

PEKING REVIEW

29

July 18, 1975

北
京
周
報

**The Brezhnev Clique Is Following
Hitler's Beaten Track**

Oil Pipeline to Peking Completed

Debate at the Salt and Iron Conference

—Contention between the Confucian and Legalist schools
in the middle period of Western Han Dynasty

PEKING REVIEW

北京周報

Vol. 18, No. 29 July 18, 1975

Published in English, French, Spanish,
Japanese and German editions

CONTENTS

THE WEEK	3
14th Anniversary of China-Korea Treaty	
Independence of Sao Tome and Principe Greeted	
Comoro Islands' Independence Greeted	
Half-Yearly Coal Output Target Fulfilled	
ARTICLES AND DOCUMENTS	
The Brezhnev Clique Is Following Hitler's Beaten Track—A commentary by Hsinhua Correspondent	4
New Construction Projects:	
Chinhuangtao-Peking Oil Pipeline Completed	6
Paoki-Chengtzu Electric Railway Opens to Traffic	8
How China Popularizes Education—Chun Pu	9
Soviet-U.S. Contention in Latin America	12
The Two Superpowers Rival for Nuclear Supremacy	13
Zimbabwe: Smith Regime's Crackdown on Liberation Movement	14
Fictitious Ownership by Whole People in Soviet Union	15
Debate at the Salt and Iron Conference—Contention between the Confucian and Legalist schools in the middle period of Western Han Dynasty—Hsueh Li	17
Tibet's Big Leap (IV): Great Changes—Our Correspondents Hsi Chang-hao and Kao Yuan-mei	22
ROUND THE WORLD	26
Korea: Pak Jung Hi Clique Violates Agreement	
Africa:	
Sao Tome and Principe Proclaims Independence	
Independence of Comoro Islands Proclaimed	
Iraq: By Their Own Bootstraps	
Iceland and Norway: Conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties	
"Klassenkampf" (Austria): War Danger Increases in Europe	
Soviet Union: Robbing Mongolia's Minerals	
ON THE HOME FRONT	29
Volunteer to Go to Countryside	
Working Consciously and Untiringly	
"Foolish Old Man" Spring	
A Salvage Team on South China Sea	

14th Anniversary of China-Korea Treaty

Hyun Jun Keuk, Ambassador of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to China, gave a reception in Peking on July 11 to mark the 14th anniversary of the signing of the China-Korea Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation and Mutual Assistance.

Attending the reception were Chen Hsi-lien, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Vice-Premier of the State Council; Hsu Hsiang-chien, Vice-Chairman of the Military Commission of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress; and leading members of the departments concerned.

Ambassador Hyun Jun Keuk noted in his speech at the reception that the signing of the treaty between Korea and China demonstrated the unswerving determination and the might of the unbreakable unity of the people of Korea and China who will always fight shoulder to shoulder in the struggle against imperialism and for the victory of the cause of socialism and communism, and dealt a heavy blow to the imperialist policies of aggression and war.

Speaking of the Korean people's struggle for an independent and peaceful reunification of their fatherland, the Ambassador condemned the U.S. imperialist aggressors and their henchmen, the Pak Jung Hi puppet clique, for their schemes to split Korea. "So long as U.S. imperialism is still occupying south Korea by force, we must continue to expend great efforts to unfold a struggle involving the whole nation and expel U.S. imperialism from south Korea," he stated.

He paid a warm tribute to the friendship and unity of the people of Korea and China based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

In his speech, Vice-Premier Chen Hsi-lien said that the recent visit to China by the Korean people's great leader President Kim Il Sung has pushed forward the friendship and unity of the two Parties, the two countries and the two peoples of China and Korea to a new stage of development.

He said: "The Chinese people have always been following with great attention the Korean people's struggle for an independent and peaceful reunification of their fatherland. We are glad to note that the three principles and the five-point programme put forward by President Kim Il Sung for the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea have won the resolute support of the entire Korean people and the sympathy and support of more and more countries and people of the world. No matter how hard U.S. imperialism is trying to boost the morale of the Pak Jung Hi clique and no matter what schemes they hatch to create 'two Koreas,' they are doomed to failure. No force whatsoever can frustrate the sacred cause of the Korean people to reunify their fatherland. The Chinese people will, as always, resolutely support the Korean people in their struggle against foreign intervention and for the independent and peaceful reunification of their fatherland till complete victory is won."

Independence of Sao Tome And Principe Greeted

Premier Chou En-lai on July 12 sent a message to Manuel Pinto da Costa, President of the Democratic

Republic of Sao Tome and Principe and Head of State, warmly greeting Sao Tome and Principe's independence.

The message reads in part: "The Chinese Government has decided to recognize Sao Tome and Principe. I am convinced that the friendly relations between our two countries will develop daily.

"May the people of Sao Tome and Principe achieve new successes in their just cause of combating imperialism and colonialism and building their own country."

Comoro Islands' Independence Greeted

Premier Chou En-lai on July 12 sent a message to Ahmed Abdallah, Head of State of Comoro Islands, warmly greeting Comoro Islands' independence.

The message reads in part: "The Chinese Government has decided to recognize Comoro Islands. I believe the friendly relations between our two countries will develop daily.

"May the Comorian people achieve continuous new successes in their struggle against imperialism and colonialism and in defence of national independence and territorial integrity."

Half-Yearly Coal Output Target Fulfilled

China has overfulfilled its coal production plan every month since the beginning of this year. By June 22, coal output had outstripped the state quota for the first six months. Targets set for dressed coal and excavating and tunnelling footage have also been met satisfactorily. Labour

(Continued on p. 7.)

The Brezhnev Clique Is Following Hitler's Beaten Track

THE Brezhnev clique is following Hitler's beaten track. Compare their words and deeds with Hitler's and you can see that the Soviet revisionists not only indulge in a Hitler-like pipe dream to rule the world, but behave in an astonishingly similar manner to achieve this wild ambition.

Hitler openly clamoured for the Germans to take over the whole world after he set up a sanguinary fascist dictatorship in Germany. He embarked on arms expansion and prepared for war. Only the strong, he asserted, had the right to enforce their will.

After usurping Party and state power in the Soviet Union, the Brezhnev clique pursued a policy based on seeking world hegemony. A TASS report on May 19 publicly plumped for "transforming international relations" in accordance with the Soviet revisionist "programme." The ballyhoo of ranking Soviet revisionist figures includes these mouthings: In foreign activities they would "launch an extensive, real general offensive," they would "back up" foreign policy with "military might," they would "organize on a large scale" the production of missile nuclear weapons to "gain superiority in strength." One put on the airs of a world maritime overlord. "Navigation on all areas of the world oceans," he blustered, "is our inalienable and legitimate right" and "the national interests of our motherland call on us to do so." Another bellowed: "The long-cherished dreams of our people have come true. The flag of the Soviet fleet is flying in the farthest corners of every sea and ocean."

In those days, when Hitler stepped up his arms programme and war preparations, aggression and expansion, he invariably professed a sincere desire for "peace" merely to lull the people of all countries into a false sense of security.

Isn't the Brezhnev clique today resorting to the same tactics?

Hitler repeatedly expressed his intention of "unconditionally upholding peace," and prated about arms reduction, and particularly "restrictions on air battles, noxious gas and submarines." But at the same time he was expanding the army in a big way and accelerating the manufacture of aircraft, gas bombs and submarines.

Brezhnev also talks glibly about the "securing of real and lasting world peace for generations" and advocates the realization of "general and complete disarmament," particularly the "prohibition of nuclear

weapons." But he, too, is at the same time pushing the expansion of armaments, nuclear armaments in particular, to a level never seen before.

Pretext for Invading and Occupying Czechoslovakia

Hitler fabricated all sorts of absurd pretexts to justify his invasion and occupation of other countries. When the *Reichswehr* invaded Norway, Hitler's pretext was to "ensure the Norwegian people's freedom" and "prevent the British and French troops from occupying bases in Norway." And he did not blush when he declared: "Neither at present nor in the future, does Germany intend to take action in violation of the territorial integrity and political independence of the Kingdom of Norway."

When the armed forces of the Brezhnev clique overran Czechoslovakia, this was put down as an act to "safeguard socialism in Czechoslovakia" and keep the country "from the encroachment of the West German militarist forces with their daily-growing revanchist ambitions." Neither did the Brezhnev clique feel ashamed when it professed respect for Czechoslovakia's "territorial integrity" and "non-intervention in its internal affairs."

Before the outbreak of World War II, Hitler resorted to the tactic of "making a feint to the east but attacking in the west." He repeatedly declared that "Germany had no intention of waging war against Britain and France" and that Germany would "co-operate with all European countries." But in fact he directed his attention, first and foremost, to Western Europe. It was Hitler's calculation that only by taking Western Europe and relying on its economic strength and resources could he go on to conquer the world.

Taking advantage of the war fears of British and French government leaders and their appeasement policy, Hitler gobbled up Czechoslovakia and other countries and battered on their conquest. To be sure, it was Germany's war with Britain and France that ignited World War II.

Today the Brezhnev clique also does not tire of going on record that the Soviet Union wants to "ensure peace and security on the European continent" and to "have good-neighbourly relations and co-operation" with West European countries. But in fact the clique considers Europe to be the focal point in its efforts to achieve world domination. It is constantly beefing up its military deployment there and eyeing West European countries covetously. Like Hitler, the Brezhnev clique

exploits war fears of certain people and the desire for peace in the West to get its way.

Hitler set to militarizing the national economy for aggression and expansion soon after coming to power. The Brezhnev clique took a leaf from Hitler's book, too. Fuming and fretting in a speech on July 6, 1967, Brezhnev said that "the question of national defence takes first place of all our work." The Soviet revisionists make no bones about following Hitler's policy of guns instead of butter and "call on the Soviets to make material sacrifices" and "use a large portion of the national income for national defence." At present, the militarization of Soviet national economy has reached a new high. Reports say that about 60 per cent of Soviet enterprises are geared to war production and Soviet military expenditures are climbing steadily. Estimates put the present expenditures at about one-third of the state budget, or around 20 per cent of its national income.

As in Hitler Germany, the Soviet national economy has been put, to a large extent, in the orbit of a war economy. *The Question of Methods of Military Theory and Practice*, a book which came off the press in 1969 in the Soviet Union, admits that the Soviet policy calls for "an economy which can guarantee the waging of a war by either nuclear fragmentation means or conventional weapons." Reports show an increase of 15-fold in Soviet ICBMs in a decade and a 50 per cent increase in military aircraft from 1968 to 1973. There also has been a rapid increase in the numbers of tanks, artillery pieces and other conventional weapons. The Soviet monthly *Communist of the Armed Forces* (No. 6, 1975) feverishly advertised that "the fire volume of [Soviet] cannon and mortars of the motorized infantry division has increased over 30-fold in postwar years." Moreover, the Soviet Union is doubling its efforts to develop MIRVs and build aircraft carriers. In the last ten years or so, Soviet expenditures on nuclear weapons alone amounted to over 100,000 million U.S. dollars. Why do the Soviet revisionists want to produce military hardware on such a big scale? Because, as they themselves admitted, they want to "gain military technical superiority," "effectively support Soviet foreign policy" with "military action," "fulfil offensive tasks" and even make active "preparations for waging a war with every type of weapon."

Intensified Naval Expansion

What warrants attention is the expansion of the Soviet navy. The tonnage of Soviet naval vessels was nearly doubled in the last decade and the number of nuclear submarines was increased over five and a half-fold in the past four years. In a speech on July 25, 1969, Commander-in-Chief of the Soviet Navy S.G. Gorshkov bragged about the Soviet naval fleets already being able to "fulfil their offensive tasks anywhere in the world." The afore-mentioned issue of the *Communist of the Armed Forces* boasted that "the Soviet navy has already outgrown its coastal waters and inland seas and become familiar with the vast oceans" and

that it "has all the necessary facilities to engage in long-term military operations simultaneously on all oceans" and "can hit naval and ground targets at a long distance" and "swiftly land on the territory of its enemy."

One important aspect of Hitler's preparations for his wars of aggression was to poison the minds of the German people by spreading the Herrenvolk theory and giving them heavy doses of militarist education.

Today, the Brezhnev clique is also frenziedly poisoning the minds of the Soviet people by inculcating in them Russian big-nation chauvinism and militarism as part of its "all-round war preparations in advance."

During the past few years, Brezhnev & Co. have developed a particular mania for advertising the so-called "unchanging Russian spirit." They openly boasted that "nowhere in the world is there anything comparable to the character of the Russian nation." History has indicted E.P. Khabarov and such like aggressors, but the clique revered them as "fine sons of the Russian nation," and called on the Soviets to carry on the "glorious fighting traditions of their predecessors" in tsarist Russia.

Lenin pointed out that social-chauvinists, social-imperialists glorify "the imperialist war, describing it as a war for 'defence of the fatherland.'" (*A Turn in World Politics*.) Today, the Brezhnev clique is also glorifying its preparations for aggressive wars under the pretext of "defence of the fatherland." It says that "the training of youth to defend the fatherland is of great significance" and that it is necessary "to carry out sufficient and effective patriotic military education among the youth." At present, the Soviet revisionists have "military affairs offices" in all middle schools, secondary vocational schools and technical schools where military instructors drill the students in war. The revisionist authorities also direct their paid scribes to produce novels, films, plays, drawings and what not with so-called "military patriotism" as the master theme to dope Soviet youth. What is this "military patriotism"? It is something best demonstrated by the novel *Dawn Here Is Quiet* . . . published in the Soviet journal *Yunost* [Youth], No. 8, 1969, which has been highly praised by the Soviet revisionists. The chief character in the novel, extolled as a model for young people, is a man who "carries out orders all his life." He never gives a thought to where his own action "will lead and what consequences will ensue." The men who run the Kremlin want to train and turn Soviet youth into automatons like the soldiers of Hitler's Wehrmacht who, interested only in "executing orders," couldn't care less about their actions and consequences. The Kremlin wants Soviet youth to be so moulded that they can "be sent anywhere their services are needed, including remote and desolate areas and even foreign territories" (as editorialized by the Soviet paper *Krasnaya Zvezda* on September 28, 1971) to act as faithful tools in the social-imperialist aggressive wars. "Fundamental attention should be given to the training of youth to prepare for a big nuclear war" — this remark in the Soviet

journal *Voprosy Istorii K.P.S.S.* [Problems of the History of the C.P.S.U.], No. 4, 1971, is a confession by the Soviet revisionists of the purpose of their "military patriotism."

Lenin pointed out that "**modern war is born of imperialism.**" (*The Draft Resolution Proposed by the Left Wing at Zimmerwald.*) In the era of imperialism, the expansion of any imperialist country, as Lenin said, "**could take place only at the expense of others, as the enrichment of one state at the expense of another. The issue could only be settled by force — and, accordingly, war between the world marauders became inevitable.**" (*Speech in Polytechnical Museum.*)

In the years before the outbreak of World War II, Germany as an imperialist power found its feet again after the defeat in World War I. It tried hard to capture the positions from the old-line imperialist powers and this set off another world conflagration. So Hitler Germany became the hotbed of World War II.

Sources of a New World War

The two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, are the biggest international oppressors and exploiters of today. U.S. imperialism lords it over in many parts of the world. Though it has long since toppled from its pinnacle, it is making desperate efforts to preserve its foothold. In the case of Soviet social-imperialism, which became a superpower after joining the world's imperialist ranks, it has been doing every-

thing it can to squeeze into and take over the U.S. spheres of influence. The fierce contention between them will lead some day to a world war. They are the sources of a new world war. Motivated by their wild ambitions, the Soviet social-imperialists are making a "general offensive" and stepping up mobilization and preparations for a war of aggression. They even threaten to launch a "pre-emptive attack." As a breeding ground of a new world war, Soviet social-imperialism is far more dangerous.

The Chinese people's great leader Chairman Mao pointed out: "**The Soviet Union today is under the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, a dictatorship of the big bourgeoisie, a dictatorship of the German fascist type, a dictatorship of the Hitler type.**" Chairman Mao also said: "**All the reputedly powerful reactionaries were merely paper tigers. The reason was that they were divorced from the people. Was not Hitler a paper tiger? Was Hitler not overthrown?**" "**Revisionist Soviet Union is a paper tiger too,**" he said. Thirty years ago, Hitler, a paper tiger, not only failed to gain world hegemony, but was burnt to ashes by the flames of the anti-fascist struggle of the people of all countries.

Earth-shaking changes have taken place in the world since that time. Following in Hitler's footsteps, the Brezhnev clique, another paper tiger, will come to an end worse than Hitler's.

(A commentary by Hsinhua Correspondent)

New Construction Projects

Chinhuangtao-Peking Oil Pipeline Completed

A NEW oil pipeline running from the port of Chinhuangtao on the shores of Pohai Sea to Peking was laid and put into use on June 23. This is an extension of a similar large-calibre pipeline built earlier from the Taching Oilfield to Chinhuangtao. Together they form a 1,507-kilometre-long "underground artery" winding its way from the Taching Oilfield in northeast China right to the capital.

That day, crude oil from Taching gushed through the pipeline into the tanks at the Tungfanghung Oil Refinery of the Peking General Petro-Chemical Works for the first time.

The newly completed pipeline not only ensures the needs of the Peking General Petro-Chemical Works to expand production but relieves much of the burden of railway transport, and is of great significance in step-

ping up the development of the iron and steel, coal and other industries.

Daily quota of oil delivery via the pipeline has been overfulfilled every day since it came into operation. And the Tungfanghung Oil Refinery has used the Taching crude oil to turn out top-quality oil products. Part of the crude oil is transported by railway to other parts of the country via Peking.

The new pipeline, 355 kilometres long, passes through 13 cities and counties in Hopei Province and under Tientsin and Peking Municipalities. It intersects rivers, railways and highways at more than 100 places. Many heating and booster stations have been built all along the line to ensure the steady flow of crude oil.

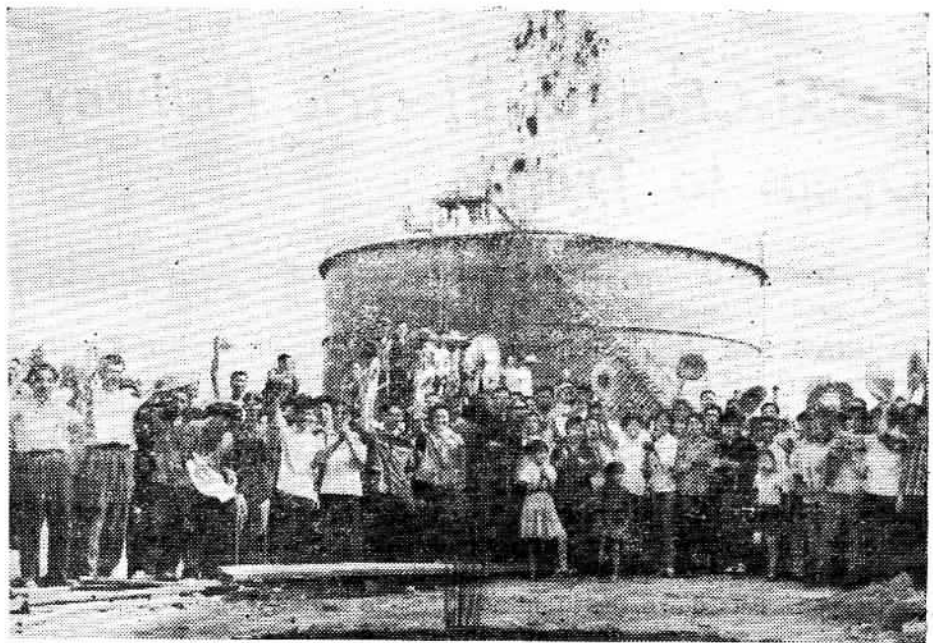
Work on the project started in May 1974. A contingent of builders consisting of workers and rural mili-

tiamen was organized to lay the pipeline. Under the centralized leadership of the Party organization, they earnestly studied works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and Chairman Mao's works and pledged to work hard and build the line with greater, faster, better and more economical results by following the example of the late "Iron Man" Wang Chin-hsi, a vanguard fighter of the Chinese working class and a famous model worker in the Taching Oilfield.

Displaying the spirit of "making revolution and going all out in work," the builders finished the task of excavation in less than seven days, clipping eight days off the original plan. With the masses mobilized on an extensive scale, 70,000 tons of steel pipes and various kinds of equipment were promptly hauled by trucks and horse-drawn carts to the worksite. Learning to do their job while working, a group of young lineswomen soon mastered the necessary techniques and, defying snowstorms and the bitter cold, they fulfilled the task of putting up the communication lines. In building one of the booster stations, the workers gave play to the tremendous initiative and surmounted all sorts of difficulties to complete its main part in three months, with quality guaranteed.

The principle of diligence and frugality was followed throughout. The engineering and designing personnel, for instance, joined efforts with the workers to make surveys along the line and work out several draft designs on the route for the pipeline and the location of booster stations. After making repeated comparisons and soliciting suggestions from all quarters, they finally decided on an economical and rational route which saved the state a considerable amount of investment.

Work was done with meticulous care. The welders treated the joints, numbering tens of thousands, with



Workers and staff members together with their families cheer the successful piping of Taching crude oil to Peking.

the utmost precision. High-pressure tests showed that the welding was up to the required standard.

All this made for the completion of the pipeline far ahead of schedule and quality was good. What with normal operation of all the booster pumps and safe and steady delivery of oil, the pipeline was commissioned promptly after its first trial.

In the course of construction which took a little over a year, leading cadres at all levels spent two-thirds of their time every month taking part in physical labour at different worksites, making investigations and directing work on the spot. In addition, they persisted in doing ideological and political work among the masses to help raise the level of their political consciousness.

The building of this pipeline is also the result of socialist co-operation on a big scale. Apart from the mobilization of the masses in Peking, Tientsin and Hopei Province to take part in the work, more than 240 factories and mines throughout the country supplied the necessary steel pipes, electric motors, oil pumps, transformers and other main installations as well as complete sets of equipment.

(Continued from p. 3.)

productivity has increased remarkably, quality of coal has been stable and consumption of material and production cost have been lowered.

Enthusiasm for socialism on the part of millions of miners has soared

as a result of studying Chairman Mao's instruction on the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. They have tried their best to tap the potential of the coal-pits and make technical innovations to increase output.

One-third of the cadres in the nation's coal departments often go to the grass-roots units to take part in labour, make investigations and study as well as direct production. This has helped strengthen their ties with the masses.

Paoki-Chengtu Electric Railway Opens to Traffic

CHINA'S first electric railway, the Paoki-Chengtu Railway, has been completed and the whole line was opened to traffic on July 1. It represents a milestone in the modernization of China's railway transport.

Electrification of the 676-kilometre-long line is expected to double freight volume. This is equivalent to building a new railway, but at only one-tenth the cost. The use of electric locomotives speeds up the turn-round of waggons, cuts down the number of people required for inspecting and supplying water and coal, does away with dozens of steam locomotives and reduces the number of attendants on the trains. Electrification has also led to modernizing railway signalling and communications. After this transport artery linking southwest China with the country's railway network has been electrified, it makes still bigger contributions to the development of China's national economy.

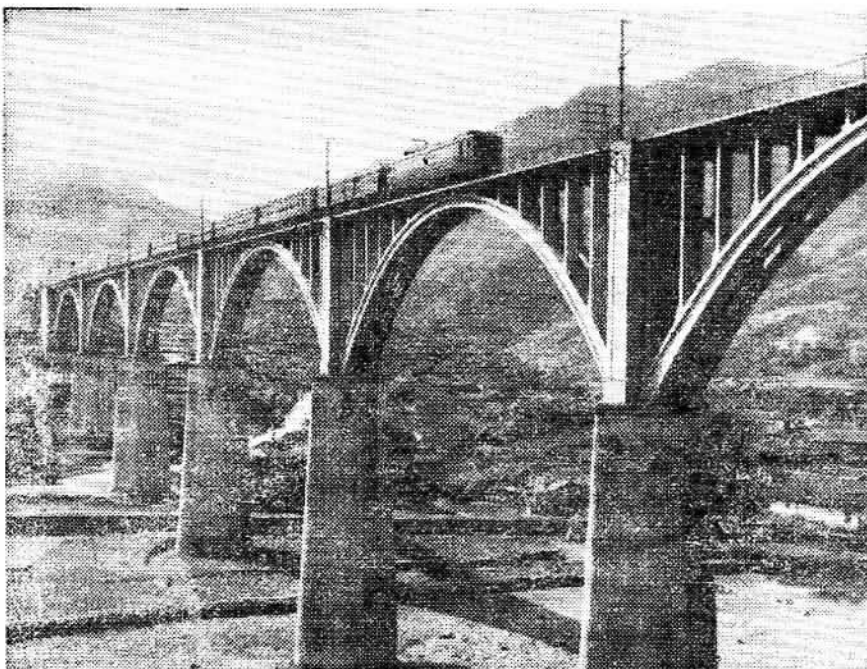
The Paoki-Chengtu Railway was built in the First Five-Year Plan (1953-57). It links Paoki in Shensi Province with Chengtu in Szechuan Province. For the most part the line traverses the rugged Chinling Range and the steep and hazardous Chienmen Mountains. For thousands of years before liberation, people found it extremely difficult to move about in this mountainous region so that they compared travelling in this section

harder than climbing to the sky. Completion of this railway improved traffic in this region. But because of the long, steep grades and numerous tunnels and bends, the steam locomotives could only move slowly and their hauling capacity was limited.

Electrifying this line started in 1958 on the northern section from Paoki, but it was curtailed later because of interference and sabotage by Liu Shao-chi's revisionist line. Work was resumed during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution which smashed the two bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao.

In the course of construction, the Party organization and revolutionary committee of the department for the electrification of this line led the workers and staff to repeatedly study Chairman Mao's directive "**Be prepared against war, be prepared against natural disasters, and do everything for the people**" and his teachings on maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands and relying on our own efforts. They also criticized the revisionist trash peddled by Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao, such as servility to things foreign, the doctrine of trailing behind at a snail's pace and reliance on specialists to run factories. They were determined to do away with foreign stereotypes and to design and construct an electric railway with Chinese equipment and materials. With China's specific conditions in mind, workers, cadres and technicians formed many "three-in-one" groups to work out plans. Repeated experiments enabled them to use Chinese-made aluminum-steel conductors instead of copper conductors which had been considered necessary for an electric railway. More than 400 technical innovations were adopted in the course of construction in the last few years so that the cost per hundred kilometres of electrified line later was less than half the cost at the initial stage.

In line with Chairman Mao's teaching: "**We must break away from convention and adopt as many advanced techniques as possible in order to build our country into a powerful modern socialist state in not too long a historical period,**" Chinese workers designed and made a number of new equipment and



An express train on the electrified Paoki-Chengtu line.

appliances and adopted advanced techniques. To reduce interference with nearby telecommunication, broadcasting and power transmission lines by the powerful current along the railway, for example, they designed and built after repeated experiments a booster transformer

and return conductor with the help of departments concerned. Its use reduced the work of moving telecommunication lines, shortened construction time and cut building costs. This has provided valuable experience for building electric railway lines through large cities.

How China Popularizes Education

by Chun Pu

HUNDREDS of millions of people are receiving an education in New China. Last year 93 per cent of all school-age children were in school. Junior middle school education is universal in almost all the cities and towns and many rural areas, while senior middle schooling is basically universal in the larger cities.

Swift Development

Semi-colonial, semi-feudal old China's economy and culture were extremely backward due to oppression and exploitation by imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism. Upwards of 80 per cent of the population was illiterate. Before liberation, Pingshun County in Shansi Province, north China, had a population of more than a hundred thousand, but there was only one primary school in the county seat, with an enrolment of less than 60 pupils, all sons and daughters of landlords and capitalists. Even more culturally backward were the areas inhabited by minority nationalities. Thousands of Tibetan herdsmen lived in Mato County in Chinghai Province, northwest China, but there were no schools at all. Illiteracy among those poverty-stricken herdsmen was 100 per cent. Some minority nationalities living in the mountains did not even have a written language of their own. They kept records with the aid of knotted strings.

The People's Government inherited an awful mess from the reactionary Kuomintang government when the People's Republic of China was founded in 1949. The regime was politically decadent, economically very backward, with the people living in wretched poverty, and illiteracy was common.

Under the leadership of Chairman Mao and the Communist Party, the People's Government, while carrying out socialist economic construction to continuously raise the standard of living of the people, has gradually developed culture and education. Schools have been set up in large numbers in the urban and rural areas to enrol children of working people. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius have given added im-

petus to the development of education. Primary school enrolment for the whole country in 1974 was 145 million, or 6.1 times the pre-liberation figure; middle school enrolment was 36.5 million, a 24.4-fold increase over the pre-liberation figure.

Schools have been established everywhere today, in the mountains and on the plains, in the interior and in the frontier areas inhabited by the minority nationalities, in cities and towns and on the grasslands of the nomadic herdsmen. Junior middle schooling in Hsiyang County, Shansi Province, is now universal and senior middle schooling is being popularized there. Ninety-eight per cent of all school-age children in Shansi Province today are attending school, and junior middle school education is gradually becoming universal. Education also has developed rapidly in the minority nationality areas. In the Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous Region 97.7 per cent of all school-age children are in school. In the Tibet Autonomous Region, where there were only two schools which trained only clergy and officials, there are now 3,600 primary schools and a number of middle schools, teachers' training schools and colleges.

Education is not confined to schools only. There are various kinds of educational set-ups organized by factories, rural people's communes, P.L.A. companies, offices, shops and streets, such as short-term courses and political evening schools attended by people after or during working hours where they learn how to read and write, study revolutionary theory as well as scientific and technical subjects. In fact, the whole of society is one vast school.

The reason why education has developed so rapidly is that Liu Shao-chi's revisionist line in education was criticized during the Great Cultural Revolution and Chairman Mao's proletarian line in education has been implemented, the Party's leadership has been strengthened and the masses of workers and peasants now take a direct part in the management of the schools. Chairman Mao pointed out in 1968: "To accomplish the proletarian revolution in education, it is essential to have working class leadership. . . . The workers' prop-

aganda teams* should stay permanently in the schools and colleges, take part in all the tasks of struggle-criticism-transformation there and will always lead these institutions. In the countryside, schools and colleges should be managed by the poor and lower-middle peasants — the most reliable ally of the working class.”

The workers and peasants, who make up the preponderant majority of the population of China, form the main body of the country. As China is a state under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the political and cultural level of the workers and peasants has an important bearing on the consolidation of the proletarian dictatorship and the development of the socialist economy. Following their political and economic emancipation after liberation, the workers and peasants yearned for cultural emancipation too. Before the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, however, the revisionist line in education pushed by Liu Shao-chi and his gang discriminated against the workers and peasants and their children, with the result that a large number of them could not get an education.

The workers and peasants know full well what it is like to be without an education. Since the start of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the workers and peasants have, under the leadership of the Party, taken part in exercising leadership over the schools and colleges and have pushed hard for universal education and done their best to train worthy successors to the revolutionary cause.

Walking on Two Legs

Apart from the state setting up schools, it is also necessary to energetically call on the masses to set up schools themselves. Only by mobilizing the people to pay attention to education and getting them to take an active part in establishing schools can education be developed with greater, faster, better and more economical results. This is the application in the field of education of a whole series of policies known as “walking on two legs” in developing the national economy.

Most primary and middle schools in China today are set up and financed by the state. In addition to these, however, there are schools (mainly in the rural areas) which, while receiving some help by way of funds and personnel from the state, are financed by the collective economy of the rural people's communes.

Rural population makes up 80 per cent of the total in China. Popularization of education will have little meaning if the peasants are not taken into account. Using the pretext that schools should be set up according to the required standard, Liu Shao-chi and his gang opposed the establishment of schools by the masses before the Cultural Revolution, and this held back the development of education. To illustrate: of the 1,900 villages in the 20 people's communes in Pingshun

County, Shansi Province, before the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution only 26 per cent of the villages had put up schools themselves so that only 37 per cent of the school-age children were in school. Many children of poor and lower-middle peasants were unable to attend.

After the start of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, Liu Shao-chi's revisionist line in education was criticized and schools collectively set up and managed by the rural masses were vigorously pushed ahead so that education developed very swiftly. The number of state-financed primary schools had risen from 70 in 1965, the year before the start of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, to 361 in 1974. In addition, there are also schools set up collectively by the peasants. Together these schools have enrolled 99.5 per cent of all school-age children.

Primary and middle school tuition is free. In some schools there is no payment to cover textbooks and ancillary expenses. Where some payment is required, students whose families are not so well-off are exempted. Consequently, every child now can afford to go to school.

Many Forms

Chairman Mao has pointed out: “We must have not only regular primary and secondary schools but also scattered, irregular village schools, newspaper-reading groups and literacy classes.” This puts schooling within easy reach of the peasants and their children and helps popularize education.

However, Liu Shao-chi and his gang demanded that village schools should be regular like those in urban areas. If only such schools were set up and no scattered, irregular village schools were established, many rural children would be denied an education, since the villagers live in widely scattered areas, particularly those living in the mountains, pastureland or lake districts. For example, the pastoral county of Mato, which is on the average 4,200 metres above sea level with a very capricious weather, has less than two persons per ten square kilometres. It did not have a single school before liberation. Distances between production teams are anywhere from 10 to 60 kilometres. So if scattered, irregular village schools are not established, where can the children get schooling?

Acting in accordance with Chairman Mao's directive, the county Party committee of Mato mobilized the masses to set up schools collectively while at the same time doing a good job in the regular schools. Within a

* Workers' propaganda teams have been sent to schools and colleges in accordance with Chairman Mao's directive that it is essential to have working class leadership to accomplish the proletarian revolution in education.

short time every production team had set up its own mobile primary school which accompanies the herdsmen as they move about the pastures. School is where the herdsmen are camped. Hours are mid-day, thus leaving the mornings and afternoons free for the students to work. When the students are out pasturing, the teachers follow them on horseback. When the pupils are herding in the daytime, the teachers hold classes in the evenings, so that work and study do not clash. The county's four primary schools in 1965 have multiplied almost ten times and nearly all children can go to school.

Boat schools have been set up in areas where there are many rivers and lakes. The floating school is a large barge which moves with the boat people so that children living on the vessels with their parents receive an education as they travel on the waterways. Teachers in the mountainous areas call on the widely scattered hamlets, visiting several a day, to hold classes. In some villages pupils bring their younger brothers or sisters to school with them, leaving the younger, pre-school-agers in a nearby creche while they study.

Source of Teachers

State-run schools are staffed by state-trained teachers whereas most teachers in the schools set up collectively are mainly selected and trained from among commune members, with a few trained and assigned by the state. China has large numbers of middle-school graduates who have settled in the rural areas. Some have been chosen to teach in these schools. Ex-servicemen also are selected to teach. Commune members, too, are assigned to teach part time.

Kuanling County in Kweichow Province, southwest China, has picked more than 300 local commune members to teach in its collectively run schools. They have a high level of political consciousness and the necessary level of education, and are keen on teaching the peasants. To raise the ideological and professional standards of these teachers the county has adopted many measures, among which are running training classes during the winter and summer vacations and making arrangements for experienced teachers to tour the schools to give guidance.

The teachers are loyal to the educational cause of the Party and work hard to serve the people. Wu Hsiuchen, a woman teacher in a mountain hamlet in Shansi Province, is an educated youth who settled in the countryside after graduating from a middle school in 1964. On becoming a teacher, she has called and collected her pupils and seen her charges home every day, regardless of the weather. Another teacher, Chang Fu-chuan, who teaches in a mountain village inhabited by people of Miao nationality in the Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous Region, asked his wife to leave the county town to teach with him and bring their children along

as well. In order to do a better job of teaching, he has diligently studied the Miao language. The local people have praised him highly for this.

Bringing Up Workers With Socialist Consciousness and Culture

Since the start of the Cultural Revolution, middle and primary schools throughout the land have implemented Chairman Mao's directives that "education must serve proletarian politics and be combined with productive labour" and that it "must enable everyone who receives an education to develop morally, intellectually and physically and become a worker with both socialist consciousness and culture."

Middle and primary schools are trying out a shorter period of schooling: five years for primary school, and four or five years for middle school. Experiments are also under way in streamlining the curriculum and reforming teaching material. For the students, their main task is to study and at the same time learn other things, that is to say, they should not only learn book knowledge, but should also learn industrial production, agricultural production and military affairs. They also should criticize and repudiate the bourgeoisie.

Many middle and primary schools have established ties with nearby factories, rural people's communes and P.L.A. units, turning these places into classrooms. Where conditions permit, middle and primary schools have set up their own small factories or farms and workers, peasants and soldiers are invited to teach. The number of such factories and farms set up by schools in Liaoning Province in northeast China has passed the 37,000 mark. Schools in Yuyao County in Chekiang Province on the eastern seaboard have over the past few years experimented with 27 types of superior paddy-rice strains, 10 kinds of good strains of barley and 21 kinds of fine cotton strains. Through working together with workers and peasants, the students' love for the working people has grown and they have learnt knowledge by integrating theory with practice.

The quality of students in both state-run and collective-run schools is going up. Of the more than 200 graduates in the last dozen years or so from the primary school run by the Fufeng Brigade of the Minchu People's Commune in Wuyuan County in the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region, most have gone back to work in their production teams. Some are engaged in experiments to breed new seed strains, some have become water conservancy technicians and accountants and some have become barefoot doctors. More than 100 have been commended and cited as advanced workers. Of the 70 cadres at the brigade and team levels, 49 are graduates of this primary school. The commune members say that the school turns out successors the poor and lower-middle peasants like.

Soviet-U.S. Contention in Latin America

CONTENTION in Latin America between the two superpowers — the Soviet Union and the United States — has continued to intensify in the last two years. As indicated by the development of events there, however, Soviet expansion and infiltration, in the face of tidal waves in the Latin American countries to safeguard and consolidate national independence and fight hegemonism, is running into one kind of resistance after another. U.S. manoeuvres to maintain control over Latin America too have suffered continued setbacks.

As in their contention in other parts of the world, the Soviet Latin America stance is an offensive one, with the United States making every effort to keep it out of the Western Hemisphere while looking for a chance to strike back. The September 1973 Chilean military coup was one of the events that pointed up the on-going U.S.-Soviet rivalry in Latin America. Since then, Moscow has been regrouping its forces in a further effort to secure a new foothold in South America.

Soviet Expansion and Infiltration

To achieve this, the Soviet Union has applied its same old political trick of professing itself the "ally" and "supporter" of countries in Latin America opposed to U.S. imperialist oppression, control and plunder, hoping to edge out U.S. influence with the help of the anti-U.S. feelings in these countries. In Latin America also, it has seized on every opportunity to make a gesture of "supporting" such countries in their struggle against the U.S. despotic way of doing things in the Organization of American States and in their opposition to the trans-national corporations and the new U.S. trade act, while at the same time harping on the idea that Latin American countries should develop their relations with the "socialist community" advertised by Moscow. Taking advantage of the shaky position of the inter-American system which took Washington years to build and the Latin American countries' growing separatist tendency towards the United States, the Soviet Union has brought the "Council for Mutual Economic Assistance," which is a neo-colonialist yoke, into Latin America in its search for new victims. On the Panama Canal issue, the Soviet Union also has feigned "support" for Panama's claim to sovereign rights and proposed the "internationalization" of the canal with the real intention of facilitating its own presence in this strategic water-course linking the Pacific with the Atlantic.

In the economic field, the Soviet Union has in the last two years promised certain Latin American countries huge economic "aid" and trade and for the first

time sold heavy ground military hardware to South America. Its economic "aid" in recent years has been in the form of taking part in public works construction on the continent. By offering low tenders, it showed its interest in providing money, technology and equipment for building hydroelectric stations in some south American countries. As a country which has been expanding with a vengeance its naval capability in recent years, the Soviet Union also has a special interest in financing construction of fishing ports in Latin America.

Reports from some countries reveal the Soviet Union's obvious political aims in its trade with Latin America. For instance, it managed to make its way into a central American country through coffee purchases. It takes advantage of the acute economic crisis in the West to push trade all the more vigorously with the Latin American countries as a means of infiltration. In 1974, for instance, it bought large quantities of Latin American unsold commodities such as leather shoes, beef, wine and coffee. In trade with Brazil, it does not mind registering huge trade deficits from year to year, which "is obviously pursuing political interest," as a report by the Brazilian Federal Commission for Trade Information pointed out.

In the military field, there has been a marked increase in Soviet navy and air force activities in the Western Hemisphere. A Soviet fleet made its 13th cruise in the Caribbean Sea at the end of last February. In late September 1974, this fleet that was making a show of force in this area included for the first time a "Kresta class II" missile-carrying cruiser, while Soviet "Bear D" naval reconnaissance aircraft made their 16th reconnaissance and intelligence gathering flights over the Caribbean. Such frequent Soviet naval and air force presence in this area is at once an extension of its military activities closer to the United States proper and a display of force in its contention with the United States in Latin America.

U.S. Strengthens Counter-Measures

Accordingly, the United States has strengthened its measures to counter Soviet expansion and penetration. To counterpose Soviet propaganda that the Latin American countries should develop relations with the "socialist community" and stymie the Soviet attempt to win over these countries, the United States last year twice proposed to the Latin American countries the "establishment of a new community" in the Western Hemisphere. It also tried to smooth over the disputes in its bilateral relations with these countries, promising concessions on the Panama Canal, the new U.S. trade

act and other issues. It again has offered huge loans through the international financial institutions under its control to some Latin American countries receiving Soviet "aid."

Confronted by Soviet military expansion and infiltration in Latin America, the United States has strengthened its military deployment along its eastern and southern coasts as well as in the Caribbean Sea and the Panama Canal Zone. Legislation has been revised to enable the renewal of military loans and arms shipments to Latin American countries. U.S. Defence Secretary James Schlesinger, testifying before the House on February 26, spoke of "a substantial flow" of Soviet arms into Latin America and declared that his country "is prepared to take whatever actions are necessary to maintain our [U.S.] security in the Western Hemisphere."

In May, Senator George McGovern, the 1972 Democratic presidential candidate, visited Cuba and told newsmen his view that U.S. policy towards Cuba formulated some years ago must be modified. Earlier, in a policy statement, Secretary of State Henry Kissinger conceded that "we see no virtue in perpetual antagonism between the United States and Cuba. Our concerns relate above all to Cuba's external policies and military relationship with countries outside the Hemisphere."

Latin America Opposes Two Superpowers

The rivalry between the two superpowers in Latin America poses a threat to the sovereignty and security

of the countries and peoples on that continent. Its people oppose U.S. imperialist domination and aggression on the one hand and Soviet social-imperialist expansion and penetration on the other. Leaders of a number of countries have unequivocally declared that the Latin American countries cannot possibly get rid of their dependence on one country, only to replace it by dependence on another. In the words of Peruvian President Juan Velasco, "we are no longer a colony of anybody"; "at no price, be it gold or force, will we allow our dignity and pride to be trampled upon."

The Soviet Union, by its persistent refusal to sign Additional Protocol II to the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America, by its hegemonic stand at the U.N. Conference on the Law of the Sea and other international meetings and by its subversive and intervention activities in Latin America, has betrayed its social-imperialist nature to a fuller extent before the Latin American people. Many countries there are on guard against the Soviet effort to lure them to have closer relations with its "community." Its politically motivated offers of economic "aid" too have aroused suspicion among the Latin American countries. As to Washington's proposed "establishment of a new community," that is not plain sailing either. The third "new dialogue" scheduled to take place in Buenos Aires between the United States and the Latin American countries died aborning amidst the opposition by the latter to the new U.S. trade act.

The Two Superpowers Rival for Nuclear Supremacy

WHILE talking glibly about disarmament, the two superpowers — the Soviet Union and the United States — are intensifying their contention for nuclear supremacy.

They accelerated the development of new nuclear weapons while talks, beginning early last month, between them on the prohibition of underground nuclear tests, the ban on the use of weather for war and the limitation of strategic weapons, were held or scheduled to resume in Moscow and Geneva. The Soviet Union was reported to have test-fired carrier-rockets into the Pacific from June 3 to 7. U.S. Defence Department officials pointed out that during the tests, Soviet SS-18 missiles with multiple independently targeted re-entry vehicles (MIRVs) were fired. On June 3, the Soviet Union conducted an underground test in Semipalatinsk, Kazakhstan.

To catch up with the United States in the quality of strategic nuclear weapons, the Brezhnev clique has been working overtime to accelerate its development of

intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs) with MIRVs. U.S. Defence Secretary James Schlesinger noted recently that the Soviet Union continued to step up the deployment of MIRVed SS-19 ICBMs, with 50 already deployed. As for SS-17 and SS-18 MIRVed ICBMs, they are ready to be put into operation. The reformation of SS-17 silos has been completed and deployment has begun. In addition, about ten SS-18 missiles are ready to be put into operation and their deployment is well under way.

Recently, Brezhnev has been energetically preparing public opinion for the Soviet programme of intensifying arms expansion and war preparations. Grechko, the Soviet Minister of Defence, has repeatedly called for "making all possible efforts" to "develop and strengthen the armed forces." The Soviet paper *Krasnaya Zvezda* blustered in an editorial: "To strengthen the defence capability of the Soviet Union and the combat power of its armed forces is an objective necessity and also an urgent demand." An article in the No. 6 issue of the

Soviet monthly *Communist of the Armed Forces* bragged about Soviet armed forces' "sophisticated arms system — rocket nuclear weapons" and about the "further development of conventional weapons."

Not to be outdone in this fierce nuclear competition, the United States conducted four underground nuclear tests on June 3, 19 and 26, with the last two having explosive yields of 200 kilotons to 1 megaton of TNT equivalent. According to official announcements, the United States conducted ten underground tests in the first half of this year. It is disclosed by the sources concerned that several more tests of big explosive power have been scheduled for the coming months.

As to vehicles for nuclear weapons, the United States is busy testing cruise missiles to make them capable of being launched with nuclear warheads from

submarines or bombers. A total of 153 million dollars has been appropriated by the U.S. Defence Department for research purposes.

The two superpowers continue to pay lip-service to disarmament to deceive people while stepping up the nuclear arms race. The Soviet Union shows a greater zeal for all this. Since the resumption last January of the Soviet-U.S. "strategic arms limitation talks," Moscow has cranked up its propaganda machines to parade this as a "new important step" taken by the Soviet Union and the United States and the "agreement" to be drafted soon as "an important contribution to the reduction of the threat of war and to the strengthening of international peace." However, such glib talk cannot conceal frenzied Soviet arms expansion and war preparations and its wild ambition for world hegemony.

Zimbabwe

Smith Regime's Crackdown on Liberation Movement

THE Rhodesian racist Smith regime uses "peace negotiations" as cover for its stepped-up suppression of the Zimbabwean people's liberation movement for national independence. Many freedom fighters have been rounded up and massacred. Defying the brute force against them, the Zimbabwean people are determined to carry on their armed struggle till victory.

With an ulterior motive, the Smith regime reached an agreement in Lusaka last December on the peace negotiations with the liberation organizations. This was followed by the execution of a long premeditated plan to conduct a nationwide round-up of freedom fighters. Large numbers of troops and police were sent first to comb the rural and bush areas for "terrorists" and then to extend this criminal move to the cities and towns. In this massive raid, many innocent Africans were jailed or killed on charges of being "terrorist infiltrators" or "terrorist suspects."

Meanwhile, many detained patriots were executed in secret. Edson Sithole, Publicity Secretary of the African National Council, said on June 9 that people the world over "should shudder at" the extremely cruel execution carried out at night in Salisbury prison.

The Smith authorities created another bloody incident like the massacre which occurred in Sharpeville of South Africa. On June 1 when the Zimbabweans attended a rally in Salisbury, a big police force cracked down on the unarmed crowd. Thirteen were killed, 28 wounded and 37 arrested.

Recently, there are many signs that the Smith regime is ready to intensify still further its repressive

measures against the Zimbabwean people. William Irvine, Minister of Local Government and Housing, said on June 10 that the Smith regime had decided to "bring the full force of our military and civil power to bear on the guerrillas and at the same time deal firmly with those members of the African National Council who continue to advocate violence." On June 25, the Rhodesian "House of Assembly" decided to extend the ten-year-old "state of emergency" by another 12 months in order to bolster the Smith regime's reactionary rule. When Minister of Justice, Law and Order D.W. Lardner-Burke put forward this motion, he asserted that emergency powers were needed to deal with "terrorist" activities. The day after the motion was adopted, Smith disclosed in a speech that his regime had drawn up a plan for military operations against the nationalist guerrillas once negotiations broke down. On June 28, the Rhodesian military announced that it would give front-line troops a 40 per cent pay raise and recruit women into the military service in a stepped-up drive against the guerrillas. On the same day, Smith showed up in Pretoria for confidential talks with Vorster, chief-tain of the racist regime of South Africa.

Smith's perverse action has further tempered the Zimbabwean people. It has also helped more and more African countries and people to see through the "conciliation" plot of Vorster and Smith and strengthened their determination to support the Zimbabwean people's liberation struggle in which revolutionary violence is pitted against counter-revolutionary violence.

In his speeches, Ndabaningi Sithole, a leading member of the liberation movement in Zimbabwe, repeatedly pointed out that the Zimbabwean people's "freedom and independence cannot be born in the ballot box, but on the battlefield." "Armed struggle is the only possible way out for Zimbabwe," he emphasized.

The flames of armed struggle of the oppressed nations for liberation are not to be stamped out. The Zimbabwean people are not to be deceived. Defying suppression, they are courageously persevering in an arduous armed struggle and dealing incessant blows to the Smith authorities.

Fictitious Ownership by Whole People In Soviet Union

THE existing state-run enterprises in the Soviet Union, though still retaining the "socialist ownership by the whole people" tag, have already changed in nature as a result of degenerating into ownership by the bureaucrat-monopoly bourgeoisie.

This change of the socialist ownership by the whole people, prevailing in the days of Stalin, into ownership by the bureaucrat-monopoly bourgeoisie, which was brought about by the ruling clique in the Kremlin, began with the seizing of leadership. After Stalin's death in 1953, through all sorts of underhand means, Khrushchov-Brezhnev and company, representatives of the new and old bourgeoisie, usurped the party and state leadership and transformed the dictatorship of the proletariat into one of the bourgeoisie. With the change in the nature of the Soviet state, the nature of the ownership by the whole people has undergone fundamental changes. Once in power, they began replacing those not associated with them with their own men by removing group after group of Bolshevik veterans and cadres of worker and peasant origin from their posts of leadership from the central to grass-roots levels and filling them with their agents. In this way, they took the state apparatus into their own hands, monopolized the nation's economic lifeline and put the entire social wealth under their control.

Having seized control of the leadership at all levels, the bureaucrat-monopoly bourgeoisie represented by the renegade clique, waving the banner of the Party of Lenin and the signboard of socialist enterprises, used the state machinery to adopt all kinds of resolutions and bylaws to bring into effect a complete set of the revisionist line and revisionist policies — from those regarding the principle of industrial management and mutual human relations to those regulating the distribution system — and fully restored the capitalist relations of production.

Profit-Seeking: The Guiding Principle

Soon after assuming office, Khrushchov introduced so-called "economic reforms" in the industrial departments. Their essence was to abolish certain principles of management befitting socialist ownership by the whole people and replace them with principles of capitalist management, taking profit-making as the guiding

principle for all economic operations so that this became the ultimate aim of production.

Brezhnev, who snatched power from Khrushchov in 1964, took over the mantle of the latter's "economic reforms" and in the following year ordered the introduction of the "new economic system" with profit at its core. A resolution and some regulations for the "new system" were drawn up to further confirm through legislation the capitalist relations of production already restored in industry. This "new system" not only ensures that the bureaucrat-monopoly bourgeoisie, of which the Brezhnev clique is the chief representative, has rigid control over the various enterprises through the state apparatus but, at the same time, also gives extensive powers to its managers to run and manage these firms along capitalist lines, thereby making the state-run enterprises degenerate completely into firms under the ownership of the bureaucrat-monopoly bourgeoisie.

Under these circumstances, managers and directors are "fully responsible" to these establishments and can issue "orders" to workers and employees "in the name of these enterprises without authorization." They are entitled to "take possession, use and dispose of" the property of the enterprises, buy or sell the means of production, fix plans for production and sales and freely produce goods that can bring in high profits, and recruit, dismiss and punish workers and fix workers' wages and bonuses on their own, etc. In short, the power to handle and use the means of production in the enterprises and the power of distribution and personnel all rest in the hands of the agents sent there by the bureaucrat-monopoly bourgeoisie, while the workers are deprived of the basic right to take part in the leadership of the enterprises and running them. One manager appointed by Soviet revisionism once bluntly said: "The trust is my domain and I am the master. I do what I like." (*Izvestia*, May 29, 1969.)

The harsh oppression and exploitation of workers by the bourgeois privileged stratum are, in some instances, sanctioned by the Soviet Government and popularized throughout the country. One case in point is the notorious "Shchekino experience." Run on capitalist lines, the Shchekino Chemical Combine near Moscow succeeded in intensifying the exploitation of its workers and raising their labour intensity and lay-

ing off 1,300 workers in a few years' time. The lion's share of the wages fund "saved" after firing them went to the managers and directors and left dismissed workers unemployed or semi-employed. As disclosed on May 11, 1974 by the Soviet paper *Trud*, 292 enterprises in the Russian Federative Republic alone, which had applied the "Shchekino experience," had dismissed 70,000 workers by July 1, 1973. And when thousands of workers lost their jobs and became destitute, the founders of the "Shchekino experience" — from the Minister of the Chemical Industry down to the leading members of the combine — were awarded the state orders together with fat sums of money.

The mode of the ownership of the means of production and the position of people in production as well as their inter-relations determine the mode of the distribution of products. As Karl Marx pointed out: "**The prevailing distribution of the means of consumption is only a consequence of the distribution of the conditions of production themselves.**" (*Critique of the Gotha Programme*.)

In the Soviet Union where capitalism has been reinstated, a handful of new bourgeois elements who monopolize the means of production have at the same time the exclusive right to distribute consumer goods and other products. Apart from getting large sums of surplus value in the form of profits into their hands, the Soviet revisionist authorities also make great efforts to increase unearned income for the privileged stratum through "material incentives." They are highly paid and, besides instituting a system of distribution including large bonuses, extra pay for additional jobs and special salaries, have set up many kinds of allowances. All these have permitted them to gobble up the surplus value created by the workers. While paying lip service to the principle of "to each according to his work," Soviet revisionism is actually practising the principle of distribution to each according to his capital and power.

New Version of the Exploitation System

"Material incentives," the means which a handful of the bureaucrat-monopoly bourgeoisie use to force the workers to produce still greater surplus value for them, is a new version of the system of intensified exploitation of workers by capitalists. The result of pushing "material incentives" is increasingly serious exploitation of the workers. At the Aksaisk Plastics Plant, for instance, to get one ruble as a bonus, a worker is required to create an additional surplus value of 16 rubles and 60 kopeks for the bureaucrat-monopoly bourgeoisie. And the surplus value created by the working class is, first of all, grabbed by the bureaucrat-monopoly bourgeoisie headed by Brezhnev in the name of the state through taxation and profits. This is in turn spent to keep the fascist state machine running, cover military outlays for aggression and expansion, and by the privileged stratum of the bourgeoisie to lead a life of extravagance; a portion of it is put away for capital accumulation to expand the exploitation of the working

people at home. As to that part of profits laid aside for the enterprises themselves, most of it goes to fill the purses of the privileged stratum in the form of unearned high salaries and big bonuses.

High salary is one form of taking the surplus value away from the workers by the new bourgeois elements. Besides their regular pay, a handful of the latter are also entitled to allowances for academic qualifications, extra pay for additional posts and special salaries. The sum total may come to several hundred or even a thousand rubles.

Bonus is another form the bourgeois privileged stratum uses to pocket for itself the fruits of the workers' labour. There are bonus systems galore in Soviet enterprises and, in some, regulations governing the issuance of bonuses run into the hundreds. The amount of bonus to be distributed, moreover, varies in direct proportion to one's position and the amount of one's wage. This being the case, most bonuses feather the nest of a few highly paid people of the privileged stratum. According to statistics compiled by 704 firms which were the first to introduce the "new system," of the profits allocated under the heading of day-to-day monetary awards, workers only got an 18.1 per cent share while the rest went to members of the management and engineering and technical personnel. The ratio between bonus and wage is also different, depending on who is to get it. Obviously watered-down government figures show that in 1969 in Soviet industrial firms a worker's bonus was only 4 per cent of the wage, whereas for managerial personnel it could constitute more than 40 per cent of the salary, and even double or triple the salary in some cases.

The actual income of the bourgeois privileged stratum in Soviet enterprises acquired by these means is scores of times, or even a hundred-fold more than, the income of ordinary workers. Lenin pointed out at the Eighth Congress of the Russian Communist Party (B.) that the difference in wages between the bourgeois experts and unskilled workers in tsarist Russia before World War I was 20 times. The difference in income between the new bourgeois elements and workers in the Soviet Union now has far exceeded even that in tsarist days.

Political Prerogatives Utilized

Taking advantage of their political and economic prerogatives, the bourgeois privileged stratum, furthermore, makes big money through all kinds of means. Embezzlement, graft, corruption, appropriating public property for private use, all are ways to amassing fortunes. Many people have become millionaires in a short time. The Soviet paper *Zarya Vostoka* (August 23, 1974) revealed that in a single killing leading managerial personnel of the Tbilisi Synthetic Products Plant, abusing their power, stole 1.1 million rubles. Those in the Sukhumi Tobacco Company lined their pockets with several million rubles through embezzlement and bribery.

(Continued on p. 28.)

Debate at the Salt and Iron Conference

—Contention between the Confucian and Legalist schools
in the middle period of Western Han Dynasty

by Hsueh Li

The struggle between the Confucian and the Legalist schools had a different class basis and political content in different historical periods in Chinese history. The Spring and Autumn Period (770-476 B.C.) saw the imminent collapse of the slave system and the rise of the feudal system. The Legalists who advocated the establishment of the dictatorship of the newly rising landlord class and the Confucianists who tried to defend and restore the dictatorship of the declining slave-owning class were locked in a sharp struggle. By the Warring States Period (475-221 B.C.), the feudal system had been established in most ducal states. The Legalists, who persevered in continuously carrying out reforms and consolidating and developing the feudal system and then going further to found a unified and centralized feudal state, were involved in acute struggles against the Confucianists who adhered to going back to the ancient, retrogression and restoring the slave system and did all they could to maintain the situation in which the country was divided and occupied by various princes.

The contradiction between the ascending landlord class and the peasant class became the principal contradiction in society after Chin Shih Huang (259-210 B.C.) unified China in 221 B.C. But the overthrown slave-owning aristocrats were not reconciled to their

defeat and would not willingly quit the stage of history. They continued using the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius as their reactionary ideological weapon and actively took part in splittist and retrogressive activities in a vain attempt to restore slavery. Therefore, the struggle remained very sharp between the Legalists who represented the line of reform and progress and the Confucianists who clung obstinately to the line of restoration and retrogression. This was the continuation of the struggle between the Legalists and the Confucianists of the Spring and Autumn Period and the Warring States Period, a struggle that continued until the middle period of the Western Han Dynasty (206 B.C.-8 A.D.) when the restorationist forces of the slave-owners were basically wiped out. This, however, did not mean the end of the struggle between the Confucianist and the Legalist lines; changed times saw the struggle take on a different class basis and political content.

The big contention centring round the question of state or private management of salt and iron in 81 B.C. was a concentrated expression of the struggle between those two lines in the middle period of the Western Han Dynasty. This article briefly explains the background of the struggle and the major questions and essence of the contention. — Ed.

LIU Pang, or Emperor Kao Tsu (256-195 B.C.), reigned from 206 to 195 B.C. He reunified China in 202 B.C. and founded the Western Han Dynasty — a centralized feudal state whose pattern was first set up by Chin Shih Huang, the first Chin Dynasty emperor. As its capital Changan (near what is now Sian in Shensi Province) was in the west, this dynasty has been customarily called the Western Han. After being founded, it was faced with two serious threats: the splittist and restorationist activities of local separationist forces working in collusion with the remnant forces of the slave-owners (mainly the handicraft and commercial slave-owners), and raids carried out by the military regime of the Hsiung Nu slave-owners in the northern part of the country. The struggle between the Confucian and the Legalist schools in the early and middle periods of the Western Han Dynasty centred all along around the above-mentioned class and national contradictions.

Background to the Salt and Iron Conference

A Legalist, Emperor Kao Tsu continued to follow the Legalist line after the founding of the Western Han

Dynasty. To win the support of some local military cliques, for a period of time he instituted a number of feudatory principedoms in the course of eliminating the restorationist forces of slave-owners in various places at the end of the Chin Dynasty. At first the princes were subservient to central government leadership, but they later openly opposed the central authorities and became local splittist forces. In collusion with the remnant forces of slave-owners in many places, they continued their splittist and restorationist activities and tried to turn the unified feudal country back and divide it up into rival ducal states — a situation that had existed before the Chin Dynasty. Therefore, to defend the unity of the country, strike at the splittist forces and thus prevent the restoration of slavery and to continuously consolidate and perfect the centralized system in the course of struggle became the urgent tasks of the landlord class in the early and middle periods of the Western Han Dynasty.

China at that time was a multi-national and unified country and the Hsiung Nu was a nomadic nationality in the northern part. At the end of the Chin Dynasty and the beginning of the Western Han Dynasty, a mili-

tary regime ruled by the Hsiung Nu slave-owning aristocrats emerged. It not only ruthlessly oppressed and exploited the people of Hsiung Nu but enslaved dozens of small neighbouring states, and continuously made predatory incursions against the Western Han. These raids by the Hsiung Nu slave-owners continued for years, bringing calamity to the people of the Western Han Dynasty and seriously threatening the security of the country under the centralized authorities. Although in the early period of the dynasty, appropriate defence measures were taken against these raids, the threat was not fundamentally removed.

The fifth ruler after Emperor Kao Tsu was Liu Cheh (157-87 B.C.), or Emperor Wu Ti, who ruled from 140 to 87 B.C. in the middle period of the Western Han Dynasty. He continued to follow the Legalist line and adopted a series of measures to strengthen the centralized system and promote economic and cultural development. By adopting the policy of "reinforcing the trunk and weakening the branches," he dealt all-round blows at the local separationist forces. He divided the big feudatory states into many small ones and placed them under local governments; deprived a group of princes of their titles for various reasons; firmly put down those princes who rebelled against the emperor and severely punished others who violated the law; stipulated that the princes could only collect taxes and should not interfere in state affairs or retain troops. These measures reduced the feudatory states to local governments and thereby basically eliminated the danger of splitting the unified country and consolidated the feudal centralized system.

To ensure a strong centralized power economically, Emperor Wu Ti also adopted the policy of taking agriculture as the fundamental sector of the economy and promoting the all-round development of handicrafts and commerce; at the same time he struck hard at the remnant forces of the slave-owners through financial reforms. He severely punished handicraft and commercial slave-owners who did not abide by the law and confiscated huge quantities of their wealth, putting many of them in the middle or higher categories on the verge of bankruptcy. Acting on the proposal of Legalist Sang Hung-yang*, Emperor Wu Ti resolutely placed under state management coin minting, salt making, iron smelting and other important handicrafts and commerce which had been monopolized by handicraft and commercial slave-owners and local separationist forces. This measure was a hard blow to the remnant forces of the slave-owners and the local separationist forces and uprooted their material basis for splittist and restorationist activities.

Emperor Wu Ti adopted a policy of firm resistance to the Hsiung Nu slave-owners' raids. He appointed Wei Ching and Huo Chu-ping who were of slave families as commanders and they dealt heavy blows at the military regime of the Hsiung Nu slave-owners in three large-scale expeditions. For a long time the latter did not dare make massive inroads southward. This removed a major long-standing threat and ensured

economic and cultural development in the central regions.

Going with the tide of historical development and continuing to follow the Legalist line, Emperor Wu Ti advanced the feudal centralized state founded by Chin Shih Huang and Emperor Kao Tsu, and thus played an important progressive role in the development of Chinese history.

After Emperor Wu Ti's death in 87 B.C., Liu Fu-ling (95-74 B.C.), or Emperor Chao Ti, succeeded him at the age of eight. The new emperor was helped by the regent Huo Kuang who held the titles of *ta szu ma* (minister of war) and *ta chiang chun* (chief marshal). Anyone holding these two titles ranked higher than the prime minister and had the country's political and military power in his hands. Huo Kuang was in fact the representative of the Confucianists in the Western Han central government. In 81 B.C. he, on the pretext of asking "what were the people's sufferings," instigated his henchmen to call to the capital Changan more than 60 "*hsien liang*" (good men) and "*wen hsueh*" (literati)** who were handpicked from various parts of the country. They were reactionary Confucian scholars bent on restoring the old order, and so when they were asked for their opinions about the policy of state management of salt and iron, a big polemic over the question of state or private management of salt and iron ensued.

With the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius — which advocated going back to ancient ways and retrogression — as their theoretical weapon, the reactionary Confucian scholars set off wild attacks on the policy of state management of salt and iron and directed their spearhead at Sang Hung-yang, then a deputy prime minister. At this critical moment Sang Hung-yang waged a tit-for-tat struggle against these reactionary Confucian scholars. This was the background to the salt and iron conference.

The minutes of the conference were later collated by Huan Kuan (a native of present-day Junan County

* Sang Hung-yang (152-80 B.C.), a native of Loyang (present-day Loyang in Honan Province), was an outstanding Legalist. Of a merchant's family, he became a member of the royal retinue at the court at 13 and worked for Emperor Wu Ti for several decades. He was the highest official in charge of the country's financial and economic affairs and later a deputy prime minister. He took part in formulating such Legalist policies as state management of salt and iron.

** "*Hsien liang*" and "*wen hsueh*" were two titles used in the Western Han Dynasty for selecting ruling personnel. To get comments on state affairs and choose ruling personnel, the rulers in the early years of the Western Han Dynasty asked high officials of the central and local authorities to recommend persons from various places who had distinguished themselves. Those recommended were first called "*hsien liang fang cheng*" (good and wise men), later changed to "*hsien liang*" and "*wen hsueh*" in Emperor Wu Ti's time. Those recommended were generally local officials and intellectuals who would be appointed to official posts in the central government if they were considered qualified. The recommendation of "*hsien liang*" and "*wen hsueh*" in 81 B.C. was handled by Huo Kuang and those selected were all disciples of the Confucian school and spokesmen for powerful big landlords and splittist and restorationist forces.

in Honan Province who was in the royal retinue before becoming a local official) and made public under the title *On Salt and Iron*. The book containing more than 90,000 characters not only recorded the major views expressed by the Confucianists and Legalists in their debate at the conference, but preserved a wealth of material about the economic thought of that time.

Major Questions of Contention

Superficially, the contention at the conference was whether salt and iron should be under state or private management, but actually it was a big polemic between Confucianists and Legalists concerning political, economic, military and cultural questions. The essence of the struggle was to uphold or change Emperor Wu Ti's political line of consolidating the unity of the country and strengthening the centralized system. The clash developed mainly around the following questions.

Should Salt and Iron Be Under State or Private Management? At the start of the conference the reactionary Confucian scholars, under the signboard of "speaking in the interests of the people," attacked state management of salt and iron and smeared it as a measure "wresting gain from the people." They strongly demanded: "Stop state management of salt and iron and return the right to the people." To support their reactionary demands, they fabricated a number of so-called evil results from state management, such as the people could not afford to buy iron implements and eat salt and were clad in rags and ate bran. These reactionary scholars did their utmost to present themselves as representatives of the working people's interests, which was a 100 per cent lie.

Who, after all, would benefit from abolishing state management of salt and iron? Prior to the reign of Emperor Wu Ti, private persons could mint coins, make salt and smelt iron. As a result, some feudatory princes monopolized salt making in certain areas and some handicraft and commercial slave-owners monopolized iron smelting. By employing large numbers of impoverished peasants and using a lot of slaves to work for them, they acquired huge amounts of wealth and some even amassed fortunes almost equivalent to the wealth of the government. Relying on their solid economic strength, they feverishly conducted splittist and restorationist activities, started or took part in rebellions time and again and thus became a source of menace to the centralized unified country.

The Confucian scholars complained endlessly that state management of salt and iron was a measure "wresting gain from the people" and demanded that the state "return the right to the people." Here they meant not the masses of working people, but those local feudatory princes and big handicraft and commercial slave-owners who were working feverishly for splittism and restoration. The policy of putting salt and iron under state management was precisely for the purpose of striking at and weakening

such reactionary forces and therefore conformed with the demands of historical development at the time.

Sang Hung-yang refuted the reactionary howls at the conference. He said: Gentlemen! Your proposal will bring benefit only to those local tyrannical forces, and the state will be powerless. Your babbling is aimed at harming the central authorities and serving the interests of the local splittist forces. This criticism hit hard at the essence of the complaint of the Confucian scholars who shouted for the abolishment of state management of salt and iron. Their so-called "stop state management of salt and iron and return the right to the people" meant putting an end to the centralized powers of the unified feudal state and returning to the local splittist forces the right to divide the country and rule independently. The struggle by Sang Hung-yang against the reactionary Confucian scholars was a struggle against the remnant forces of the slave-owners and the conservatives of the big landlord class. What he defended was the Legalist line of strengthening centralization adopted at the time of Emperor Wu Ti, the progress of history and the unity of the country.

In attacking the reform measures of the progressive forces, the reactionary forces in the past often waved the banner of "speaking in the interests of the people." This was one of their usual tricks. Lin Piao and his gang also raised this tattered banner and venomously vilified that our socialist revolution and construction had made "the country rich and the people poor." Like the reactionary Confucian scholars, they represented, in essence, only a handful of restorationist forces overthrown by the revolutionary classes, and not the working people at all.

These Confucian scholars were always parasites who lived on others without doing farm work themselves. How strange it was that at the salt and iron conference they should suddenly show concern for farm production! They fabricated the slander that state management of salt and iron adversely affected farming and tried to achieve their reactionary aim of "stopping state management of salt and iron and returning the right to the people" by raising the slogans of "bringing extensive benefits to agriculture" and "attaching importance to agriculture and restricting handicrafts and commerce." Sang Hung-yang refuted the absurd argument of the reactionary Confucian scholars who said that only by abolishing state management of salt and iron could "extensive benefits be brought to agriculture." He explained that the country should "open the road for agriculture, handicrafts and commerce" and adopt a policy of promoting their development. He pointed out that if there were no handicrafts there would be insufficient farm tools, and if there was no commerce there would be no circulation of goods. And if there was an insufficient supply of farm tools, grain yields could not go up; if circulation of goods was stagnant, the country would have financial difficulties. He further pointed out that only when the state managed salt and iron in a unified way, monopolized the major sections of handicrafts and commerce and stabilized prices could

the merger of land be prevented. These measures were precisely for promoting agricultural development.

In their efforts to oppose state management of salt and iron with the slogan of "bringing extensive benefits to agriculture," the reactionary Confucian scholars set their sights on compelling the Western Han central government to give up those sections of handicrafts and commerce under state management and let the handicraft and commercial slave-owners get their hands again on salt making and iron smelting, merge land at a faster rate, sabotage agriculture and thereby economically undermine the centralized state. Thus, while the reactionary Confucian scholars superficially attacked the policy of state management of salt and iron, actually they tried to effect an overall change in Emperor Wu Ti's political line by launching their offensive in the economic field. As state management of salt and iron was one of the emperor's important measures for strengthening centralization and resisting the Hsiung Nu, its abolishment would mean removal of a material basis of his series of policies for strengthening the centralization of powers.

The main contention at the salt and iron conference between Confucianists and Legalists on domestic policy was the question of unity or splittism — a question over which contention had never ceased since Chin Shih Huang founded the centralized state. By adhering to the Legalist line, Emperor Wu Ti and Sang Hung-yang made contributions to preserving the country's unity.

Through their wild shouting, sophistry and lies concerning Sang Hung-yang, the reactionary Confucian scholars gave vent to their inveterate hatred of Emperor Wu Ti's political line and fully exposed the frantic nature of the followers of Confucius and Mencius in persistently working for splittism and trying to bring about restoration. Following in the footsteps of the reactionary Confucian scholars, Lin Piao tried to undermine the unity of our socialist motherland and went completely against the people's will and the trend of social development. Therefore, he could not fail to be discarded by the people and buried by history.

Resist or Capitulate to Hsiung Nu Raids? While attacking the policy of state management of salt and iron, the reactionary Confucian scholars made slanderous attacks on Emperor Wu Ti's policy of resisting the Hsiung Nu. With Confucius' reactionary preaching of "setting great store by virtue and scorning the use of arms" as their weapon, they vilified the war to resist the Hsiung Nu raids as "discarding virtue and resorting to arms" and a disaster deliberately provoked by several of Emperor Wu Ti's ministers who were looking for trouble. This was an out-and-out absurd and capitulationist argument.

In any war we must first distinguish whether it is a just or unjust war. Chairman Mao has said: "**In the final analysis, national struggle is a matter of class struggle.**" (*Statement Supporting the American Negroes in Their Just Struggle Against Racial Discrimination by U.S. Imperialism.*) The Hsiung Nu at that time was a

military regime under the slave system in the northern part of China and the Western Han was a feudal agricultural country whose social system was more progressive than that of the former. The contradiction between the Hsiung Nu and the Western Han Dynasty was, in essence, one between the Hsiung Nu slave-owners and the working people of the Western Han, or in other words the contradiction between backward slavery and the emerging feudal system. The war of resisting the Hsiung Nu raids was a just war against aggression.

Emperor Wu Ti adopted a policy of resisting the Hsiung Nu and finally defeated the reactionary troops of its slave-owners after protracted and arduous battles. In this respect his contribution could not be erased. In finding fault with and trying to negate this just war with the charge that it had "discarded virtue," the Confucian scholars fully exposed themselves and revealed that their "virtue" was that of national capitulation. In the war against the raids, the Western Han central government mobilized enormous political, economic and military forces. Adoption of the policy of state management of salt and iron, in particular, played a very important part in ensuring revenue for the war.

Sang Hung-yang refuted the unreasonable statements of the reactionary Confucian scholars who made no distinctions concerning the nature of a war. The goal of the anti-Hsiung Nu war, he pointed out, was to defend the security of the country and, through a just war, defeat the raids and plunder by the Hsiung Nu slave-owners. He thus boldly defended Emperor Wu Ti's policy of resisting the Hsiung Nu.

To oppose the anti-Hsiung Nu war, the Confucian scholars also came out with reactionary sayings and absurd arguments such as "a war of resistance will lead to national subjugation" and part of the land subjected to raids "is useless," vigorously spreading defeatist sentiments. They did all they could to paint the horror and calamities of war by saying that "it takes generations to recover from a large-scale war," "farms are left uncultivated and towns deserted" and "aged mothers sob and housewives are immersed in grief and hatred." They then served up a national capitulationist line, that is, stop the war, dismantle the defence works and negotiate peace by giving large amounts of money to the Hsiung Nu slave-owners.

Sang Hung-yang sternly refuted the preposterous proposals of the Confucian scholars. Drawing on the lessons learnt regarding this question after the founding of the Western Han Dynasty, he pointed out that the Hsiung Nu slave-owners were "greedy and aggressive" by nature, "repeatedly went back on their agreements" and seized every opportunity to start a war of raid and plunder. Not the slightest illusion should be cherished towards such a ferocious enemy and the only alternative was to defeat it through a just war.

What should be the attitude towards the Hsiung Nu raids? Regarding this question, there were two diametrically opposed lines during the more than 100 years between the founding of the Western Han Dynasty

and the salt and iron conference. The splittist and restorationist forces colluded with the Hsiung Nu and carried out a national capitulationist line. In sharp contrast with this, the progressive forces that upheld unity and opposed splitting activities followed a line of strengthening preparedness against war and resisting raids. The vicious attacks against the anti-Hsiung Nu war by the Confucian scholars at the conference reflected the fact that the sharp two-line struggle was still going on.

The history of that period clearly tells us that because of their unpopularity and extreme weakness, those who worked for splittism and retrogression always sought aid from outside forces and unhesitatingly became national traitors and henchmen of these forces. To realize their fond dream of "restraining oneself and returning to the rites," Lin Piao and his gang attempted to flee to the enemy in betrayal of the country and to lead the enemy into the country. Didn't they follow the same road as the splittist and restorationist forces represented by the Confucian scholars?

Is History Moving Forward or Backward? The struggle between the Confucianists and the Legalists at the salt and iron conference also reflected the sharp contrast between the two conceptions of history — one standing for progress, the other for retrogression. Since the Confucian scholars took the reactionary stand of upholding slavery, they inevitably clung to the metaphysical conception of history which stood for retrogression. They trumpeted the "eternal way" and advocated using long outdated slavery as the eternal prototype for society. In their view, mankind could not develop, society could not change and history always remained at the same point. Whoever followed the beaten track would have the blessing of heaven and thrive; whoever wanted to bring about changes would go from bad to worse and perish. Proceeding from this reactionary conception of history, they venomously slandered and attacked the Legalists from the Warring States Period to their times. With deep hatred for Chin Shih Huang, a statesman of the newly rising landlord class in Chinese history, they babbled that "his introduction of reforms led to the downfall of his dynasty."

Sang Hung-yang sharply criticized this reactionary conception of history. In his view, things were constantly changing — "when a thing reaches its climax, it heralds its decline and thus comes the supersession of the old by the new." Therefore, he considered that social history was constantly moving forward. He said that "different times have different measures," that is, to rule a country well, it was necessary to face reality and adopt different policies according to the needs of the situation. He highly appraised the historical successes of past Legalists and warmly praised the great achievements of Chin Shih Huang in firmly exercising the dictatorship of the landlord class.

Did the reactionary Confucian scholars talk only about history? Certainly not. They praised the ancient in order to attack the present and lauded long-rotten slavery to the skies; on the other hand, they described

the successes resulting from strengthening centralization and resisting the Hsiung Nu since the time of Emperor Wu Ti as a mess. This exposed the fact that their praises of the ancient was merely a means and their attack on the present was their real aim.

Grasping this essential point, Sang Hung-yang disclosed the fact that in clinging to ancient books, "mechanically adhering to empty words" and ignoring the "changes in the times and the world," the Confucian scholars had their reactionary aim, which was to attack and try to change the Legalist line and policies in force at that time. He reprimanded the Confucian scholars, saying that they could only "recite dead men's sentences" and were insisting on reviving things of the slave system. This, he said, was like playing a musical instrument with the strings glued together and no music could be expected from it at all.

* * *

We can clearly see from the above that the salt and iron conference was not a conference simply discussing state or private management of those two products. It touched upon a series of political, economic and ideological questions, and was in fact a big contention on whether to uphold or to negate Emperor Wu Ti's Legalist line. Taking the reactionary stand of local splittist forces and the restorationist forces of the slave-owners, the Confucian scholars let loose an all-out attack on Emperor Wu Ti's Legalist line and tried to replace it with the Confucianist line which upheld disruption, retrogression, capitulation and the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. Therefore, the struggle between state and private management of salt and iron was in fact a struggle between the Confucianist and the Legalist lines.

Powerful big landlords had gradually been detached from the landlord class in the middle of the Western Han Dynasty. As they had no more initiative for progress and reform, they very easily became reactionaries holding back the progress of society and were integrated with the splittist and restorationist forces. Politically, they were bound to discard the Legalist line standing for change and progress and adopt the Confucianist line standing for conservatism and retrogression; the Confucianists who formerly represented the interests of the slave-owning class naturally became their spokesmen. Huo Kuang was a representative of the increasingly conservative powerful big landlords and the splittist and restorationist forces, while Sang Hung-yang was a representative of the landlord class which stood for continued advance. Because the landlord class as a whole was still in the ascent at that time and Legalist thinking still held the dominant position, the reactionary Confucian scholars failed in their attempt to replace the Legalist line with the Confucianist line and salt and iron remained under state management. However, with the gradual decrease of the danger of a restoration by the slave-owners, conservatives in the ruling clique of the landlord class steadily expanded their influence. As a result, Sang Hung-yang was killed on trumped-up charges by Huo Kuang and others the year after the salt and iron conference.

Great Changes

by Our Correspondents Hsi Chang-hao
and Kao Yuan-mei

The first part of this article appeared in issue No. 28. It dealt with the peaceful liberation of Tibet in 1951 and the quelling of the armed rebellion launched by the traitorous Dalai clique in 1959. — Ed.

Democratic Reform

THE armed rebellion launched by the reactionary clique of the upper social strata in Tibet thoroughly exposed its true colours and left it isolated. While the rebellion was being quelled, the serfs strongly demanded that democratic reform be carried out. This had the active support of patriotic and progressive personages in the upper strata. Moreover, Tibetan cadres were maturing in large numbers, and conditions were ripe for reform. Firmly supporting the masses' demand, the Party decided to carry out "reforms while quelling the rebellion," and resolutions to this effect were adopted at the second plenary session of the Preparatory Committee of the Tibet Autonomous Region in July 1959. Thus a vigorous mass movement quickly spread throughout the region.

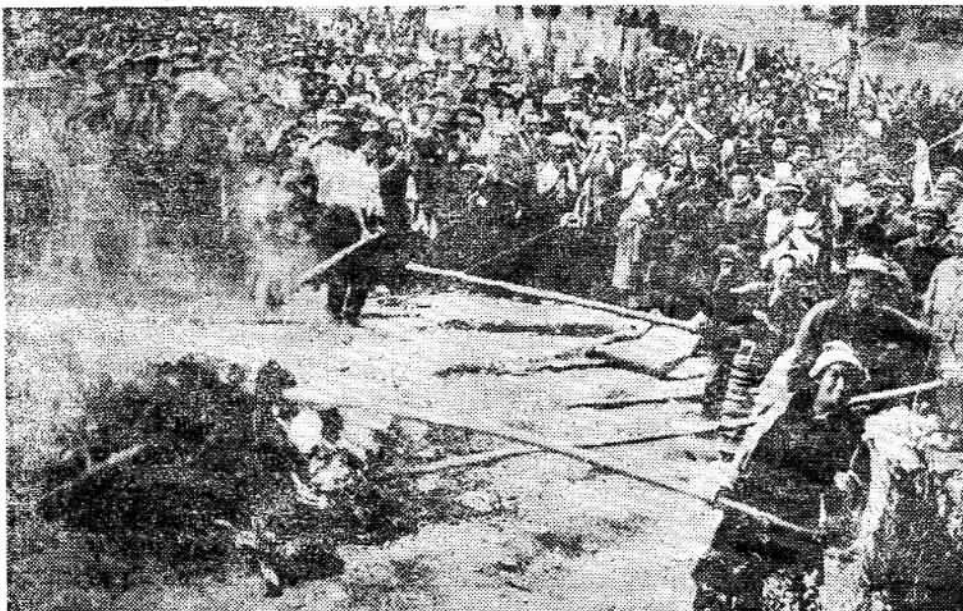
In the democratic reform the Party firmly relied on the poor serfs and slaves, united with the middle serfs

and all forces that could be united with, and struck at the rebellious and most reactionary serf-owners and their agents. The goal was to thoroughly eliminate feudal serfdom and the serf-owning class, but not the individual serf-owners.

The democratic reform was carried out in two stages. In the first stage, a campaign was launched against the rebellion, against the *ula* system (unpaid labour by the serfs), against servitude and for reduction of rent and interest. In the agricultural areas the policy of "harvest to the tillers" was implemented for land belonging to the manorial lords and their agents who had taken part in the rebellion. As to the land belonging to manorial lords and their agents who had not participated in the rebellion, the policy was 80 per cent of the harvest should go to the tenant peasants and 20 per cent to the manorial lords and their agents. Meanwhile, the house slaves were given their freedom and became hired labourers.

All debts owed by the labouring people to the manorial lords taking part in the rebellion were annulled. In the case of manorial lords who had not taken part in the rebellion, loans they had made before 1958 were declared null and void, while interest on loans to the labouring people in 1959 was reduced to 1 per cent per month. In the pastoral areas, herds owned by the traitorous herd-owners were placed in the charge of herdsmen who had tended them before, and proceeds from these herds belonged to them. Those owned by herd-owners who had not taken part in the rebellion still belonged to them but exploitation by these herd-owners was curtailed to increase the herdsmen's income.

The second stage of the democratic reform was land distribution. The means of production of the manorial lords and their agents involved in the



Peasants and herdsmen burning land deeds during the democratic reform.

rebellion were confiscated and distributed to the poor peasants and herdsmen, while those of the manorial lords and their agents who had not participated in the rebellion were redeemed by the government and distributed to the poor peasants and herdsmen. Members of the serf-owning class also received a share of the means of production.

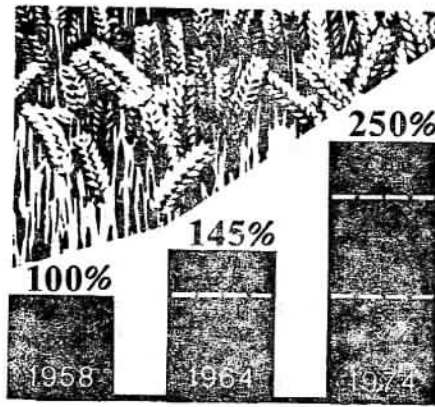
The high lamas in the monasteries were also serf-owners who oppressed and exploited the poor lamas, poor peasants and herdsmen. So the democratic reform was also carried out there to deal blows at those who had carried out traitorous activities and engaged in counter-revolutionary schemes and to abolish feudal privileges, oppression and exploitation. Freedom of religious belief was protected as before.

The democratic reform was completed throughout the region in 1961. The serfs were liberated politically and economically. Implementation of the policy of "harvest to the tillers" and reduction of rent and interest and abolition of usury brought great benefit to the masses. In terms of grain, every person got 750 kilogrammes on the average, and each peasant was given 0.23 hectare of land. From then on, the enslavement and misery of the Tibetan labouring people was consigned to oblivion. The million serfs had stood up.

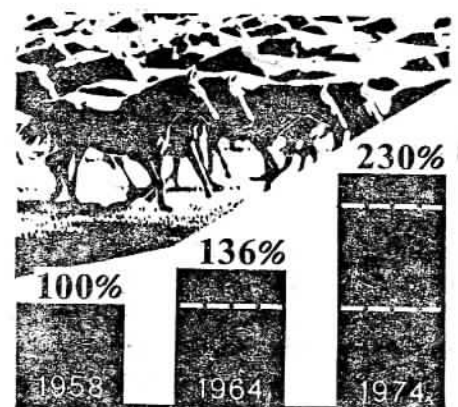
Nimatzujuen, an emancipated serf and now secretary of the Party branch of the Kesung People's Commune in Naitung County south of the Yalutsangpo River, told us about the great changes resulting from the democratic reform.

Nimatzujuen's family had been slaves for generations working in the Kesung manor, one of many belonging to Surkong Wongching-Galei, a big serf-owner and a ringleader of the traitorous clique. This emancipated serf had eight brothers and sisters who had all died of poverty and poor health in their childhood, and his father was beaten to death by the manorial lord. At nine Nimatzujuen was sent to a remote manor where he was ordered by the lord's agents to herd more than 500 sheep, an impossible job for a boy.

One day when the agents learnt that a leopard had devoured several sheep, they almost beat the boy to death. Since he was given only a little *tsamba* to eat every day, he often stuffed his mouth with the grass used as feed for the sheep when he could not bear the hunger. He slept among the sheep. In twelve months he was reduced to mere bones. When the agents saw that nothing more could be squeezed out of him, he was thrown out. When he returned home, his mother could not recognize him. It was only when he cried out "Ma!" that his mother suddenly realized he was



INCREASE OF TOTAL GRAIN OUTPUT IN TIBET.



INCREASE OF TOTAL NUMBER OF DRAUGHT ANIMALS IN TIBET.

her son. She fainted there and then. Later, Nimatzujuen continued working as a slave in the Kesung manor.

During the democratic reform, the Party sent a work team to the manor. Team members went to Nimatzujuen's home and asked him about his past suffering. They told him that happy days for the serfs had arrived and that he should rise in struggle against the reactionary manorial lords. When they gave him their own rice and ate his *tsamba* instead and when they offered him their soft quilts in exchange for his shabby sheepskin, he was greatly moved and felt the affection they had for him. In the evening, together with his poor companions, he visited the team members and had a heart-to-heart talk with them, tearfully relating his family's miserable history to them. With tears of sympathy in their eyes, they told him to unite all the poor serfs and settle accounts with the reactionary manorial lords.

After the serfs were aroused and their misgivings dispelled, the township held a rally in which the serfs struggled face to face against the agents of the manorial lords. Nimatzujuen was the first to take the floor, and he poured out his grievances with wrath. The other serfs also spoke. Their pent-up anger and hatred erupted like a volcano. Turning ashen with fear, the agents huddled together. At the rally the serfs burnt the land deeds and usurious account books of the manorial lords.

While recounting this to us, Nimatzujuen's lean face with scars of injury suffered in the old society lit up with joy. "Since that day," he said, "the serfs have stood up. My family was given over 6 *khal* of land (one *khal* equals one-fifteenth of a hectare), a milch cow, ten sheep, a donkey, as well as farm implements, furniture and clothes. My mother and I moved to a building that had belonged to a manorial lord. Later I was elected chairman of the poor and lower-middle serfs' association which at that time exercised political power in the township."

"That was the beginning of a new life for us," he continued. "I could hardly believe it at first. Was it a dream? But even in a dream I daredn't dream of the

good life we have today! Shortly afterwards I went to Peking as a Tibetan representative attending the 1959 National Day celebrations. There I saw Chairman Mao, the saviour of the emancipated serfs, and he cordially shook hands with me."

All poor Tibetan serfs led a similar life of misery before their emancipation. The democratic reform smashed the shackles of feudal selfdom which held the million serfs in thrall, liberated the productive forces and promoted the development of agricultural production and animal husbandry.

The Tibet Autonomous Region was officially set up on September 1, 1965 after people's political power had been established from the grass-roots to the county level.

Advancing Along the Socialist Road

Following the victorious conclusion of the democratic reform, Tibet entered a new era, the era of socialist revolution and socialist construction.

After the land distribution, the emancipated serfs enthusiastically responded to Chairman Mao's call "**Get organized!**" On the basis of an individual economy they set up in the whole autonomous region over 20,000 mutual-aid teams of an embryonic socialist nature.

Nimatzen told us that after he was given land in 1959 he organized a mutual-aid team with 12 other slave households. The Kesung township set up four such teams at the beginning. Under the rule of the feudal serf-owners, local output never topped 1,260 kilogrammes per hectare. But in 1960 the mutual-aid teams harvested on the average 1,680 kilogrammes per hectare. By 1965 there were 11 such teams. However, as they were based on an individual economy, class polarization could not be prevented. Some peasants came up against difficulties resulting from natural calamities or family misfortune, and they were compelled to mortgage those things they had received during the democratic reform.

A socialist education movement was launched among the masses in 1964. The emancipated serfs in the Kesung township studied Chairman Mao's instruction that "**only socialism can save China.**" They learnt that elsewhere in the motherland people's communes, the basic organization integrating government administration with commune management, had been set up by the people in accordance with Chairman Mao's instruction "**People's communes are fine,**" and that this had greatly promoted undertakings of various kinds in the countryside. All this sparked their enthusiasm and they discussed among themselves what they could do along the same line. When Comrade Chang Kuo-hua, First Secretary of the Party Committee of the Tibet Autonomous Region, visited Kesung in June 1965, they told him that they also wanted to set up a people's commune. He supported them after he had solicited views all around. In 1966 a people's commune was formally established. Grain output that year for the commune was 2,520 kilogrammes per hectare, much

higher than that of the households which remained outside the commune. With the commune's superiority thus demonstrated, more people wanted to join. By 1969 all the 120 households or so in the township had become part of the commune.

The Kesung Commune was one of the first group set up in Tibet where people's communes were first formed on a trial basis in 1965. Since the start of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in 1966, the peasants and herdsmen have carried out deep criticisms of the revisionist line of Liu Shao-chi and Lin Biao and the anti-people, anti-motherland and anti-socialist crimes of the Dalai traitorous clique. Chairman Mao's revolutionary line has found its way ever deeper into the hearts of the people whose enthusiasm for socialism has soared as never before. An upsurge in establishing people's communes emerged throughout the region. Adhering to the principle of voluntariness and mutual benefit, Party organizations at various levels have carried out the movement for setting up people's communes according to plan and by stages. At present, people's communes have been formed in 93 per cent of the region's townships, which were the basic units of political power in the countryside before the communes were inaugurated, and the socialist transformation of agriculture and animal husbandry has been successfully carried out.

After the land reform, the rural areas in other parts of China went through the stages of the formation of mutual-aid teams and then of co-operatives under collective ownership before they set up people's communes. But Tibet leapfrogged the stage of co-ops and moved directly from mutual-aid teams to people's communes.

The Kesung People's Commune was set up on what had been the Kesung manor (township). It now has 140 households with a population of over 590 and more than 105 hectares of land. Ownership is on two levels — the commune and the production teams. There are four production teams, each organized in a separate village and serving as a basic accounting unit. In the early stage of the people's commune, it adopted the method of distribution partly according to work and partly on the basis of the land and animals pooled by the members in the commune. This system had been used by the elementary co-ops in other parts of China. But since 1967 payment for land and animals has been abolished. Now it is based on work-points as in other parts of the country. Those who are old, weak, orphaned, widowed or disabled and have no one to depend on get free supplies or subsidies from the production teams. Members who have financial difficulties arising from unexpected misfortunes enjoy the same benefits.

Outside Kesung where the commune is located, we saw a vast golden stretch of ripe *qingke* barley extending right to the foot of a hill. Nimatzen told us that farmland had been scattered and the small plots were not convenient for ploughing and irrigating. Since the people's commune was formed, the plots have been

linked up into vast stretches which get the benefits of irrigation, soil amelioration and meticulous cultivation.

Arriving at the threshing ground, the "ta, ta, ta..." sound of a machine threshing winter wheat greeted us. Picking up a handful of wheat grain, Nimatzujen joyfully remarked: "Another bumper harvest!" His joy was not without cause, for last year's grain output here was 3,450 kilogrammes per hectare. The commune now has over 1,300 sheep as against 600 in 1965.



In 1974 the number of Tibetan children in school increased 100 per cent over that of 1965.



Tibet's population has increased at an annual rate of 2 per cent since 1959.

As in other parts of Tibet, the method of cultivation was very backward in Kesung in the past. The wooden plough with an iron ploughshare as small as the palm was drawn by a yak to cultivate the land. Harvested *qingke* barley was laid on the ground to be trodden on by yaks or beaten with flails. This took months and it was quite common that "harvesting takes an autumn and threshing a winter." Things are different now. With the rapid development of the commune's economy and an yearly increase in the accumulation of public funds, mechanization and semi-mechanization in agriculture and animal husbandry has been greatly accelerated. We saw many new-type farm tools and machines in the Kesung Commune. On the winter-wheat plot where the harvest was just in, a new type of tractor-drawn plough was turning up the soil. We visited a 22 h.p. commune-owned small hydroelectric station outside the village, which provides the needed power for irrigation and for the flour mill and the vermicelli factory of the commune.

In the commune's apple-orchard which we visited later, the trees were laden with apples. All production teams in the Kesung Commune have their own orchards. Before liberation, only a few apple trees could be found in Tibet, either in the low-lying areas or in the courtyards of the manors. The few small apples then produced were delicacies only for the manorial lords. Now apples are grown in many places.

The formation of the people's commune has opened broad vistas for developing production. The Kesung Commune is only one of the many examples in this respect.

Displaying the superiority of being bigger in size and having a greater degree of public ownership, the people's communes in various parts of Tibet have built reservoirs and irrigation systems and gone full steam ahead with farmland and grassland construction, thereby greatly changing production conditions in the agricultural and pastoral areas.

Agricultural areas in southern Tibet used to grow mainly *qingke* barley, which was sown in summer and harvested in autumn. Winter crops were basically unknown. Agronomists who came to Tibet soon after its peaceful liberation successfully sowed winter wheat on a trial basis in the vicinity of Lhasa, but it could not be popularized under feudal serfdom which held sway at that time. In 1959, agronomists succeeded in planting a new variety of winter wheat with comparatively high output, but this also could not be popularized because of limitations imposed by the individual economy. With the establishment of the people's communes, which ensured planned production as well as rational and unified deployment of land and labour force, the cultivation of winter wheat soon spread. The acreage under winter wheat in the autonomous region has been expanded to tens of thousands of hectares, and its yield is much higher than that of *qingke* barley, the highest being 700 kilogrammes per *khal*. Winter wheat grows well even in the cold highlands more than 4,000 metres above sea level.

The grassland in northern Tibet is one of China's famous pasturelands. Under feudal serfdom, the herdsmen could not withstand natural calamities. Now veterinary centres have been widely set up by the communes, and "barefoot" veterinarians who take part in both agricultural and medical work have been trained. The region now has over 5,000 such veterinarians, with every commune in the agricultural areas and every production team in the pastoral communes having one or two. In addition, there are veterinary centres and professional veterinarians at various levels. Together they form an effective network embracing the whole region. The result is the main animal diseases are now under control. In spring 1974, there was a big windstorm in northern Tibet. A force-12 wind swept across the pastures, uprooting the grass in many places. Elderly herdsmen recalled the big windstorm 47 years ago. Nearly half of the draught animals were wiped out and many families were broken up and their members

(Continued on p. 31.)

ROUND THE WORLD

KOREA

Pak Jung Hi Clique Violates Agreement

South Korea's Pak Jung Hi clique has been denounced for violating the Joint Statement of North and South Korea and the three principles for national reunification. This was made clear in a July 3 statement by Kim Yong Ju, Co-Chairman of the North to the North-South Co-ordination Committee of Korea.

Three years have passed since the publication of the July 4 north-south joint statement. But the north-south dialogue "is now on the point of rupture after going through twists and turns and relations between the north and the south are very much strained." The statement points out: "This is entirely attributable to the south Korean rulers."

The statement says that the south Korean authorities have violated and trampled underfoot the principle of independence agreed upon by the two sides which stipulates achievement of reunification independently, free from outside force and not subject to outside interference. Yet, the statement points out, the ruling circles in Seoul have obstinately pursued a policy of bartering away the nation and relying on alien forces. "The south Korean authorities' policy of dependence on outside forces is designed to subjugate south Korea as ever to the United States, obstruct independent reunification and perpetuate the division."

The statement goes on: "The south Korean authorities, violating the principle of great national unity agreed upon between the two sides, have ceaselessly incited hostility against the northern half of the Republic and ruthlessly suppressed the south Korean people calling for reunification of the country and democratization of the south Korean society."

It says: "The south Korean bellicose elements, wantonly violating the principle of peaceful reunification

agreed upon between the two sides, whipped up a war climate and deliberately aggravated the north-south relations, raising powder-reeking rows all over south Korea with a cry for 'all-out security' and 'establishment of a war posture,' etc."

The statement declares: The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has made every effort to promote the independent and peaceful reunification of the fatherland by making all kinds of reasonable proposals, especially the five-point programme put forward by President Kim Il Sung for preventing a national split and reunifying the country.

The statement says that the north-south dialogue should be held on the basis of the north-south joint statement. "If the present south Korean authorities fail to correct the basic stand and attitude, they must step down from their posts and patriotic, democratic figures who truly aspire after national reunification should come to power. Only then is it possible to hold genuine dialogue between the north and the south and a road will be opened to the independent and peaceful reunification of the country."

The U.S. authorities, the statement adds, must stop meddling in Korea's internal affairs, must refrain from recklessly egging the present rulers of south Korea on to "anti-communism," a split and dangerous play with fire, and must withdraw from south Korea without delay all the aggression armed forces and lethal weapons.

"Our people will not tolerate any scheme of the enemies at home and abroad to perpetuate the split of the country and the nation but will certainly realize the sacred cause of national reunification with the concerted efforts of all the patriotic forces of the na-

tion," the statement says in conclusion.

AFRICA

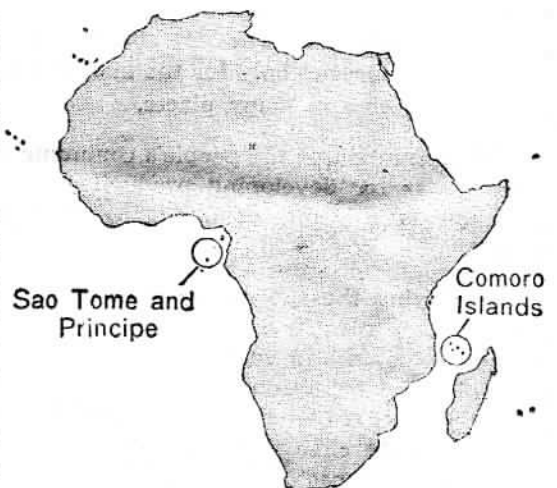
Sao Tome and Principe Proclaims Independence

Independence of another country in Africa, to be known as the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe was solemnly proclaimed on July 12. National flags flew over the two islands, and this marked the end of five centuries of Portuguese colonial rule.

That morning, thousands of people in national costume poured into the streets of Sao Tome. Bearing national flags, banners and placards, armymen and civilians held a parade, followed by a grand rally to mark independence day in Independence Square.

General Secretary of the Liberation Movement Manuel Pinto da Costa who was appointed President of the Republic made a speech at the ceremony. He warmly congratulated the people of Sao Tome and Principe on winning independence after a protracted struggle. Sao Tome and Principe, he stressed, will give resolute support to the peoples in Africa and the world, who are still under foreign domination, in their just struggle against exploitation and oppression and in defence of national independence. He called on all to closely unite, overcome difficulties facing the national economy and build Sao Tome and Principe into a prosperous country.

Sao Tome and Principe, lying in the Gulf of Guinea in West



Africa, has a combined area of 996 square kilometres and a population of about 80,000.

Independence of Comoro Islands Proclaimed

After a long struggle the people of Comoro Islands have won independence, thereby ending the nearly 140-year-old French colonial rule.

On July 6, the Comoro Islands Parliament adopted a resolution on independence by a 33-0 vote with six abstentions, formally proclaiming the islands' independence.

On July 7, the parliament elected Ahmed Abdallah Head of State. It also passed a law to create a constitutional committee embracing the representatives of all political parties so as to draft a new constitution to be voted on by the whole of the islands.

The General Secretariat of the Organization of African Unity in a July 8 press release expressed support for Comoro Islands' independence. It says: "In conformity with the principles of its charter, the Organization of African Unity has consistently supported the inalienable right of the people of the Comoros to national independence and the maintenance of territorial integrity of their country."

Lying north in the Mozambique Channel between the African eastern coast and the Malagasy Republic, Comoro Islands cover an area of more than 2,200 square kilometres with a population of 300,000.

IRAQ

By Their Own Bootstraps

Iraqi engineers, rejecting transformers imported from abroad at high cost, have succeeded in designing their own to bring electricity to all villages in the country, *Baghdad Observer* reported on July 8.

The paper said: "A friendly country has asked for a sum of 122,500 Iraqi dinars for preparing designs of four varieties of transformers, in addition to other payments to cover the expenses of the experts." Ali Hussein Al Dujaily, an engineer who heads the transformer's design section of the state company for electrical in-

dustry, countered the demand with a proposal that Iraqi engineers forget about foreign blue-prints, and design and trial-manufacture their own transformers.

Two models, one with a capacity of 800 kva and the other 250 kva, left the drawing boards soon after and put into production. Tests on the 100-kva transformer's thermal and circuit characteristics have also been completed recently.

Referring to the Soviet undertaking to electrify Iraqi villages, the paper remarked: "Substations are required in every village to maintain power supply. Each substation costs 40,000 Iraqi dinars before it is connected with ordinary village stations. A lot of money and time is involved in operation. The local manufactured 100-kva transformer will supply the consumers in villages with electricity directly without substations."

President of the Iraqi general establishment of electricity Ahmed Bashir said on a TV programme: The power station built in Nagibia of Basra generated no electricity because "the Soviet firm has not finished its work on schedule."

A statement of the Iraqi Ministry of Industry and Mining carried in *Al Thawrah*, organ of the ruling Arab Baath Socialist Party, on July 2 said: "We want to stress that the delay in the Nagibia power station expansion project has indeed affected the full supply of electricity, causing a 60 megawatt power shortage." "We had stressed to the leading officials of the firm that the delay in installing the two power generating units should be corrected. In the protocol recently signed with the Soviet Union, we also stressed the necessity to complete the power project."

ICELAND AND NORWAY

Conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties

The Norwegian journal *Class Struggle* reported in its June 18-24 issue that a joint statement was issued after the meeting of representatives of the Communist League of Union of Iceland (M-L) and the Norwegian Workers' Communist Party (M-L). The statement pointed out that the two Marxist-Leninist organ-

izations will strengthen their concerted struggle against the two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States.

"Our two sister organizations," the statement said, "are closely linked in a series of struggles—in the fight against the superpowers' increasing military activity in waters close to our two countries, in the fight for the extension of our fishing limits and in the fight for the defence of resources essential for the survival of most of our two peoples."

It pointed out that the danger of war between the two superpowers to divide the world is growing, and that the people of the world should strengthen their solidarity in struggle against this danger from the two superpowers.

"It is impossible to form a united front against the superpowers without exposing and combating modern revisionism," it said.

"Norway and Iceland," it went on, "are situated within firing range of the two superpowers, which have systematically staged large-scale military exercises off our coasts. The exercises are also directed against our two peoples."

"U.S. imperialism has important economic and political interests in our two countries. The Soviet Union has grabbed control of vital resources in defiance of the justifiable claim of the people of the North Atlantic countries for the fishing resources in their area. Together with other imperialist powers, the Soviet Union stands in the way of the fight by Norway and Iceland to extend fishing limits respectively to 50 and 200 nautical miles.

"Furthermore, the Soviet Union seeks to seize important positions in our two countries, particularly in our coastal areas. It rejects the international demarcation of the Barents Sea and stealthily explores for oil in the northern continental shelf of Iceland."

"KLASSENKAMPF" (AUSTRIA)

War Danger Increases in Europe

The Soviet-U.S. rivalry for hegemony has added to the danger of war in Europe, says a commentary in *Klassenkampf* (No. 3, 1975), a publi-

cation of the Communist League of Vienna.

The commentary points out that the Soviet Union and the United States are intensifying their rivalry. "The focus of the two superpowers' struggle for world power is Europe." "In the heartland of Europe, the two superpowers are confronting each other, each trying in the unceasing fight to maintain its own position and weaken the other," the commentary notes.

The Soviet Union, the journal says, has worked to stir up conflict over Cyprus by alternating its support for Greece and Turkey and tried desperately to gain a foothold on that island. Both superpowers have reinforced their fleets in the Mediterranean.

The commentary calls attention to the fact that in the Balkans, the Soviet social-imperialists bolstered the group of Yugoslav traitors uncovered last year. To pose ever more threats to the Balkan countries, it says, the Soviet Union has staged a series of large-scale military manoeuvres whose offensive nature is only too obvious.

The commentary stresses: "The two superpowers' struggle for world domination will inevitably lead to a new world war, a war which must and will be one of contention in Europe." And the danger of such a war is growing, the commentary warns. "The detente propaganda of the Soviet social-imperialists is a mockery of all this," the commentary says. The aim of the Soviet propaganda is "to lull the peoples into pas-

sivity to facilitate inroads" by the Soviet Union.

SOVIET UNION

Robbing Mongolia's Minerals

Kremlin's revisionists are taking steps to establish a so-called international geological prospecting team to explore mineral resources in Mongolia, with C.M.E.A. (Council for Mutual Economic Assistance) members participating. This is designed as a move to exercise greater control over the country's mineral wealth.

The prospecting team, TASS reported on May 27, will start work next year in "North Kerulen area with promise of important minerals." TASS said that "the primary task" set for Mongolia in the "comprehensive programme of economic integration" of the C.M.E.A. "is to examine the possibilities of exploiting coking coal, copper, tungsten, molybdenum, tin and other minerals." "Operation funds of the team will be equally shared by the participating countries without retribution," it added.

In an undertaking of this kind, which proceeds under the signboard of "joint exploitation," the Soviet revisionists get the participating countries to share the burden of funds, equipment and manpower while they get the lion's share of the spoils. This is nothing new.

After Mongolia joined the C.M.E.A. in 1962, the Soviet revisionists, in the name of "joint exploitation," asked C.M.E.A. members to participate in geological prospecting in Mongolia. The Kremlin even had the headquarters of the C.M.E.A. permanent geo-

logical commission set up in Ulan Bator, the capital. Once promising mineral deposits were discovered, the Soviet revisionists kicked others aside and had exploitation of the minerals all to themselves. For example, the Erdenedin-Obo copper-molybdenum deposits in Bulgan Province and the Tolgoit gold deposits in Selenge Province which were discovered respectively by Czechoslovak and G.D.R. geologists in the 1960s are today monopolized by the Soviet revisionists. When commissioned, the Erdenedin-Obo copper-molybdenum mine was called a Soviet-Mongolian "joint-stock" enterprise, and the director of the administration of this mine was sent from Moscow.

What merits particular attention is that for reasons best known to themselves the Soviet revisionists in recent years have markedly increased their investment in and credits to Mongolia's mining industry. According to Soviet plans, the volume of geological prospecting in Mongolia in the current five-year plan period will be 70-80 per cent more than that of the previous one. While the major production targets in Mongolia's national economic plan for 1974 were lower than those of 1973, the target for geological prospecting rose by 36 per cent and the output of mineral products increased by 30 per cent.

While rounding up C.M.E.A. "brothers" to make "joint exploitation," the Soviet revisionists plunder large amounts of mineral resources from the "fraternal countries" where "exploitation" is carried out. This reveals the rapacious nature of Soviet social-imperialism.

(Continued from p. 16.)

By taking possession of large amounts of commodities and money through different means, both "legal" and illegal, the elements of the bourgeois privileged stratum lead a sumptuous and parasitic life. At the same time, the working masses, with meagre incomes, are being impoverished daily and a considerable number of them have no security of both subsistence and work.

To quote Lenin: "And what are classes in general? Classes are what permits one section of society to appropriate the labour of the other section." (*The Tasks*

of the Youth Leagues.) In the Soviet Union today, the bourgeois privileged stratum, by various ruses, is taking over the largest part of the fruits of the labour of the masses of workers without compensation. The higher one's position and the greater one's power, the more surplus value one gets.

Under Soviet revisionist rule, state-run enterprises, though still keeping the signboard of socialist ownership by the whole people, have in fact become firms under bureaucrat-monopoly bourgeois ownership. No matter how hard Brezhnev and his ilk may try to make apologies, they simply cannot whitewash this fact.

ON THE HOME FRONT

Volunteer to Go to Countryside

NEWS stories about a number of demobilized soldiers volunteering to go to the rural areas or the frontiers were carried in recent issues of *Renmin Ribao* and other newspapers in the capital. These young people, whose class consciousness had been raised as a result of studying Chairman Mao's teachings on the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, applied to carry on the revolution in places where living conditions were comparatively poor. In their actions, they are boldly challenging the idea of bourgeois right and breaking with age-old traditional concepts.

According to regulations, Wei Yao-sheng, a 24-year-old Communist Party member, could have been assigned to work in Shanghai, his native place, when he was demobilized earlier this year. However, after studying the theory of the proletarian dictatorship and the documents of the Fourth National People's Congress, he wrote to the regimental Party committee applying to go to the countryside. He had made up his mind, he said, to learn from the older generation of revolutionaries, particularly how to carry forward the death-defying spirit they displayed in the years of revolutionary wars; he was determined to break with the old ideas of

clinging to the comforts of urban life and looking down on farm labour in the countryside and to join the poor and lower-middle peasants in changing the outlook of the rural areas.

His application won enthusiastic support from all sides—the P.L.A. unit he was in, the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee, the Shanghai Municipal Revolutionary Committee as well as his parents. He was soon assigned to settle in the Sanwan Brigade in the Chingkang Mountains area, one of China's historic revolutionary bases.

Another example is Lu Chiang-tien, son of a leading member of the logistics department of the P.L.A. artillery corps, who joined the Tsinan Unit in 1970. Like Wei Yao-sheng, he applied to settle down in a rural area in northern Shensi instead of returning to his home city Peking.

Lu made steady progress in the army in his study of theories of Marxism and became a Party member in 1973. In his application to his leadership he wrote: "Reactionary ruling classes in Chinese history always preached such doctrines of Confucius and Mencius as 'those who work with their minds govern, those who work with their hands are governed.' The imperialists and modern revisionists vainly attempt to use bourgeois ideology

to corrupt the younger generation. Class enemies at home also launch attacks on us in various ways. This is a fight concerning the question of whether or not the dictatorship of the proletariat can be consolidated. As a Communist Party member, I must courageously launch attacks against reactionary ideas."

Lu's father supported his request, as did the Peking Municipal Party Committee, and he was warmly welcomed by the Yen-an people.

Both Ni Hui-kang and Li Teh-hsiang joined the P.L.A. in 1971 and were admitted into the Communist Party the next year. After demobilization they applied to go to the countryside of Tibet instead of returning to their home villages in Nantung County in east China's Kiangsu Province where living conditions are comparatively good. They were resolved to help build up and safeguard the frontier regions of Tibet.

Last November, they wrote to Comrade Rindzin Wanggyal, Party branch secretary of the Lemad People's Commune in Tibet, and received this enthusiastic reply: "We emancipated serfs warmly welcome you!"

With their demobilization allowance and savings, they bought books on agro-techniques applicable to local conditions and a portable film projector designed for use in the plateau, preparing for their journey to Tibet.

Working Conscientiously And Untiringly

THE number of work-days put in annually by Hou Chan-yu, a veteran worker, is not confined to the 365 days of a calendar year. In 1974 it was 483, calculated on the basis of eight-hour shifts. This is the sort of thing he has been doing for the last five years.

Hou is a cage operator on the surface of the Chaokochuang Colliery of the Kailan Coal Mine in Hopei Province. Besides doing his own work well, he often goes down to the pits to join the miners working there. One day down in the pit, when he had just arrived, he learnt from the squad leader that the chain conveyor had stopped running because a 3-cubic-metre rock fell on it during a blast. Without waiting for direction he picked up a sledge-hammer and started smashing the rock to pieces. It took him more than two hours to remove the obstruction.

The squad leader came round to the work-face later to find the rock had disappeared. Further on, the



During a break in the field, Wei Yao-sheng (first right) and educated youth exchange gains in study.

light-beam fell on Hou Chan-yu, his flushed face covered with smudges of coal-dust streaked with sweat. "Old Hou, again, it's you. . .," he remarked appreciatively.

In March 1972, when underground water seeped into the mine, quantities of equipment and material had to be rushed down the pit, presenting Hou's group with a work-load 21 times the normal. Defying all difficulties he promptly assumed responsibility for carrying out the task. When a huge mud-pump got stalled halfway down the shaft, he strode forward tightening a safety-belt around his waist with the words: "I'm a member of the Communist Party and I'll go!" At the risk of his life he climbed down the wall of the shaft and cleared away the snag. The badly needed pump was transported to the spot on time.

Veteran worker Hou, now near fifty, was illiterate in the old days. After liberation, cherishing profound proletarian feelings, he learnt to read and write by dint of hard study and raised his cultural level. In the last few years, he also made a serious study of revolutionary theory, and assiduously studied works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and Chairman Mao's works, constantly raising his consciousness of class struggle and the struggle between the two lines. During the first half of 1970, he joined with other workers to criticize the erroneous ideas of servility to things foreign and the doctrine of trailing behind at a snail's pace. They transformed a broken-down truck into a lifting-jack. He said: "We must adhere to the principle of maintaining independence and self-reliance and going all out in building socialism."

Sometimes people ask Hou Chan-yu: "How much extra pay have you collected for all your extra work?" He answers: "Why must you get more because you've done more? That isn't the thinking of our working class. In the old society the coal miners were treated worse than beasts of burden by the imperialists and capitalists—they could hardly keep body and soul together. Today, after numerous revolutionary martyrs laid down their

lives our socialist motherland has been established under the leadership of the Party and Chairman Mao. To consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and to realize the great goal of communism, we should strive to work harder and make more contributions."

"Foolish Old Man" Spring

UP on Fenghuang Hill on the outskirts of Hsinhsiang city in central China's Honan Province, there is the "Foolish Old Man" Spring, which is made up of four 45-metre-deep wells, the biggest stretching 120 metres in length and 30 metres in width. The wells are named after a Foolish Old Man in an ancient Chinese fable who was determined to remove two big mountains obstructing his door-way in utter defiance of all difficulties¹ involved. The same daring spirit characterized those who built the wells.

This district is part of the Peichan People's Commune, where water used to be so scarce that for drinking peasants had to trudge over a distance of several kilometres to fetch it. Irrigating the fields was even more of a problem. By 1965, barely 200 hectares of the commune's 1,300 hectares of farmland had been brought under irrigation.

The commune Party committee made up its mind to change the situation. Brigade cadres, representatives of the poor and lower-middle peasants and peasant technicians were organized to search for water resources. After months of careful survey throughout the area, they struck a spring on Fenghuang Hill.

That winter the commune mobilized 300 peasants to start work. They brought food, cooking utensils and tools with them and bedded down in caves they carved in the hillside. They used picks and chisels to dig into the rocky surface, inching on until they reached three springheads. Two years later at a depth of 35 metres they got down to the spring from which nearly 1,000 tons of water per hour

gushed out. Thus it provided ample evidence to shatter the fallacy that "no water resources can be found in this hilly area."

The work swung into a new stage in 1968, when 1,600 builders were sent to construct the main project of the "Foolish Old Man" Spring as well as its ancillary works reaching out to the whole irrigation area. Difficulties cropped up, but were overcome one by one. Having no hoister, the builders carried stones by manual labour. In the absence of pneumatic drills and electric detonation devices for blasting, indigenous methods were developed. By the end of 1974, they had completed four million cubic metres of earth and stone work, sunk four large wells and 20 small ones, dug a total of 75 kilometres of channels and two kilometres of tunnels. In addition, some 30,000 trees were planted to beautify the landscape.

With its normal flow of 1.8 cubic metres of water per second, the project brings 1,000 hectares of land under irrigation, to say nothing of supplying drinking water in ample quantities. The commune has now taken on a new look, with brimming ditches winding their way through the hills and down to water the once-arid fields. Rich harvests are ensured every year regardless of any serious dry spell. As a result, in the 10 brigades mostly benefited by the "Foolish Old Man" Spring, total grain output rose from 1,550 tons in 1965 to 5,430 tons in 1974. Flourishing agricultural production has brought about a remarkable improvement in the commune members' livelihood.

A Salvage Team on South China Sea

GIVE others hope to survive while leaving dangers and risks for oneself"—this is the revolutionary spirit in which the Kwangchow Salvage Team on the South China Sea fulfils its missions. Since the team was set up 17 years ago, it has rescued and refloated 237 Chinese and foreign ships between the estuary of the Pearl River and the Langhua Chiao of the Hsisha Islands.

In December 1974 the team rescued a Somali vessel *Tong Sing* near Hainan Island. The ship, running aground south of China's Changkiang Harbour, was sending out SOS signals.

A strong northeasterly wind was flailing the ship. Several Chinese tugs had already tried to approach the ship but were driven away by strong waves. The *Tong Sing* had had no food or electricity for nearly two days; the lives of the crew were in danger unless prompt and effective measures were taken. The salvage workers took this attitude: "Our foreign friends are in danger. We are duty-bound to rescue them whatever the risks." Working in two groups, they got on board two lifeboats and tried to approach the Somali ship, but were beaten back time and again by the rough seas.

Finally Chung Hsin and Lin Yaojung, leaders of the team, together with several members got into a lifeboat with bigger floating capacity than the other two, managed to reach the Somali vessel in the teeth of the mountainous waves and climbed on board.

The lifeboat, shuttling five times between the stricken *Tong Sing* and the salvage ship, brought the men

and their belongings to safety. The crew was found to be made up of seamen from six countries. The captain, who was in his seventies, said with great emotion: "Your country should be proud of having such brave seamen!"

The 8,000-ton ocean-going freighter *Kim Hwa* of Singapore was driven over a cluster of reefs by a typhoon and landed on a stone embankment at the foot of a hill more than 1,800 metres away from its normal course. At short notice, the Kwangchow Salvage Team went to the rescue. The captain of the endangered ship estimated that at least ten 5,000-h.p. tugs, together with the dredging of a wide and deep channel, were needed to rescue his vessel.

The *Kim Hwa* lay on the embankment with its stern seaward. Usually, in rescuing a grounded ship, the towline is fastened to the bow to minimize resistance. But this would mean that the 120-metre freighter would have to be turned round on the embankment, which would require a large array of powerful hoisting machines. The veteran Chinese workers made a careful study of the situation and decided to pull the ship back into deep water by the stern instead of

by the bow. They made use of three rocks in shallow water facing the ship's stern as a fulcrum to pull the vessel seaward by steel cables. The grounded freighter was slowly but steadily pulled off the embankment, over the cluster of reefs, across the shallow water and finally back to the channel. The operation only took 29 days from beginning to end.

On another occasion, the salvage team was dispatched to the waters near Tankan Island to refloat a freighter, the *Eternity*, that lay on the bottom of the sea 47 metres deep.

According to technical practice, divers with suits using compressed air can stay under 44 to 47.5 metres of water for at most 15 to 20 minutes. But the sunken ship had to be brought to the surface before the arrival of an expected typhoon. Diver Chien Shun-fa, a Communist Party member, went down to secure steel cables to the sunken vessel. He stayed under deep water for more than an hour. When the leadership urged him through the intercom to come up, he replied: "I'm all right. Don't worry!" Chien Shun-fa worked on the seabed for 168 minutes until he fixed the cables to the freighter, which was finally refloated.

(Continued from p. 25.)

killed. Last year, however, the herdsmen overcame the effects of the disaster by relying on the commune's collective strength and got a rich harvest. The development of production in the people's communes also has helped improve the cultural and material well-being of the peasants and herdsmen and the population as a whole is growing rapidly.

We called on a commune member, Lapatunchu, in the Mijui Commune in Linchih County north of the Yalutsangpo River. He was a serf oppressed and exploited by the manorial lords before liberation, and as he had no means of livelihood he was forced to wander from place to place. Now he lives in a newly built, solid and spacious house with an attic. Lapatunchu told us he had built it himself after the start of the Great Cultural Revolution in 1966. He pushed open the door of the next house and led us in. This house was not as high or as big and solid as the new one built of stone. Inside were new Tibetan costumes in various sizes, Tibetan quilts, woollen blankets and skins of sheep, leopards and other animals on the wall. He said he

had built this place after the democratic reform. His family no longer lives in this house which is now used as a storehouse. Then he took us some distance ahead and stopped in front of a low earthen shed. This was where his whole family had lived before the democratic reform, he said. Now it serves as a cow-shed for the production team.

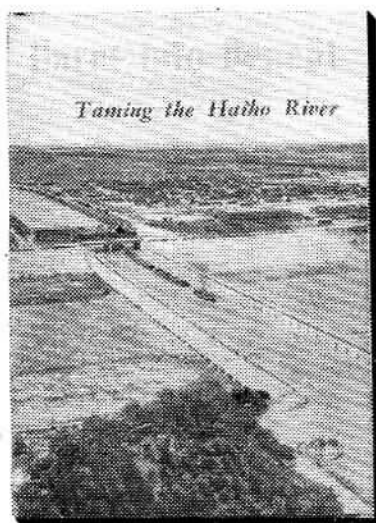
These three houses represent three periods. Lapatunchu also informed us that he now has a family of eleven — his wife, nine children and himself. One son is in the army, three children are in school and the others are working in the production team. Last year, his family earned 3,300 kilogrammes of grain and 1,200 yuan in cash. He bought two wristwatches, one for himself and the other for his soldier son, a transistor radio and clothes and quilts. The rest of the money was deposited in the bank.

With his wrinkled face wreathed in smiles, Lapatunchu said: "Flowers blossom under the sun, and only with wings can the eagles fly. The people's commune is really a golden bridge leading to happiness!"

New Booklet in English

Harm Into Benefit

— *Taming the Haiho River* —



The Haiho River, with its many tributaries flowing through a large area in north China, used to be a scourge to the people living in the Haiho basin.

On November 17, 1963, Chairman Mao issued the great call: "**The Haiho River must be brought under permanent control!**" In the following decade millions of people living in the area have, under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, achieved great accomplishments in bringing this unruly river under control. This book de-

scribes the tremendous effort the Chinese people have made in effecting this great change.

84 pages 36 illustrations 13 × 18.5 cm. paperback

Published by: **FOREIGN LANGUAGES PRESS**, Peking, China

Distributed by: **GUOZI SHUDIAN** (China Publications Centre), Peking, China

Order from your local dealer or write direct to

MAIL ORDER DEPT., GUOZI SHUDIAN, P.O. Box 399, Peking, China