8 per cent drop in 1974 as compared with the previous year. Auto production fell 24 per cent as against 1973. Textile output also went down by a wide margin.

Conditions also deteriorated since summer in industries where production was once boosted by exports.

Production in the chemical industry slipped 4.4 per cent between July and September as exports decreased 9 per cent in the same period. A 9 per cent fall in exports last summer also lowered machine-building production by 3.5 per cent. The weekly *Die Zeit* pointed out that the country was "entering the worst recession ever since the 1966-67 period."

Along with this, large numbers of small and medium-sized enterprises went bankrupt. There were 6,275 business failures between January and October, a 41 per cent increase over the same 1973 period. Many fairly large concerns have been taken over by bigger monopoly groups. The recent incorporation of the Rheinische Stahlwerke by Thyssen Steel was a typical example.

The working people have been the direct victims of the deteriorated economic situation. Official statistics showed that by late December the number of jobless had reached 945,900 and the unemployment rate went up to 4.2 per cent. In addition, there were 703,300 semi-unemployed.

Inflation also developed, and last year's rate was at about 7 per cent; though lower than that of other Western countries, it was the highest for the country in the last two decades. Public and private debts totalled 1,014,000 million marks by the end of 1974.

Sharply rising unemployment and worsening inflation resulted in a further shrinking of the home market. As the year drew to a close, there was a decline both in domestic demand for goods and investment. The electrical appliance industry, which had been doing well, found domestic sales 8 per cent off from the 1973 level. Domestic orders in the third quarter in all industries were 9.4 per cent less than at the beginning of the year while those for capital goods — a decisive factor — dropped by 12.8 per cent.

In the face of a contracting domestic market, the economy has become more dependent on exports. Orders from abroad began thinning out since last summer. In the third quarter they were 3 per cent down from the second. Orders for steel products in September were 10 per cent less than in the previous month.

In this situation, while trying its best to maintain its traditional foreign markets, Bonn is striving to acquire new markets in Eastern Europe and the developing countries.

To cope with the dangerous situation marked by shrinking foreign and domestic markets, the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany has returned to the reflation policy to stimulate the economy. It recently announced a "boom programme" under which the government allocates funds as public investments while private investments are also encouraged. But doubts about the success of this programme are widespread in political and economic circles as well as the press.

# ROUND THE WORLD

PAKISTAN

## Bhutto Visits United States

Pakistan Prime Minister Bhutto visited the United States in early February and had talks with U.S. President Ford.

A joint statement issued after the talks said the two leaders discussed security questions of mutual interest and "the important international political developments of the past 18 months." Prime Minister Bhutto expressed Pakistan's determination "to continue to play a constructive role in the search for peaceful solutions to regional disputes so as to promote establishment of durable peace in the subcontinent." "President Ford assured the Prime Minister that support for the independence and territorial integrity of Pakistan remains an enduring principle of American foreign policy."

In the talks, Bhutto asked the United States to lift its embargo on arms sales to Pakistan, so as to make it possible for Pakistan to buy some defensive weapons from the United States. Ford indicated in the talks that the matter of dropping the embargo would receive "active consideration."

An editorial on February 4 in *The Washington Star-News* said that the embargo applied to both India and Pakistan since the war between the two countries in 1965 "has been almost entirely one-sided." "India," it said, "has not been seriously hampered in procuring arms during this period, being supplied by the Soviet Union and possessing a defence industry of considerable importance."

## LON NOL CLIQUE

### Turtle in a Jar

The Mekong River is the main route by which U.S. imperialism's military supplies from Saigon are transported to the Lon Nol clique in the besieged city of Phnom Penh. Since the beginning of the year, the People's Armed Forces of National Liberation of Cambodia have attacked the city from all directions and cut this enemy supply route, which has

U.S.S.R.-U.S.A.

## Middle East Contention Enters New Round

A new round of contention in the Middle East between the two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States, has begun. In the first half of February, both Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko and U.S. Secretary of State Kissinger travelled in the region, each trying to sell his own formula under the tag of a "peaceful solution" of the Middle East question.

Gromyko preceded his U.S. counterpart and visited Syria and Egypt from February 1 to 5. Wherever he went, he fondly advocated the "speediest resumption" of the Geneva conference on the Middle East question, claiming that this conference, to be presided over by the Soviet Union as one of the two chairmen, is the "only reliable way" to an "overall solution" of the question.

The Soviet propaganda machine simultaneously intensified its attack on Kissinger's "quiet diplomacy" aimed at brushing the Soviet Union aside. The Soviet paper *Gudok* said on February 4 that Kissinger's "step-by-step solution" of the Middle East question "could not solve" the problem and "U.S. diplomatic tactics should be watched."

Close on Gromyko's heels came the U.S. Secretary of State, Kissinger, who itinerated Egypt, Syria, Israel, Jordan and Saudi Arabia in five days, asserted again and again that one of the trip's main tasks was "to explore" the possibility of further promoting the "step-by-step solution"; this was, of course, designed to put on a rival show and do what he can to oust Soviet influence in the area.

While peddling the U.S. formula in the Middle East, Kissinger boasted that "the step-by-step approach may be the most effective one." Alto-

gether ignoring Gromyko's proposal for holding a Geneva conference in late February or early March, he declared that he would come to the Middle East again in mid-March to hold detailed talks. This made Brezhnev furious. In Moscow on February 14, he attacked the "step-by-step solution" without mentioning Kissinger's name and hurriedly added: "This is why the Soviet Union resolutely calls for the speediest resumption of the Geneva peace conference."

The two superpowers are also vigorously contending for influence over Arab countries. During his visit to Egypt, Gromyko tried hard to mend the rift in Soviet-Egyptian relations which had become all the more obvious after postponement of Brezhnev's visit to Cairo. In January, Egypt time and again denounced the Soviet Union for refusing to make up for its losses in weapons in the October 1973 Middle East War, and for ignoring its request to postpone payment of debts to the Soviet Union. Cairo also expressed great dissatisfaction with Moscow's sowing discord among Arab countries by supporting one and exerting pressure on another. Meanwhile, taking advantage of the situation, the United States made "friendly" gestures to some Arab countries. An agreement on a U.S. loan of 80 million dollars to Egypt was signed during Kissinger's visit there. On the day of Gromyko's arrival in Damascus, the U.S. State Department announced its plan to provide Syria with 25 million dollars in "economic aid."

Besides working in their own interests and stepping on each other's toes, Washington and Moscow also need to feel each other's pulse. When Kissinger stopped over in Geneva on February 16 on his way home from the Middle East visit, Gromyko flew from Moscow to have a meeting with him in that Swiss city.

flung the clique into a panic. One Western news agency admitted: "If the Mekong River is not opened to convoy traffic soon, Phnom Penh will strangle." The Lon Nol troops have "a dangerously low supply of ammunition on hand," noted another Western news agency.

To reopen the route, the clique hastily mustered a number of defeated forces for an "amphibious assault" on both banks of the river. But the puppet troops suffered a great defeat under heroic counter-attacks by the people's armed forces. In a Phnom Penh dispatch on February 17, AP said that the Lon Nol clique's drive to reopen the Mekong River supply route from south Viet Nam received a severe setback on February 16 when a Lon Nol clique's battalion was driven from positions on one bank of the river.

With this main water route cut, the United States stepped up its airlift of ammunition, grain and fuel to Phnom Penh to retard the doom of the clique. According to a U.S. Defence Department announcement on February 13, apart from the U.S. civilian airline which has been carrying ammunition to Phnom Penh for the U.S. Government, aircraft of two others would be chartered from February 15 to speed airlift of munitions and other supplies and a fourth was contacted for the same purpose. It was disclosed that prior to this, the United States had doubled the number of round-the-clock flights carrying munitions to Phnom Penh.

The Lon Nol clique is unpopular with the Cambodian people and its puppet troops' morale is sagging. Its downfall is only a question of time. This is a certainty which cannot be reversed no matter how frantically its U.S. master's aggression and interference in Cambodia are intensified.

## MONGOLIA

### Soviet Robbery

The Berkhi Fluorite Mine in Kentei Province, the biggest in Mongolia, recently came under the management of the Mongolian-Soviet Joint-

## Stock Company for Non-Ferrous Metals.

The founding of the company in 1973 under a Mongolian-Soviet agreement was an important move by the Soviet revisionists to intensify plunder of Mongolia's mineral resources. "Joint-stock" in name, it is controlled by the Soviet revisionists and in fact an imitation of Western monopoly capital's trans-national corporations. The "plenipotentiary" from the Soviet Ministry of Non-Ferrous Metallurgical Industry to the Mongolian Ministry of Fuel, Power Industry and Geology becomes its manager.

The Soviet revisionists for years have cast a covetous eye on Mongolia's rich fluorite deposits. A long-term agreement was signed in the early 1960s between the Soviet Union and Mongolia stipulating that fluorite extracted in Mongolia would be exported only to the Soviet Union in a period of ten years. A Soviet-Mongolian trade agreement provided for the former importing from the latter 100,000 tons of fluorite every year; in 1972 Mongolia's fluorite output was reported to be 96,300 tons. This means that all Mongolian-extracted fluorite is monopolized by the Soviet revisionists, amounting to 50 per cent of their imported fluorite. Moreover, they have made no bones about taking out more of this mineral from Mongolia, as their newspapers recently have reported: The Mongolian-Soviet Joint-Stock Company for Non-Ferrous Metals has been "confronted with the task in recent years to raise its annual output of fluorite to 200,000-300,000 tons." Mongolia was asked to export 800,000 tons of fluorite to the Soviet Union from 1973 to 1978.

The Soviet social-imperialists, while importing fluorite from Mongolia at lower prices than on the international market, forbid that country to sell fluorite to those ready to pay higher prices. This act of trampling on the sovereignty and interests of another country is the very content of the "disinterested assistance" and "fraternal co-operation" advertised by the Soviet revisionists.

## U.S. ECONOMY

### Worsening Recession

U.S. industrial production was down 3.6 per cent in January, a Federal Reserve Board announcement said on February 13. This was the biggest monthly drop since December 1937 in the last period of the capitalist world's Great Depression.

Industrial production has been declining or stagnant since December 1973. It began dropping vertically last September. Figures issued by the Federal Reserve Board show that the industrial production index was down 10.8 per cent in 14 months from 127.5 (taking the 1967 industrial production as 100) in November 1973 to 113.7 last January.

The Reserve Board admitted that lower output was reported by many sectors of industry including automobiles, consumer goods, capital equipment and industrial materials. The output of steel, other metals, textiles, paper and chemical products fell by a big margin. An AP report said this is "evidence of the nation's worsening recession."

At the same time, the monopoly capitalist class is doing its best to shift the burden of economic crisis on to the working people, and the rate of unemployment goes up sharply. The U.S. Labour Department announced on February 7 that the number of jobless jumped to 7.5 million in January, or 930,000 more than in December 1974. This raised the rate to 8.2 per cent, the highest in various postwar economic crises since 1941.

Domestic sales continued to plummet. In the week ending January 14, retail sales were down 2.7 per cent from the previous week. The actual drop was over 7 per cent as compared with a year earlier, after removal of the 12 per cent effect of inflation.

Workers average real earnings in 1974 were down 2.1 per cent, the U.S. Labour Department announced.

Reporting this, UPI said: "The pace and the depth of the recession surprised the government in January."

# ON THE HOME FRONT

## Good Harvest of Oil-Bearing Crops

CHINA'S countryside reaped good harvests of oil-bearing crops in 1974.

Provinces in the Yangtze River basin brought in rich harvests of rapeseed despite drought and low temperatures. Sesame-growing Hupeh and Honan Provinces reported a rise in per-unit yield compared to 1973. Shantung, Hopei and Liaoning harvested more peanuts than in 1973. New increases in the output of linseed in Shansi and Inner Mongolia were registered. Good harvests of walnut, sunflower seed and castor seed were also reported from the hilly areas both north and south.

Despite all sorts of natural disasters in 1974, there was a new increase in gross output of oil-bearing crops all over the nation as compared with 1973.

In China's north and south, different oil-bearing crops are grown depending on local soil conditions.

The cultivation of rapeseed, previously grown only in the Yangtze River valley has now been extended to many provinces in the north as well as to southern coastal provinces.

China's total acreage sown to rapeseed expanded by 600,000 hectares from 1970 to 1973; gross output increased by 40 per cent.

In the early years following liberation Shanghai relied on outside help for 80 per cent of her edible vegetable oil. The Party organizations at all levels in this metropolis, while doing their best to increase grain production, also paid attention to growing oil-bearing crops, so that by 1964 the city was able to produce sufficient edible oil for its own consumption.

Although in 1974 Shanghai was hit by serious natural disasters, gross output of oil-bearing crops in its outskirts again reported a rise — this time, one of 66 per cent over that of 1964, surpassing all previous records.

Shanghai now produces not only enough edible vegetable oil for both its urban and rural population but also some for industrial use.

## P.L.A. Literary and Art Activities

MANY kinds of literary and art activities flourish in People's Liberation Army units wherever they are stationed — battle front positions, frontier posts, small islands or mountain tops. Groups have been organized on an amateur basis for singing and dancing, publishing wall-newspapers and running mini-libraries in many companies, at airfields and aboard naval vessels.

Fighters in the Second Company of a P.L.A. Peking unit participate in lively literary and art activities such as play-acting, singing, painting and story-telling. In recent years they have put on more than 1,400 per-



Good walnut harvest in a hilly area of Hopei Province.

formances for the people in the vicinity of where they are stationed.

Promoting cultural activities has been a tradition of the people's army for the past several decades. Propaganda teams were set up in the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army as early as the mid-1930s. During the famous 25,000-li Long March from the south to the northwest revolutionary base area, quite a number of fighters carried, in addition to their guns, bamboo castanets for performances by the roadside. Sometimes these propaganda workers went ahead to shout slogans and put up posters to encourage their comrades.

In recent years P.L.A. fighters generally have learnt to sing arias from model revolutionary theatrical works as well as new songs which came into being during the proletarian revolution in literature and art. They themselves also create and perform items praising the revolutionary spirit of proletarian heroes and encouraging armymen to overcome difficulties and accomplish their various tasks.

The army's professional literary and art workers regularly go to temper themselves in the companies. They share the fighters' barracks, eat with the soldiers and join them at military exercises and construction jobs. They enthusiastically perform for them and for the people in the vicinity as well, always doing their best, whether it's for 10,000 or more people out in the open, or a few people in the kitchen, sentries at their mountain lookout and in a hospital ward. They have also trained a backbone force of amateur artists.

Literary and art publications of the P.L.A. include *Liberation Army Literature and Art* (monthly) and *Liberation Army Songs* (bi-monthly).

The "August 1" Film Studio in Peking specializing in newsreels, documentaries and features on army life recently produced a colour film version of the model revolutionary Peking opera *Fighting on the Plain* and a colour film *Bright Red Star*. The latter tells how a boy in China's revolutionary base in the 1930s

grows up to become a Red Army fighter.

### **China Saves Farmland In Building Industry**

ONE principle our industrial, communications and construction authorities follow in building new projects is to leave as much land as possible for farming. This has correctly handled the relations between industry and agriculture as well as between workers and peasants, promoted industrial and agricultural development, and helped consolidate the worker-peasant alliance.

Every year Tientsin — an important north China industrial city — has to take up part of the farmland on the outskirts for a large number of new industrial and other projects. As land is limited here, every effort is made to use wasteland or alkaline land. Wherever possible the departments concerned help the local people's communes build fields so as to de-

velop production. In the past two years, on the southern outskirts, factories occupying requisitioned farmland helped build a chemical fertilizer plant for the communes, joined in carrying out water conservancy projects and repaired farm machines and tools for them. Thus the locality's total grain output, far from decreasing, has increased year by year.

China has always paid attention to saving farmland in building industry. The requisition of land by the state for construction purposes must be proved necessary, the interests of the people living on the land must be considered, their livelihood must be provided for, and the production of the units to be moved must be properly dealt with. This ensures rational and economical construction of industry, development of agriculture and a secure life for the people.

Designing personnel of factories, mines and construction departments

regularly go down to work-sites to make investigations. They draw up plans with workers and peasants to find ways of saving space. An open-cut coal mine in Liaoning Province in northeast China was planning to expand its dumping areas. It sent people to ask the opinions of nearly one hundred poor and lower-middle peasants and cadres in a dozen nearby production brigades and teams. The design had to be revised four times before it was finalized. In the end about seven hectares less farmland than originally planned was taken over.

Builders of a new railway built up 2,870 hectares of farmland for the local communes, an acreage equivalent to 86 per cent of the area taken by the railway.

In many mining areas, miners together with nearby commune members built terraced fields out of abandoned mines for growing rice and other crops.

*(Continued from p. 21.)*

The Peking Hospital of Gynaecology and Obstetrics carried out mass surveys of cancer for women above 30 in certain districts of Peking. This survey concerning prevention and treatment of cancer of the uterine cervix has achieved considerable success.

### **Industrial Hygiene and Environmental Protection**

Industrial hygiene and environmental protection are an important part of China's preventive medicine. Research institutes and medical and health units are responsible for preventing and treating occupational diseases, for environmental protection and eliminating pollution.

To protect the workers' health, the government pays great attention to the improvement of environment and sanitation in factories and mines, sets forth the maximum permissible concentration of different harmful substances and lays down regulations for labour protection. For example, in high temperature workshops, not only has equipment been improved but measures have been taken to lower the heat and those who work there are provided with a high protein diet and cool drinks. By improving production conditions and protecting the workers' safety and through regular health check-ups and timely treatment, the incidence of occupational diseases has dropped considerably.

In recent years, research workers of the Institute of Hygiene under the Chinese Academy of Medical Sciences, together with Peking's printers, have studied

effective methods for preventing and treating lead poisoning with fruitful results. Prevention and treatment of silicosis is being carried out in various parts of the country. Apart from large-scale, comprehensive measures for dust prevention to control the disease, doctors of Western and traditional Chinese medicine combine their efforts in research and clinical work. Workers suffering from silicosis thus treated showed definite improvement.

Situated in an area where Peking's chemical industry is concentrated, the Chaoyang Hospital has set up a special department for occupational diseases and a special research centre. They have investigated and studied occupational disease and offensive substances in more than 100 factories and mines, helped the leadership there improve labour and hygienic conditions, mobilized the workers to take part in prevention of occupational diseases and given them regular check-ups. The incidence of occupational disease has sharply decreased because of early detection and timely treatment.

In the wake of continuous industrial development, the handling of industrial waste liquid, waste gas and residue has been put on the agenda. In recent years, government departments concerned have made overall plans for the rational distribution of industries and drawn up comprehensive measures for the utilization of wastes. Initial results have been gained. Health departments have taken an active part in making investigations and suggestions in a concerted effort with other departments to combat pollution, protect the environment and the people's health.

# Radio Peking

## English Language Transmissions

	GMT	Local Standard Time	Metre Bands	Kc/s	
NORTH AMERICA (EAST COAST)	00:00-01:00	19:00-20:00 (E.S.T.)	30, 25, 19 42, 30, 25, 24, 19 42, 30, 24, 19 42, 30 25	9940, 11945, 15060 7060, 7120, 9780, 9940, 11945, 12055, 15060 7060, 9940, 12055, 15060 7120, 9780 11685	
	01:00-02:00	20:00-21:00 (E.S.T.)			
	02:00-03:00	21:00-22:00 (E.S.T.)			
	03:00-04:00	22:00-23:00 (E.S.T.)			
	12:00-13:00	07:00-08:00 (E.S.T.)			
NORTH AMERICA (WEST COAST)	03:00-04:00	19:00-20:00 (P.S.T.)	31, 25, 24, 19 31, 25, 24, 19	9460, 11650, 12055, 15060 9460, 11650, 12055, 15060	
	04:00-05:00	20:00-21:00 (P.S.T.)			
AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND	08:30-09:30	18:30-19:30 (Aust. S.T.) 20:30-21:30 (N.Z.S.T.)	31, 25, 19	9460, 11600, 11720, 15060, 15435	
	09:30-10:30	19:30-20:30 (Aust. S.T.) 21:30-22:30 (N.Z.S.T.)	31, 25, 19	9460, 11600, 11720, 15060, 15435	
SOUTHEAST ASIA	12:00-13:00	19:00-20:00 (Western Indonesia, Bangkok)	47, 39, 32, 25	6290, 7660, 9480, 11600, 11650	
		19:30-20:30 (Singapore) 20:00-21:00 (Saigon, Manila) 19:30-19:30 (Rangoon)			
	13:00-14:00	20:00-21:00 (Western Indonesia, Bangkok)			
		20:30-21:30 (Singapore) 21:00-22:00 (Saigon, Manila) 19:30-20:30 (Rangoon)			
SOUTH ASIA	14:00-15:00	19:30-20:30 (Delhi, Colombo) 19:00-20:00 (Rawalpindi) 20:00-21:00 (Dacca) 19:40-20:40 (Kathmandu)	41, 40, 30	7315, 7470, 9860	
		15:00-16:00			20:30-21:30 (Delhi, Colombo) 20:00-21:00 (Rawalpindi) 21:00-22:00 (Dacca) 20:40-21:40 (Kathmandu)
	18:00-19:00	23:30-00:30 (Delhi)	248	1210	
	EAST AND SOUTH AFRICA	16:00-17:00	18:00-19:00 (Cape Town, Salisbury) 19:00-20:00 (Dar-es-Salaam)	39, 30	7590, 9860
17:00-18:00		19:00-20:00 (Cape Town, Salisbury) 20:00-21:00 (Dar-es-Salaam)	39, 30	7590, 9860	
WEST AND NORTH AFRICA	19:30-20:30	18:45-19:45 (Monrovia) 19:30-20:30 (Accra, Freetown) 20:30-21:30 (Lagos) 21:30-22:30 (Cairo)	46, 39, 31	6430, 7620, 9470	
		20:30-21:30			19:45-20:45 (Monrovia) 20:30-21:30 (Accra, Freetown) 21:30-22:30 (Lagos) 22:30-23:30 (Cairo)
	EUROPE	20:30-21:30	21:30-22:30 (London, Stockholm, Paris)	47, 43, 39	6270, 6860, 7590
		21:30-22:30	22:30-23:30 (London, Stockholm, Paris)	47, 43, 33	6270, 6860, 9030