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報

**Struggle Between Two Lines in the Ideological
Sphere During the Spring and Autumn Period
And the Warring States Period**

**Repudiating Antonioni's Anti-China
Film**

Thriving "Chollima" Korea

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CONTENTS

THE WEEK

3

Premier Chou Meets Guinean Government Trade Delegation
Foreign Minister Chi Replies to His Algerian Counterpart
All Captured Saigon Military Personnel Repatriated
Old Ideas of Looking Down on Peasants Criticized

ARTICLES AND DOCUMENTS

Struggle Between Two Lines in the Ideological Sphere During the Spring and Autumn Period and the Warring States Period — Social changes during the Spring and Autumn Period and the Warring States Period as seen from the contention of views between the Confucian and Legalist schools — Yang Jung-kuo 4

Comment On "Nothing Can Be More Important Than This" — What does Chiang Kai-shek's "New Year's Day Statement" point to? — Kang Li 8

An Application to Withdraw From University 10

Repudiating Antonioni's Anti-China Film:

Refuting Antonioni's Slanders Against Linhsien County 13

No Distortion of Tien An Men Is Permitted 15

Textile Workers' Protest 15

Statement of Communist Party of the Philippines on 5th Anniversary of Its Re-establishment 16

Thriving "Chollima" Korea — *Renmin Ribao* Delegation to Korea 17

ROUND THE WORLD

20

Panama: Continuing Struggle for Sovereignty and Independence
F.R.G.: Public Service Workers and Employees on Strike
"Revolution" (U.S.A.): Evils of Capitalist System
Washington: Western Oil Consumers Conference

ON THE HOME FRONT

22

New Educational System
New Novels
Power Industry Makes Big Headway

Premier Chou Meets Guinean Government Trade Delegation

Premier Chou En-lai and Foreign Trade Minister Li Chiang on February 15 met and had a cordial and friendly conversation with Moussa Sanguiana Camara, leader of the Government Trade Delegation of the Republic of Guinea and Minister of Internal Commerce, and all members of the delegation.

The delegation paid a friendly visit to China from February 7 to 16. On February 15, a trade protocol for 1974 between China and Guinea and an agreement on the provision of commodity loans by China to Guinea were signed in Peking.

Foreign Minister Chi Replies to His Algerian Counterpart

In a message to U.N. Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim on January 30, President Houari Boumediene of the Algerian Revolutionary Council proposed convening a special session of the U.N. General Assembly to discuss "development, international economic relations and all their implications with a view to establishing a new system of relations based on equality and the common interest of all states."

Algerian Foreign Minister Abdel Aziz Bouteflika on February 4 sent a message to Chinese Foreign Minister Chi Peng-fei on the proposal. He expressed the conviction that "your government which has always worked in favour of co-ordination and promotion of co-operation will join the non-aligned countries in their effort to assure the success of the session."

On February 12, Foreign Minister Chi Peng-fei sent a reply to his Algerian counterpart expressing support for the proposal.

The reply message says: "The Chinese Government and people have consistently supported Third World countries in their struggle to safeguard state sovereignty and independence, develop their national economies, protect natural resources and oppose imperialist plunder, exploitation and control."

It expresses the conviction that "this just struggle will achieve still greater success through the concerted co-operation and joint efforts of the numerous developing countries at the special session of the U.N. General Assembly."

All Captured Saigon Military Personnel Repatriated

Major Pham Van Hong and 42 other officers and men of the Saigon troops captured in China's fight of self-defence at her Hsisha Islands were repatriated on February 17 at Shumchun in Kwangtung Province.

The first group, consisting of five sick and wounded captured Saigon troops and the captured American who was ill, were repatriated on January 31.

China thus has repatriated all 48 officers and men of the Saigon troops of south Viet Nam and an American who intruded into China and were captured by Chinese People's Liberation Army units, militiamen and fishermen in the fight of self-defence at China's Hsisha Islands on January 19 and 20, 1974.

While in China, the captured personnel were provided with clothes, bedding and other daily necessities by the Chinese People's Liberation Army units and given physical check-ups and treatment by Chinese army medical workers in accordance with the policy of lenient treatment for captives. The captured personnel were also organized to visit factories,

rural people's communes and other public establishments.

Old Ideas of Looking Down on Peasants Criticized

Renmin Ribao on February 7 reprinted on its front page a letter written by a woman college graduate to the *Hopei Ribao* together with the latter's editor's note. The letter criticized the old tradition of looking down on the peasants.

A graduate of the Hopei Teachers University in 1968, Pai Chi-hsien went in December that year to a production brigade of the Yentsun People's Commune in Hopei's Tsanghsien County to be re-educated by the poor and lower-middle peasants. She later became a teacher at the commune's middle school and married an ordinary peasant. This was ridiculed by some people with outdated ideas: "It's a pity a Peking-born college graduate married a peasant!" Her father also was unhappy, saying: "Marrying a peasant and living in the countryside all your life, what future will you have?" One teacher even called it a "scandal."

Pai Chi-hsien did not yield. She said in her letter: "I know that those people and I have different standpoints and are thinking of different things. Therefore, no common understanding on this matter can be reached between us. Some people think life in the countryside is hard, while I think a plain life is good. Some consider my marrying a peasant to be discreditable, while I think those who only think of personal comfort and look down upon peasants are disgraceful. Some people think peasants are dirty. This shows their world outlook is wrong. Chairman Mao said that "the workers and peasants were the cleanest people and, even though their hands were soiled and their feet smeared with cow-dung, they were really

(Continued on p. 21.)

Struggle Between Two Lines in the Ideological Sphere During the Spring and Autumn Period And the Warring States Period

— Social changes during the Spring and Autumn Period and the Warring States Period as seen from the contention of views between the Confucian and Legalist schools.

by Yang Jung-kuo

CHINA was a slave society during the Yin and the Western Chou Dynasties. When it reached the Spring and Autumn Period (770-476 B.C.) and the Warring States Period (475-221 B.C.), the times were those of rapid changes from the slave system to the feudal system.

It was in this period of rapid social changes that slave struggles against enslavement and oppression by slave-owners kept on developing. For example, in the State of Chen, there was a revolt by the masses sent to build the city walls in 550 B.C.; there was a revolt in 520 B.C. by the "artisans" under the royal household of Chou* against the household; in 478 B.C. the handicraft slaves of the State of Wei besieged and attacked Duke Chuang of Wei. Handicraft slaves in the State of Wei in 470 B.C. used their tools to attack the ducal household** and drove out Marquis Cheh of Wei. To oppose the rulers of the State of Cheng, some slaves gathered in places densely covered with reeds to form resistance groups. In the State of Tsin it was recorded that the masses ran away as if from a pursuing enemy as soon as the ruler issued an order; in other words, they fled to demonstrate their opposition to their ruler.

Impelled by the force of the class struggle by the slaves and the masses, the system of land ownership was also going through a change. In the old slave society of the Yin and the Western Chou Dynasties, all land had belonged to the royal clan. Because of the increase in the power of private families and emergence of privately owned land after the middle Spring and Autumn Period, the State of Lu in 594 B.C. (the fifteenth year of Duke Hsuan of Lu) had to initiate the system of levying tax on private land and thereby recognized private ownership of land. At that time, this was a significant change. Consequently, there emerged the

landlords and tenants as well as peasants coming from freemen and tilling their own fields. As a result, the individual economy started to develop.

From the Spring and Autumn Period to the Warring States Period, the enslaved masses' struggle developed further. One example was the slave revolt in the State of Chin led by a man called Chih; numbering several thousand, the insurgents dealt the slave-owning aristocrats of different states at the time heavy blows. Because of this, Chih was held in great esteem by the enslaved masses and exercised great influence in society. At that time the land of the newly emerging landlords was tilled by the masses who paid rent, which meant that the feudal relations of production were further developed. A number of slaves became free through their struggles and some of them sold their labour power and became farm labourers exploited by the newly rising landlord class.

This changing situation naturally made it impossible to keep the old laws and institutions of the Yin and the Western Chou Dynasties which maintained the political hierarchy and exploited the slaves. The result was that "the rites were lost and music was ruined." E the Warring States Period, people no longer talked about the "rites" and "sincerity." The rule under the slave system was confronted by irretrievable doom.

Therefore, the Spring and Autumn Period and the Warring States Period was a time of rapid social changes and a time of transition from the slave system to the feudal system. During this transition the slaves were fighting for liberation and the new forces were rising. And they all rose to launch continuous attacks on the slave-owning class. Wasn't this very clear?

Under these circumstances, fierce struggles between two different classes and two different lines also made their appearance in the ideological sphere. As Lenin was to point out: One must not fail to see "the struggle of parties in philosophy, a struggle which in the last analysis reflects the tendencies and ideology of the antagonistic classes in modern society. Recent philosophy

*Royal household refers to the house and property, including land and slaves, of the supreme ruler of the Chou Dynasty.

**Ducal household refers to the house and property of a duke conferred by the Chou Dynasty.

is as partisan as was philosophy two thousand years ago." (*Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*.) Also as Chairman Mao pointed out: "In class society everyone lives as a member of a particular class, and every kind of thinking, without exception, is stamped with the brand of a class." (*On Practice*.)

Confucius and later followers of the Confucian school like Tzu Ssu and Mencius were the representatives of the ideology of the declining slave-owning class at that time, while the representatives of the ideology of the newly rising landlord class were people like Shang Yang and Han Fei of the Legalist school. Another philosopher Hsun Tzu belonged to the Confucian school, but judging by his philosophical viewpoint and political thought, he basically represented the ideology of the newly rising force.

From the ideological struggle between the Confucians and the Legalists, we can see the momentous changes in society at the time. Whether to promote the development of the new system, or to try to preserve the old system; whether to serve the needs of the newly rising class in accordance with historical development, or try to turn history back by following the examples of "former sage-kings"; whether to advocate the rule of "law" suited to the development of the new age, or stubbornly try to preserve the so-called rule of "rites" in the old system; whether to try to solve contemporary problems with the current actual struggle in mind, or to use subjective concepts to define the developing objective reality—all this was bound to find expression in the struggle between the progressive class and the reactionary class of that time. So the contest in ideology between the Legalists and the Confucians reflected the struggle between the two classes and two lines at that time.

The actual ideological struggle between the Legalists and the Confucians during the Spring and Autumn Period and the Warring States Period was as follows.

Confucius

Confucius* (551-479 B.C.) lived towards the end of the Spring and Autumn Period. At that time continuing slave uprisings and the emergence of the new force gradually made it impossible to preserve the so-called rule of "rites" which upheld the rule of the slave system. Ideas about changing the old system began to appear. Two examples are: In 536 B.C. the people of the State of Cheng had inscribed the law code on metal, and in 513 B.C. the people of the State of Tsin cast an iron tripod inscribed with the laws. Thus when the laws were so inscribed in the State of Cheng, a conservative in the State of Tsin, Shu Hsiang, held

* Confucius was a native of Chufu in the State of Lu, which embraced the southwestern part of today's Shantung Province, with its capital in Chufu (the present Chufu County). His thought was mainly recorded in the *Analects*. As to the criticism of Confucius, another article by the same author entitled "Confucius—A Thinker Who Stubbornly Upheld the Slave System" was published in *Peking Review*, No. 41, 1973.

that once the laws were made public, the slaves would make trouble and wage struggle against the aristocrats according to the laws. When the State of Tsin cast the tripod, Confucius even more strongly opposed it. He alleged that if these laws governing the relationship between slaves and aristocrats were written down in a code and engraved on the tripod for all to know, how could the aristocrats' rule under the slave system be respected? There would be no "proper order for the noble and the mean," and how could this be called a slave-owning state? Confucius stubbornly took the stand of the slave-owners, trying to defend the old system.

That Confucius tried hard to preserve the old order can also be seen from the fact that as soon as he was made acting prime minister of the State of Lu in 497 B.C., he had the social reformer Shaocheng Mou killed. He accused him of gathering a crowd to form an association, propagating heretical views and confusing right and wrong.

Duke Chien of the State of Chi at that time was cruelly exploiting the slaves who deeply hated him. Tien Cheng-tzu of Chi, however, changed the mode of production under the slave system into a feudal one to suit social development and it was said that he "took land rent from the people using a smaller *dou* [a Chinese unit for dry measure], but gave or lent grain to the people using a bigger *dou*." The people of Chi supported him and later, in 485 B.C., he killed Duke Chien and seized power. Confucius, however, stubbornly took the stand of the slave-owners and asked Duke Ai of Lu to suppress Tien with armed force.

Confucius did his best to preserve the old order of the slave system. The central idea he advocated was "jen" (benevolence), and the gist of it was "to restrain oneself and restore the rites." He saw that the newly rising force was attacking the old order; for instance, the three Houses of Chi, Mengsun and Shusun of the State of Lu divided up part of the land belonging to the ducal household of Lu into three shares and each took one. Afterwards, the House of Chi changed the mode of production by collecting rent on the land acquired in this division. Confucius was very much against this and denounced the Chis time and again, considering the division of ducal land and the reform they adopted to be most improper and a concrete expression of failure to restrain themselves.

When Confucius saw that the slaves were fighting for liberation, he said: "The inferior men do not fear heaven's will because they do not know it; they bully the superior men [the slave-owning class] and revile the words of the sages [spokesmen of the slave-owning class]." He maintained that this was not in accordance with the doctrine of the mean and clamoured that "to act according to the mean (*chung yung*) is the highest virtue." But, he continued, "for long the common people have failed to do so," that is, the enslaved people had long opposed the slave-owners' rule and few had abided by the doctrine of the mean. This was because

nobles like the Chis could not set a good example and restrain themselves, so the slaves went out of bounds in their actions and destroyed the rule of "rites." Therefore, he proposed that members of the ruling clan should restrain themselves to lead the morality of the common people towards kindness. Then the rule of "rites" characterized by "the superior men doing the governing and the inferior men toiling with their labour," that is, the rule of the slave system, could be restored.

Another important aspect of Confucius' benevolence is the advocating of filial piety and brotherly duty (proper behaviour towards elder brothers); these were considered to be the fundamentals of benevolence. His idea was that if members of the ruling clan were well united, the rule of the clan aristocracy could be consolidated. This would lead the slaves to incline to kindness and to refrain from revolt and then there would be no cases of insubordination or violence. This is another gist of Confucius' benevolence.

To preserve the rule of the slave-owners, Confucius also advocated idealist apriorism. He claimed that it was the heroes who made history and babbled that "sages" were "born with knowledge." He held that "only the highest, who are wise, and the lowest, who are stupid, cannot be changed" because this had been ordained by heaven. Confucius considered that he had received virtue from heaven—"Heaven endows me with virtue." At that time some people criticized him to be "one who knows the trends cannot be turned back and still wants to do it." In other words, he had taken on himself the task of restoring the already moribund slave system.

Basing himself on idealist apriorism, Confucius also advocated "rectifying titles." In his view, the various titles and ranks were most important to uphold; slave-owners of different ranks as well as the enslaved people must all keep to their positions. For instance, "good government prevails" only when "ceremonies, music [government orders] and punitive military expeditions [military orders]" were controlled by the "son of heaven," that is, the king of the Chou Dynasty should hold the supreme political and military power. But at that time such matters were controlled by the dukes and *ta fu* (senior officials) and in some cases the supreme power of a state was even in the hands of stewards under *ta fu*. That meant bad government and led to great disorder in society. Actually this was a clear indication of the decline of the clan aristocracy and the emergence of new forces. To prevent the enslaved people from raising their voice of revolt, Confucius also wanted to use "rectifying titles" as the solution, vainly hoping to pull the changes in society back to the original order.

Advocating idealist apriorism, Confucius wanted people to turn away from the actual situation and to "examine their own thoughts" instead; for if people contacted social reality, they would see the contradictions and would wage struggles against the clan aristocracy. All advocates of idealism in the past had

the same reactionary aim of trying to make people turn away from reality.

Shang Yang

The political views of Shang Yang* (? — 338 B.C.) were directly opposite to those of Confucius. To conform with the social development at that time and uphold the spirit of the Legalist school, he opposed the idea of "following the ancient way" and the Confucian concept "to base the teachings on the sage-kings Yao and Shun and to base the institutions on those of King Wen and King Wu of Chou." When he argued about the need of reform with some conservatives before Duke Hsiao of Chin, he pointed out: "To govern one can follow a different way; as long as it suits the state, one need not follow the ancient example." In other words, legislation should be made according to social developments of the time.

Shang Yang also opposed the ancient rites and music under the slave system advocated by the Confucians, considering this a "sign of licence" that would lead people on to the wrong path. He was also against the Confucian idea of benevolence which the Confucians used in trying to preserve the rule of the slave system, pointing out that this was the "mother of wrong things," the root of all crime. This was because everything the Confucians advocated, including "benevolence and righteousness," "filial piety and brotherly duty," "honesty and sincerity" and the study of the *Book of Songs* and the *Book of History*** was for the purpose of upholding the rule of the slave system of the ruling clan. He deemed that advocating such things at that time was very harmful and was turning history back.

The first step in Shang Yang's programme for reform was to abolish the nine squares (*ching tien*) land system*** which exploited the labour of slaves. Therefore, the remaining demarcations of this land system were thoroughly demolished. By affirming private ownership of land, people could freely buy and sell land. This was a measure which facilitated the development of the landlord economy of the time. As Marx said: "It is the sovereigns who in all ages have been subject to economic conditions, but it is never they who have dictated laws to them. Legislation, whether political or

* His original name was Kungsun Yang. Born in a noble family in the State of Wei, he served as an official in Wei. Later he went to the State of Chin and helped Duke Hsiao of Chin to carry out reforms. He got his fief in Shang and afterwards became known as Shang Yang.

** The *Book of Songs* is China's earliest collection of songs. It was said that Confucius deleted certain songs in this book. The *Book of History*, also known as the *Shang Shu*, is a collection of political documents and historical records before the Spring and Autumn Period and the Warring States Period.

*** This was a land system in China's slave society under which the slave-owners exploited the slaves. All the land in the country at that time belonged to the king of the Chou Dynasty, the chief of the slave-owners. Every piece of land was divided in the shape of the Chinese character 井, and was bestowed to the slave-owning aristocrats of different ranks who forced the slaves to cultivate the land for them.

civil, never does more than proclaim, express in words, the will of economic relations." (*The Poverty of Philosophy*.) Shang Yang's reform precisely illustrated this point.

He also proposed the policy of encouraging farming and military achievements. "Those slaves who work hard in farming and weaving and produce more grain and silk could become freemen." This gave the slaves a chance to win freedom and would lead to the development of the individual economy during the process of the formation of feudal society. Those who clung to the old slave system, had their main interest in the urban economy and employed slaves in commerce, and those who did not work hard at farming, would be made slaves even if they were freemen.

In war, those who fought for the state and won merits could win high official rank and political honours, while those engaged in private feuds contrary to the interest of the state would be punished according to the seriousness of their crime. Shang Yang pointed out: "When the people like farming and war," "their families would become well-off and they would become illustrious in the state." He despised the "roaming scholars" for such scholars were mainly the type who tried to restore the declining rule of the slave system of the clan aristocrats, like Confucius and Mencius of the Confucian school who roamed the various states. Shang Yang had a low estimate of such people.

Shang Yang encouraged the people who engaged in farming to cultivate wasteland as much as they could. He also specified that "families with more than one male adult living together should have their tax doubled." This was a measure to promote the development of the individual economy in agriculture at that time. Shang Yang also advocated and encouraged the use of oxen in farming and thereby speeded up farm production.

Shang Yang's ideas regarding farming and war were materialist and based on actual struggle. His philosophy was directly opposed to Confucian idealist apriorism. Confucius opposed his disciples learning farming and gardening and taking part in manual labour, and he advocated "rectifying titles" which was subjective idealism. This was why in his time peasants described him as a parasite "whose four limbs do not toil and who does not know the difference between the five grains." What is of key importance is that the difference in views between Shang Yang

and Confucius reflects their respective class stands. When we compare the two views, isn't it clear who was for progress and who was for retrogression in that period of rapid social changes?

Shang Yang made laws for the newly rising landlord class. He advocated that "punishment should be extended to all ranks of people." This was meant to meet the interests of the rising landlords' forces and to disintegrate the rule of the slave system of the clan aristocrats. High ministers, generals or *ta fu* (senior officials) would be punished just like the common people if they should violate the state laws and what the state forbade. This measure was actually a criticism of the Confucian view that "punishment should not be extended to anyone in the rank of *ta fu* or higher than *ta fu*."

Thus on the one hand Shang Yang specified that people could attain noble rank through farming and war and raise their political status, on the other hand he specified that even members of the ruling clan or aristocrats could not get noble rank if they did not win merit in war. This actually was a measure to destroy the rule of the clan aristocracy.

To shatter the rule of the slave system of clan aristocracy and facilitate the growth of the feudal economy, Shang Yang also encouraged slaves fleeing from other states to come to the State of Chin and take part in farming, giving them land to till and houses to live in by a method which made state-owned land and houses private freeholds. The result of this measure was that the enemy states' labour force was reduced in time of peace and their military strength was sapped in time of war. This way of "sapping enemy strength" "actually amounted to winning wars," and the State of Chin could thus speed up agricultural production.

(To be continued in the next issue.)



Members of the Party committee of a regiment under the Kwangchow Units of the Chinese People's Liberation Army and the author Yang Jung-kuo (third from right), professor of Chungshan University, at a forum to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius.

Comment On "Nothing Can Be More Important Than This"

— What does Chiang Kai-shek's "New Year's Day Statement" point to?

by Kang Li

TO grasp the historical and immediate significance of the criticism of Confucius, we need to learn from two sides, both positive and negative. Thanks are due to Chiang Kai-shek, who once again has popped up to give us a lesson, his 1974 "New Year's Day Statement" being an excellent piece of teaching material from the negative side.

It is not a long "statement" and has only some 2,000 characters; half of this length, however, is devoted to the worship of Confucius. In the face of the criticism by the Chinese people of the ideas of worshipping Confucius and opposing the Legalist school, Chiang Kai-shek bellowed that "the 5,000-year-old traditional doctrine handed down by the sages" is in danger of extinction. He said: "This is the biggest misfortune of our country and the biggest sorrow of the nation, and no peril can be greater and more imminent than this! With regard to the bounden duty of the nationalist revolution, nothing, too, can be more important and more urgent than this!"

"Nothing can be more important and more urgent than this!" The statement is, indeed, a candid acknowledgement of Chiang Kai-shek's relation to Confucius to whom he owes his existence. This fellow Chiang Kai-shek rose to power by worshipping Confucius and opposing communism. It is not only today that he holds that "nothing can be more important" than the worship of Confucius. He has been doing that all along. In 1928 he made a "pilgrimage" to Chufu, the native place of Confucius, and he stated that Confucius was "the teacher of benevolence and righteousness for millenniums" and "the eternal paragon of correct human relations," that Confucianism "amends man's mind" and "wards off heresy." Later on, in co-ordination with his counter-revolutionary military campaigns of "encirclement and suppression" against the Communist Party of China, he sponsored rites on many occasions offering sacrifices to Confucius and preached the doctrine of Confucius; this was what Lu Hsun had scathingly repudiated: "Confucius' temple is being restored at the cost of the scourge of war and pestilence, floods and drought, the curses of gales and locusts." Why does Chiang Kai-shek attach such great importance to the worship of Confucius? He himself gave the answer: "This is for the purpose of uprooting communism."

All reactionaries invariably begin by making trouble and end up in defeat. This is a law of history. All his life Chiang Kai-shek has devoted his efforts to the infamous act of worshipping Confucius and opposing communism. But in the end, communism in China is not at all uprooted; instead, the reactionary rule of the Chiang Kai-shek dynasty on the Chinese mainland has been completely uprooted by communism. But even after he fled to China's Taiwan Island, the worship of Confucius continues to be a thing of foremost importance to the reactionary miniature Chiang dynasty. What with the formation of associations of Confucianism and Mencianism and rites in honour of Confucius, there seems to be no end to the spate of fads of worshipping Confucius. To top it all, some surviving courtiers of this miniature dynasty headed by the fascist chief of the secret service Chen Li-fu planned and raised a fund several months ago to cast a bronze statue of Confucius to be shipped across the ocean to the United States and erected in the newly built park of "Chinese culture" in San Jose, California. These reactionaries who for many years in the past used Confucius to fool and poison the minds of the Chinese people have now hit on the fancy idea of using the same Confucius to fool and poison the minds of the American people. But as their previous experience showed, they can get nothing out of it for all their pains; as a Chinese saying puts it, their efforts will be like ladling water with a wicker basket.

Historical experience shows that the dying classes always throw in their lot with the dead Confucius. Ideologically speaking, Chiang Kai-shek's reactionary rule in Taiwan to a large extent owes its existence to the dead Confucius. It just can't carry on without worshipping Confucius. This is why when the Chinese people started criticizing Confucius, Chiang Kai-shek deeply sensed the imminence of a great disaster. On tenterhooks, he did not know what to do and was simply overwhelmed with fear, as if his ancestors' burying ground had been excavated. This was why he felt impelled to scream that "no peril can be greater and more urgent than this."

It is the common feature of all dying classes to regard the worship of Confucius as a thing of primary importance and the criticism of Confucius as a bogey. This is true of Chiang Kai-shek and all other reactionaries.

ries. We need not go back very far. In modern China, every time the revolutionary people rose to criticize Confucius and Confucianism in a big way, the statesmen and thinkers of the reactionary classes without fail came out and put on a clumsy performance, bemoaning and wailing in sackcloth and ashes. When, for instance, the peasant heroes of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom¹ ruthlessly criticized and denounced Confucius both in theory and practice, Tseng Kuo-fan the butcher² wailed: "All the proprieties, the set of human relations, classics and moral codes China has had for several thousand years are being thrown away and swept clean at one stroke. This is not just a disaster to our great Ching Dynasty but the unprecedented, worst disaster to the Confucian Establishment, a disaster bemoaned by our Confucius and Mencius in the other world."

Again when the Revolution of 1911³ toppled feudalism which had lasted more than 2,000 years in China and when reactionary Confucianism was attacked and denied by the members of the bourgeois revolutionary parties, the arch-traitor Yuan Shih-kai screamed: "Heaven has sent us Confucius who is mankind's paragon now and for ever"; "if the ethics of the population are what they are now, on what basis can the state be founded?"

During the May 4th new cultural movement⁴ when the people raised the slogan "Down with the Confucius Shop" and fiercely attacked Confucius and reactionary Confucianism, such survivals of feudalism as Lin Chin-nan⁵ and others were so heart-broken they regarded the movement to criticize Confucius as the advent of an epoch in which floods deluged the world and fierce animals ran wild; they went everywhere to laud Confucius as "the sage among sages who keeps up with the times" and cursed the revolutionary people's effort to "topple Confucius and Mencius and uproot the set of human relations" as "revolt against parenthood and contempt for moral obligations." An ideological struggle is in the service of a political struggle. When this handful of reactionaries ideologically worshipped Confucius, their aim was to effect a restoration politically and launch a counter-attack on the revolution. In China, the school which worships Confucius has always been identified with the political party standing for the restoration of the old order.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is a great political revolution carried out under the conditions of socialism by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes. Both Confucius and his diehard followers have been thoroughly repudiated in this great revolutionary movement. Confucianism as a reactionary ideology is being sent to the grave by the revolutionary people. The dream of imperialism, revisionism and reaction for a capitalist restoration in China has been shattered again and again. This is why reactionaries at home and abroad show particular enmity for this revolution and come out one after another for a desperate, frenzied counter-attack with a view to defending the so-called "traditional doctrine handed down by the sages." Lin Piao, the bour-

geois conspirator and careerist, was one of their exponents. Considering himself the Confucius of modern China, he frenziedly opposed the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, hid himself in a dark corner working on his "gleanings from the Four Books" and kept chanting "Of all things, this is the most important: to restrain oneself and restore the rites." He and his diehard conspirator on four occasions in less than three months, between October 1969 and January 1970, wrote this on scrolls which they exchanged between themselves to decorate the bedroom and make it their motto. All this fully bared their wild ambition and impatience to over-

¹ The war of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom which took place in the mid-19th century was a peasant revolutionary war against the feudal rule of the Ching Dynasty and against national oppression. In January 1851, Hung Hsiu-chuan, Yang Hsiu-ching and other leaders of the revolution, staged an uprising at Chintien Village of Kuciping County in Kwangsi and proclaimed the founding of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom. In 1852, proceeding from Kwangsi, the insurgents marched through Hunan, Hupch, Kiangsi and Anhwei and captured Nanking in 1853. Part of the forces then continued the drive north and pushed to the vicinity of Tientsin. However, the Taiping Army did not build any stable base area in places it had occupied; moreover, after establishing its capital in Nanking, members of its leading group made many political and military mistakes. This accounted for its defeat in 1864 when it failed to withstand the combined onslaught of the counter-revolutionary forces of the Ching government and the British, U.S. and French aggressors.

² Tseng Kuo-fan (1811-72), a native of Hsianghsiang, Hunan, was a mandarin at the Ching court. He persisted in organizing a counter-revolutionary armed force following the outbreak of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom peasant war and became a traitor and butcher who suppressed the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom in collaboration with the forces of the foreign invaders. At the same time, he waved the worn-out banner of idealism and slandered and frenziedly attacked the anti-feudalist ideas of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom.

³ The revolution which overthrew the autocratic rule of the Ching Dynasty. On October 10, 1911, part of the "new army," aroused by the revolutionary organizations of the bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeoisie of that time, staged an uprising in Wuchang, which won nationwide response and soon brought an end to Ching Dynasty rule. On January 1, 1912, a provisional government of the republic of China was founded in Nanking with Sun Yat-sen as the provisional president. The victory of the revolution was won through an alliance of the bourgeoisie and the peasants, workers and urban petty-bourgeoisie. But because of the proneness of the leading group of the revolution to make compromises, its failure to look after the actual interests of the peasants and submitting itself to the pressure of the imperialist and feudal forces, political power fell into the hands of Yuan Shih-kai, a northern warlord. The revolution thus ended in failure.

⁴ The May 4th new cultural movement was a revolutionary movement of the Chinese people against imperialism and feudalism which broke out on May 4, 1919. It was also a new cultural movement thoroughly opposing feudal culture. The two great banners of the day were: "Down with the old ethics and up with the new!" and "Down with the old literature and up with the new!"

⁵ Lin Chin-nan (1852-1924), a "provincial graduate" of the Ching Dynasty and once a faculty member of the Capital University College. In his declining years, as an exponent of the conservatives, he energetically opposed the new cultural movement.

throw the dictatorship of the proletariat, regarding capitalist restoration the most important "of all things."

Chiang Kai-shek said that nothing was "greater" and "more urgent" than the worship of Confucius, while Lin Piao said that "to restrain oneself and restore the rites" was the most "important" of "all things." Thinking alike, both regarded the worship of Confucius as an especially important means to bring about a counter-revolutionary restoration and saw the criticism of Confucius by the millions upon millions of revolutionary people as a great calamity—this fact itself is quite revealing. It enables us to see further that reactionary Confucianism is something the exploiting classes cannot do without for a moment in maintaining their existence. It is precisely for this reason that we must firmly grasp the criticism of Confucius as a matter of first importance so as to deepen the criticism of Lin Piao and go a step further in criticizing the ultra-Rightist nature of the Lin Piao line. In the last analysis, this struggle is a continuation of the prolonged struggle waged by the Chinese Communist Party and the masses of revolutionary people under its leadership against the Kuomintang reactionaries, a continuation of the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.

Chairman Mao has taught us that "we should support whatever the enemy opposes and oppose whatever the enemy supports." The doctrine of Confucius and Mencius is the reactionary ideological weapon of Lin Piao and his gang in their plot to usurp Party leadership, seize state power and restore capitalism. It is the reactionary traditional doctrine worshipped and be-

lieved in by all dying reactionaries. We must unfold in depth revolutionary mass criticism of this doctrine. Chiang Kai-shek in his "New Year's Day Statement" railed that we "have organized so many 'teams to criticize Confucius,' 'meetings to criticize Confucius' and 'wall bulletins to criticize Confucius' . . . to 'pull up by the roots in the criticism of Confucius' and make 'the Great Cultural Revolution develop in width and depth.'" These words were correctly stated. Listen, Chiang Kai-shek: We have not only done this but will continue to do so. The high tide of the mass movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius is yet to come! Yes, we will "pull up by the roots in the criticism of Confucius." This is what we mean to do and we mean to combine further the criticism of Lin Piao with the criticism of Confucius and carry the socialist revolution in the realm of the superstructure through to the end!

Chiang Kai-shek's "New Year's Day Statement" clearly revealed the utter fear of the Kuomintang reactionaries for the movement to criticize Confucius. The "statement" in actual fact amounts to an "obituary for the worship of Confucius." To the reactionaries, the criticism of Confucius is like a big funeral, but to the masses of Chinese people, including those on Taiwan, it is a big, joyous event. To celebrate the development in depth of the movement to criticize Confucius and to see clearly from this teaching material by negative example—Chiang Kai-shek's "statement"—how the criticism of Confucius has put the reactionaries in a predicament, we publish here this commentary.

(Translation of an article in "Hongqi," No. 2, 1974)

An Application to Withdraw From University

RENMING RIBAO on January 18 carried on its front page Chung Chih-min's application to his university's Party committee to give up his studies and go back to the village. A member of the Communist Party, Chung Chih-min was a second-year student in the political science department of Nanking University.

Chung Chih-min had got into the university not by the regular way, but "by the back door." The holder of a responsible position, his father had pulled strings to get the youth admitted. At the university, Chung Chih-min gradually realized that "going in by the back door" was wrong and this finally led him to apply to the Party committee to be allowed to discontinue his studies and resume life in the village he had been settled after finishing junior middle school in 1968. He had been sent to a village in Juichin County, Kiangsi

Province, to take part in building up a new socialist countryside, and in the process to temper himself.

A Matter of Opposing and Preventing Revisionism

An editor's note accompanying the *Renmin Ribao* report said that Chung Chih-min's application represented a new offensive against landlord-bourgeois ideology by worker-peasant-soldier students and was a reflection of the vigorous revolutionary situation on the educational front.

"The application points up two important questions," the note said. First, should revolutionary cadres' children grow up tempering themselves in the midst of the tempestuous three great revolutionary movements—class struggle, struggle for production and

scientific experiment — or should they grow up getting “special consideration” and resting on the “meritorious record” of their parents? Second, should revolutionary cadres encourage their children to take the road of integrating with the workers and peasants and becoming successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause, or should they regard their children as “private property” and get them into institutes of higher learning “by the back door” as a stepping stone in pursuit of personal fame?

If leading cadres do not make strict demands on their children, the latter could degenerate and set about restoring capitalism. This is a major problem since it concerns opposing and preventing revisionism and bringing up millions of successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause.

In 1968, Chung Chih-min finished school and went to settle in Juichin County, Kiangsi Province. He didn't want to go in the beginning. In view of the general trend he went although much against his will because he had been influenced by the revisionist line in education and the reactionary idea of Confucius and Mencius that “those who labour with their minds govern others; those who labour with their strength are governed by others.” However, his parents had agreed to get him out of the village as soon as an opportunity presented itself. A year later he went to see a responsible member in the county department of the people's armed forces to plead that “special consideration” be granted him to join the People's Liberation Army. This responsible member promised to do so.

After Chung Chih-min joined the P.L.A., he then wanted to go to university. Telling himself a bit of “prerogative” in his case was in order, he asked his parents to see if they could help since he was the son of revolutionary parents who had a long “meritorious record.”

His father, Chung Hsueh-lin, a veteran in the Red Army, had been on the 25,000-li Long March and is now a leading cadre in a political department of the P.L.A. His mother, also a veteran cadre, had retired. When universities began enrolling students in 1972, at Chung Chih-min's request, his father got on the phone with the department concerned and Chung Chih-min was accepted. Talk by comrades-in-arms about the way he got into university made Chung Chih-min feel disgraceful. When he got there he wanted to write a letter to his unit expressing his determination not to disappoint the Party organization's hopes in him, but he hadn't the courage to write because he remembered that he had got in without their recommendation.

The Lad Wakes Up

In more than a year of studying the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, and Chairman Mao's works, and working in factories, mines and farms and taking part in revolution and production and being re-educated by workers and poor and lower-middle peasants and

together criticizing the crimes of Lin Piao in using the doctrine of Confucius and Mencius to plot for the restoration of capitalism, Chung Chih-min's political consciousness continually improved. Through close contact with the workers and peasants he found out how strongly they felt about the practice of getting things done “by the back door.” This was quite a lesson for him and it left him most unhappy about what he had done.

Last summer vacation he spent three days with an uncle who lived in a village in Juichin County. While talking about family matters with his cousins he learnt how his paternal grandfather had died at the hands of the enemy. His grandfather and other revolutionary forbears in 1929 had organized and taken part in an armed uprising against the exploiting classes. After the Red Army withdrew from the locality his grandfather had been arrested and murdered by Kuomintang reactionaries. Thereupon his grandmother decided to send her three sons to join the Red Army. At that time Chung Chih-min's father was only 14. An elder uncle who had stayed behind from the Long March because of severe wounds was caught and beaten to death by landlords. Another uncle lost his life while crossing the wild grasslands during the Long March. . . .

Hearing his revolutionary family's history was a profound class education for Chung Chih-min and led him to think: We're enjoying the revolutionary fruits our revolutionary forbears paid for with their lives but if we content ourselves to resting on our parents' meritorious record then we're heading for danger. Just as our fathers and grandfathers fought and made revolution so must we! He decided to leave university.

After returning from his holidays, on last September 28 he wrote an application to the university Party committee to withdraw from the university.

Chung Chih-min wrote: “Going in by the back door” involves the question of whom are we to serve. Chairman Mao has said: “**All our cadres, whatever their rank, are servants of the people, and whatever we do is to serve the people.**” The practice of “going in by the back door” actually means abusing the power granted by the people to further one's own selfish ends. This is an expression of bourgeois ideology of benefiting oneself at the expense of others, comes from the decadent classes and is diametrically opposed to the interests of the majority of the people.

During the Great Cultural Revolution, our country's institutes of higher learning started to enrol students from among workers, peasants and soldiers with practical experience. Concretely, the new enrolment system works like this: Worker, peasant and soldier applicants apply personally and the masses select and recommend applicants. The leadership then endorses an applicant. On the basis of these, colleges check and grant admission. This method puts into practice the Party's mass line. As the masses collectively select students, evaluate their overall political qualities, actual practical experience and cultural level, the best from

among the workers, peasants and soldiers can be selected into the university.

In his criticism of "going in by the back door" Chung Chih-min said in his application report: When some cadres get their children into college "by the back door" without first getting the recommendation and nomination of the masses and approval of the local leadership but solely on the authority of their position and personal relations it prevents really fine workers, peasants and soldiers from entering. This hurts the Party's relations with the broad masses of the people and damages the fine tradition of the Party and is fundamentally contrary to the proletarian Party spirit.

If cadres' children enjoy "special considerations," Chung Chih-min added, "a privileged stratum" could easily emerge and their children could very easily become revisionist. The great revolutionary teachers have all repeatedly warned of the possibility of this happening. Soviet social-imperialist reality and the practice of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution clearly show that if children of those cadres who enjoy rather better living conditions are divorced for a long time from the worker-peasant masses and from productive labour and do not pay attention to remoulding their world outlook they can fall easy prey to bourgeois ideology and become revisionist. This is very dangerous! Is this lovely land our parents and other revolutionary forbears won through so much sacrifice to come to an end with us? No! Never! We must not be dependent on our parents. Politically, we must continue the cause they have pursued and carry on the proletarian revolution they have not finished through to the end.

On January 17, 1974, Chung Chih-min again wrote a report to the standing committee of the university Party committee on his thinking about the withdrawal application: The question of who will win out in the Chinese revolution is still not really settled and the danger of a capitalist restoration still exists. Inside the Party there is still the two-line struggle. In the world quite a number of socialist countries have become revisionist countries. The revolutionary burden shouldered by the Chinese proletariat has become heavier, yet Marxism to some people has become a decorative ornament, to which they only pay lip-service but do not really practise Marxism-Leninism. If we are to uphold and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and carry the proletarian revolution through to the end we should implement Chairman Mao's revolutionary line steadfastly, take our stand with the revolutionary cadres, workers, peasants and soldiers, struggle against the



The standing committee of the university Party committee hears Chung Chih-min (second from left) reporting on why he wants to withdraw from Nanking University.

counter-revolutionary revisionist line of Lin Piao through to the end and struggle against the non-proletarian ideas in our own heads and in our own ranks through to the end. This is in the basic interests of the people of China and the whole world.

He hoped the Party committee would endorse his application and promised he would do his best in the village.

Parents' Support

Chung Chih-min's parents had believed they were giving their son some protection for the "future" when they wangled him into university. Later, in the movement to criticize Lin Piao and rectify the style of work they saw that their action stemmed from bourgeois ideology. After studying the passage on "the most radical rupture with traditional ideas" from the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* over and over and Chairman Mao's teachings concerning the bringing up of millions of successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause they understood the mistake they had committed.

They saw for themselves how the educated young people enthusiastically responded to Chairman Mao's call for educated youth to grow up in the course of taking part in the three great revolutionary movements — class struggle, struggle for production and scientific experiment — and temper themselves. They came to the further conclusion: Should they teach children to take the path of integrating with the workers and peasants, or should they use the power which the Party and the people had given them to put their children into universities "by the back door?" This was not an insignificant matter but a major question of the struggle between two kinds of ideologies and two lines. The father, Chung Hsueh-lin recalled the two score and more fighting years following Chairman Mao in making

(Continued on p. 19.)

Peking Review, No. 8

Repudiating Antonioni's Anti-China Film

The film "China" by the Italian director Michelangelo Antonioni is an out-and-out anti-China film. Its appearance is a serious anti-China event and a wild provocation against the Chinese people. All Chinese who have national pride are greatly infuriated to see that this anti-China film attacks Chinese leaders, smears socialist New China, slanders China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and insults the Chinese people. Newspapers in Peking have recently published many articles refuting this anti-China film. Following are three of them, slightly abridged because of space restrictions. — Ed.

Refuting Antonioni's Slanders Against Linhsien County

by Yang Kuei, First Secretary of Honan Province's Linhsien County Committee of the Communist Party of China and Chairman of the Revolutionary Committee of Linhsien County

HAVING taken part in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and rectify the style of work, Linhsien County like the rest of China has made tremendous achievements in socialist revolution and socialist construction and has brought about the excellent situation of growing prosperity. But a handful of class enemies at home and abroad are not reconciled to their defeat and are doing everything they can to engage in sabotage and create disturbances.

The imperialists, revisionists and reactionaries abroad are in league with monsters and demons in China. In the first half of 1972, Lin Piao's sworn followers in Honan Province did their best to push the counter-revolutionary revisionist line. They tried to undermine the achievements of Linhsien County as a standard-bearer, vilely attacked the Red Flag Canal, slandered socialist construction in the mountain areas and described the excellent situation in the bleakest terms in their attempt to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism. It was at this time that the imperialist Antonioni came to our Linhsien County in the guise of wanting to present China's countryside "factually" while actually engaging in activities to oppose China and revolution. In his carefully made anti-China film *China*, Antonioni resorted to the

foulest means to shamelessly slander and attack the socialist countryside in Linhsien County and the poor and lower-middle peasants there. We were filled with anger after seeing this reactionary film. We must strongly rebuff this imperialist's provocations and completely expose and repudiate this reactionary film.

Antonioni stayed in Linhsien County three and a half days. Instead of showing the socialist countryside's new look and the tremendous achievements made by the people in carrying out Chairman Mao's principle of "self-reliance" and "hard struggle," he did his utmost to malign them by taking shots secretly despite protests, as well as using deception and fabrication.

He showed little interest in the gigantic Red Flag Canal and took very few shots of it. He ignored the prosperous scene in the county after the transformation of its mountains and rivers but chose dry river-beds strewn with rocks. He ignored busy motor traffic on the highways but picked only ox-carts and wheelbarrows. He paid no attention to big and small tractors working in the fields, but chose only a donkey pulling a stone roller. He skipped the stirring sights of collective labour and turned his camera solely on old people and a sick woman. To smear the people of Linhsien, he went so far as to raise the arrogant demand with the Tatsaiyuan Brigade that the cadres get a number of commune members to stage a mock fist fight for him, but was rebuffed. These despicable activities by Antonioni in Linhsien met with resistance and opposition from the local revolutionary masses, who said indignantly: "This fellow has bad intentions. We've never seen a foreigner like him who doesn't want to take pictures of the Red Flag Canal but is only interested in things he thinks useful for his evil intentions."

The primary school of the Tatsaiyuan Brigade, Chengkuan People's Commune, has 356 revolutionary teachers and pupils and 35 classrooms. The school buildings are tidy and spacious and furnished with facilities for table tennis and basketball. Located on the east side of a street, the school has a sign at the entrance inscribed "Tatsaiyuan Primary School." Instead of taking shots of the school itself, Antonioni suddenly appeared when a number of pupils were playing or reading after class in front of an old house across the street, and, brazen-faced, gave long footage to these scenes. He had the impudence to say in his narration: "This is the school of the village." What is this if not outright fabrication?

For another example, let us talk about the Jentsun People's Commune which Antonioni visited. After the people's commune was set up in 1958, the masses persevered in taking the socialist road. They displayed the revolutionary spirit of daring to think and daring to act and struggled against nature to change the backward state of their area. The trunk of the Red Flag Canal runs through the commune. Reservoirs, ponds and pumping stations have been built to form a crisscross irrigation network. The commune has 26 times as much irrigated land as in pre-liberation days. Its grain yield has jumped from 0.75 tons per hectare before liberation to 5.1 tons at present. It has surplus grain instead of lacking grain. It has also made all-round progress in forestry, livestock breeding and side-line occupations. A vigorous revolutionary atmosphere prevails everywhere. Antonioni did not film any of this but deliberately stalked people who were unaware of his intention to film them. In particular, he sought out and took dilapidated walls and blackboard newspapers discarded long ago. Local cadres and people around asked him: "Why do you film a blackboard newspaper long discarded instead of our current blackboard newspaper?" With a guilty conscience, this fellow said in consternation: "Sorry, we'll certainly cut it when we go back." But he did nothing of the sort. On the contrary, the film's narration described this socialist village as an "abandoned, desolate place."

While on his visit, Antonioni happened upon a farm produce fair. He insisted that the driver stop the car and, even threatening to jump out, turned the camera on this scene without permission. Our peasant fair supplements the socialist collective economy, but Antonioni distorted it as a "free market" and slandered it as "the only gap in the country's total collectivization." This is a slander with an ulterior motive against our socialist collective economy.

Vilifying everything, Antonioni represents our new socialist villages as dreary and poor and with difficulties, and then in the narration says with an ulterior motive: This is "China's first socialist mountain"! Is the Linhsien countryside really like the scenes he showed after his distortion and tailoring? No, absolutely not. Under the wise leadership of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, the cadres and masses since liberation, and especially since 1958, have brought into full play the superiority of the people's communes and raised the fighting slogan "Re-arrange the mountains and rivers of Linhsien County." The 1,500-kilometre-long Red Flag Canal was built after ten years' hard struggle (1960-69). The irrigated acreage has shot up from 800 hectares before liberation to 40,000 hectares now, and thus ended the situation of water being as valuable as oil. Grain output has jumped from 0.75 tons per hectare before liberation to 4.35 tons now. The county used to depend on the state for 10,000 tons of grain every year, but now it sells the state 20,000 tons of market grain every year. Ninety-five per cent

of the communes and brigades now have grain reserves. These facts are a powerful refutation of Antonioni's anti-China film.

Chairman Mao says: "Only socialism can save China." We poor and lower-middle peasants of Linhsien are most keenly aware of this teaching. Everyone can see that under the wise leadership of our great leader Chairman Mao and the Communist Party of China, the people of Linhsien County have become the masters of their own destiny and that their lives are getting better and better.

Take the Tatsaiyuan Production Brigade of the Chengkuan People's Commune for example. Before liberation the poor and lower-middle peasants here lived in the abyss of untold sufferings. Seventy-three peasant households here were driven to begging and 21 persons died of hunger in the 1942 famine. The poor and lower-middle peasants have become masters of their own destiny under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party since liberation. Warmly responding to Chairman Mao's great call "Get organized," they advanced from working individually to mutual-aid teams, co-operatives and the people's commune. Agricultural production has gone up year after year and the commune members' lives have improved considerably. Since 1958, new houses totalling 1,100 rooms have been built, the brigade has set up a primary school and a middle school and instituted the co-operative medical service. All households without exception have grain reserves, and more than 60 per cent have bank savings. Among them, the poor and lower-middle peasants have 180 bicycles and 85 sewing machines, and all families have electric lighting and loudspeakers linked to the brigade's broadcasting station. The brigade now presents a lively picture of a new socialist mountain area. No one can negate these solid facts.

The Italian people are friendly towards the Chinese people and happy to see the tremendous achievements the Chinese people have made in socialist revolution and socialist construction and regard these as their own. Antonioni in no way represents them. Having been to Linhsien, friends on the delegation of the Italian Eastern Publishing House in June 1972 said: "After visiting the Red Flag Canal, we've come to see how political change has brought about economic change. The people of Linhsien have relied on their own efforts and transformed the backwardness left over thousands of years. This is really unimaginable."

It is clear that different persons with different stands and viewpoints draw different conclusions!

Proceeding from his anti-China and counter-revolutionary stand, Antonioni did his utmost to fling mud at China's great achievements in socialist revolution and construction, and to negate the tremendous achievements of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and prepare public opinion for capitalist restoration. In so doing, he serves the needs of imperialism, especially Soviet revisionist social-imperialism.

No Distortion of Tien An Men Is Permitted

By Commanders and Fighters of the P.L.A. Company Guarding Tien An Men

WE are fighters who guard Tien An Men day and night. After seeing the anti-China film *China* made by the Italian director Antonioni, we are extremely indignant at this imperialist element's vicious attack on our socialist country and his wanton distortion and vilification of Tien An Men Square.

Tien An Men Square is the place the Chinese people of all nationalities boundlessly respect. It is here that Chairman Mao raised the first five-star red flag and declared the founding of the People's Republic of China. Here Chairman Mao reviewed the parades by revolutionary people on many occasions and issued the great call to support the world revolution. Here Chairman Mao received Red Guards on eight occasions, which pushed forward the sweeping Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. . . . Obviously Antonioni knew what place Tien An Men has in the hearts of the Chinese people, but he had the audacity to defame Tien An Men in an unbridled way. It is apparent that he intended to slander our great motherland. The Chinese people absolutely cannot tolerate this!

Tien An Men Square is grand, magnificent. When one looks up at Tien An Men Gate, one sees a portrait of Chairman Mao radiant with a kind and warm expression and the state emblem of the People's Republic of China shining bright. But in Antonioni's film neither the panorama of the Square nor the magnificence of Tien An Men Gate is seen. The film was taken on a bright sunny day in May. Nevertheless, the Square is shown in dim and dreary colours. The grand Square is presented in a disorderly fashion as if it were a market place of noisy confusion. Is this a result of Antonioni's neglect or unique interest? Of course not. It is the result of a despicable technique with vicious intention, completely the outcome of this anti-China imperialist element's extreme hatred for the Chinese revolution and strong hostility toward the Chinese people.

Most of the scenes at Tien An Men Square in the film show people waiting for their picture to be taken. As we know, every day there are large numbers of workers, peasants and P.L.A. men coming from all over the country to pay their respects to the great Tien An Men, where they express their love for Chairman Mao and their determination to dedicate themselves to revolution. To have a picture taken at Tien An Men Square as a memorial, many queue up waiting for the photographer. This is a reflection of their deep revolutionary feelings. But with bad intentions, Antonioni, instead of showing this reality, took shots only of people's clothing, movement and expressions: here, someone's ruffled hair; there, people peering, their eyes dazzled by the sun; one moment, their sleeves; another, their trousers. . . . He racked his brain to get such close-ups in an attempt to distort the people's image and

uglify their spiritual outlook. This is indeed venomous to the last degree!

This out-and-out anti-China imperialist agent Antonioni says in the narration that "for the Chinese, this great silent space is the centre of the world" and "China is the country at the centre." This is a vicious slander, intended to drive a wedge between the Chinese and other peoples. The Chinese people have all along adhered to Chairman Mao's teachings that we Chinese people should "get rid of great-power chauvinism resolutely, thoroughly, wholly and completely" and "never seek hegemony." We have consistently advocated that all nations in the world, big or small, should be equal and we have resolutely opposed the superpowers' power politics and hegemonism. We never regard China as "the centre of the world" or "the country at the centre." In imposing this allegation on the Chinese people, Antonioni's criminal purpose is to create doubt and distrust between the Chinese and other peoples and undermine their solidarity and friendship. But this despicable trick is futile.

All the lies and slanders of Antonioni cannot dim the brilliance of our great motherland. On the contrary, they plainly show his ugly features as an anti-China buffoon. Along the course charted by their great leader Chairman Mao, the Chinese people will triumphantly march forward with firm steps amidst the vile ravings of the reactionaries.

Textile Workers' Protest

By Fang Chun-sheng, Peking No. 3 Cotton Mill

ANTONIONI came to our mill with a camera team in late May 1972. His purpose was to find fault and track down possibilities for pictures on the dark side. He rushed around one workshop, his camera focusing on the flying cotton fluff. The sweeper was sweeping the floor when he came to the drawing-rovving room. He told her to stop, threatening that if she didn't he would not shoot. While he was eating in the canteen, he said provokingly that he already had "eaten enough cotton fluff."

Antonioni racked his brain looking for "chances" to fabricate material slandering the Chinese people. Instead of taking shots of pupils in the classroom in our factory-run primary school, he filmed the children running out of the classroom after a class. His behaviour was more disgusting when he visited workers' living quarters. He went to a house but refused to shoot, saying that it was too tidy. He went to the next and again refused to use the camera, saying there was a sofa in the room. On entering the kitchen of a third, he saw an empty soya sauce bottle and a slice of meat. Thinking he had found the scene he wanted, he said: "Hurry up, otherwise they'll take them away." He even asked others to photograph him lying impolitely on the bed making revolting gestures and even running his hand underneath the bed sheet. His despicable behaviour met with firm opposition and protest by our workers right in the mill.

Like all reactionaries, Antonioni has inveterate hatred for the revolutionary cause of the Chinese people. He tried his utmost to sully China. At one study meeting, we workers expressed our militant will to "spin cloth for the revolution" and "to contribute to the world revolution." Antonioni said that the talks were "repetitive and monotonous," and "not a true discussion." What nonsense! In the mind of this reactionary, speaking of revolution is "monotonous." Does this mean that only talking about making money is not "monotonous"? This only reveals the true counter-revolutionary features of this so-called "Left" director. Antonioni's slander is not only a great insult to the Chinese workers but he meant to say that there is no democracy in New China, there is no freedom of speech. What absurdities!

Ours is a country of the proletarian dictatorship. As masters of our country, we the working class and people of the whole country enjoy full democracy. We can fully express our views regarding the major issues in the factory, the country and the world. Any foreigner who has been to China, so long as he respects the facts, has a deep impression of the democratic life enjoyed by the Chinese people, especially the widely-used weapon — airing views freely, writing big-character posters and holding great debates. Why did Antonioni shut his eyes to all these? This only shows him to be a very stubborn reactionary.

In this reactionary film, Antonioni viciously slandered China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, saying that it had "thrown the system of production into confusion." These are the words often used by the imperialists, revisionists, and reactionaries to attack the Cultural Revolution. Take our textile mill as an example. After criticizing the revisionist line of Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao during the Cultural Revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and rectify the style of work, a vigorous atmosphere prevailed in the whole mill by implementing the "Constitution of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company" and launching the movement "In industry, learn from Taching." Production has increased year by year. Total output value in 1973 was 29.13 per cent higher than in 1965, the year before the Cultural Revolution started. This was accompanied by improved quality and increased variety. Our mill's achievements since the beginning of the Cultural Revolution are an epitome of China's industrial progress.

Today, our motherland is thriving. **Socialism is everywhere advancing triumphantly.** The slanders and attacks of a handful of imperialists and social-imperialists will not in the least harm our great socialist motherland.

Statement of Communist Party of the Philippines On 5th Anniversary of Its Re-establishment

ON the occasion of the 5th anniversary of the re-establishment of the Communist Party of the Philippines, the Central Committee of the Party published a statement on December 26 last year in its organ, *Ang Bayan*. Reviewing the victories won by the Party after its re-establishment in the struggle against U.S. imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, the statement pointed out that the situation at home and abroad is excellent.

The statement said that since December 26, 1968, the Communist Party of the Philippines has won ideological, political and organizational victories unprecedented in the entire history of the Philippine revolution.

It said: "Carrying out the general line of the people's democratic revolution, the Party has proven itself as the vanguard of the revolutionary proletariat and has won the support and confidence of the broad masses of the Filipino people."

The statement said: "The Party is the founder and absolute leader of the New People's Army. This army is heroically fighting for genuine national and democratic interests of the people and is indefatigably engaged in armed struggle, agrarian revolution and base building. It has wiped out significant numbers of

enemy effectives, engaged in land reform step by step and established local organs of democratic political power in the countryside.

"The Party calls for a broad national united front and is doing everything it can to develop the basic unity of the workers and peasants."

It went on to say: "There is no substitute for a protracted people's war. In this type of armed resistance, the people have the amplest chance to develop their own strength and fulfil their own national and democratic demands. It is entirely correct for the armed units of the people's revolution to launch tactical offensives in the countryside at the enemy's weakest points within the context of a strategic defensive and for the underground in the cities and towns to bide its time, accumulate its strength and generate revolutionary propaganda."

It pointed out that the Communist Party of the Philippines adheres to the principle of democratic centralism and has increased its members on a national scale.

It said: "The victories of the Party and also of the people have not been won without sacrifices, difficulties, errors and shortcomings which the Party has

had to surmount. Let no one forget that the struggle against the modern revisionism of the Soviet social-imperialists, the Lava revisionist renegades and the Taruc-Sumulong gangster clique has served from the start to sharpen the weapons of the revolution and has helped to prevent the occurrence of subjectivism and Right or 'Left' opportunism of such magnitude and gravity as to jeopardize the existence of the entire Party or the correct direction of the revolution.

"The correct ideological and political line has been set and substantial achievements have been made in so short a time. The Philippine revolution is certain to win victory so long as the Party cadres and members continue to remould their world outlook, sum up their experience and set their tasks and methods of work correctly, maintain self-reliance and austerity, carry on the style of humility and hard work, get rid of unhealthy tendencies and raise higher their fighting spirit."

It said: "The present national situation is more excellent than ever before for raising the revolutionary struggle to a higher level." "The people are more than ever before desirous of revolution and a change of system." "The worsening economic crisis incenses the broad masses of the people and ensures the consistent advance of the revolutionary movement."

The statement said: "The international situation serves as a bright horizon for the Philippine revolution. The nearby Indochinese people have brilliantly

proven that a small country can defeat such a superpower as U.S. imperialism so long as the people unite, fight and take their destiny into their own hands. The nearby Chinese, Vietnamese and Korean peoples are splendidly carrying out socialist revolution and socialist construction and are extending immense support to the oppressed peoples.

"As they contend for bigger spoils and at the same time collude to keep the war from getting out of their hands in the Middle East, the two superpowers do not only find their selfish and pro-Zionist treachery exposed among the Arab and Palestinian peoples but also find themselves increasingly at odds with Western Europe and Japan and present themselves as clear targets for the wrath of the entire Third World.

"There are more troubles ahead for the two superpowers in every part of the world and in their heartlands. The general crisis of imperialism is daily worsening. The socialist countries and various other anti-imperialist forces are daily gaining in strength."

The statement said: "Revolution is the main trend in the world today. The two superpowers, whether in contention or collusion with each other, are being isolated and given death-blows by countries wanting independence, nations wanting liberation and the people wanting revolution. Adhering to proletarian internationalism, the Communist Party of the Philippines welcomes the turbulence shaking the two superpowers and bringing forth new revolutionary victories."

Thriving "Chollima" Korea

by "Renmin Ribao" Delegation to Korea

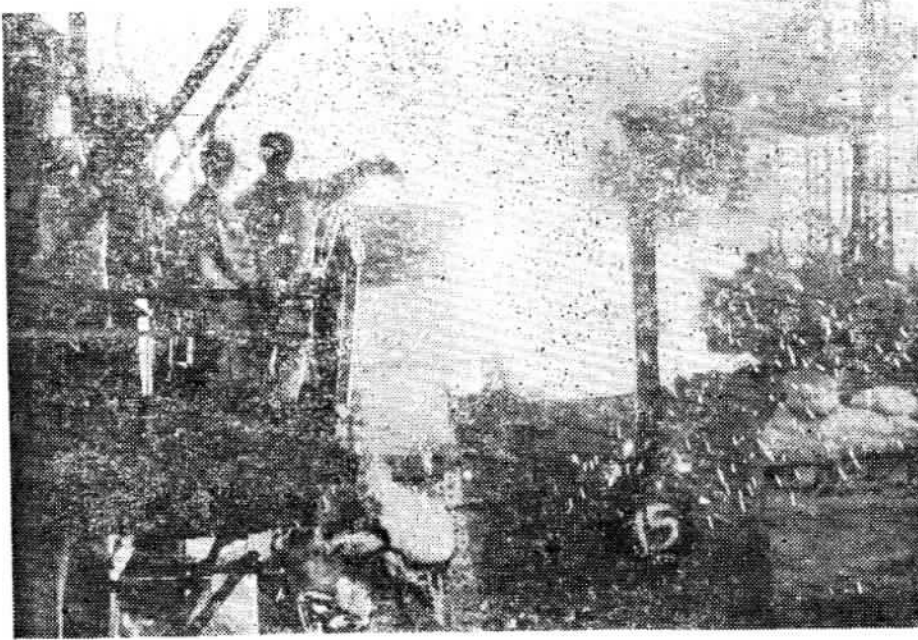
OUR delegation was on a month-long goodwill visit to the beautiful Democratic People's Republic of Korea last October and November. Our travels took us from the southern bank of the Yalu River to the 38th Parallel, from industrial cities along both coasts to remote mountain areas. Visiting many factories, cooperative farms, People's Army units and schools, we saw the splendid achievements of the Korean people in all fields as well as their revolutionary spirit of hard work and soaring morale. The growing prosperity we saw everywhere deeply impressed and greatly encouraged us.

Korea was totally poor and backward when it was liberated from Japanese imperialism's colonial rule in 1945. Not long after the Korean people began to build up their fatherland, they experienced the ravages of the war of aggression launched by U.S. imperialism. In the three years of war, the U.S. aggressors dropped an average of 18 heavy bombs on every square kilometre of Korea's land; city after city was reduced to rubble and village after village flattened. When the

armistice came in 1953, ruins could be found everywhere in the country.

It is difficult today to find the scars of war in the northern half of Korea. Thousands of big and small modern factories have been rebuilt from the ruins and on such a scale that there can be no comparison with those of the past. The capital Pyongyang, with hardly a complete building left standing at the end of the war, today is an imposing city with tall buildings and boulevards. In the rural areas, there are huge reservoirs, smooth, well-tended fields, luxuriant orchards, and neatly set out cultural centres and housing. All these achievements were made by the heroic Korean people with their own hands in the short period of 20 years. Visitors can't help exclaiming: "They are really worthy of *Chollima* (winged horse) Korea!"

The achievements did not come easily. As soon as the war ended, the Korean people under the wise leadership of their great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung struggled to rebuild their homeland, displaying the revolutionary spirit of hard work and amazing deter-



Workers at the Kangson Steel Plant.

mination. They spent three years healing the wounds of war and then in 1957 started to carry out the Five-Year Plan (1957-61) for developing the national economy. The Korean people in these five years, emulating the Jin Eung Won Work Team of the steel-making shop in the Kangson Steel Plant, launched the *Chollima* work team movement throughout the country to advance at the speed of *Chollima* and to "work, study and live in the communist spirit."

The workers in Kangson created the "Kangson speed" when they fulfilled the annual production target three months ahead of schedule. The working people of Pyongyang city created the "Pyongyang speed" when they built 7,000 apartment buildings in one year to house 20,000 families. At the end of 1960, the Korean people attained the targets set in the Five-Year National Economic Plan after four years of hard work, one year ahead of time.

In 1961, they began their Seven-Year National Economic Plan (1961-67) during which all-round technical reconstruction was accomplished in every economic sector. A policy for carrying out economic construction and building up defence in parallel was set forth and measures adopted to readjust the tempo of the development of the national economy to strengthen the nation's defence capability. In October 1966, the Workers' Party and the Government of the D.P.R.K. decided to extend the Seven-Year Plan by three years. In 1970 when it was successfully completed, the D.P.R.K. produced 16,500 million kwh of electricity, 27.5 million tons of coal, 2.2 million tons of steel, 1.5 million tons of chemical fertilizer, 4 million tons of cement and 400 million metres of textiles.

The building of the widely known Hamheung vinylon fibre plant reflects in miniature the spirit of the Korean people relying on their own efforts and progressing at *Chollima* speed in socialist construction.

The working people of Hamheung city who were forging ahead at *Chollima* speed launched a mighty "vinylon campaign" when the Workers' Party issued the fighting call for "all-out efforts to build the vinylon fibre plant." A little over a year after construction began, the plant with an annual capacity of 20,000 tons of vinylon fibre was completed and in production. Since then, "vinylon speed" has become famous throughout the land.

Korea's industrial departments today can manufacture heavy tractors, 6,000-ton hydraulic presses, 300 h.p. bulldozers, 5,000-ton-class ships and, with the equipment they already have, they can design and produce 100,000 kva. transformers, centrifuges for making nitrogenous fertilizer, 1,000 h.p. diesel engines and different kinds of precision machinery; they can provide complete sets of equipment for modern factories and enterprises. The Korean working class can today turn out in 12 days Korea's total industrial output for the entire pre-liberation year 1944. At the completion of the grand Six-Year National Economic Plan (1971-76), Korea will annually produce 28,000-30,000 million kwh. of electricity, 50-53 million tons of coal, 3.8-4 million tons of steel, 3 million tons of chemical fertilizer, 7.5-8 million tons of cement, 500-600 million metres of textiles and 30,000 lathes. In terms of per-capita output, these figures compare well with those of some economically developed countries.

Whether we were at the fiery furnaces in the steel-making shop of the famous Hwanghae Iron and Steel Works or in the rich fields on Onjungri Co-operative Farm in the region near the Kumgangsan Mountains in eastern Korea, the full confidence shown in talks of people working at *Chollima* speed made us deeply feel the Korean people's intense and buoyant spirit in their work and life as they plunged into the job to fulfil the Six-Year Plan ahead of time.

At the Hwanghae Iron and Steel Works, Korea's integrated metallurgical base, the workers had decided to transform the No. 1 blast furnace and increase its capacity by one-fifth. They wanted it to produce an extra 70,000 tons of pig iron annually in order to fulfil the Six-Year Plan ahead of time. However, it was estimated that the job would take 130 days, which would affect the year's production.

The workers were determined to complete the transformation in 50 to 60 days. With high labour enthusiasm and using the latest technique, they took only 44 hours to build the base for the new furnace. Within 25 days they had modified and installed a 50-ton-

class crane and finally in only 45 minutes they accurately hoisted the pre-assembled furnace weighing several hundred tons on to its base.

When we went to the site of the reconstruction work, the new blast furnace already towered over the area. Three days later it began spewing streams of molten iron. Li Man Kil, a labour hero at the works and leader of a "Double *Chollima*" work team, told us in a resolute tone: "So long as we have resolve, no difficulties can deter us from doing what we want to do." This kind of confidence and pride in their own strength has enabled this heroic people to perform one miraculous deed after another.

Agriculture in Korea is also booming.

As everyone knows, pre-liberation Korea was a colonial, semi-feudal agricultural country. With mountainous and hilly land making up 75 per cent of the more than 120,000 square kilometres of the northern half of the peninsula, there was a small acreage of paddy fields. The peasant masses suffered untold oppression from imperialism and the forces of feudalism and struggled for generations to survive hunger and cold. Today, Korea's socialist countryside has a brand-new look. The thousands of reservoirs and tens of thousands of pumping stations as well as irrigation canals more than 30,000 kilometres in total length have formed a comprehensive water conservancy network. Wide-scale electrification and improved farming techniques have resulted in excellent grain and fruit harvests.

The agricultural workers in 1973 put great efforts into scientific farming and there were bumper harvests. South Pyungan Province on the west coast was an example. The average per-*chongbo* yield of grain was 5.4 tons (1 *chongbo* equals approximately 1 hectare) and total output was twice that of ten years earlier and 100,000 tons more than the record annual output in its history. Meat, egg, vegetable, oil-bearing crop, fruit and silkworm cocoons all hit a new high.

In an out-of-the-way mountain village more than 10 kilometres from the seat of Yangduk County, we were also greeted at the Bongkyui Co-operative Farm by the joyous sight of a bumper harvest. The 250

farming households there till over 300 *chongbo* with the aid of seven tractors. Last year, they gathered 4 to 5 tons of rice and maize per *chongbo*. We saw the farm members happily threshing their harvest with machines. The farm also has 6,000 rabbits and 500 pigs. Members of the farm told us that life for them keeps growing more prosperous.

The vigorous development of Korea's machine-building industry has meant more tractors and motor vehicles coming off factory assembly lines and pouring into the rural areas. For every hundred *chongbo* of cultivated land in the whole country there is an average of 1.8 tractors (taking 15 h.p. as one tractor). Workers in the chemical industry are producing more and more fertilizers and insecticides for the countryside. The amount of chemical fertilizer used is more than 670 kilogrammes per *chongbo* for irrigated fields and over 470 kilogrammes for dry fields. Besides being able to provide large quantities of nitrogenous fertilizer, the chemical industry can also supply large amounts of other kinds of fertilizer such as phosphate fertilizer and potassium fertilizer. When the magnificent targets of the Six-Year Plan are achieved, Korea will produce 7-7.5 million tons of food grain every year and the people will then enjoy a still richer and better life.

The Korean people have also made remarkable achievements in developing their culture and education. Some 4.6 million people are attending regular schools, averaging one out of every four in the D.P.R.K. Compulsory ten-year education through middle school will be in effect throughout the country during the Six-Year Plan. The number of regular universities at central and provincial levels has surpassed 130 and the country has trained 500,000 university graduates and specialists and their number will reach a million at the end of the Six-Year Plan period.

The valiant Korean people have made tremendous achievements on various fronts in the national economy. But they do not feel content with what they have achieved and they are continuing to forge ahead in the heroic spirit of the *Chollima* speed.

We sincerely wish *Chollima* Korea even faster development.

(Continued from p. 12.)

revolution and recognized that as a senior leading cadre of the Party he should set an example in implementing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. He and his wife sent a telegram to the Nanking University Party committee expressing complete support for their son's application to withdraw from the university and also made a self-criticism. In their telegram they said, "Our son belongs to the Party and should comply with arrangements made for him by the Party. We are determined to let our son steel himself and grow up in the three great revolutionary movements to become a reliable and worthy successor to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat."

Renmin Ribao on January 27 ran an article about the parents supporting the young man leaving university and their self-criticism. An editor's note said in part: We must be on guard against being corrupted by bourgeois ideology and conscientiously rectify "going in by the back door" and other unhealthy tendencies. The brave correction of their error by the parents of Chung Chih-min is an expression of the new style of thinking and doing things in our socialist society.

The Party committee of Nanking University approved the youth's application to leave, as did the Party committee of his original P.L.A. unit. This revolutionary action by Chung Chih-min has won wide commendation.

ROUND THE WORLD

PANAMA

Continuing Struggle for Sovereignty and Independence

Panamanian Foreign Minister Juan Antonio Tack and U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger signed a joint statement in Panama City on February 7, announcing eight fundamental principles which will guide the negotiations of a new treaty on the Panama Canal.

On the one hand, the principles provide that "the treaty of 1903 and its amendments will be abrogated by the conclusion of an entirely new inter-oceanic canal treaty," that "the concept of perpetuity [of the treaty] will be eliminated," etc. On the other hand the joint statement sets forth that "the Republic of Panama, in its capacity as territorial sovereign, shall grant to the United States of America, for the duration of the new inter-oceanic canal treaty and in accordance with what that treaty states, the right to use the lands, waters, and air space which may be necessary for the operation, maintenance, protection and defence of the canal and the transit of ships," and also the right to "undertake any other specific activity related to those ends, as may be agreed upon in the treaty."

A final and satisfactory solution of the Panama Canal issue "will depend fundamentally on the determination or fighting capacity which the Panamanian people display," Panamanian Foreign Minister Juan Antonio Tack told a press conference on February 7.

"The problem of Panama cannot be written off in the simple negotiation of a juridical type treaty because it has a profound objective," he stated. "It is to complete our national independence."

The Panamanian paper *Matutino* in a special column article on

February 8 said: "There is no doubt that today starts the most important stage of our struggle to complete our independence." "Beginning today we must strengthen the unity of all patriots and continue to march forward invincibly until our people reach their final aim: Sovereignty and independence."

F.R.G.

Public Service Workers and Employees on Strike

Public service workers and employees began a four-day nationwide strike on February 10, opposing soaring prices and demanding higher wages.

The strike was started by airport workers in Stuttgart, Munich, Frankfurt and at Koeln-Bonn airport. Involving most big cities, the most widespread strike in the country's history was joined by workers and employees of almost all public services such as transportation, post, telephone and sanitation as well as those of theatres, hospitals and airports.

On February 11, 150,000 public service workers and employees joined in the strike which paralysed almost all traffic in Hamburg, Frankfurt, Stuttgart and Koeln. Trams and buses stopped in the industrial centre North Rhine-Westphalia, many cities along the Rhine and in the Ruhr industrial area. Many flights were cancelled.

The strike took place after the demand for higher wages was rejected. Commodity prices in the Federal Republic of Germany rose 6.9 per cent in 1973 compared with the previous year, the highest rate since 1947. Living costs went up 7.4

per cent this January over those in the corresponding month last year. To protect their vital interests, the workers and employees pressed their demand for higher wages to make up for the losses they suffer as a result of soaring prices.

"REVOLUTION" (U.S.A.)

Evils of Capitalist System

An article in the December issue of *Revolution*, a monthly of the U.S. Revolutionary Union, pointed out that the capitalist system cannot solve the unemployment problem.

The article said that in all capitalist societies, including the United States, the ridiculous and criminal situation — millions out of work continually and millions more in or on the brink of poverty — is a basic characteristic of the system and flows from its basic nature and its basic contradiction.

Anarchy of production is still the rule under capitalism. It is, of course, the working people who suffer most directly and brutally as a result — in a hundred forms, including unemployment, which grows to tremendous proportions whenever, inevitably, the anarchy of capitalism leads to crisis and depression.

The ruling class cannot eliminate unemployment. It calls 3 per cent unemployment "full employment." Recently, as the crisis of the capitalist system has grown and unemployment has grown along with it, the ruling class has re-defined "acceptable unemployment" or "full employment," pushing the figure up to 4 per cent, even 5 per cent. The official unemployment rate does not include those who have given up the fruitless search for work, or who work only a few hours a week and in low-paying jobs.

The article emphasized that only revolution and the establishment of socialism in every country will make possible the elimination of unemployment and the other evils of capitalism.

Western Oil Consumers Conference

The energy conference of the 13 major oil consuming countries in the capitalist world opened on February 11 in Washington. Originally scheduled to last two days, the conference which saw grave differences among the participants ended February 13 with the issuance of a communique.

The first aim of the United States in convening the conference was to form a united front of the oil consuming countries to confront the oil producing countries in the Middle East and the Arab world which used the oil weapon following the Middle East war last October in a fight against the United States and other nations supporting Israeli Zionism. Second, under the pretext of solving problems the "energy crisis" had brought to capitalist economy and finance, the United

States sought to tighten its political and economic control over Western Europe and Japan by taking advantage of their energy difficulties. In so doing, Washington wanted to rebuild its hegemonic position in the Western world, thereby strengthening its hand in contending with the other superpower, Soviet revisionist social-imperialism, in the Middle East and Europe.

The disputes at the conference centred on two questions: first, whether a permanent structure of oil consuming countries should be established; second, whether the oil consuming countries have the right to solve their own energy problems through bilateral arrangements with the oil producing countries.

The United States proposed that the conference set up a "co-ordinating group." Although containing this proposition, the communique clearly stated that France disagreed. The U.S. demand that "bilateral arrangements" follow "agreed rules of conduct" was opposed by representa-

tives of a number of countries at the conference. The United States failed to persuade other countries to agree to mention "the rules of conduct" for "bilateral arrangements" in the final communique.

Why does the United States object to other oil consuming countries reaching bilateral agreements with oil producing countries? It fears that this would harm the interests of U.S. oil monopoly capital which has huge investments in the Middle East area and that the growing influence of these countries there would be unfavourable to the U.S. policy of fierce contention with Soviet revisionism for spheres of influence in the area and seeking to control, together with Soviet revisionism, the development of the situation there.

The United States was strongly denounced by many Middle East and Arab countries for proposing the conference. Algerian Ambassador to the United Nations Rahal condemned the United States for "nefariousness" which would lead to "confrontation."

(Continued from p. 3.)

cleaner than the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois intellectuals.' If we don't use night-soil as manure, how shall we grow grain? If there are no peasants growing crops, how shall we carry out Chairman Mao's call for 'storing grain everywhere?' It is glorious and fine to be a peasant. Some people think there is no future in the countryside. I believe one can accomplish much in the vast countryside."

Pai Chi-hsien said in her letter that, in the old society, her father started out as a factory apprentice at the age of 12 and her mother was sold to a family as a servant girl. Without any schooling, they could not even write their own names. Living in the New China, she became the first college graduate her family ever had. The Party and Chairman Mao send the sons and daughters of the labouring people to universities not to make them despise the labouring people, but to enable them serve

the workers, peasants and soldiers. The viewpoint that a woman college graduate marrying a worker or a cadre is an honour and her marrying a peasant a disgrace is actually a reflection of the exploiting class ideology, and it shows that the pernicious influence of the reactionary idea of Confucius that "he who excels in learning can be an official" has not been completely eliminated. If students are taught such old ideas, won't they be led to the erroneous road of revisionism?

Ending the letter, Pai Chi-hsien wrote: "I think the rotten ideas of looking down on peasants and farm labour that have been handed down over thousands of years should be criticized. This is of great importance in narrowing the differences between workers and peasants, between town and countryside and between manual and mental work, in opposing and preventing revisionism and in building a new socialist countryside."

The *Hopei Ribao* editor's note pointed out: "Confucius and Mencius looked down on manual labour and despised the labouring people; Lin Piao and other political swindlers opposed educated young people settling in the countryside and opposed intellectuals integrating with the workers and peasants. As manifested in the two different attitudes towards Pai Chi-hsien's settling in the countryside and her marriage to a peasant, the pernicious influence of their reactionary ideas is far from eliminated and old views are still very stubborn."

"In order to continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and carry it through to the end, all revolutionary comrades must take the Party's basic line as the key, take an active part in the class struggle in the ideological field and deepen the criticism of the doctrine of Confucius and Mencius and the ultra-Rightist nature of Lin Piao's line," the editor's note said.

ON THE HOME FRONT

New Educational System

IN line with the principle that education must serve proletarian politics and be combined with productive labour, a new educational system combining teaching, productive labour and scientific research is taking shape after several years' practice in the educational revolution in China's colleges of science and engineering.

Establishment of links between colleges and factories or rural people's communes has closely integrated college education with the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment in society. Figures from 67 colleges of science and engineering show that they have set up links with 2,825 factories, mines and people's communes. At one point or another, when teaching requires it, students and teachers go to the units with which they already have links to take part in production, study theoretical knowledge in their specialities and carry out teaching and scientific research in connection with production, so as to integrate theory with practice and better serve socialist construction.

College-run factories are the bases where teachers and students combine

teaching, productive labour and scientific research. In addition to carrying out teaching and scientific research in connection with production, they manufacture various products for the state. An electronic meter and instrument factory run by Peking University has, in co-operation with other units, designed and trial-produced a large integrated circuit digital electronic computer that can do one million calculations per second. Thus the computer teachers acquainted themselves with the theory concerning third-generation computers and problems in producing them. In co-operation with the technicians at the factory, they compiled a textbook dealing with the theory of electronic digital computers and other teaching materials which were well received by the university and other units concerned. The worker-peasant-soldier students were taught to operate the computer and got a better grasp of theory through practice.

In carrying through the new educational system of combining the teaching of theory with productive labour, the students are no longer divorced from proletarian politics, from the workers and peasants and from productive labour as was the case in the old schools. This helps

raise their socialist consciousness and ability to analyse and solve problems.

During last summer's vacation, 32 third-year worker-peasant-soldier students of the civil engineering department of Shanghai's Tungchi University went in four groups to four factories and finished designs for eight buildings with a total floorspace of nearly 5,000 square metres. The eight students who went to a paper mill were asked to design a two-storey pulp mixing workshop which involved rather complicated technical problems. Though they had not studied this kind of structure in class, they did their best to apply what they had learnt and, through careful investigation, drew all the blueprints which proved up to requirements.

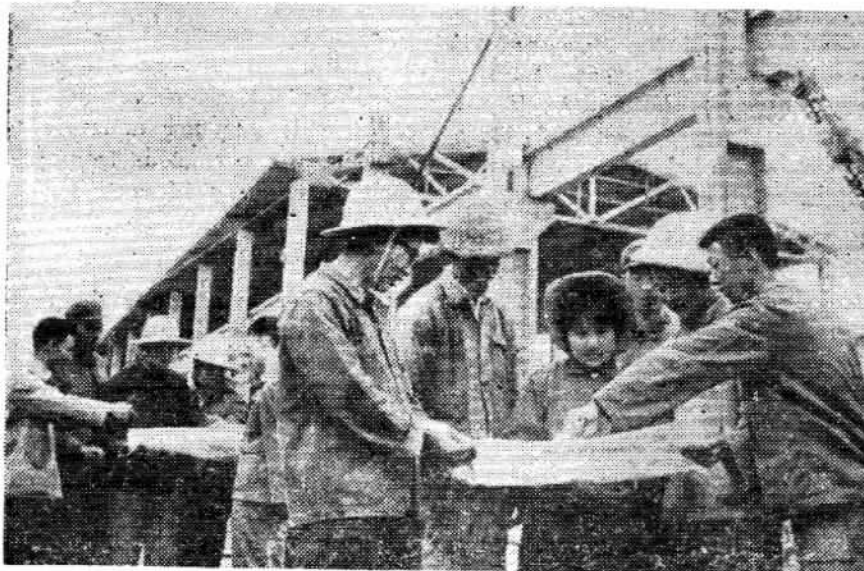
On the basis of the rich experience gained by the teachers and students, China's colleges of science and engineering have actively developed scientific research and scored new achievements which are of advanced levels. In co-operation with the Maanshan No. 1 Iron Works and the Nanking Petro-Chemical Plant, the teachers and students of the chemistry department of Nanking University have in the last few years carried out studies of molecular sieves as highly effective drying agents and catalysts and made notable advances both in theory and in practical application.

New Novels

A SALIENT feature of recent novels in China is the highlighting of worker-peasant-soldier heroes and their contemporary struggles.

Ten of the dozen or so popular novels published in the last two years in Peking, Shanghai and Tientsin deal with class struggle and the struggle between the two lines during the period of socialism.

The Bright Road describes the revolutionary transformation of a north China village over the last 20 years or so. Taking the Party's basic line for the historical period of socialism as the guide, the author has successfully portrayed the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the socialist road



While studying construction at a work-site, students in Tungchi University's Civil Engineering Department examine and improve their designing.

and the capitalist road and between Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and the revisionist line during the period of socialism. The first volume of this novel came out two years ago and sold 3 million copies in the first six months.

Whirling Snow Brings in the Spring, in a first edition of 900,000 copies, takes place in 1968-69 and describes the fierce struggle by workers of an iron-mine in south China against the revisionist line. Tracing the miners' pre-liberation struggle under the leadership of the Communist Party against the imperialists and capitalists who ran the mine, the novel shows the Great Cultural Revolution as a continuation of the protracted struggle waged by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie. This is the first novel written by miners about their own lives and struggles. The authors are a colliery worker, a leading comrade in an iron-mine and a young technician, helped by four veteran miners who acted as their "advisers." After each chapter was completed it was read out to colliery workers to get their opinions. The novel successfully portrays a new generation of the working class.

On the March deals with training successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause. The story is about a group of Shanghai Red Guards who went to settle in a frontier village in response to Chairman Mao's call for educated youth to go to the countryside. They grow up tempered in class struggle and by identifying themselves with the poor and lower-middle peasants. The imperialists pin their hope on China's younger generation for a "peaceful evolution" and the revisionist line advocates the fallacy of "studying to become officials" — all these are dealt head-on blows by the young people in the novel.

The authors of the new novels — both professional writers with a profound understanding of workers, peasants and soldiers as a result of living with the masses for many years and amateur spare-time writers from among the workers, peasants and soldiers (these far outnumber the former) — wrote according to Chairman Mao's teaching: "Revolu-

tionary literature and art should create a variety of characters out of real life and help the masses to propel history forward."

The heroic characters in many of the novels created in line with this principle embody in a concentrated form the sterling qualities of outstanding representatives of the working class in real life, imparting into these novels an instructive role and are much liked by workers, peasants and soldiers.

Power Industry Makes Big Headway

CHINA completed 90 large and medium-sized power stations last year. Their total generating capacity was more than in any other year since the founding of New China and was over 30 per cent above the new installed capacity of 1972.

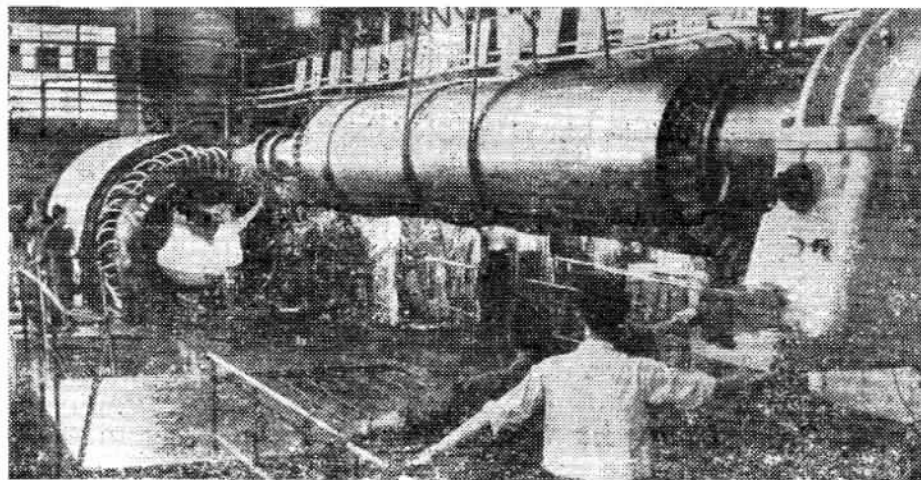
Power departments in many places have deepened the movement to criticize Lin Biao and rectify the style of work and educated the workers and staff in the Party's basic line, thereby greatly raising their initiative for socialism and accelerating the expansion of the power industry.

The Shanghai Electric Power Construction Company took on the job of the entire installation of new generating equipment and part of the building work in the Shanghai area. The workers were much pressed for time, and the task was arduous. But because the masses were mobilized to play their full role, they fulfilled ahead of time the plan for each month. Workers building the Huai-

pei Power Plant overcame high summer temperatures and severe cold and put two large generating sets into commission in one year.

Achievements in the power industry have been won by adhering to the principle of maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands and relying on our own efforts. Designed and made in China, a 300,000-kilowatt turbine generating set with an inner water-cooled stator and rotor was installed and is now operating at a big power station in the upper reaches of the Yellow River. Last year the Peking Miyun Reservoir installed a pump-storage plant of 11,000 kilowatts which plays an important part during the peak-load period in the local electric network. This plant also was designed, manufactured and installed by Chinese workers.

Construction of thermal power stations was also speeded up in 1973. The unit capacity has been steadily raised and many new skills and techniques have been more widely popularized. Shantung Province concentrated manpower and material to turn out six large generating sets in 1973. The Tianshenggang Power Plant in Kiangsu Province originally was a small plant, and its largest set produced only 12,000 kilowatts. Helped by their leading bodies and fraternal units, workers at this plant last year manufactured and installed a 25,000-kilowatt steam turbine generating set which helped meet local industrial and agricultural power needs.



Workers at the Shanghai Electrical Machinery Plant installing a large turbine generating set with an inner water-cooled stator and rotor.

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