

# PEKING REVIEW

47

November 21, 1975

**Chairman Mao Meets President  
U Ne Win**

**Chinese Foreign Ministry Statement**

— On the Angolan situation

***The Splendour Radiating From the  
Tsunyi Meeting***

— Reminiscences of the Long March

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## **Chairman Mao Meets President U Ne Win**

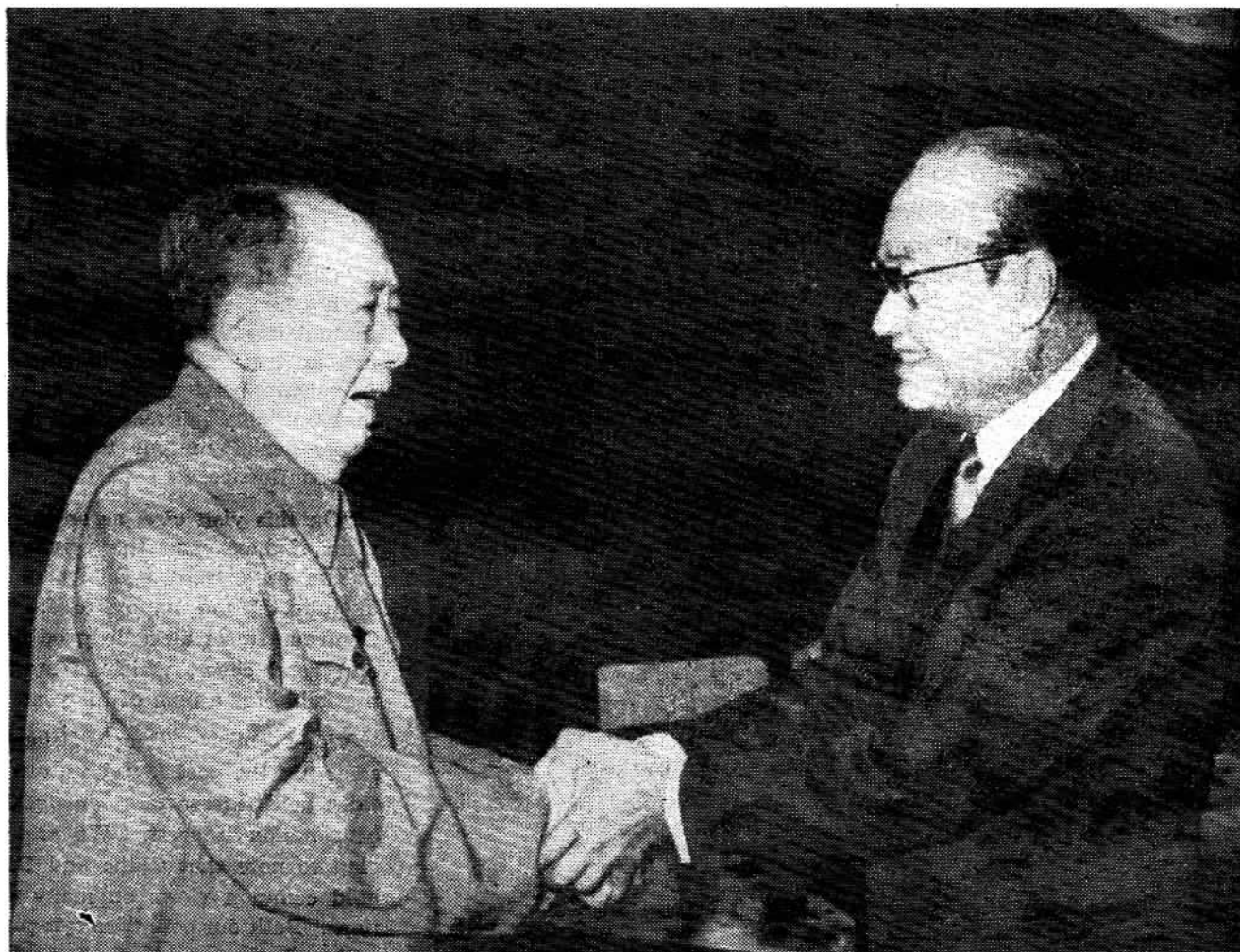
**C**HAIRMAN Mao Tsetung on the afternoon of November 13 met with U Ne Win, President of the Socialist Republic of the Union of Burma and Chairman of the Council of State, and members of his party.

The members of President U Ne Win's party at the meeting were Dr. Maung Maung, Member of the Council of State; U Tun Lin, Member of the Council of State and Secretary (1) of the Burma Socialist Programme Party; U Hla Phone, Minister for Foreign Affairs; Brigadier General Kyaw Htin, Deputy Minister of Defence; Thakin Chan Tun, Burmese Ambassador to

China; and U Tha Tun, Director-General of the President's Office.

Chairman Mao Tsetung extended a warm welcome to President U Ne Win on his official friendly visit to China. After shaking hands with all the distinguished Burmese guests present, Chairman Mao had a cordial and friendly conversation with President U Ne Win, Dr. Maung Maung and U Tun Lin.

Present at the meeting were Vice-Premiers Teng Hsiao-ping and Chang Chun-chiao, Vice-Foreign Minister Wang Hai-jung and Deputy Departmental Directors Tang Wen-sheng and Cheng Jui-sheng.



## President U Ne Win Visits China

U Ne Win, President of the Socialist Republic of the Union of Burma and Chairman of the Council of State, arrived in Peking on November 11 for an official friendly visit to China.

Among the several thousand people of the Chinese capital warmly greeting the distinguished Burmese guests at Peking Airport were Chinese leaders Teng Hsiao-ping, Chang Chun-chiao, Wu Teh, Tan Chen-lin and Ku Mu.

A grand welcoming ceremony took place at the airport. Accompanied by Chinese leaders, President U Ne Win reviewed a guard of honour made up of men of the ground, naval and air forces of the Chinese People's Liberation Army. As the distinguished guests walked round the airport to meet the crowd, well-wishers waved bouquets and colourful ribbons and shouted slogans of greetings.

In the evening, Chinese leaders Chu Teh, Teng Hsiao-ping, Chang Chun-chiao, Wu Teh, Tan Chen-lin and Ku Mu met President U Ne Win and the other distinguished guests.

After the meeting, Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping hosted a grand welcoming banquet given in the name of Premier Chou En-lai. Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping and President U Ne Win spoke at the banquet. (See pp. 7 and 8 for excerpts.)

The same day, *Renmin Ribao* published a welcoming editorial.

"Burma was one of the first countries to establish diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China after its founding," the editorial said. "The Chinese and Burmese Governments jointly initiated the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. China and Burma successfully signed a boundary treaty, setting an example of settling boundary questions between countries through friendly consultations. The continuous development of the friendly relations between China and Burma is in accord with the interests of the people of the two countries. China and Burma should remain friendly to each other for a long time to come."

"The great victories of the Indo-Chinese peoples have dealt heavy blows to imperialism and hegemonism and encouraged the countries and peoples of Southeast Asia in their struggle to safeguard national independence. The proposal by some Southeast Asian countries to turn Southeast Asia into a zone of peace and neutrality has won the support and respect of an increasing number of countries. However, 'the trees may prefer calm but the wind will not subside.' The contention for hegemony between the two super-

powers is the root cause of Asian and worldwide unrest. Taking advantage of the defeat of one superpower, the other superpower that waves the flag of 'socialism' has stepped up its infiltration and expansion in Asian countries in a vain attempt to establish its own neo-colonialist sphere of influence. This is arousing the vigilance and opposition of Asian peoples. The Southeast Asian countries are strengthening their unity and co-operation as a counter-measure against superpower aggression and expansion and to maintain their independence and sovereignty as well as peace and security in the region. The Chinese people firmly support the Southeast Asian countries and peoples in their just struggle against imperialism and hegemonism."

On November 14, President U Ne Win gave a grand farewell banquet at which he and Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping delivered speeches.

President U Ne Win said: "Each opportunity to visit China has been of practical reward in terms of ever closer friendship between our two countries, in increasing our knowledge of each other, and in enlarging our field of common endeavour. I am highly satisfied that the same benefits have accrued from this visit.

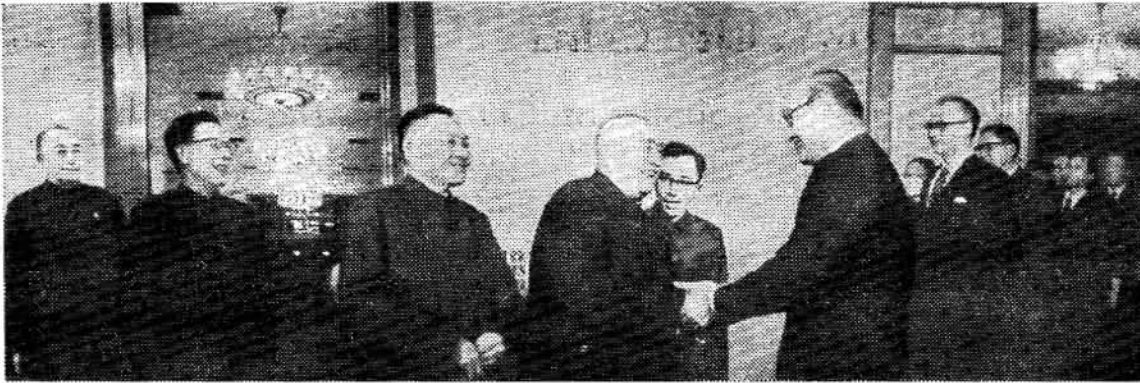
"Our three days of discussions with Chinese leaders on matters of mutual interest and on international affairs, have not only enhanced the friendship between China and Burma, but also increased and further strengthened mutual understanding and confidence.

"On this visit also, as on previous visits, I have had the privilege of calling on esteemed Chairman Mao Tsetung. I am happy to find the Chairman most alert, in good health and good cheer, which is most remarkable for a man of his years."

Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping said: "In the past few days, our two sides held sincere talks on questions of common interest. We are very glad to note that China and Burma hold common views on many questions. Both our countries sympathize with and support the numerous devel-



President U Ne Win warmly welcomed at Peking Airport.



Chairman Chu Teh of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress meets President U Ne Win.

efforts to safeguard state sovereignty and develop the national economy. It also has made positive contributions to strengthening unity and co-operation with other third world countries, particularly to the struggle for the establishment of a 200-nautical-

oping countries in their just struggle to safeguard national independence, defend state sovereignty, develop their national economies and protect their national resources and are opposed to the attempt by any country or group of countries to establish hegemony and spheres of influence in any part of the world."

President U Ne Win left Peking for home via Kwangchow on November 15.

### China and Western Samoa Establish Diplomatic Relations

*Renmin Ribao* on November 15 published a joint communique on the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and Western Samoa. It was signed by Pei Tsien-chang, Representative of the Chinese Government, and Tupua Tamasese Lealofivale, Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs of Western Samoa, in Apia on November 6.

The communique said: "The Government of the People's Republic of

China and the Government of Western Samoa, in conformity with the interests of, and the goodwill existing between, the Chinese and Samoan peoples, have decided upon mutual recognition and the establishment of diplomatic relations with effect from 6 November 1975.

"The two governments agree to develop diplomatic relations, friendship and co-operation between the two countries on the basis of the principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence.

"The Chinese Government reaffirms that Taiwan is an inalienable part of the territory of the People's Republic of China and that Taiwan is a province of the People's Republic of China. The Government of Western Samoa acknowledges this position of the Chinese Government.

"The Government of Western Samoa recognizes the Government of the People's Republic of China as the sole legal government of China.

"The two governments have agreed to mutually provide, after the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries, all necessary assistance for the performance of the functions of diplomatic representatives in accordance with international practice."

*Renmin Ribao* carried an editorial on November 16 welcoming the event.

It said: Since its independence, "Western Samoa has made constant

mile 'exclusive economic zone.'"

It pointed out: "The Chinese Government and people have always maintained that all countries, big or small, should be equal and that the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence should be the guiding principles in relations between states. We resolutely oppose the hegemonism and power politics of the big bullying the small and the strong dominating the weak. It is on the very basis of equality and mutual benefit that China continuously develops friendly relations and co-operation with the Oceanian countries.

"The Government of the People's Republic of China is the sole legitimate government representing the whole Chinese people. Taiwan Province is an inalienable part of China's territory. The people there are our blood brothers. We are determined to liberate Taiwan and our compatriots in Taiwan will certainly return to the embrace of their motherland.

"Both China and Western Samoa belong to the third world. Our two peoples shared common sufferings from imperialist aggression and oppression in the past, and are facing the common task of combating superpower hegemonism and are supporting and sympathizing with each other in the common struggle."

In conclusion, the editorial expressed the belief that the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries will promote their friendly relations and co-operation and the friendship between their peoples will grow from day to day.

(Continued on p. 27.)

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### Announcement

It has been agreed that President Gerald R. Ford of the United States of America will visit the People's Republic of China from December 1 through December 5, 1975.

# JOINT COMMUNIQUE

## Of the People's Republic of China and the Socialist Republic of the Union of Burma

1. The President of the Socialist Republic of the Union of Burma U Ne Win paid an official friendly visit to the People's Republic of China from November 11 to 15, 1975 at the invitation of Chairman Chu Teh of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China and Premier Chou En-lai of the State Council of the People's Republic of China.

2. Accompanying President U Ne Win on his visit were Dr. Maung Maung, Member of the Council of State; U Tun Lin, Member of the Council of State; U Hla Phone, Minister for Foreign Affairs; Brigadier General Kyaw Htin, Deputy Minister of the Ministry of Defence; and other Burmese Government officials.

3. President U Ne Win and the members of his party were accorded a warm welcome and a cordial reception by the Chinese people and Government, which reflected the intimate *paukphaw* friendship between the two peoples. The President expressed his deep gratitude to the Chinese people and Government for the warm welcome and hospitality extended to him and the members of his party during their most memorable visit.

4. Chairman Mao Tsetung met President U Ne Win and had a cordial and friendly conversation with him.

5. Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping and President U Ne Win held talks on further developing the friendly relations between China and Burma and on international issues of common interest. The talks proceeded in an atmosphere of sincerity, friendship and mutual understanding.

Taking part in the talks on the Chinese side were Foreign Minister Chiao Kuan-hua, Vice-Foreign Minister Han Nien-lung, Director Shen Ping, Director Chu Chuan-hsien, Deputy-Director Cheng Jui-sheng and Deputy-Director Liu Hua of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Chinese Ambassador to Burma Yeh Cheng-chang.

Taking part in the talks on the Burmese side were Dr. Maung Maung, Member of the Council of State; U Tun Lin, Member of the Council of State; U Hla Phone, Minister for Foreign Affairs; Brigadier General Kyaw Htin, Deputy Minister of the Ministry of Defence; U Tha Tun, Director-General of the President's Office; U Maung Maung Gyee, Director-General of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs; and Thakin Chan Tun, Burmese Ambassador to China.

6. The two sides reviewed the relations between the People's Republic of China and the Socialist Republic of the Union of Burma. The two countries have been friendly neighbours since ancient times, and there exists a profound traditional friendship between the two peoples. After the establishment of diplomatic rela-

tions between the People's Republic of China and Burma, the relations between the two countries have continued their deep and steady development.

In 1954 the two countries jointly initiated the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence as the principles guiding their relations and agreed that China and Burma should maintain close contacts and further strengthen friendly co-operation between them. At the Bandung Conference in 1955, the two countries co-operated closely to establish the Five Principles on an even wider basis. In 1960 the two countries settled the boundary question and concluded the boundary treaty after friendly consultations. This not only further promoted the friendly relations between the two countries but also set a good example for the settlement of boundary questions between nations. After that, there were more frequent exchanges of visits between leaders and delegations and closer ties between the two countries. The two sides expressed satisfaction at the development of the relations between the two countries.

7. The two sides reiterated their firm faith in the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and agreed that the further consolidation and development of the relations between the two countries on the basis of the Five Principles accorded with the desires of the two peoples.

8. The two sides undertook not to carry out acts of aggression against each other and not to take part in any military alliance directed against each other. They further agreed to settle any differences that may arise between them by means of peaceful negotiations.

9. The two sides expressed their earnest desire to strengthen friendly contacts and expand mutually beneficial co-operation in the political, economic, social and cultural fields. They reviewed the trade relations and economic and technical co-operation between the two countries. They noted with satisfaction the implementation of the Agreement on Economic and Technical Co-operation Between China and Burma and agreed to continue to strengthen and extend this co-operation. The two governments held that there was a wide scope for the further development of trade relations between the two countries and agreed to expand trade exchanges.

10. The two sides reviewed the general international situation, particularly developments pertaining to Southeast Asia.

The two sides noted that at present the international situation is developing in a direction favourable to the people of the world and that the old international order essentially based on colonialism, imperialism and hegemonism continues to disintegrate. The numerous

(Continued on p. 9.)

## Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping's Speech

(Excerpts)

**P**RESIDENT U Ne Win, who has visited China several times, is a very familiar friend of ours. Today, it gives us particular warmth and joy that President U Ne Win has again come to our country for an official visit, bringing to the Chinese people the friendship of the Burmese people. I am entrusted by Premier Chou En-lai to host this evening's banquet. Allow me, on behalf of the Chinese Government and people, to express our warm welcome to President U Ne Win and the other distinguished guests from Burma.

Burma is China's friendly neighbour. The Chinese people have always entertained profound sentiments of *paukphaw* kinship for the Burmese people. We are glad to see that the industrious and valiant Burmese people have in recent years scored new successes on their road of advance. The Burmese people's persistent efforts in safeguarding national independence and state sovereignty have won deep sympathy and support from all peoples. Under the leadership of President U Ne Win, the Burmese Government has consistently pursued a far-sighted foreign policy of independence and non-alignment, maintained friendly co-operation with other third world countries and opposed colonialism and hegemonism, playing an important role in international affairs. This is highly admired and appreciated by us.

The current international situation is excellent. The numerous third world countries and peoples are daily awakening and growing in strength in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and big-power hegemonism and have become a great motive force advancing world history. In the six months or more since the historic victory of the Indochinese people, there have been many other inspiring developments in the Asian situation. The Korean people's struggle for the independent and peaceful reunification of their fatherland has won new success. An increasing number of countries in Southeast and South Asia are coming forward for independence and are opposing superpower control and interference. Under the impact of the Asian people's stormy struggle, a military bloc rigged up by one superpower has disintegrated not long ago. The other superpower has wild ambitions, and its true features have been exposed more quickly. The "collective security system" it peddles is opposed and boycotted by most Asian countries. The relations between the third world countries in Asia have improved extensively as big-power hegemonism declines and suffers defeats. This is extremely gratifying. Although the superpowers

will continue to play all tricks, carry out infiltration and expansion and sow discord among Asian countries, we are sure that no one can stop the historical trend of the Asian countries' independence and their unity against hegemonism, a trend which will ultimately triumph.

China is a developing socialist country, and she won victory in the national-liberation struggle relatively early in Asia. It is most natural that the Chinese people, who experienced long and bitter sufferings before liberation, should have all along deeply sympathized with and supported the just struggles of all oppressed nations and oppressed people. At the same time, we hold that the social system of a country must be chosen and decided only by its own people and must not be imposed by any other country. In state relations, we have always strictly abided by the five principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit and peaceful coexistence. We will never be a superpower subjecting other countries to aggression or bullying. Our policies and stand have won understanding and trust among an increasing number of friends internationally.

There exists a traditional friendship of long standing between the Chinese and Burmese peoples. After the establishment of diplomatic relations, our two countries jointly initiated the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and settled in accordance with these principles the Sino-Burmese boundary question in a friendly and satisfactory way, thus setting a good example for the settlement of boundary questions between nations through friendly consultation. There have been many exchanges of visits between our state leaders and personages from all circles, which have served to steadily consolidate and develop the friendship between our two peoples. The economic, trade and cultural exchanges between our two countries have been very frequent. In international affairs, too, our two countries have carried on friendly co-operation. Our friendly relations have been tested and firmly consolidated and have a wide scope for development. I firmly believe that the current visit of His Excellency President U Ne Win, like his previous visits to China, will surely make a new contribution to the further development of Sino-Burmese friendly relations. We wish complete success to the visit of His Excellency the President and the other distinguished Burmese guests.

# President U Ne Win's Speech

(Excerpts)

**M**Y delegation has come to further strengthen, through joint effort, the existing bonds of friendship between China and Burma. Indeed, come to think of it, this is the eighth time that I have come to the city of Peking at the head of Burmese delegations. I should like to express the deep appreciation of myself and the members of my party for the very warm welcome accorded to us on this visit also by the Chinese leaders and people in cheerful disregard of advancing cold weather.

I should like also to express my sincere thanks to respected Chairman Chu Teh and Premier Chou En-lai for their kind invitation that has made it possible for me to come once again. In the midst of our joy, I am distressed to learn that Premier Chou En-lai has not been in the best of health. I wish him a speedy recovery.

I am glad to have the opportunity not only to meet again with old friends of China, but also to make new friends during our visit. I am hopeful that frank and friendly exchange of views with leaders of the People's Republic of China on matters of interest to our two countries, as well as on international affairs generally, will further deepen mutual understanding.

Linked together by geography, China and Burma have had friendly intercourse from time immemorial. After liberation from foreign domination, through the struggle of our two peoples, the relations between our two countries have become closer. Because our two countries have been guided by the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, and have maintained friendly relations characterized by mutual respect and understanding they have even been able to amicably settle the boundary question inherited from long history. Frequent exchanges of visits by leaders of the two countries, and missions, and the expansion of economic and cultural ties, testify to the growing friendly relations between the two countries.

It is of vital importance that our two sides should make every effort to consolidate and maintain the friendly relations. The friendship should be nurtured and maintained not by us only but also by our coming generations. Differences may, of course, arise at times in the relations between our two countries. Even in a family, differences do occasionally arise. If, as is natural, such differences arise between our two countries, we should resolve them with patience, mutual understanding and accommodation, always determined that our friendship must prevail.

In reviewing the world situation, we are glad to note the cessation of armed hostilities in the Indochina

states in the region of Southeast Asia. We warmly congratulate the peoples of these states in their victory. However, the reconstruction of these countries which have long suffered from the ravages of war, and the rehabilitation and resettlement of the peoples of the region who have grievously suffered, still remain a tremendous task. All countries should co-operate to assist in this task as far as they can. Another important need is to remedy the situation resulting from the violent changes of the environmental conditions wrought by the war. This need can be successfully met only with the technological knowledge of developed countries. I am therefore of the view that developed countries have a duty to assist as far as they can, and I would urge them to do so.

Other countries in Southeast Asia are also striving for economic and social advancement. Since this task is beyond the capacity of any single state, it can best be accomplished if sincere assistance can be rendered within possible means.

Viewing the world in general, we find that the majority of the countries are similarly faced with various problems. Among these problems, the most important and urgent are the economic problems, the problem of raising living standards of the peoples and the gnawing problem of hunger. I am of the view that these problems which confront almost all countries, rich and poor, big and small, can only be satisfactorily solved through international co-operation and assistance.

Burma seeks and cherishes friendly relations with all countries, especially with her neighbours. We shall make constant endeavours to maintain such relations. Here it may be pertinent for me to state a principle which our country has consistently observed. Our country is always opposed to the establishment of military bases by one country on the territory of another. In faithful observance of this principle we have ourselves never allowed any country to establish in Burma any base for hostile activities directed against another country, especially any of our neighbours. Nor shall we ever do so in the future.

In conclusion, I wish to express our sincere thanks for the valuable assistance we have received from the People's Republic of China for the economic development of Burma, and to reaffirm the friendly relations between Burma and China. Wishing continued progress and prosperity to the Chinese people, I address my warm greetings to them.



# Statement of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Of the People's Republic of China

ON November 11, 1975 the five-century-old Portuguese colonial rule in Angola came to an end, and Angola became an independent sovereign country. This is a great victory won by the Angolan people who, with the support of the peoples of Africa and the whole world, persisted long in a heroic struggle, and particularly in armed struggle since the 1960s, against Portuguese colonialism. The Chinese Government and people extend their warm congratulations on this victory to the Angolan people and all the three Angolan liberation organizations.

But it has not been possible to form a government of national unity, and an unfortunate situation of division and civil war has appeared in Angola after independence. This is entirely the result of the rivalry between the two superpowers, and particularly the undisguised expansion and crude interference of the Soviet Union. Differences among the three Angolan liberation organizations were something normal and could have been reconciled by them through peaceful consultations under the banner of national unity free from outside interference. But the Soviet leadership brazenly disregarded the various agreements concluded among the three Angolan liberation organizations under the encouragement of the Organization of African Unity on strengthening unity and achieving independence on a joint basis. They deliberately created a split among the liberation organizations, sent in large quantities of arms, supported one organization alone and wantonly slander-

ed and attacked the other two organizations, and thus single-handedly provoked the civil war in Angola. The Soviet Union has also tried constantly to sow discord and create disharmony among African states. These actions of the Soviet leadership have fully revealed its true features as social-imperialism.

Many leaders of African states, and O.A.U. in particular, have made tremendous efforts of mediation to help the three Angolan liberation organizations make up their differences and put forward a series of positive suggestions for the three organizations immediately to stop the civil war and establish a government of national unity. This just stand of O.A.U. is in full conformity with the interests of the people of Angola and all Africa. It is highly appreciated and resolutely supported by the Chinese Government.

The Chinese Government and people have always deeply sympathized with and firmly supported the Angolan people in their just struggle for national independence against Portuguese colonialism and sincerely hope that the three Angolan liberation organizations, setting store by the interests of the Angolan nation and the whole situation, will unite themselves, remove their differences, oppose the common enemies, expel superpower meddling and interference and work together to establish a united, unified and truly independent Angola with national concord.

November 15, 1975

(Continued from p. 6.)

Developing countries are awakening and growing stronger day by day, and they are waging unremitting struggles to safeguard national independence, defend state sovereignty, develop their national economies and protect their national resources. Both sides expressed sympathy and support for their just struggles.

The two sides pointed out that the situation in Southeast Asia has undergone great changes that are most inspiring. They expressed warm congratulations to the Indochinese peoples on their great historic victories. They were glad to note that the people of other Southeast Asian countries, too, had made new progress in their struggle to safeguard their independence and sovereignty, and that the positive proposition for establishing Southeast Asia as a zone of peace, neutrality and freedom has won wide support internationally.

11. The two sides reaffirmed that the people of each country have the right freely to choose their own polit-

ical, economic and social system according to their national needs and aspirations free from outside interference. The two sides agreed to continue their co-operation in upholding these principles. They are opposed to the attempt of any country or group of countries to establish hegemony and spheres of influence in any part of the world.

12. Both sides noted with satisfaction that the present friendly visit to China by President U Ne Win had made an important contribution to the further strengthening of friendly relations between China and Burma. They were confident that the Chinese and Burmese peoples will live in friendship from generation to generation.

13. President U Ne Win extended an invitation for Chinese leaders to visit Burma at a time convenient to both sides, and the Chinese side accepted the invitation with pleasure.

Peking, November 15, 1975

November 21, 1975

# Soviet "Disarmament" Proposals: Camouflage for War Preparations

— Huang Hua's speech at the First Committee  
of the U.N. General Assembly

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CHINESE Representative Huang Hua spoke on the question of disarmament at the meeting of the First Committee of the U.N. General Assembly on November 11. He exposed the acts of the superpowers, especially those of the Soviet Union, in intensifying the arms race and world hegemony contention while resorting to the "detente" and "disarmament" fraud. He refuted the "disarmament" proposals submitted by the Soviet Union.

Huang Hua said: "There is no political detente, still less military detente, in the world today. What persists is the intensified contention between the two hegemonic powers and their frenzied arms expansion as well as the increasing factors for war arising therefrom. If this is not the case, why should the Soviet Union frantically develop conventional armed forces in addition to energetically developing nuclear arms, and maintain an offensive posture far exceeding its defence needs? The actual situation is: Not only in certain aspects of the development of nuclear weapons has the Soviet Union surpassed the United States, but in conventional arms race the former has expanded faster than the latter."

Huang Hua noted: Quite a few third world countries and other small and medium countries have discerned ever more clearly the superpower fraud of disarmament. They urge the superpowers to destroy the nuclear weapons and to pledge not to use or threaten to use nuclear weapons against the non-nuclear states. Some countries have proposed the establishment of "nuclear-weapon-free zones" or "peace zones" in some regions and demanded that the superpowers undertake due obligations in regard to these zones.

He declared: "China has consistently stood for the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons. Meanwhile, we have supported the countries concerned in their efforts for the establishment of 'nuclear-weapon-free zones' in Latin America, South Asia, the Middle East and Africa and of the Indian Ocean 'peace zone.' We maintain that the superpowers should at least undertake not to use nuclear weapons against the nuclear-free zones and withdraw

all nuclear forces and nuclear bases therefrom. Otherwise, the establishment of nuclear-free zones would be merely nominal. But it is precisely that superpower which has been talking profusely about disarmament that has thus far refused to sign Additional Protocol II to the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America. Take another example, since 1971 the Indian Ocean states have demanded that the superpowers remove their increasing military presence from the Indian Ocean, yet the superpowers have totally ignored them. Under the pretext of protecting 'the freedom of navigation' and the 'natural ocean lanes' of Soviet fleets, the Soviet Union has been reinforcing its naval strength in the Indian Ocean for wanton expansion by grabbing overt and covert military bases and installations everywhere in a desperate effort to attain superiority over the other superpower. Take one more example, the Mediterranean states have repeatedly declared that the Mediterranean belongs to the Mediterranean states, and they have asked the superpowers to withdraw their fleets from the Mediterranean. The superpowers have likewise turned a deaf ear to all this. The Soviet Union, which is not a Mediterranean state in any way, has gone so far as to pose itself as the master of the Mediterranean by sending huge fleets to ply the Mediterranean while clamouring that 'we are no guests in this sea.'" "These undeniable facts have fully revealed the true behaviour of sham disarmament and real arms expansion on the part of the superpowers," he added.

Huang Hua exposed the Soviet demagogic propaganda for the convocation of a world disarmament conference. He noted: "At the present juncture when the two superpowers are quickening their pace towards a new world war, a disarmament conference in whatever form will only create peace illusions, serve to deceive and lull the people of the world and bind the hands of the numerous small and medium countries. Therefore, it will do no good but harm." He reiterated China's position, namely, the conference must have a clear aim and the necessary preconditions. The clear aim is the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons, and absolutely not the so-called limitation of strategic arms. The necessary pre-

conditions are: All nuclear countries, and particularly the two nuclear superpowers, must first of all undertake the unequivocal obligation that they will not be the first to use nuclear weapons at any time and in any circumstances and in particular will not use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear countries and nuclear-free zones, and that they must withdraw from abroad all their armed forces, including nuclear missile forces, and dismantle all their military bases, including nuclear bases, on the territories of other countries. He pointed out: "Now that the superpowers have even refused to undertake the minimum obligation of not using nuclear weapons against non-nuclear countries, how can it be said that the conditions for convening a world disarmament conference are already available? In fact some countries have expressed similar views and are opposed to using the convocation of a world disarmament conference as 'a mere forum for propaganda or misleading utterances made in order to camouflage the arms race and thus deceive the people of the world.'"

Huang Hua said: The Soviet Union has again put forward with great fanfare a new proposal for the "conclusion of a treaty on the complete and general prohibition of nuclear weapon tests." People can see at one glance that this is nothing but an old ware in new wrappings.

He continued: "Over the years the Soviet Union has conducted innumerable nuclear tests of different kinds. Its nuclear arsenal has expanded to a huge extent. In these circumstances the mere cessation of nuclear tests does not in the least prevent it from continuing the production and use of nuclear weapons. The proposal for a so-called complete prohibition of nuclear weapon tests in isolation from the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons can neither prevent a nuclear war nor eliminate superpower nuclear monopoly and nuclear threat. On the contrary, it can only deprive other countries of their legitimate right to resist superpower nuclear threat and weaken the world people's struggle for the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons. To put it bluntly, the real aim of the Soviet Union in putting forward this proposal is simply to ask all others to recognize the superpowers' right to preserve their nuclear monopoly."

He went on: "With regard to the other new draft resolution on the so-called 'prohibition of the development and manufacture of new types of weapons' which the Soviet Union has been so delighted in talking about, it is all the more a clumsy fraud. One may ask: Since the Soviet Union has refused even to undertake the minimum obligation not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, what is its purpose in talking profusely about the prohibition of future new types of weapons of mass destruction that are even more formidable than nuclear weapons? Its purpose is none other than to divert people's attention from the immediate issues by talking about remote things. Year in year out the Soviet Union

has racked its brain to peddle its hoax of phoney disarmament in the United Nations, but it is becoming less and less seemly as time goes by. The two new proposals dished up by the Soviet Union this year have fully revealed the deplorable plight of the Soviet Union which is at its wits' end on the question of disarmament."

Huang Hua stressed: "In order to prepare for new wars, imperialism invariably uses such high-sounding words as peace to deceive the people. The 'peace,' 'detente' and 'security' trumpeted by imperialism and social-imperialism today are in essence hypocritical rhetoric used as a means to cover up their war preparations. Did Hitler not assure the whole world at the time that he was completely ready to give up all offensive weapons, to disband all his troops and to guarantee peace in Europe? However, before long Hitler started World War II. Now that the superpowers have been engaged in fierce contention and rabid arms expansion, they are bound to go to war against each other some day. This is independent of man's will. If one faces up to the reality instead of evading it, it is not difficult to realize that in recent years the danger of war has increased rather than decreased. The superpowers are preparing for a nuclear war as well as a conventional war. Otherwise, why are the superpowers, which are already in possession of huge nuclear arsenals, desperately engaged in the development of conventional arms? Why is it that the Soviet army has rapidly expanded from some three million a few years ago to more than four million all of a sudden? The contention between the two superpowers for hegemony extends to all parts of the globe, and the focus of the contention is in Europe. In the present world, only the two superpowers are capable of launching a third world war. They are the source of a new world war, and the danger of war comes mainly from the wildly ambitious social-imperialism which, albeit a late-comer, has been quickest in the pace of its arms expansion. It is very dangerous to believe lightly in the deceptive superpower propaganda about detente and disarmament and to mistake peace hopes or wishes for reality. To rely on the 'balance of power' or the so-called 'equilibrium of terror' for the maintenance of the status quo is 'to quench one's thirst by drinking poisoned wine,' as the Chinese saying goes. In our view, it is imperative to inform people of the truth about the increasing danger of war, so that the people will heighten their vigilance. If one is prepared, he will be safe; if not, he will suffer."

Huang Hua said in conclusion: "If any superpower should dare to unleash a new world war in defiance of the universal will of the people, it will put itself in the wrong before the people of the world. The truculence and rampage of the aggressors spell their own doom. For they are bound to evoke the strong resistance and resolute struggle of the people of the world. Final victory certainly belongs to the defenders who rise against aggression, and the aggressors will eventually end in complete defeat."

# Anti-Zionist Struggle Must Be Linked With Fight Against Hegemonism

— Huang Hua's speech at U.N. General Assembly session on Palestine question

THE United Nations General Assembly adopted two resolutions on the Palestine question on November 10 after a five-day debate.

Reaffirming the resolution adopted at the U.N. General Assembly last year, which affirms the Palestinian people's right to self-determination without external interference and their right to national independence and sovereignty, one of the resolutions decides to establish a committee on the exercise of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, composed of 20 members to be elected by the General Assembly during the current session; and requests the committee to consider and recommend to the General Assembly a programme of implementation.

During the debate from November 3 to 7, representatives of many countries strongly condemned the Israeli Zionists' policies of aggression and expansion. They insisted that the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people must be restored and all the Arab territories occupied by the Israeli aggressors recovered.

Chinese Representative Huang Hua said: "The question of Palestine is an important integral part of the whole Middle East question. The Chinese Delegation has pointed out on many occasions that the essence of the Middle East question lies in the Israeli Zionist aggression and the two superpowers' contention for hegemony in the Middle East versus the struggle of the Palestinian and other Arab peoples against aggression and hegemonism. The crucial reason why this question has remained unsolved over a long period lies in the frenzied contention between the two superpowers in this region. The development in the Middle East over the past two years has further testified to the correctness of this analysis. Since the October War, the Middle East has reverted to a state of 'no war, no peace.' This is something imposed forcibly on the Arab and Palestinian people by the two superpowers for their own-selfish interests. Despite the existing disengagement agreements of one kind or another, the Middle East question is far from being settled. One superpower proposed a 'comprehensive solution' and the

other a 'step-by-step solution,' yet in fact neither of them has any intention or sincerity of bringing about a thorough settlement of the Middle East question. What each of them has in mind is none other than to boost itself and denigrate the other. Both of them have the need to maintain a state of 'no war, no peace' in the Middle East — brief fighting followed by a period of truce, with both war and peace kept under control, or in their own words 'tension under control.' For only the maintenance of such a state of affairs will facilitate their contention for spheres of influence, places of strategic importance and oil resources in the Middle East, their sale of munitions in order to reap fabulous profits and alleviate their own economic difficulties and the test of their new weapons in preparation for a new war on a larger scale. All this is done at the expense of the fundamental interests of the people in the Middle East."

Huang Hua pointed out: "The focus of contention between the two superpowers is in Europe. Situated in the flank of Europe, the Middle East abounds in natural resources and constitutes an important link in their contention for world hegemony. Even they themselves could not help admitting openly that whoever controlled the Middle East would be able to control Europe and then the rest of the world. This has driven each of them to leave no stone unturned to overpower the other in their contention over the Middle East. One superpower has thus far refused to recognize the national rights of the Palestinian people and has kept on sending large quantities of advanced weapons and other aids to Israel to boost the Israeli Zionists. And that superpower which styles itself the 'natural ally' of the Arab people is even more sinister in its design with honey on its lips and dagger in its heart. In its attempt to control the Arab countries and expand its spheres of influence, it has even surpassed the other superpower in bullying and blackmailing others and in playing tricks and manoeuvres. It has been daily talking about how sincere it is in supporting the just struggle of the Arab and Palestinian people. However, it may be recalled that when the October War in the Middle East was at its most critical juncture and thereafter,

it even withheld the shipment of arms already promised to the Arab country and people who were fighting courageously and even pressed for the repayment of debts. While professing its opposition to the Israeli policy of aggression, it sent large numbers of emigrants to Israel to supply Zionism with sources of military recruitment when Israel was facing a great shortage of manpower, which constituted a most timely assistance earning the gratitude and applause of the Israeli aggressors. During the last session of the U.N. General Assembly, it sanctimoniously declared its readiness to give resolute support to the Palestinian people's struggle for regaining their national rights, but in the twinkling of an eye, it issued a joint statement with the other superpower, altering the 'national rights' of the Palestinian people into their 'legitimate interests.' Subsequently, it has openly stressed on many occasions the need to guarantee the so-called 'security' of Israel. The public opinion of some Arab countries has solemnly pointed out: In the present circumstances in which Israel is still occupying large tracts of Arab territories and wantonly trampling upon the national rights of the Palestinian people, the treacherous nature of the above words and deeds of the said superpower has become all the more transparent. Furthermore, after the October War, many third world countries severed their diplomatic relations with Israel one after another, thus landing Zionism in unprecedented isolation. But it was precisely at this juncture that this superpower, motivated by its need to contend for hegemony, has made frequent contacts with the Israeli Zionists, extending from covert flirtation to open exchanges and from contacts between the so-called representatives of 'people' to official con-

tacts and even secret talks between the foreign ministers. Are these irrefutable facts not sufficient to reveal the true nature of the double-faced and perfidious manoeuvring employed by this superpower against the Arab and Palestinian peoples? How can one expect such a country to support in earnest the Arab people in their just struggle for the recovery of the lost territories and the restoration of the Palestinian national rights?"

"The perverted acts of the superpowers in the Middle East have educated the Palestinian and other Arab peoples by negative example, enabling them to realize that the contention between the superpowers is the root cause of the prolonged situation of 'no war, no peace' in the Middle East and the continued rampancy of Israeli Zionism and that to regain their national rights and recover the lost territories, it is imperative to link the struggle against Zionism closely with that against hegemonism. Only by firmly removing superpower meddling, intervention and contention, will it be possible for the Arab and Palestinian peoples to win final victory in their just struggle."

He further pointed out: "What calls for close attention and vigilance now is that a superpower is taking advantage of the present situation to sow discord and undermine Arab unity in order to serve its purpose of contending for hegemony in the Middle East." He expressed the belief that the Palestinian and other Arab peoples will see through the disruptive schemes of the superpowers and refuse to be taken in and that they will heighten their vigilance, bear the overall interests in mind and persevere in unity and struggle.

## Latin American Countries Strengthen Solidarity and Co-operation

**F**REQUENT mutual visits and meetings between Latin American countries' leaders have been taking place since the beginning of this year. They have coordinated their positions and strengthened their solidarity, co-operation and mutual support through bilateral and multilateral negotiations. This reflects the further development of the Latin American countries' united struggle against hegemonism.

Because the anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist and anti-hegemonic struggle of the third world is develop-

ing in depth, an important topic in the talks during the mutual visits and meetings is the strong demand for establishing a new international economic order and defending their state sovereignty. The Mexican President and the Guyana Prime Minister agreed at their meeting on the urgent need to put an end to economic colonialism and to give vigorous support to the developing countries' efforts to eliminate colonial influence in their economies. The joint statements signed by the Mexican President with the leaders of Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, Panama, Guatemala and other

countries all stressed the importance of establishing a new international economic order. The leaders of Colombia, Costa Rica, Venezuela and Panama maintained at their separate meetings that the third world countries should play a greater role in transforming economic relations. In a recent joint communique, the Foreign Ministers of Peru and Brazil expressed firm opposition to colonialism in all its manifestations, foreign domination, and political and economic dependence on foreign countries. They advocated the active promotion of the developing countries' increasing and effective participation in decisions on world matters of general concern. The leaders of Jamaica and Venezuela reiterated in a joint statement the inalienable right of states to "dispose of their natural resources freely, for the purpose of ensuring the economic and social development of their peoples." At their meetings, the leaders of some Latin American countries also pledged to carry on the struggle in defence of the 200-mile maritime rights.

The victories won by the third world countries, with their raw materials as a weapon, in their struggle against exploitation and plunder by the superpowers have been a source of encouragement to the Latin American countries' joint struggles in this respect. At meetings or in mutual visits, the leaders of many Latin American countries adopted a common stand against the U.S. trade act which discriminates against the raw-material-producing countries. The Presidents of Mexico and Venezuela reiterated the "resolve of their countries to take a greater part in the effort that is being made to strengthen the position of the third world with regard to trade and the prices of the raw materials they export." Leaders of Latin American countries have been actively promoting development of raw-material-producers' organizations. The Latin American sugar exporters' group, whose exports accounted for over 60 per cent of the world's total, has met twice and decided to strengthen their unity and considered fixing a reasonable price for their sugar. At its sixth ministerial meeting, the Union of Latin American Banana Exporting Countries expressed the determination to fight for a rational income in the banana trade and carry forward the struggle against the transnational companies' monopoly and blackmail. With the development in depth of the third world countries' anti-hegemonic struggle in the economic field, the Latin American countries have become more and more aware of the need to establish a system of consultation and co-operation of their own. Last March, the Presidents of Mexico and Venezuela jointly proposed the establishment of the Economic System of Latin America (SELA). This was followed by visits to a number of Latin American countries by the Venezuelan Foreign Minister and the Mexican Secretary for National Property for con-

sultations on this proposal. In spite of their different conditions, more than 20 Latin American countries succeeded in creating SELA last October after mutual visits by their leaders and preparations made at a ministerial meeting. Creation of this system enables the Latin American countries to co-ordinate their common strategy at international meetings, strengthen their solidarity and co-operation, and develop their national economies in a bid to free themselves from dependence on the superpowers and to fight for economic independence.

In their frequent contacts, leaders of Latin American countries take a common position in supporting Panama's just struggle. At their summit meeting last March, the leaders of Colombia, Venezuela, Costa Rica and Panama pointed out that the problem of Panama is one of common concern to Latin America and that Panama has an inalienable sovereign right over the Canal Zone. The recent summit meeting of Central American countries also reaffirmed support for Panama's "legitimate aspiration" to recover the Canal Zone. In their visits to a dozen or more Latin American countries, Head of the Panamanian Government Omar Torrijos and other Panamanian leaders gained further support from these countries.

Increased contacts between leaders of Latin American countries have promoted their multilateral and bilateral economic co-operation. Dozens of agreements on bilateral economic co-operation have been concluded by Latin American countries this year. The heads of five Central American countries held four meetings this year to seek an effective solution to the problems within the Central American Common Market. The foreign ministers of the five South American countries in the La Plata River valley have continued the study on the joint use of the region's waters and natural resources. Andean Pact Organization member states have mapped out a plan to develop the petrochemical industry. In order to solve the energy problem locally, the Latin American Organization of Energy held two ministerial meetings, emphasizing its opposition to dependence on big powers and deciding to study the creation of a consultation system aimed at the establishment of a Latin American energy market. At present, some oil-producing countries have made crude oil and natural gas supplies available to countries producing no oil or gas. Furthermore, Mexico, Venezuela, El Salvador and Costa Rica have set up a multinational mild coffee company and some Central American and Caribbean countries have established a multinational Caribbean shipping company. All these moves are favourable to the Latin American countries in their struggle against plunder by transnational companies under the control of international monopoly capital.

# The Splendour Radiating From The Tsunyi Meeting

by Chang Nan-sheng

NOT long after the Tsunyi Meeting of January 1935 (see *Peking Review* issue No. 44 for a brief historical background of the Long March), Comrade Teng Fa, Director of the State Political Security Bureau, called on our State Political Security Regiment. After hearing a report about our regiment, he said: "The Party has decided to regroup our three battalions with the First and Third Army Groups."

## Regroupment

Comrade Teng Fa also told us that the central leading body of the Party had decided on taking the First Front Army north to fight the Japanese invaders. He went on to detail the great significance of this decision to save the Chinese revolution. "What has happened in the two months since we pulled out of the Central base area in Kiangsi," he said, "makes flexible tactics imperative if this strategic aim is to be realized. Regrouping will streamline the administrative organs and strengthen our fighting units so that when favourable conditions obtain we can wipe out the enemy and when conditions are unfavourable we can disengage easily and move away swiftly. This is the way to preserve the Red Army and smash the enemy's aim of encirclement, pursuit, obsiruction and interception. . . ."

Comrade Teng Fa's words struck a responsive chord in our hearts. We listened attentively to his words and felt a burden lifted off us as we began to see things more clearly. In our mind's eye we again saw the fighting and the life we had led before. In the Central base area the masses, of their own volition, had passed on intelligence to us, and every time we fought they came to us with stretchers and spears and swords. Pigs and chickens were slaughtered to welcome our return after the fighting. In those days, as soon as the call from the Party and the Workers' and Peasants' Democratic Government came, no matter when or for what, the masses immediately responded. . . . But ever since pulling out of the Central base area we had been like motherless children. In battle there no longer was organized co-ordination with the masses to help us, and our wounded and sick comrades could not get proper treatment and care. Supplies of food and ammunition and other materials could no longer be depended upon. There had not even been an opportunity for us to rest and consolidate

in the two months of marching 5,000 li through Kiangsi, Kwangsi, Hunan and Kweichow because the enemy confronted our passage and pursued us from behind. All this made us appreciate more than ever Chairman Mao's concept of setting up rural base areas where the enemy hold was looser and we longed very much for the Central base area set up so arduously under Chairman Mao's personal leadership. It also made us eager to set up new base areas. Before this conference at Tsunyi, the men often had asked us: "Where are we heading for?" "What are we going to do there?" and "Where are we going to set up new base areas?" And hadn't we thought about these same problems ourselves? Day after day, we marched and every day we carried on mobilization, repeating over and over until our lips were worn thin: "Resolutely follow the Party and there is a way out!" Now, the orientation and task had been put to us clearly. We now knew what we must do and what was expected of us. Our confidence was firmer and our spirits soared.

To regroup was a brilliant decision. The Central column was in fact not at all in fighting trim. From front to rear on the march, our column was strung out for scores of li. This was particularly the case with the Central column's second echelon which was under the escort of our regiment's first battalion. It had a large number of porters carrying cumbersome equipment for making guns, printing machinery and other things they had brought with them from the Central base area. Some base plates were so heavy they had to be carried by a dozen hefty young fellows. Every time we climbed a slope, forded a river or edged along some narrow precipitous paths, it took us an hour to cover half a li while enemy gunfire and bombing from the air could be heard all around us. Our men would have given a lot to join the fighting and thrash them. We thought of the days in the Central base area when we had smashed the enemy's first, second, third and fourth campaigns of "encirclement and suppression." Our troops in those days advanced or moved back quickly and effortlessly as we pleased, and what great victories we had won! But now, we were saddled with cumbrous equipment, always on the move and continually breaking through enemy lines of encirclement which took a heavy toll of the main escorting forces. Recalling the past and think-

ing of what was happening now made us see how absolutely correct the central leadership's decision was. We firmly supported this brilliant decision.

The next day, the regiment held a meeting of cadres from the company level up. Comrade Teng delivered the mobilization speech. Not long after the meeting, with the exception of one company led by Comrade Wu Lieh which was incorporated into the Central Internal Security Guards, the whole regiment was divided and incorporated into the First and Third Army Groups. I was transferred back to the 37th Regiment of the Fifth Army Group. I was indescribably happy on the way to join my unit after taking leave of the leaders of the Central column. On either side of the route the terraced fields were yellow with rape blossoms and the slopes covered in green.

### Luring the Enemy

The Tsunyi Meeting brought new hope and greatly inspired the whole army. It also infused a new buoyancy into the Fifth Army Group. The Fifth Army Group regroupment did away with the divisional level, pared down the administrative organs and reassigned cadres so that the fighting units were tremendously strengthened. The work of the Party committees was put on a sounder footing and political work was pursued more vigorously. The regimental political sub-division still retained a small propaganda unit which set up posts along the route of march, beating gongs and drums and singing songs to encourage the fighters. They wrote and put up slogans and posters whenever we stopped to camp. The whole atmosphere was changed.

Not long after I reported for duty, the 37th Regiment was assigned to protecting the rear. One day when we came to a place about 20 li east of the Kuantu River to the east of the Chihshui River, Comrade Chang Chi-chun, the Director of the Propaganda Department of the Army Group, arrived with a radio transmitter.

Our army was heading west for Chahsi (today's Weihsin) in northeast Yunnan Province when we learnt that enemy troops in Szechuan were setting up a defence line along the southern bank of the Yangtze River. Because this was not to our advantage, Chairman Mao directed the army to effect a quick about-face and move swiftly back to Tungtzu north of Tsunyi in order to shake the enemy off. After Comrade Chang had arrived he passed on to us the orders of the Military Commission to stand and prepare to fight. This took us by surprise because we had not caught sight of the enemy for two days. The fact that he had come with a radio led us to believe we were about to be given an independent role, which was how it turned out. He called together several leading cadres of our regiment and confidently announced: "The 37th is well known for its tenacious defence. This time its mission is to co-ordinate with the main forces which are to recapture Tungtzu and Loushankuan and storm into Tsunyi again. If the enemy does not show up, all the better. If they do,

sparks will fly. This is an arduous task. The Military Commission wants us to adopt a mobile defence and hold down the enemy for three days or a little longer. From now on we are under the direct command of the Military Commission. . . ."

Our army has started from scratch, growing from small to large and from weak to strong, and had developed a whole series of strategy and tactics to correctly direct the revolutionary war — this is Chairman Mao's military thinking. In the period when we began building up our army, when the enemy was powerful and we were weak and the enemy was big and we were small, Chairman Mao had brilliantly laid down the principles of guerrilla warfare: "Divide our forces to arouse the masses, concentrate our forces to deal with the enemy." "The enemy advances, we retreat; the enemy camps, we harass; the enemy tires, we attack; the enemy retreats, we pursue." "To extend stable base areas, employ the policy of advancing in waves; when pursued by a powerful enemy, employ the policy of circling around." (*A Single Spark Can Start a Prairie Fire.*) These principles were further developed during the first, second and third counter-campaigns against enemy "encirclement and suppression." In those days our army had no fixed lines of fighting. We fought wherever conditions were favourable and although the enemy was strong and superior in number and we were weak and small, we defeated them. Although in the fifth counter-campaign against enemy "encirclement and suppression" we were defeated owing to the "Left" opportunists excluding Chairman Mao from the leadership, Chairman Mao's military thinking had already struck deep roots in the hearts of the soldiers. Our army had outmanoeuvred and flung aside the enemy in the few days that had just passed. Now the news was that our main forces were about to fight a big battle in Loushankuan and Tsunyi. This change in tactics told us in no uncertain terms that Chairman Mao again was leading us. We were overjoyed. Regimental Commander Li Ping-jen, who knew well the weakness of the white troops, whispered to me: "This is it. We're going to give them one hell of a beating again!"

After studying the situation we decided to go back to the village of Kuantuho. The terrain there was good, with ranges of high mountains on either side and a small stream in front. And it was the route the enemy had to pass through. We would fight a day there and then step by step lure the enemy towards Liangtsun and Wenshui as the Military Commission had directed.

We carried out propaganda work as we marched. Our men were in high spirits when they heard there was going to be fighting and in the way they were familiar with. Some pointed to the steep heights on both sides of the road, saying: "We can hold up the enemy for a day at least on any one of these." Some said: "The only thing we're afraid of is the enemy won't turn up to fight. We can hold our positions no matter how many days our superiors tell us to."



After reaching Kuantuho we immediately began digging in. It was not until the next morning that the Szechuan warlord Liu Hsiang's main forces, a well-equipped crack division, arrived in a rush at the spot. As soon as the battle began the enemy mounted fierce attacks from four or five directions. The commanders and fighters in our forward positions stood firm. The enemy left dozens of dead after each attack and lost well over a hundred men the first day while managing to advance only a few *li*. On our part, we suffered light casualties and used up some ammunition. When night fell, the enemy sent his men by two routes up the mountains in an attempt to outflank us, but, under cover of darkness, we safely fell back 10 *li* and began to dig in as we prepared our meal. After putting up defences, eating our meals and posting sentinels, the whole regiment had a sound sleep, ready for the next day's battle.

On the third day we again held our positions, losing one platoon leader but killing and wounding nearly a hundred enemy troops. Prisoners captured told us the enemy had three brigades made up of nine regiments and had built a string of fortifications stretching from the county town of Luhsien (today's Luchow) in southern Szechuan to Yipin to link up with troops of the other warlords in an attempt to wipe us out south of the Yangtze River. They never for a moment thought we would double back and strike east. One prisoner said resentfully: "If you had tried to get across the river there, we would have cleaned you all up." We replied: "You're our prisoner and yet you haven't learnt a thing. China is a big country and there are plenty of roads. We could take any of them. Why should we run smack into your forts?"

We pulled back again, until the roads forked. Running southeast was the small path our main forces took that led straight to Tungtzu. The big road through Wenshui to Sungkan lay to the northeast. According to orders from the Military Commission, we were to "make a feint in the east while attacking the west" and lure the enemy in the direction of Wenshui. That night we educated our prisoners and then set them free to act as our messengers and get the enemy to take our baited hook.

They did. The enemy caught up with us as dawn broke on the fifth day. We fought a pitched battle that day and sent a small detachment to attack Liangtsun after night fell.

Liangtsun was a big town some two to three *li* in length and full of enemy troops. Our small detachment crept to the centre of the town at midnight and lobbed a few hand-grenades left and right. By the time the sleeping enemy troops woke and began shooting madly at each other, we had already slipped away. They opened up with just about everything they had, machine-guns, rifles and grenades, and the firing grew fiercer by the hour and raged throughout the night.

Only when dawn broke did they realize they had been fighting each other. Our detachment caught up with us the next morning and regaled us with what they had witnessed. They were greeted with loud applause and laughter.

On the sixth day the enemy troops who had been stung the night before attacked our positions in Wenshui furiously but we fought stubbornly and better. Only then did it dawn on them that for six days they had been led by the nose by our one single regiment. To go after our main forces, they went back down the road they had come along. But it already was too late. Meanwhile, our main forces had in the past few days wiped out several enemy divisions at Loushankuan and Tsunyi.

Our holding mission completed, we rejoined the main forces of the army group at Panchiao south of Loushankuan. There we received a telegram from the Military Commission commending us on victoriously carrying out our mission with a minimum of losses. Comrade Li Ping-jen said with great feeling: "All this success should be attributed to Chairman Mao's military thinking which has served as our guide. Without Chairman Mao's brilliant leadership, without flexible strategy and tactics and without regrouping, we couldn't have done it."

### Providing Cover for the Main Forces

Our great victories at Loushankuan and Tsunyi rattled the enemy. They feverishly flung up fortifications and built pillboxes along the Yunnan-Kweichow-Szechuan border. They were wary of taking us on. In a sudden sally towards the end of March, we crossed the Wuchiang River again so as to make the enemy forces move the way we wished and give us a better choice of routes to march north into Szechuan.

Our regiment was to fight a rear guard action and follow our main forces in bypassing Kweiyang, moving through southern Kweichow and then heading west towards Kunming. Our regiment was in good spirits all along the way. Ever since we had pulled out of the Central base area, our regiment had frequently been called on to fight rear guard action, but never had we been as happy and elated as we were now. After leaving the Central base area, we had marched by night and fought by day with the enemy snapping at our heels, never giving us time to eat or sleep. Every night we marched by fits and starts, sometimes covering only a dozen *li* a night. And as soon as it was light, the enemy who had eaten and slept well would come after us along the road and so we fought them from the left and from the right and from behind. We had been in a sorry pickle those days. Now, we were still fighting a rear guard action but we always left the enemy's main forces far behind and covered some 80 to 90 *li* every night. When we camped at dawn we went among the people explaining the Party's policies and the aim of the Red Army's fight. We investigated the crimes of the local tyrants and evil

gentry and held mass meetings, mobilized the working people to break open the granaries and distribute grain. The series of fresh victories greatly inspired commanders and fighters alike, and firmed up their confidence and made them more courageous. This spirit was evident in everyone. Even the sick and wounded would not let others carry their belongings. One day I asked a wounded soldier who had dropped behind his unit whether he would be able to keep up. "If this had happened a few months back," he said with a laugh, "I'd have folded up. I didn't know what was going on then. But I do now. Where the Party goes, there go I. What's a little wound? I'll make it to the new base area all right."

We entered Yunnan at the end of April and, making the most of the enemy's thinned-out forces, we moved rapidly in the direction of Kunming, then suddenly turned north and crossed the Chinsha River at Chiaoche Ferry. The Military Commission ordered our Fifth Army Group to take up positions in the vicinity of the Shihpan River to protect the army forcing the Chinsha.

Behind the Shihpan River was a big mountain; the distance to the top was about 60 *li*, and another 50 *li* down the other side was the turbulent Chinsha River. Comrade Tung Chen-tang, commander of the army group, inspected the terrain and said elatedly: "The enemy may send his main force against us, but it won't matter much. We'll fight every inch of ground and this mountain will be a real help." He told us to carry out our mission but to take good care of the men and keep casualties down. We were told to space out our positions, occupy the higher ground before the mountain and station our men on the heights in depth and in breadth and make fullest use of available cover. If conditions permitted, we were to launch night attacks.

Three days after our arrival at the river, Wu Chi-wei's forces, a main force of Chiang Kai-shek's personal troops, showed up. This time they were cautious, for our First and Third Army Groups had wiped out two of his divisions at Tsunyi. The assault was preceded by heavy shelling. Looking down from our operation command post, we could see the enemy troops approaching under cover of a creeping barrage as prescribed in their field manuals. As soon as the artillery stopped they charged. We met them with clusters of grenades which sent them reeling back down the slope. After their first assault had failed, they mounted a second and then a third. Our advance positions were enveloped in smoke, making it impossible for us to see anything. Suddenly a messenger appeared to report on the situation. "We have suffered only light casualties owing to our dispersed dispositions (about 10 to 20 men to a height). The enemy shelling is very heavy but we can hold on and wipe out the enemy," he said. The report made us really understand how correct was our superiors' command.

The enemy mounted several assaults while we continually inflicted heavy casualties on them. We were fighting for time as planned. We broke off when it suited us. Our stubborn, flexible delaying tactics slowed the enemy's advance down to seven or eight *li* a day.

By the fifth day, two enemy columns had massed below the mountain. The situation looked threatening. Just as we were pulling back to our last line of defence, the central leadership and Chairman Mao sent Comrade Li Fu-chun to our Fifth Army Group. He told us that under Chairman Mao's personal direction several tens of thousands of Red Army men were being ferried across the river day and night on a few small vessels. Already two-thirds of our forces were across and if we could hold out another three days and nights Chiang Kai-shek's campaign of sending several hundred thousand troops to encircle, pursue, obstruct and intercept us would be defeated. "Chairman Mao has ordered me to tell you comrades," Comrade Li Fu-chun said in a firm tone, "that the central leading body of the Party is confident the Fifth Army Group is able to fulfil this great and arduous task!"

Cadres were immediately sent to all front positions by Party committees at various levels and political organizations to pass on Chairman Mao's directive. Wherever the news spread that Chairman Mao had sent Comrade Li Fu-chun to the front, the fighting spirit of the men burnt ever fiercer. The soldiers shouted: "We shall stand firm and fulfil our mission!" "Tell the Party central leadership and Chairman Mao that the Fifth Army Group will fight to the last man to enable our main forces to cross safely. What's three days and nights, we can hold out another ten!"

The directive from Chairman Mao and the central leading body of the Party and their concern boosted the fighting will of every cadre and soldier. Our regimental commanders, political commissars and administration cadres fought side by side with the men in advance positions. The terrain favoured us. Every hilltop held up one of our companies or platoons pinned down a whole enemy regiment. The height where I was stationed was a steep climb for the enemy and the road up the side zigzagged back and forth. When they shelled our positions, we sat back and got some rest. Some comrades calmly kept count of the shells which the enemy fired and fell into the ravine behind us. When the shelling stopped we scrambled back to the top and hurled grenades and rocks down on the advancing enemy. The explosions brought down showers of boulders and flying rocks on them. They were terrified. One prisoner admitted with a shudder: "Those boulders crashing down are no joke. If I must die, I want to die in one piece."

Though heavily outnumbered by ten to one, we fought stubbornly. The seventh, the eighth and the ninth day came and went. We were still holding our positions. Then on the ninth evening orders arrived for us to move to the north bank and set up defences

there. We already had sent all our wounded to the rear during the fighting, so when the order came we covered the 50 li to the river in one march and crossed the Chinsha in the dark. When we were all across, we immediately set fire to the boats which had ferried our Red Army men and equipment. Next day, the enemy reached the river. All they could do was to stare at the swirling waters. Chiang Kai-shek's ferocious and relentless campaign of several hundred thousand troops to encircle, pursue, obstruct and intercept us proved a fiasco. History's witness, the Chinsha River flows on.

The third day after the crossing we joined up with the First and Third Army Groups near Huili where we had a moment to rest and consolidate. Comrade Huang Chen and others wrote a skit for the Mengchin Drama Troupe of the Fifth Army Group to put on that evening.

The name of the play was *One Worn-Out Sandal of Straw*. It eulogized how the Red Army, armed with Chairman Mao's thought, had defeated the enemy's encirclement, pursuit, obstruction and interception under the most trying conditions and poked fun at the enemy commanded by Chiang Kai-shek. His several hundred thousand troops had tramped thousands of li after us and on reaching the Chinsha River all they got for their pains was a worn-out straw sandal one of our men had discarded.

The spring of 1935 was a triumphant spring. It wrote a glorious chapter in the annals of the Chinese revolution. Since then, the splendour of the Tsunyi Meeting has illuminated the path of our advance. Under the leadership of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, we have marched from victory to victory.



## Workers' Forum (II)

# Why Do We Criticize Confucius?

WHEN the nationwide criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius got started early last year, many working people in our country said: "Confucius wanted to return to the rites. Lin Piao wished to restore capitalism. They were two of a kind." Others pointed out: "To criticize Lin Piao we must criticize Confucius." These words have put in a nutshell the relationship between the criticism of Lin Piao and that of Confucius. But why did they draw a parallel between the two?

Dynasty (1122-770 B.C.) bronze vessel, for instance, gave the price of slaves at that time: a hank of silk plus a horse could be exchanged for five slaves. The excavation of a number of ancient tombs has shed light on the fact that slaves were immolated when their owners died. Sometimes as many as several hundred skeletons of these victims were found in a single tomb. By the time of Confucius, the revolutionary flames of slave

## "Doctrines of Confucius and Mencius"

In answering this question, it is necessary to give some historical background. Confucius (551-479 B.C.) lived at a time of great changes, when the Chinese society was in the period of transition from the slave system to feudalism. As elucidated by the Marxist history of social development, human society has moved from classless primitive society to slave society and then to feudal society and capitalist society which in turn inevitably develops into socialist and communist societies.

Abundant historical materials and unearthed cultural relics give evidence of the existence of slave society in ancient China. The inscription on a Chou

This is the second of a series of articles written by six workers of the Shanghai No. 5 Steel Plant retrospectively on the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius.



Lathe operator Hsin Li-chu, one of the writers of this series of articles.

uprisings were ablaze all over the place, with the new emerging feudal landlord class seizing political power from the slave-owning aristocrats. The slave system as a whole was on the verge of collapse and the feudal system was being established. This was an objective law of the development of history independent of man's will.

Confucius who came from a fallen slave-owning aristocrat's family was a die-hard reactionary swimming against the current of history. He worked all his life to safeguard and restore the interests of the slave-owning aristocrats. He put forward the political programme of "restraining oneself and returning to the rites." By "restraining oneself," he meant that people should restrain their desires and actions, that the slaves must willingly submit to oppression while the rising feudal landlords must behave themselves. By "returning to the rites," he meant the restoration of the rigid hierarchy of the slave society and its related rites and rituals. Confucius enjoined people "not to look at, listen to, say or do things which do not conform to the rites."

According to historical records, soon after Confucius became a ranking official, he ordered that Shao-cheng Mou, a celebrated reformer, be executed. The *Analects*, one of the "classics" of the Confucian school, recorded that Confucius was full of praise when he heard that a slave-owning aristocrat had killed all the slaves who had risen in an uprising. And when one of his disciples went to help a new emerging landlord carry out social reforms, he called on the other disciples to "beat the drum and set upon him." He said: "I pass on what is ancient and do not create anything new. I have firm confidence in and love the ancient things." In other words, in his eyes everything belonging to the past was perfect and not the slightest change should be made. Once he saw a wine cup which was an improvement on the old ones. But he lamented: "This wine cup is not like a wine cup. What a pity that it is called a wine cup at all!"

In short, Confucius hated social reforms of every kind and the forces in favour of such reforms. The numerous reactionary preachings he left behind formed a jumbled ideological system the essence of which was restoration and retrogression. More than a hundred years after his death, his preachings were taken over and developed by Mencius (c. 372-289 B.C.). These preachings later came to be known as the "doctrines of Confucius and Mencius."

But how did these doctrines, which once defended the slave system and opposed the new emerging feudal landlord class, later become the ideological system of the feudal landlord class itself? Chairman Mao has pointed out: "In past history, before they won state power and for some time afterwards, the slave-owning class, the feudal landlord class and the bourgeoisie were vigorous, revolutionary and progressive; they were real tigers. But with the lapse of time, because their oppo-

sites — the slave class, the peasant class and the proletariat — grew in strength step by step, struggled against them and became more and more formidable, these ruling classes changed step by step into the reverse, changed into reactionaries, changed into backward people, changed into paper tigers. And eventually they were overthrown, or will be overthrown, by the people." (Quoted in a note to *Talk With the American Correspondent Anna Louise Strong*.)

In 221 B.C., Chin Shih Huang unified China and established the first centralized state under the dictatorship of the feudal landlord class in Chinese history. Then followed a long period of serious struggle between the forces trying to restore the slave system and the forces against restoration before the feudal ~~system~~ finally came to stay. As the landlord class switched from being politically revolutionary to being conservative and finally reactionary, instead of belittling and repudiating the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius as it had done before, it gradually accepted and modified them and finally worshipped and made use of these doctrines to oppose social reforms and preserve its own rule.

Following the Opium War of 1840, China which was hitherto a feudal society was reduced to a semi-feudal and semi-colonial society. The imperialists who invaded China also revered Confucianism, alleging that it was the "quintessence" of China's traditional culture, and used it to ideologically soften up the Chinese people's resistance while at the same time hoodwinking the people of other countries. Just as Chairman Mao pointed out long ago, imperialist culture and the old culture of worshipping Confucius and returning to the ancient ways were "devoted brothers." (*On New Democracy*.)

Confucius, regarded as the "sage" by the reactionary ruling classes, was the enemy of the working people. Both Confucius and Confucian preachings were strongly repudiated by the people, from Liuhsia Chih, a contemporary of Confucius and famous leader of slave uprising, down to Hung Hsiu-chuan, leader of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal Taiping Heavenly Kingdom peasant uprising in the middle of the last century.

### A Disciple of Confucius in Our Times

The political swindler Lin Piao was every inch a disciple of Confucius. Hiding in dark corners, he fanatically preached the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius among a handful of his sworn followers, and sometimes he did so even in the open. He wrote some sayings of Confucius and Mencius on scrolls and hung them up on the walls or copied them down in his notebooks to serve as his "maxims."

When the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius was unfolded, we first got hold of some major

aspects of Lin Piao's imitation of Confucius and criticized them item by item.

Confucius and Mencius preached "restraining oneself and returning to the rites." Lin Piao and one of his sworn followers on several occasions wrote and exchanged scrolls with the words: "Of all things, this is the most important: to restrain oneself and return to the rites." This fully revealed their wolfish ambition of restoring the capitalist system.

Confucius and Mencius preached that some were "born with knowledge," and that the slave-owning aristocrats were born rulers. Lin Piao, too, fanatically preached the theory of "genius." Considering himself a superman, he asserted that he had a "particularly brilliant" head and that "my parents gave it me." He even compared himself to the "heavenly horse" capable of flying through the skies. In ancient Chinese books the "heavenly horse" symbolized "the noblest of men." This revealed his vain attempt to usurp supreme power in the Party and government.

Confucius and Mencius preached that "the highest are the wise and the lowest are the stupid" and vilified the working people. Lin Piao also said that workers and peasants "think only about how to make money, about how to get rice." Confucius and Mencius trumpeted that "those who work with their minds govern, those who work with their hands are governed" and said that this was "a universal principle." Lin Piao, on his part, attacked sending cadres to the grass-roots level to do manual labour as "unemployment in a disguised form" and sending school graduates to settle in the countryside and become peasants as "reform through forced labour in a disguised form."

Confucius and Mencius preached hypocritical supra-class "virtue," "benevolence and righteousness," "loyalty

and forbearance." Lin Piao also peddled the same ware. He attacked the dictatorship of the proletariat in China by writing down on a scroll: "He who relies on virtue will thrive and he who relies on force will perish." In his plan for an armed counter-revolutionary coup d'etat entitled *Outline of Project "571,"* he cursed as "autocracy" our social system which exercises dictatorship over a handful of reactionaries and gives extensive democracy to the people.

Confucius and Mencius preached the "doctrine of the mean" which is a philosophy advocating eclecticism and compromise and opposing social reforms. Lin Piao wrote that the "doctrine of the mean . . . is rational," vilifying that our anti-revisionist struggle was incompatible with the "doctrine of the mean" and had "gone to extremes." In that counter-revolutionary *Outline of Project "571,"* he undisguisedly advocated placing our country under the Soviet "nuclear umbrella" and so reducing our country into a colony of social-imperialism.

The doctrines of Confucius and Mencius propagated the worldly-wise code of conduct characterized by "recoiling in order to extend." Lin Piao copied down verses by a writer of the past and compared himself to a man who was "forced to lodge for a time in the tiger's lair" and who "changed to suit occasions most quick." This bared his ugly features as a counter-revolutionary double-dealer. He even had the audacity to say: "He who tells no lies is bound to fall."

Lin Piao taught his son to revere Confucius and study the Confucian classics. He even wrote down for his son Lin Li-kuo a passage on how to rule which King Wen (?-1070 B.C.) of the Chou Dynasty, chieftain of slave-owners, passed on to his own son before he died. This revealed Lin Piao's fond dream of founding a hereditary Lin dynasty.

Once Lin Piao's crimes were made known, we workers were filled with indignation. We wrote big-character posters and held meetings to denounce him and the struggle surged ahead wave upon wave.

Why was Lin Piao's reactionary thinking so akin to that of Confucius? Chairman Mao has taught us: "What is perceived cannot at once be comprehended and . . . only what is comprehended can be more deeply perceived. Per-



Workers' theoretical group criticizing the Confucian "classic" *Analecets*.

Woodcut by Shanghai worker amateur artists

ception only solve the problem of phenomena; theory alone can solve the problem of essence." (*On Practice.*) Under the guidance of the plant's Party committee, we earnestly studied theory, history and the present situation so as to deepen our criticism.

We found that all reactionary ruling classes of the past worshipped Confucius; so does the Chiang clique which is still entrenched in Taiwan. This is also the case with imperialism and social-imperialism which vainly try to subjugate China. The proof for this is that both the Chiang clique and the Soviet revisionists have made a lot of noise since we started criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius. Could this be a mere coincidence? Certainly not. The reason behind their clamour is that they want to restore the dark, old order in our country. Inside our Party, the ringleaders of the opportunist lines in the past, from Chen Tu-hsiu in the 1920s to Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao, all worshipped Confucius. Was this a mere coincidence? Of course not. They had the common need of safeguarding and restoring the old system and opposing the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Class struggle in the past and at present has enabled us to see clearly that the criticism of Confucius is by no means an "academic issue" but a serious class struggle in the political and ideological spheres. In the protracted struggle between restoration and counter-restoration in the days to come, it is to be expected that all reactionaries will still use the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius as their ideological weapon. We must thoroughly eliminate this big poisonous weed.

### Away With the Pernicious Influence

Both our study and criticism are closely linked with the reality. The remains of Confucius had rotted long, long ago and Lin Piao was killed in a plane crash. But their reactionary thinking cannot be nailed up in a coffin and lowered into the grave.

In our country, there is still a handful of overthrown class enemies who, like Confucius and Lin Piao, constantly dream of returning to the "rites" of the old society. But the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has made it even more difficult for them to recover their lost "paradise." So, like Lin Piao, they hide themselves in dark corners and attack the Great Cultural Revolution as nothing but "a mess." The many socialist new things that have come to the fore during the Great Cultural Revolution have further destroyed the foundation of the old system, and these, too, fill them with bitter hatred. For instance, large numbers of workers have been promoted to leading posts, many cadres have gone to the grass-roots units to do manual labour and millions of school graduates have gone to the countryside to become peasants. These new things naturally do not conform to the "rites" of the exploiting classes and are therefore regarded by them as a thorn in their sides.

While criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius, we also gave powerful rebuffs to the handful of class enemies who used the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius to attack us. The contradiction between us and these persons is one between ourselves and the enemy. We must exercise dictatorship over them, allowing them only to behave themselves and not to be unruly in word or deed. At the same time, we must thoroughly repudiate their reactionary fallacies.

We also find that the pernicious influence left over by Confucius still exists to varying degrees in the ranks of our people and plays an erosive role. Take the question of running enterprises for instance. Why do some comrades always think of using "material incentives" to "bring people's enthusiasm into play"? This, in the last analysis, is a hangover of the Confucian idea that "the inferior man thinks in terms of gain." And why do some comrades always fail to see the workers' collective strength and wisdom and have blind faith in a few experts instead? This, in the last analysis, is also a hangover of the Confucian idea that "the highest are the wise and the lowest are the stupid." And why do some comrades always tend to be conservative and lack the courage to blaze new trails? This, in the last analysis, is also because of the pernicious influence of what Confucius said: "I pass on what is ancient and do not create anything new."

In the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, we once again criticized the influence and manifestations in our plant of the revisionist line. We solved controversial matters among the people by democratic method, the method of persuasion and education. We warmly helped comrades who had committed mistakes see their errors and correct them accordingly.

Of course, the issue of how to run an enterprise is not the only question involved. The criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius has touched on many aspects of the ideology of the exploiting classes, such as looking down on manual labour, contempt for the female sex, despising the workers and peasants, giving the cold shoulder to new things and new forces, worshipping things foreign and wanting to return to the ancient ways, to mention only a few. All of these can be traced back to the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius which are their ideological source. In short, the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius was a continuation of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, and a political and ideological struggle in the realm of the superstructure in which Marxism triumphs over revisionism and the proletariat over the bourgeoisie.

In our plant, as is the case all over the country, this movement further consolidated and developed the gains of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Beginning from this year, we have continued our victorious advance and, acting in accordance with Chairman Mao's instruction, started another mass movement—the movement to study the Marxist-Leninist theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat to combat and prevent revisionism.

## "Marx, Engels and Lenin on the Dictatorship of The Proletariat": Questions and Answers (8)

Herr Duhring gives everyone a right to "quantitatively equal consumption," but he cannot compel anyone to exercise it. On the contrary, he is proud that in the world he has created everyone can do what he likes with his money. He therefore cannot prevent some from setting aside a small money hoard, while others are unable to make ends meet on the wage paid to them. He even makes this inevitable by explicitly recognizing in the right of inheritance that family property should be owned in common; whence comes also the obligation of the parents to maintain their children. But this makes a wide breach in quantitatively equal consumption. The bachelor lives like a lord, happy and content with his eight or twelve shillings a day, while the widower with eight minor children finds it very difficult to manage on this sum. On the other hand, by accepting money in payment without any question, the commune leaves open the door to the possibility that this money may have been obtained otherwise than by the individual's own labour. *Non olet.* [It (money) does not smell.] The commune does not know where it comes from. But in this way all conditions are created permitting metallic money, which hitherto played the role of a mere labour certificate, to exercise its real money function. Both the opportunity and the motive are present, on the one hand to form a hoard, and on the other to run into debt. The needy individual borrows from the individual who builds up a hoard. The borrowed money, accepted by the commune in payment for means of subsistence, once more becomes what it is in present-day society, the social incarnation of human labour, the real measure of labour, the general medium of circulation. All the "laws and administrative regulations" in the world are just as powerless against it as they are against the multiplication table or the chemical composition of water. And as the builder of the hoard is in a position to extort interest from people in need, usury is restored along with metallic money functioning as money.

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

**Question:** It is not so easy to understand this passage from Engels. Could an explanation be given to help us grasp its essence?

**Answer:** Engels' words tell us that so long as actual inequality exists in distribution and exchange through money is retained in a society under public ownership, the phenomenon of polarization is bound to take place and capitalism will be engendered. In the absence of any restrictions, this inevitably leads to capitalist restoration.

What Engels said was intended to criticize the political swindler Duhring who preposterously maintained that the capitalist mode of production was quite good and could remain in existence, but the capitalist mode of distribution was evil and must be eliminated. He claimed that in the "economic commune" under the "socialitarian" system he fabricated in his mind, he would give every commune member a right to "quantitatively equal consumption." He advocated that commune members could draw from the "economic commune" metallic money which embodied the time they spent on labour, no matter what the results of their labour and how much or little they produced. It was said that such money only played the role of a "labour certificate," but commune members could buy consumer goods from the commune with metallic money and dispose of their money as they pleased. As Duhring saw it, once the principle of "quantitatively equal consumption" was realized, injustice in capitalist distribution would be done away with. This was the reactionary petty-bourgeois viewpoint of equalitarianism.

Engels pointed out that the right to "quantitatively equal consumption" Duhring gave to every commune member could never come true. In real life people cannot practise "quantitatively equal consumption" and neither can they be forced to buy the same amount of goods or to spend all their money at the same time. Moreover, the right to inherit property is still retained in the Duhring "economic commune," which gives rise to the obligation of the parents to support their children. This being the case, "quantitatively equal consumption" is all the more out of the question. The economic burden on a bachelor and a widower with eight children is vastly different and there is no such thing as "quantitatively equal consumption" between them. Besides, the existence of exchange through money also impels people to get money by every pos-

sible means, for money, whether obtained by labour or by such crooked means as graft, theft and speculation, does not smell and can be used to buy goods from the commune. In these circumstances, metallic money which allegedly plays the role of a "labour certificate" would inevitably perform the functions of real money and would be turned into capital. Some people would use legal means and numerous illegal ones to obtain and hoard a large amount of money, while others would become so impoverished that they could not but borrow from those with much money. Those building up a big hoard of money would become new exploiters and those forced to borrow money would have to pay interest and suffer usurious exploitation. This clearly shows that exchange through money is the soil breeding capitalism. The so-called socialism based on "quantitatively equal consumption," as trumpeted by Duhring, was nothing but capitalism under the signboard of socialism.

**Question:** Since exchange through money is the soil engendering capitalism, why is it still retained in China?

**Answer:** This is determined by the existing system of ownership in our country. In China, there still exist two kinds of public ownership, namely, ownership by the whole people and collective ownership. This determines that it is necessary to practise a commodity system at present. Under this system, exchange through money is necessary and inevitable. The state uses money as a medium for commodity circulation to enlarge the exchange of industrial and agricultural products, connect the economic links between city and countryside, between industry and agriculture and in other fields and consolidate the worker-peasant alliance; it also uses money as a standard of value to carry out business accounting, map out national economic plans and manage social production and distribution, etc. In a word, because the system of ownership has changed and the state of the proletariat keeps the banks under its control to unify the issuance and management of money, money still plays a positive role in China today and is one of our tools in the service of socialist revolution and construction. Our Party has always opposed the erroneous tendencies which, going beyond the historical conditions, prematurely negate the role of money.

Nevertheless, money is after all a survival of yesterday's exploitation and its inherent functions and characteristics are still there. A small number of people can get an increasing amount of money through various channels and illegally turn it into capital to exploit labourers by means of engaging in speculation, practising usury and hiring labour in a disguised form. "Before we can abolish money," as Lenin said, "we must put up with equality in words, in the constitution; we must put up with a situation in which everybody who possesses money practically has the right to exploit." (*First All-Russia Congress on Adult Education.*)

We must topple the ideology of bourgeois right and restrict this right in regard to exchange through money.

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

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

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**Question:** How should we understand the main idea of this passage from Engels?

**Answer:** In these words, Engels historically explained the role played by the development of commodity production and exchange through money in the disintegration of public ownership in primitive society, with emphasis on expounding that money was the most powerful means for bringing about this disintegration. This passage tells us that in a present-day socialist country, if no restrictions are imposed on the negative role of the commodity system and exchange through money, they will also undermine and break down the economy under socialist public ownership.

**Question:** What did Engels mean by saying "once the commodity-producing society has further developed the value form, which is inherent in commodities as such, to the money form, various germs still hidden in value break through to the light of day"?

**Answer:** The value of commodities consists of the social labour embodied in them. It is imperceptible and elusive and finds expression only through exchange. The inherent value form of commodities is manifested in the exchange ratio between one commodity and other commodities. With the appearance of money as a special commodity after the development of exchange, all commodities are exchanged with money as the medium and the value of commodities is also measured with money as the standard. Thus the value form of commodities developed into the money form.

Why did Engels say that after the value form of commodities has developed into the money form, various germs still hidden in value break through to the light of day? As it turns out, there are many contradic-



tions hidden in the value of commodities, the most important being the contradiction between private labour and social labour. Under the conditions of commodity production based on private ownership, the labour of a commodity producer always has a dual character. On the one hand, it is private labour because the producer himself decides what and how much to produce and possesses and controls the fruits of labour. On the other hand, it is social labour because his products are not consumed by himself but are turned over to society. But each commodity producer cannot anticipate whether his labour is socially necessary. Only when his commodities are sold through exchange and their value is realized can his labour be recognized by society. Otherwise, his labour is not recognized by society. Furthermore, the value of commodities is not determined by the individual amount of labour done by their producers but by the quantity of socially necessary labour. In other words, it is determined by the labour time necessary to produce a certain commodity on the basis of the average level of skill and average labour intensity in society. Thus commodity producers are bound to go in for competition centring around the socially necessary labour time. Those who spend less labour time than that which is socially necessary will make profit and get rich, while those who spend more labour time than that which is socially necessary will incur losses and go bankrupt, thus giving rise to polarization. These contradictions did not manifest themselves sufficiently when the exchange of one thing for another was not developed. The appearance of money enlarged the scope of exchange and divided the original single process of buying and selling into two separate processes. This caused the above-mentioned contradictions to develop further and reveal themselves, thus increasing the danger that commodities could not be sold and hastening the polarization of the commodity producers.

In a passage preceding this exposition, Engels pointed out: **"The value form of products . . . already contains in embryo the whole capitalist form of production, the antagonism between capitalists and wage-workers, the industrial reserve army, crises. To seek to abolish the capitalist form of production by establishing 'true value' is therefore tantamount to attempting to abolish catholicism by establishing the 'true' Pope. . . ."** This is to say, hidden in the value form of commodities are all the evils of capitalism in embryo including the embryos of the exploitation system, market competition, anarchism in production, unemployment and economic crises under capitalism. This tells us that so long as the value form and particularly the money form of products are kept intact (in other words, so long as the commodity system and exchange through money are retained), they inevitably give rise to capitalism.

**Question:** How did money hasten the disintegration of public ownership in primitive society? What is the practical significance today in getting this question clear?

**Answer:** Dwelling on the role of money in hastening the disintegration of public ownership in primitive society and the emergence of a society under private ownership, Engels pointed out: With the further development of the value form of commodities into the money form, **"the first and most essential effect is the generalization of the commodity form,"** and **"thereby the commodity form and money penetrate the internal husbandry of the communities directly associated for production; they break one tie of communion after another, and dissolve the community into a mass of private producers."**

The fact is that in primitive society, the tradition of public ownership over so many tens of thousands of years, the tribal social organizations formed by inheritance through blood and the primitive equal relations of interdependence between people which took shape under such conditions were sinewy ties binding this social system. The development of the productive forces towards the end of primitive society led to the appearance of social division of labour and the gradual emergence of private ownership of the means of production, thus giving rise to commodity production. Later, with the development of commodity production and the expansion of exchange, money came into being. It is used to measure the value of all commodities; with money one can get any commodity through exchange. This increased people's yearning to accumulate personal wealth and the possibilities of achieving this, thereby greatly promoting the development of commodity production. As a result, more and more goods were dragged into exchange, resulting in the generalization of the commodity form. Prior to this, land belonged to the primitive commune which periodically divided the land among commune members for individual farming. The individuals had the right to use it but did not have the right to own it. The development of exchange through money expedited polarization and gave rise to creditors and debtors. When debtors were unable to repay their debts, they had to mortgage or sell as a commodity the land which originally belonged to the commune and was tilled by the individuals, and the labourers even exchanged themselves and their children as commodities for money and became slaves. As a result, land gradually became concentrated in the hands of a few relatively well-off people, the equal relations between tribal commune members linked up by ties of blood were gradually replaced by relations of exploitation and enslavement and people were divided into groups of private producers. In this way, the primitive commune under public ownership dissolved and the slave system based on private ownership began to develop.

Historically speaking, the development of the commodity-money relations played the role of disintegrating public ownership in primitive society. Under socialist conditions in China today, since socialist public ownership has in the main been established and the state has firm hold on management of the market,

banking and money, commodity production and exchange through money still play a positive role. But the commodity system and exchange through money are after all birth marks of the old society, and so they remain the soil breeding capitalism and the bourgeoisie even under the socialist system. If they are allowed to take their own course, they will disintegrate the socialist economy under ownership by the whole people and collective ownership and lead to capitalist restoration. That is why we must take measures to restrict the negative role of the commodity system and exchange through money.

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

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

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**Question:** What did Lenin refer to when he talked about freedom to trade?

**Answer:** This passage is quoted from Lenin's "Report on the Substitution of a Tax in Kind for the Surplus-Grain Appropriation System" at the Tenth Congress of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks). At that time, civil war had just ended in Russia which began to embark on postwar economic rehabilitation. To heal the wounds of war and overcome the serious difficulties caused by natural disasters so as to speedily rehabilitate agriculture and, on this basis, restore industrial production, consolidate the worker-peasant alliance and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Tenth Congress of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) decided to introduce a new economic policy substituting collection of the grain tax for the surplus-grain appropriation system adopted during the civil war period to collect all the peasants' surplus grain. The new economic policy stipulated that the peasants be given a free hand to dispose of all their surplus grain, i.e., allowing them to enjoy a certain degree of freedom of turnover

or freedom to trade after they had paid the grain tax to the state. Necessary at the time, it was a temporary and transitional measure taken by the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) and the Soviet Government in the light of the existing political and economic situation. Simultaneous with this, Lenin alerted the whole Party in good time to the negative role of such freedom of turnover, pointing to the connection between freedom to trade and retrogression to capitalism and stressing the necessity to remain highly vigilant against the revival of capitalism.

**Question:** How should we understand Lenin's remark that "this turnover and freedom to trade inevitably lead to the division of the commodity producers into owners of capital and owners of labour power, a division into capitalists and wage workers, i.e., the restoration of capitalist wage slavery"?

**Answer:** This makes it clear that freedom to trade is a hotbed for engendering capitalism and the bourgeoisie. Even under socialist conditions, capitalist wage slavery (capitalist exploitation relations and economic system) can be restored so long as freedom to trade is allowed to exist and develop. Since the Soviet revisionist renegade clique came to power, it has turned socialist ownership into ownership by bureaucrat-monopoly-capitalists and has spared no effort to expand capitalist commodity relations, foster individual production and develop free markets. As a result, private capitalism has spread unchecked and class polarization has become more serious than ever; a section of the people, whose number is very small in proportion to the population, has risen to become new bourgeois elements, while the masses have been reduced to the terrible plight of being exploited and oppressed. Lenin's warning about "the restoration of capitalist wage slavery" has become a living reality in the present-day Soviet Union.

The reason why freedom to trade leads to retrogression to capitalism is that when there is such freedom, the law of value operates as a regulator. The value of surplus farm produce which the peasants (who belong to the category of small commodity producers) use as commodities for exchange is determined by the socially necessary labour time. Those small commodity producers with better production conditions, whose individual labour time is less than the socially necessary labour time, are thus in a more advantageous position in exchange and can gain more and get richer and richer. The idea to amass fortunes will prompt them to increase the means of production and engage in various forms of exploitation of wage labourers. In contrast to this, those small commodity producers with relatively poor production conditions, whose individual labour time is more than the socially necessary labour time, find themselves in a disadvantageous position in exchange and gradually lose their means of production and go bankrupt. As a result, they cannot but sell their labour power in various forms. This inevitably leads to the division of the small commodity producers into

owners of capital and owners of labour power and the restoration of capitalist wage slavery. Moreover, another very important aspect is that freedom to trade makes it easy for some people to illegally convert commodities and money in their hands into commercial capital and take advantage of the imbalance in the supply and demand of commodities, which sometimes appears in some places, to engage in speculation, rake in huge profits and fleece the labourers. This is bound to further the polarization of small production and the emergence of capitalist relations.

**Question:** Is this teaching of Lenin's of any practical significance in China?

**Answer:** China applies the policy of planned centralized purchase and supply of grain. After the basic completion of the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production, commodity exchange is based on socialist public ownership and guided by the national economic plan, and state commercial departments and commerce under collective ownership have in the main put the nation's commodity circulation channels under their control. But we must be aware that China at present still practises a commodity system

in which bourgeois influence and bourgeois right still exist; in commerce, there are remnants of private ownership and individual pedlars account for 0.2 per cent of the total volume of retail sales, while in the countryside there still are rural fairs. Therefore, not only can capitalism be engendered spontaneously through trade at rural fairs and among individual pedlars, but there still is the question of which class actually controls the leadership in state and collectively-owned factories and enterprises and which line is being followed. Some people often use the commodity system and exchange through money to engage in illegal activities under a "legal" cloak and rake in profits, thus turning into new bourgeois elements. If such a state of affairs is allowed to develop unchecked, it will inevitably cause the degeneration of socialist ownership. We must, therefore, uphold the Party's basic line, persist in the dictatorship of the proletariat, resolutely criticize the revisionist line, criticize spontaneous capitalist tendencies and the ideology of bourgeois right, strengthen planned economy and market management and keep consolidating and developing the socialist positions.

*(To be continued.)*

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*(Continued from p. 5.)*

### **Delegation of Marxist-Leninist Party of the Netherlands**

Keng Piao, Member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Head of its International Liaison Department, met and had a cordial and friendly talk on November 12 with the Delegation of the Marxist-Leninist Party of the Netherlands led by C. Petersen.

The delegation arrived in Peking on November 3. It visited Peking and Taching before leaving the capital for home.

### **Kwangchow Trade Fair Closes**

China's 1975 Autumn Export Commodities Fair came to a triumphant close in Kwangchow on November 15.

The month-long fair drew over 25,000 people — foreign friends from more than 100 countries and regions,

overseas Chinese and compatriots from Hongkong and Macao. A great number of import and export contracts were signed with transactions surpassing those of the previous two fairs.

Many friends were from trade circles in third world countries and regions. The number of businessmen from the Philippines and Thailand, which established diplomatic relations with China this year, showed a marked increase over previous fairs. Trade delegations, representatives of chambers of commerce and state-owned corporations from Guyana, Algeria, Equatorial Guinea, Mauritania, Gambia, Guinea-Bissau, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Iraq, Nepal, Burma, Malaysia, Singapore and Papua New Guinea were at the fair to negotiate trade.

Fairly big advances have been made in China's trade with third world countries in the last few years. The volume of trade with them last

year increased more than 3.2-fold over 1970.

The number of friends from trade circles in France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Britain, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands, Japan and Canada exceeded those at the previous two fairs.

As China's national economy develops, there has been a growing range of Chinese export commodities and remarkable changes have taken place in the structure of export. At present, industrial products, minerals and processed farm and sideline produce account for about 70 per cent of China's total export commodities, and the proportion of farm and sideline produce has dropped from 70 per cent in 1952 to about 30 per cent today.

A certain amount of equipment, raw materials and materials imported by China at the fair will play an auxiliary role in accelerating its socialist construction and in enhancing its self-reliant capability.

# ROUND THE WORLD

VIET NAM

## Consultations on National Reunification

As stated in a communique issued on November 9 by the Standing Committee of the National Assembly of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, the Standing Committee of the National Assembly recently held a special session and heard a report by Premier Pham Van Dong on the realization of national reunification on the state plane to create conditions for a speedy accomplishment of the reunification of the country and to take the whole country to socialism in conformity with the earnest desire of all compatriots.

The communique said that the Standing Committee of the National Assembly heard a proposal put forward by Chairman Truong Chinh on concrete measures for achieving national reunification on the state plane. The Standing Committee of the National Assembly unanimously approved the proposal by the government and the Chairman of the National Assembly, and decided to form a delegation of north Viet Nam to conduct consultations with a south Vietnamese delegation with a view to organizing general elections throughout the country to set up a national assembly and leading state organs for a unified Viet Nam, the communique added.

On November 5 and 6, an enlarged joint conference was held in Ho Chi Minh City (Saigon) by the Central Committee of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation, the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Alliance of National, Democratic and Peace Forces, the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam, the Advisory Council of the P.R.G. and representatives of public personages and intellectuals. The conference heard a report by President Nguyen Huu Tho on the proposition and measures to achieve national reunification on the state plane with a view to speeding up

the accomplishment of the reunification of the country and taking the whole country to socialism, in conformity with the earnest desire of the people of the whole country.

The conference unanimously approved the report and proposals made by President Nguyen Huu Tho. It decided to appoint a south Vietnamese delegation to enter into consultations with a north Vietnamese delegation.

The delegation of north Viet Nam is led by Truong Chinh, Member of the Political Bureau of the Viet Nam Workers' Party Central Committee and Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National Assembly, and its deputy heads are Hoang Van Hoan, Member of the Political Bureau of the V.N.W.P. C.C. and Vice-Chairman of the National Assembly Standing Committee, and Tran Huu Duc, Vice-Premier of the D.R.V.N. Government.

The south Vietnamese delegation is led by Pham Hung, Member of the Political Bureau of the Viet Nam Workers' Party Central Committee, Secretary of the Southern Committee of the Party and Party Representative to the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation. The delegation's deputy leaders are Nguyen Huu Tho, President of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation and President of the Advisory Council of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam; and Huynh Tan Phat, President of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam and Vice-President and General Secretary of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation.

BANGLADESH

## Coup d'Etat Smashed

Supported by the armed forces and the people, Army Chief of Staff of Bangladesh Ziaur Rahman recently smashed a military coup d'etat.

Early in the morning on November 3, troops called out by Khalid Musharraf, Chief of the Army General Staff, surrounded the presidential palace, occupied places of strategic importance in Dacca, the capital, and arrested Ziaur Rahman.

After the coup, Bangladesh President Khondaker Moshtaque Ahmed resigned on November 5 and Chief Justice of the Supreme Court Abu Sadat Mohammad Sayem was sworn in as president the next day. The Soviet news agency TASS and Indian newspapers and radio speedily reported the coup in quick succession.

In a struggle to put down the coup, Ziaur Rahman on November 7 seized back the power usurped by Musharraf and resumed his post as army chief of staff. He said in a radio speech to the nation the same day that he had acted "at the request of the people, the armed forces and the police."

President Sayem announced on November 7 that he would rule Bangladesh under martial law with himself as chief martial law administrator, and Ziaur Rahman and the Navy and Air Force Chiefs of Staff as deputy martial law administrators.

Quoting Radio Dacca on November 7, AFP reported that hundreds of thousands of Dacca residents swarmed into the streets that day to enthusiastically welcome Rahman's "heroic return."

The Indian Government expressed "considerable anxiety" over the development of the situation in Bangladesh on November 7. Indian Prime Minister Gandhi in a statement the same day expressed "grave concern." An Indian Foreign Ministry statement said that India "cannot remain indifferent and unconcerned about the developments taking place in Bangladesh." An AP report pointed out that New Delhi's attitude is "in sharp contrast" to its response to Musharraf's coup d'etat.

According to APP reports, Pakistan Prime Minister Bhutto, speaking

on November 11 about Indian leaders' statements on the Bangladesh situation, said: "We are watching the situation." He noted that it would be most inadvisable for India to meddle in the internal affairs of Bangladesh or of any other country. He expressed the hope that India would not interfere in Bangladesh affairs.

"VANGUARD" (AUSTRALIA)

### People Must Be Prepared Against War

The Australian paper *Vanguard* in an article on November 6 pointed out: "Superpower contention is not an empty phrase but a scientific, Marxist-Leninist description of the inevitable struggle between U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism for markets and spheres of influence."

The most dangerous imperialist power, the article added, is Soviet social-imperialism.

It noted that by providing "aid" or undertaking "joint ventures," the Soviet social-imperialists "penetrate rapidly the most decisive sectors of the economy" of some countries. Last August, the Soviet ambassador to Australia expressed "interest" in the country's iron and steel resources.

Australia, the article said, "is in the middle of superpower contention." Nine years ago, 38.6 per cent of all Soviet "aid" to foreign countries was in ferrous and nonferrous metallurgy. The Soviet social-imperialists need iron and steel. They need many natural resources which Australia has in abundance. At present, these resources are mainly in the hands of the United States. "Here lies the essence of superpower contention over Australia."

*Vanguard* said that the superpowers' arms race is the "same as the arms build-up which preceded World War I and World War II." In its war preparations, "the Soviet Union is more dangerous," "more vicious,

more ambitious" than the United States.

The paper concluded: "The danger of world war is growing. The rivalry and competition between the two superpowers is increasing. The Australian people must be prepared to wage their own war."

## AFRICAN COUNTRIES

### Building Small Industries

The total output value of Nigeria's 20,000 small factories and 80,000 handicraft workshops accounts for 20 per cent of the national industrial production value. Tanzania owns more than 1,000 small factories and handicraft workshops, each having dozens of workers and staff members. Small and medium-sized engineering plants and farm machinery plants set up in Algeria have begun to change the situation in which imported spare parts are used to assemble machinery.

These are some of the results of African countries' active efforts in developing small industries in recent years, which has played a positive part in their struggle to win economic independence and liberate themselves from exploitation and control by imperialism and the superpowers in particular.

Special organizations in many countries have been established to strengthen leadership in the small enterprises and help them in management and productive technique. Some have provided low-interest credits and equipment to small industrial and handicraft enterprises or given preferential treatment to small factories run by local people. To protect national industries, especially small and medium-sized enterprises, some countries have limited or stopped imports of a number of manufactured goods and banned foreign investments in certain industrial branches.

Small enterprises include textile, leather-processing, oil-pressing, brick-making, paper-making, metal process-

ing and motor car repairs. Their products suit the needs of the people and local industrial and farm production. Using simple equipment, calling for small investment and giving quick returns as compared with big enterprises, these small enterprises have been developing rapidly in quite a number of African countries. Ghana, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Algeria, Tunisia, the Sudan and other countries—all have a number of newly built small and medium-sized enterprises.

The development of small enterprises has enabled African countries to make fuller use of domestic natural resources and experience in traditional production. Somalia's economy is based mainly on animal husbandry. Since 1970, four tanneries and shoe factories have been set up and more processing installations are to be added to cut down exports of raw hides. In cotton-growing Sudan, some 50 small cotton spinning and weaving workshops have gone up in Umdurman, in addition to the existing modern textile mills. Ghanaian technicians recently succeeded in renovating a long abandoned traditional iron-smelting method. A blast furnace made of domestic materials was devised to smelt locally produced ore.

By developing small and medium-sized enterprises, African countries have trained their own skilled workers and technicians. Many of them concentrate the skilled workers of small factories for short-term training and then send them back. Zaria, an industrial development centre in Nigeria, has trained about 1,000 skilled workers in the last five years. Two or three thousand technicians in Morocco are being trained in 70 craft centres.

Expensive imported goods on the market in many African countries are being replaced by small enterprises' products which suit the consumers' needs and their purchasing power and can save foreign exchange.

# ON THE HOME FRONT

## ***Futan University's Scientific Research***

SHANGHAI'S Futan University exemplifies how institutions of higher learning in New China have become important bases for developing the country's scientific work.

During the Great Cultural Revolution, criticism of Liu Shao-chi's revisionist line in education has put an end to the slow progress in scientific research divorced from practical needs of the country and carried out by only a few people behind closed doors. As a result, scientific research in the university is now in full swing.

During the last few years the university has established a new three-in-one system of combining teaching, productive labour and scientific research. With main research items geared to whatever the state urgently needs in its construction, it has worked on over 420 scientific research items including electronics, laser, new electric light sources, petroleum catalysis and seed breeding. So far, more than 280 have already been completed and quite a number of them are being applied on a trial basis or popularized in such fields as metallurgy, machine building and electric machinery, shipbuilding, light industry, instruments and meters, agriculture, cinema industry and medical science. Results in the study of the data processing of seismic prospecting have played a big part in tapping China's oil and natural gas resources.

The data processing of seismic prospecting is a new technique evolved in the 60s. Geological prospectors touch off an artificial earthquake with explosives, then calculate, analyse and process the data from the seismic waves on electronic computers, thereby getting a clear picture of the structure of the earth's strata

and discovering oil and natural gas deposits.

In the course of more than a year's efforts, Futan University co-operating with geological prospecting units succeeded in making a whole set of special equipment for electronic computers to process data, which were used for analysing geological material from several hundred prospecting points along China's southeast coast. In this way ample material was made available to oil prospecting departments for deciding on the location of wells. With the use of the material they provided, a China-made oceanic exploration ship in May last year successfully sank the country's first petroleum prospecting well in the southern waters of the Yellow Sea. The results of exploration proved the structure of the strata to be in complete conformity with the calculations submitted.

While promoting research in the applied sciences, Futan University also pays attention to studying the basic sciences. Recent years have seen achievements in the fields of theoretical physics, astrophysics, fluid mechanics, mathematics, biology and petro-chemistry.

In June last year, Professor Ku Chao-hao and his colleagues of the mathematics department worked with American physicist Yang Chen-ning, then on a visit to China. Together they did research in the "gauge field" theory of modern physics which plays a role in the study of elementary particles and the gravitational field. They achieved definite results from their joint research into the structure and solution of the gauge field equation; the relations between the gravitational equation of the gauge field and Einstein's gravitational theory; and the duality and interaction of the gauge field.

In accordance with the principle of "making the past serve the present and foreign things serve China," re-

search at Futan University is also carried out in the history of the natural sciences. Among the fine collections in the Shanghai Museum there is a bronze mirror dating back over 2,000 years to the Western Han Dynasty. One side has a bright smooth surface and the other characters in seal script and decorative designs. When sunlight shines on the surface, the designs and characters are clearly reflected on the wall opposite the mirror side. The ancients called it a "transparent mirror." The technique of making such bronze mirrors was lost about the time of the Tang Dynasty. For the past several centuries many scientists, both Chinese and foreign, delved into the principles and techniques for bringing out these reflecting properties, but the mirror kept its secret from them all. The hitherto unfathomable mystery was finally uncovered after six months of research beginning early this year by the university's optics department co-operating with departments concerned. Their discovery not only provides important information on the history of the development of the natural sciences in ancient China, but is also of value in the research and manufacture of modern precision optical instruments.

Many scientific research achievements of Futan University are the result of integration of theory and practice and socialist co-operation with departments concerned. The various faculties and specialities of the university have now established relations of mutual help with more than 130 factories, people's communes and scientific research institutes. In the research and successful trial-production of more than 20 kinds of new electric light sources over recent years, the university's electric light source laboratory has received support and co-operation from factories concerned.

Academic research has been flourishing at Futan University under the guidance of Chairman Mao's principle "Let a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend." In 1972

the university set up an academic research committee for the natural sciences to take charge of organizing academic research and exchanges. A special class in modern physics it sponsored has held more than 80 symposiums over the last three years. A journal edited by it has published many articles expounding different academic views. The committee consists of 31 members, among whom are experts of working class origin, professors of long standing, part time worker-teachers and a number of young teachers who are active in scientific investigations.

The university has provided good conditions and assigned assistants to help the veteran teachers do their research. At the same time, it has taken positive measures to encourage young teachers and students to participate in scientific research.

### **Liaoning Expands Mining Industry**

**L**IAONING Province, a base of heavy industry in northeast China, has been expanding its mining industry on an increasingly large scale in recent years. Since 1970 nearly 100 large, medium and small mines yielding iron ore and other minerals used as subsidiary raw materials have been rebuilt or set up. In over five years, capacity for iron ore extraction has been increased by more than 10 million tons, and that for limestone, clay and magnesite by several million tons.

Now big iron and steel complexes like the Anshan and Penki Iron and Steel Companies get the iron ore and other raw materials they need mainly from nearby mines. The medium and small iron and steel centres in Shenyang, Yingkou, Tantung, Fuhsin and Chinchow, all built close to ore deposits, are more than self-sufficient in the supply of raw materials.

With annual output of pig iron and steel dozens of times greater than in the early period after liberation and that of ores over a hundred times greater, ore-extraction has been forg-

ing ahead at a much faster pace than iron and steel production.

After undergoing technical reform, over a dozen old mines in this province have now doubled their designed capacity. The Takushan Iron Mine of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company is more than 50 years old. The hills there have already been flattened, while the opencast mining areas have become rifts, making extraction more and more difficult. Pooling their efforts to carry out technical innovation and raise labour efficiency, workers, cadres and technicians have turned this old mine into an important base of raw materials for Anshan. Meanwhile, by concentrating manpower and material resources, Liaoning has speedily completed three large iron mines and expanded the mining, dressing and sintering facilities in several existing large mines.

Expansion of the mining industry in this province follows the principle of "walking on two legs," i.e., simultaneously building large mines and medium and small ones. Since 1970, by mobilizing the masses, the province, its cities, counties and many people's communes have built over 160 medium and small mines with an annual capacity of two or three million tons to provide principal and subsidiary raw materials for the iron and steel industry.

Liaoning Province has been expanding its mining industry on such a large scale in order to place iron and steel production on a solid basis free from foreign control and influence of economic crises in the capitalist world and ensure its steady advance along the road of maintaining independence, keeping the initiative in our own hands and relying on our own efforts.

### **Peking's Public Transport System**

**O**PENING up a map of Peking's public transport system, one sees a city-wide network of bus and trolley-bus lines with numerous stops and terminals closely knitting together factories, offices, schools, commercial centres, residential areas,

cultural and sports facilities as well as people's communes on the outskirts. According to statistics, Peking keeps 2,600 buses and trolley-buses in operation every day to carry a passenger load of 4 million.

Peking on the eve of liberation had only around 50 buses and trams shuttling over six routes totalling 41 kilometres in length. Pedicabs and rickshaws were the principal means of transportation in those days. Many workers, unable to pay expensive bus-fares, had to go to work on foot.

Great changes have taken place in public transport and communications during the past 26 post-liberation years: Rickshaws have long disappeared; all the pedicabs were replaced in 1972 by motorized ones; and the rumbling tramcars gradually gave way to trolley-buses since 1957. Figures by the end of 1974 showed that the total number of buses and trolley-buses was 48 times that of buses and trams in the early period after liberation and the routes were 186 times longer.

Public transport and communications departments in the capital have paid due attention to the construction of traffic routes in suburban villages and particularly the outlying hilly regions. There are now highways linking county seats with their communes except for a few deep in the mountains.

Various measures have been adopted for the convenience of the passengers. Special buses are commissioned for workers and staff members on night shift and for those working at factories in the outlying areas. In the past, workers had to make several changes to get from the city proper to the industrial areas on the outskirts. Now over 40 through lines are in operation during rush hours, enabling passengers to reach their destination without change. At midnight buses are still running along several lines on some of the main streets. A passenger needs only to wave his hand for a lift and the driver will let him off at the nearest corner to his home.

# Radio Peking

Schedule for English language transmissions  
beginning October 31, 1975

	GMT	Local Standard Time	Metre Bands	Kc/s
NORTH AMERICA (EAST COAST)	00:00-01:00	19:00-20:00 (E.S.T.)	30, 25	9940, 11675, 11945
	01:00-02:00	20:00-21:00 (E.S.T.)	42, 30, 25, 24	7120, 9780, 9940, 11945, 12055
	02:00-03:00	21:00-22:00 (E.S.T.)	42, 30, 24	7060, 9940, 12055
	03:00-04:00 12:00-13:00	22:00-23:00 (E.S.T.) 07:00-08:00 (E.S.T.)	42, 30 25	7120, 9780 11685
NORTH AMERICA (WEST COAST)	03:00-04:00	19:00-20:00 (P.S.T.)	31, 30, 25, 24	9460, 9940, 11650, 12055
	04:00-05:00	20:00-21:00 (P.S.T.)	31, 30, 25, 24	9460, 9940, 11650, 12055
AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND	08:30-09:30	18:30-19:30 (Aust. S.T.) 20:30-21:30 (N.Z.S.T.)	31, 25, 19	9460, 11600, 11720, 15060, 15435
	09:30-10:30	19:30-20:30 (Aust. S.T.) 21:30-22:30 (N.Z.S.T.)	31, 25, 19	9460, 11600, 11720, 15060, 15435
SOUTHEAST ASIA	12:00-13:00	19:00-20:00 (Western Indonesia, Bangkok)	47, 39, 31, 25	6290, 7660, 9480, 11650
		19:30-20:30 (Singapore)		
		20:00-21:00 (Saigon, Manila)		
		18:30-19:30 (Rangoon)		
13:00-14:00	20:00-21:00 (Western Indonesia, Bangkok)	47, 39, 31, 25	6290, 7660, 9480, 11650	
	20:30-21:30 (Singapore)			
	21:00-22:00 (Saigon, Manila)			
	19:30-20:30 (Rangoon)			
SOUTH ASIA	14:00-15:00	19:30-20:30 (Delhi, Colombo)	41, 40, 30	7315, 7470, 9860
		19:00-20:00 (Rawalpindi)		
		20:00-21:00 (Dacca)		
		19:40-20:40 (Kathmandu)		
15:00-16:00	20:30-21:30 (Delhi, Colombo)	41, 40, 30	7315, 7470, 9860	
	20:00-21:00 (Rawalpindi)			
	21:00-22:00 (Dacca)			
	20:40-21:40 (Kathmandu)			
18:00-19:00	23:30-00:30 (Delhi)	248	1210	
EAST AND SOUTH AFRICA	16:00-17:00	18:00-19:00 (Cape Town, Salisbury)	39, 30	7620, 9860
		19:00-20:00 (Dar-es-Salaam)		
17:00-18:00	19:00-20:00 (Cape Town, Salisbury)	39, 30	7620, 9860	
	20:00-21:00 (Dar-es-Salaam)			
WEST AND NORTH AFRICA	19:30-20:30	18:45-19:45 (Monrovia)	42, 39, 31	7075, 7620, 9470
		19:30-20:30 (Accra, Freetown)		
		20:30-21:30 (Lagos)		
		21:30-22:30 (Cairo)		
20:30-21:30	19:45-20:45 (Monrovia)	42, 39, 31	7075, 7620, 9470	
	20:30-21:30 (Accra, Freetown)			
	21:30-22:30 (Lagos)			
	22:30-23:30 (Cairo)			
EUROPE	20:30-21:30	21:30-22:30 (London, Stockholm, Paris)	47, 43, 39	6270, 6860, 7590
	21:30-22:30	22:30-23:30 (London, Stockholm, Paris)	47, 43, 33	6270, 6860, 9030