

PEKING REVIEW

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November 28, 1975

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A Clarion Call to Action

— First in a series of reports on the nationwide movement to build Tachai-type counties

New Tsars' Feverish Arms Expansion and War Preparations

*Speech by Chinese Representative at
FAO Conference*

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French Foreign Minister Visits China

French Foreign Minister Jean Sauvagnargues and his wife made a friendly visit to China from November 19 to 24.

Vice-Premiers Teng Hsiao-ping and Li Hsien-nien separately met and had a friendly talk with the distinguished French guests while they were in Peking. Foreign Minister Chiao Kuan-hua held talks with his French counterpart and gave a banquet honouring him.

At the banquet Foreign Minister Chiao said: "Thanks to the joint efforts of the Governments of China and France, the relations between the two countries have been developing constantly. Our social systems are different, but the rapports between our two countries are established on a common basis. China and France, firmly attached to their independence, do not permit others to issue orders to them. Neither of our two sides seeks to impose its position on the other, still less to resort to force or the threat of force against the other. Although our views and positions on certain problems are different, we have nevertheless a number of common points concerning those international problems of major importance. Therefore, we are justified in believing that, with continued efforts on both sides, Sino-French relations have broad prospects in the future."

The Chinese Foreign Minister continued: "The present international situation is marked by great disorder under heaven and not by tranquillity on earth; the factors of war are palpably growing. This is an objective reality which no phraseology of 'detente' can gloss over and which no one can evade. This situation manifests itself with still greater acuteness es-

pecially in Europe. The so-called conference on European security and cooperation has come to an end, but has it brought a change to this fundamental conjuncture? And has the danger of war diminished a little? We hold that the danger of war exists independently of one or two conferences and this or that agreement on paper; it is decided by the social systems of the superpowers. Today we are faced with the reality that the two superpowers are not relaxing but intensifying their contention. They are contending in all parts of the world with Europe as the focus of this contention. To seek hegemony, they have, under cover of 'disarmament,' hurled themselves into a race for armaments, each trying to outdo the other. That superpower which chants peace most vigorously, in particular, is most ambitious and fiercely casting its covetous eyes around. It is developing with redoubled zeal not only nuclear weapons but also conventional weapons to such an extent that they far exceed its defence needs, thus seriously threatening the security of the people in Europe. From the Middle and Near East, the side wing of Europe, to the south flank of Europe, from the seas off Northern Europe to the Mediterranean, is there so much as a shadow of 'detente'? On the contrary, what we see in Europe is a state of ever more intense military confrontation."

He said: "We always hold that in face of the menace of superpower expansionism, the people of the world, including those of Europe, should enhance their vigilance and make sufficient estimates and effective preparations for sudden changes in the situation and not place their hopes on fabulous hypotheses. Otherwise, it will be dangerous. As it is often said, one cannot cope with any eventuality unless one is prepared, and tolerance only serves to foster the evil. This is

the painful lesson given by the history of World War II and it is of great practical significance for us today."

Foreign Minister Chiao continued: "The law of the development of things tells us that any force that attempts to go against the wheel of history will inevitably turn into its opposite. The hegemonists, hostile to the people of the world, are indulging themselves in intervention, subversion and expansion everywhere. Here lie the factors of their ineluctable defeat. Consequently, they are feeble by nature. They maltreat the weak and fear the strong. They humiliate whoever is weak. The more evil they commit, the more thoroughly they will unmask themselves and the stronger will become the resistance of the people throughout the world. The historical trend is irresistible and it is the milliards of people the world over who decide the destiny of the world, and not the one or two superpowers. The people of the world are sure to make the international situation develop to their advantage, so long as they close their ranks and dare to struggle. The future of the world is bright."

He said: "At present, the people of Western Europe are seeing more and more clearly where the menace of war hovering over the world and Europe comes from. They are raising their voice incessantly for unity and growing strength and for safeguarding their security. We have always supported the various countries of Western Europe in their unity against hegemonism. We hold that the development of this trend is not only in the interests of the people of Western Europe but also in conformity with the need of history. Of course, there are always twists and turns on the road of advance; it has never been smooth. But we are convinced that the difficulties in the way

of the unity of Western Europe can be surmounted provided there is a clear understanding of the stark reality and a clear common objective. As a Chinese saying goes, 'regeneration results from one's own efforts.' So long as the various West European countries rest their policies and actions mainly on their own strength and rely on the joint efforts of the daily awakening West European people, they will remain invincible in case of an eventuality."

In his speech, Foreign Minister Jean Sauvagnargues said that France and China have cordial and warm relations, and, at the same time, many other things in common. "First of all, you, like us, take the world seriously. We are serious because it is menaced by perils and assailed by difficulties, and it should be faced with determination and lucidity, and with confidence as well," he added.

Speaking of the policy of France, the French Foreign Minister said: "We consider it necessary above all to preserve our national independence. And we are of the opinion that the other peoples also have the right and obligation to preserve theirs."

"We seek to preserve this independence on the matter of security as much as we can. France remains loyal to its alliances which constitute an important element in its defence system. However, no people can entirely depend on others. While long ago we renounced the giving up of the command of our armed forces to others, we are equally determined to maintain them at a high level which our economic means permit us," he continued.

Foreign Minister Sauvagnargues said: "Autonomous defence and political independence cannot go without one or the other. Therefore, we remain independent in managing our affairs; foreign policy in particular. To preserve independence when it decides, proposes and contests is the right which France does not intend to renounce."

He said that the will for independence does not exclude concern for co-ordination and co-operation. He added: "It goes without saying that we put this spirit of co-operation into practice together with our European partners.

"Our plan is to transform our association into a European union freely accepted by all.

"As to the third world countries, we have appealed to other industrial countries for extensive co-operation with them."

He said in conclusion that France hopes to develop independently the friendly relations and co-operation with China.

China and Comoros Establish Diplomatic Relations

Huang Hua, Permanent Representative of China to the United Nations, and Ali Tohir, Representative of the National Executive Council and Foreign Affairs Delegate of the State of Comoros, signed in New York on November 13 a joint communique on the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries.

The communique said: "The Government of the People's Republic of China and the National Executive Council of the State of Comoros, in conformity with the interests and desires of the two countries, have decided by agreement through friendly consultations to establish diplomatic relations at ambassadorial level.

"The Government of the People's Republic of China supports the National Executive Council of the State of Comoros in its struggle to safeguard national independence, state sovereignty and territorial integrity and develop the national economy.

"The National Executive Council of the State of Comoros recognizes the Government of the People's Re-

public of China as the sole legal government representing all the Chinese people.

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

In a November 20 editorial, *Renmin Ribao* greeted the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries. It said: The people of the State of Comoros had carried out a protracted struggle against the colonialists. Since its independence last July, they have persisted in their struggle to combat imperialism and colonialism and safeguard national independence and territorial integrity and have won worldwide support and acclamation.

"Supported by the Organization of African Unity," the editorial noted, "the united struggle of the African countries and people to win and safeguard national independence and oppose racism, colonialism, imperialism and hegemonism is developing vigorously. The ranks of independent African countries are growing. No matter how the imperialists and social-imperialists may sabotage and make trouble, they cannot in the long run hold back the African people's advance. The cause of the African people's united struggle against hegemonism will certainly win new victory."

It pointed out that both China and Comoros are developing countries and the establishment of diplomatic relations has opened wide prospects for the development of friendly relations and co-operation between the two countries. "As always, the Chinese people will stand with the people of Comoros and all of Africa, fighting in unity and advancing together," it concluded.

A Clarion Call to Action

— First in a series of reports on the nationwide movement to build Tachai-type counties

by Our Correspondent Chin Chi-chu

"Build Tachai-type counties throughout the country" is a great revolutionary mass movement rising in China. What does it signify and how did it get started? Beginning from this issue we publish a series of articles giving some basic facts on the movement.

THE national conference on learning from Tachai held from September 15 to October 19 this year issued the call: "Mobilize the whole Party, make greater efforts to develop agriculture and strive to build Tachai-type counties throughout the country!" In response to this call, millions upon millions of people—from the snowbound northeast to subtropical Hainan Island and from the eastern seaboard plains to the "Roof of the World," the Tibetan Plateau—have under the leadership of Party organizations gone into action.

Tachai

A mountain village, the Tachai Production Brigade of the Tachai People's Commune in Hsiyang County, Shansi Province, is about 400 kilometres southwest of Peking. Every day people from all parts of the country flock to Tachai and learn from its experience. Friends from foreign countries also frequently go there on a visit. The Tachai Production Brigade, consisting of 83 households, is the standard-bearer on China's agricultural front. It represents the direction in which the hundreds of millions of Chinese peasants are advancing. Chairman

Mao called on the nation in 1964 to learn from Tachai in agriculture.

Pre-liberation Tachai was an appallingly poor hamlet whose 4,700-odd fragmented pieces of farmland were spread all over the ridges and gullies of a mountain named by local inhabitants as Hutoushan (Tiger Head Mountain). They called and still call the biggest gully there Langwochang (Wolf's Haunt), a name that gives people some idea of its wilderness in the past. To remind posterity of former sufferings, Tachai to this day has deliberately left some tiny plots on the mountain intact. Previously known as "Corners of Divine Soil," these tiny plots were considered the "best" Tachai had at that time, yielding at most 56 kilogrammes per *mu* (or 840 kilogrammes per hectare). Taking the village as a whole, the average per *mu* yield never exceeded 50 kilogrammes. So harsh was feudal exploitation that peasants were forced to give up most of the fruit of their labour to the landlords as rent in kind. Of the 48 poor and lower-middle peasant families, six perished without a single survivor and nine others had to beg for food at one time or another.

After years of painstaking efforts, Tachai has merged its small fragmented plots into 1,500 terraced fields and transformed its hitherto poor soil into nationally known fertile "sponge farmland," so named because it sops up and holds earth, water and fertilizer like a sponge. In recent years, the Tachai people started building "man-made plains" by removing mountains and filling up gullies on a still larger scale so that their grain production in 1974 went up nearly tenfold compared with the highest pre-liberation level.

Irrigation was unknown to Tachai in the past. Today, water has been brought up to Tiger Head Mountain from two reservoirs and some plots are installed with water



Tachai today.



Members of the Tachai Party branch committee.

spraying devices. There was no farm machinery of any kind in the past. Today, tractors, bulldozers and cableways are used. The once barren hills are being afforested with fruit trees alone numbering more than 40,000.

Life for the peasants yesterday is poles apart from that today. While Tachai still retains several mountain caves to remind coming generations of what kind of shelters their parents and grandparents had, every brigade member has moved into newly built sunny stone caves or brick houses, all with glass windows, electric light and tap water at the doorstep. Towering over those few dark, dank and dilapidated caves of the old days is a new and even better housing project. Near by is a hundred-year-old willow tree on which landlords before liberation often tied tenants and flogged them because they were unable to pay their rent or debts. This "Tree of the Unfortunate," as it was called before, has been renamed the "Tree of the Happy People." Not far off is a department store, a post and telegraph office, a bookshop, a commune clinic where surgery, such as gastrectomy, can be performed. There are, of course, a school, a nursery, a kindergarten. . . .

In short, Tachai has completely changed. How has this come about?

First of all, this must be attributed to its adherence to the principle of putting proletarian politics in command and placing Mao Tsetung Thought in the lead. Tachai set up an agricultural co-operative and took the road of socialist collectivization in 1953. As pointed out in the basic line laid down for our Party by Chairman Mao, "Socialist society covers a considerably long historical period. In the historical period of socialism, there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, and there is the danger of capitalist restoration." Over the last two decades and more, the Party branch of Tachai has been incessantly using Marxism-Leninism-

Mao Tsetung Thought to educate the peasants and led them in vigorously criticizing revisionism and capitalism and going all-out to build socialism.

Taking the capitalist road in the countryside will inevitably weaken and disintegrate the collective economy and revert to individual farming, resulting in class polarization with a few getting rich and becoming exploiters; the impoverished peasants who make up the majority will go bankrupt and will once again be subjected to exploitation. This would mean the restoration of the rule of the landlord and capitalist classes and the return of the dark, old society.

By adhering to the Party's basic line, Tachai has fought against a handful of class enemies and against erroneous lines, capitalist tendencies and wrong thinking. It has unswervingly kept to the socialist road and, working with concerted efforts and soaring enthusiasm, succeeded in conquering nature.

Another salient feature about Tachai is its spirit of hard struggle and self-reliance. Chairman Mao has pointed out: "The establishment of our socialist system has opened the road leading to the ideal society of the future, but to translate this ideal into reality needs hard work." This is exactly what Tachai has been doing.

Never wanting to live off state help, the Tachai people choose making strenuous efforts and doing the sweating themselves. By all-out efforts they have transformed the terrain of the old days. In the last four years, for instance, they have removed altogether 33 hills, big and small, filled 15 gullies and moved nearly 700,000 cubic metres of earth and stone. Yet the labour force of the whole production brigade is only 160 men and women all told! Thanks to these all-out exertions, they emerged victorious from the big 1963 flood, one that had seldom occurred in a hundred years' time, and from 1972 to 1974 they rode out unprecedentedly severe dry spells. It goes without saying that there are calluses on the palms of the older generation; the younger generation now beginning to drive tractors and bulldozers are carrying on their elders' hard-working "shoulder-pole" spirit.

Tachai is known far and wide for its communist style of loving the country and the collective. Always bearing in mind Chairman Mao's instruction that "China ought to make a greater contribution to humanity," the Tachai people think neither of a single household's nor a single individual's private gain, but of the collective interests and the interests of the socialist motherland and take the needs of the world revolution into consideration. This is why they declined state relief after a disastrous flood and saved the water from a nearby reservoir for

their neighbouring brigades in the years of drought. When there is an increase in grain production, the first thing entering their minds is making greater contributions to the state by selling it more marketable grain. Life is much better now, but they continue to work hard, without letup, because it is their wish to play a still greater part in socialist construction and contribute more to the cause of the world revolution.

People say: "All is new in Tachai—the people, things, ideology, land, village and yields." Tachai is a typical example of adhering to the Party's basic line, of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and of building socialist agriculture with greater, faster, better and more economical results.

Leading Tachai forward is a strong Party branch. For years Chen Yung-kuei, who is now a Member of the Political Bureau of the Party's Central Committee and a Vice-Premier of the State Council, was its secretary. The present secretary is a young woman, Kuo Feng-lien.

Tachai-Type County

Following the 1964 call by Chairman Mao to learn from Tachai, a mass movement has developed that serves as a powerful motive force to push agricultural development ahead in China. Tachai-type production brigades and communes have been springing up all over the country. There have been bumper harvests for many years running while farmland capital construction has grown in scale and mechanization of agriculture has been speeded up. China's grain output in 1974 was 2.4 times that of 1949 when the country was liberated. This year is another good harvest year. The nation's 800 million now have enough food and enough clothing. This is a great victory, a fact that even our enemies have to admit.

Since the two bourgeois headquarters with Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao as their chieftains were destroyed and their counter-revolutionary revisionist line was repudiated in the Great Cultural Revolution, Chairman Mao's revolutionary line has been implemented in a still better way and the movement to learn from Tachai has been rolling on with growing vigour. In 1970 Hsiyang, the county where Tachai is, succeeded in building itself into a Tachai-type county after three years of arduous struggle.

China's administrative structure is divided into provinces, autonomous regions of the national minorities and municipalities directly under the central authorities. Provinces and autonomous regions, roughly speaking, are divided into prefectures which are subdivided into counties (rural districts in municipalities directly under the central authorities are also classified as counties). Under a county, there are a number of people's communes, these being the rural political power at the grass-roots level combining government administration with commune management. Under a commune, there are production brigades usually made up of a number

Figures on Tachai

Population: Over 450 inhabitants in 83 households, with a labour force of 160 men and women.

Land: Close to 53 hectares in the past, now 56 hectares averaging a little over 1/10 hectare per head.

Grain Output: Before liberation, the average annual yield was less than 0.75 ton per hectare, and the highest total yearly output was 40 tons. The output in 1974 was 385 tons in spite of three consecutive years of severe drought.

Income From Forestry, Animal Husbandry and Side-Line Occupations: In 1974 it was 77 times that of 1955 in the early period of agricultural co-operation.

Total Income: Compared with 1955, an 11-fold rise in 1974 reaching 194,800 yuan.

Grain for the State: Grain delivered and sold to the state between 1955 and 1958 averaged 52.5 tons per annum. Between 1971 and 1974, the average was 165 tons per annum, i.e., each household delivered or sold an average of 2 tons.

Commune Members' Income: Average per capita income directly distributed to brigade members in 1955 was 66 yuan. In 1974, 176 yuan, an increase of 2.7 times. (The proportion of increase in the public accumulation and public welfare funds is much larger. That of the former has enhanced the ability to expand reproduction and mechanization. The rise in the latter brings the commune members more collective welfare.)

Housing for Commune Members: More than 770 new brick rooms or stone cave rooms have been built, 1.8 times more than in the past, an average of three rooms for two persons.

of production teams. At present, there are over 2,200 counties in the whole country.

Building a Tachai-type county means introducing Tachai's basic experience to the whole county so that the leadership at all levels and every department can work in the Tachai way to ensure that the overwhelming majority or most of the communes and production brigades in the county are of the Tachai type.

In the Taihang Mountains, Hsiyang County has little arable land with a thin topsoil, and there used to be a dearth of water sources. Tachai is one of the 411 production brigades there. Agricultural production in Hsiyang did make some progress after liberation. Later, however, because a leading member of the former county Party committee followed Liu Shao-chi's revisionist line and failed to learn from Tachai, total grain output between 1960 and 1966 actually dipped by 15 per cent.

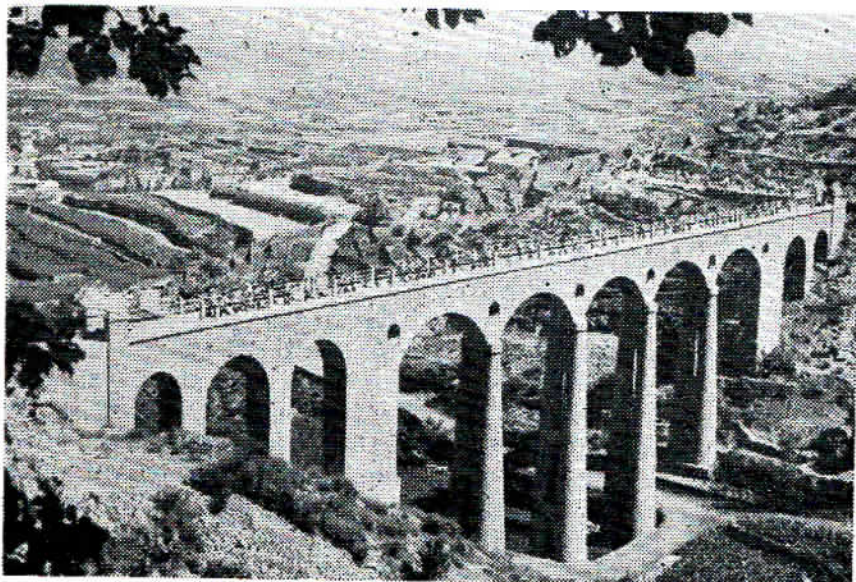
The Great Cultural Revolution was launched in 1966 and Hsiyang started learning from Tachai in earnest the next year. Led by the county's new Party committee, the Hsiyang people vehemently criticized revisionism and capitalism, and set about transforming the mountains and taming the rivers on a gigantic scale. Total grain output doubled in the three years between 1967 and 1969 and it tripled in the five years up to 1971. There was much progress also in forestry, animal husbandry and side-line occupations. As a result, the local inhabitants have become far better off with the rapid growth of the collective economy.

The year 1970 witnessed the convocation of the Agricultural Conference of the Northern Areas. Delegates to the conference visited Tachai and the Hsiyang people shared their experience with them. During the conference, the Peking *Renmin Ribao*, organ of the Party's Central Committee, published the editorial "Learn From Tachai in Agriculture." "The fact that Hsiyang has become a Tachai-type county," observed *Renmin Ribao* editorially, "has presented a very pointed question to the leading comrades of various counties: Can't you accomplish what Hsiyang has achieved? If you can't do it in one year or two, what about in three years? At any rate, four to five years should be quite enough!"

Five years have passed and more than 300 counties have emerged throughout the country, distinguishing themselves as advanced units in learning from Tachai. Tachai-type communes and production brigades have emerged in still greater numbers, and a revolutionary torrent of learning from Tachai has taken shape in many areas and a number of provinces.

A Great March

The recent National Conference on Learning From Tachai in Agriculture was a large-scale conference of far-reaching significance convened since the founding of



The newly built aqueduct at Tachai.

New China. The 3,700 delegates included leading personnel of the provinces, municipalities, autonomous regions, prefectures, counties and state farms; advanced men and women on the agricultural front; agro-scientists and technicians; people working in the finance and commerce departments as well as school graduates who have settled in the countryside. They first met at Hsiyang and then in Peking to review the achievements made and they had lively discussions about their future tasks.

China now is in an important period of historical development. The whole nation is carrying out Chairman Mao's important instructions on studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat to combat and prevent revisionism, promoting stability and unity and pushing the national economy forward. There must be a big advance in agriculture. The Fourth National People's Congress (the Congress is the highest organ of state power under the leadership of the Party), which was held early this year, has mapped out a splendid and grand programme for the modernization of agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology before the end of the century, so that our national economy will be advancing in the front ranks of the world. A key link in this endeavour is to speed up the modernization of agriculture which is the foundation of the national economy. Internationally, the factors of revolution and war are both growing. It is imperative to develop agriculture in a big way so as to race for time and speed and do a good job of getting prepared against war.

Conference delegates were unanimous that the situation is excellent and at the same time pressing, that they must not rest content with merely having some Tachai-type communes and production brigades, and that they must build Tachai-type counties as Hsiyang did.

Hua Kuo-feng, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Vice-Premier of the State Council, made a summing-up report at the conference (see *Peking Review*, No. 44, 1975). "Build Tachai-type counties throughout the country!" The clarion call to action was sounded.

To build Tachai-type counties throughout the country means building every county into a fighting bastion which adheres to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and the socialist road. This will not only help promote the rapid growth of China's agriculture and the national economy as a whole but will also further consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist system in our country.

The conference called for turning more than one-third of the nation's counties into Tachai-type ones by 1980. This means that, besides continuing to consolidate and develop the existing 300-odd advanced counties in

learning from Tachai, an average of at least 100 new Tachai-type counties will be built annually in the next five years.

The conference also discussed how to ensure mechanization of agriculture in the main before 1980, so that 70 per cent of the main jobs in farming, forestry, animal husbandry, side-line occupations and fishery will be done by machines.

In retrospect, developments in China's countryside since the 1940s were initiated by the land reform in which the peasants in their hundreds of millions sprang into action and destroyed the feudal land owner-

ship. The movement for agricultural co-operation in the early 50s transformed the individual peasant economy into a socialist collective economy. In 1958 came the surging tide of establishing people's communes. All these great revolutionary movements, which took place under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and the leadership of the Communist Party, have played their part in bringing about big progress in agriculture and profound changes in the countryside. Learning from Tachai and building Tachai-type counties throughout the country is yet another great revolutionary movement in China's countryside whose far-reaching significance will be fully borne out by history.

Under Cover of "Detente" and "Disarmament"

New Tsars' Feverish Arms Expansion And War Preparations

IN recent years, the Brezhnev clique has been fervently chanting its song of praise to "detente" and "disarmament" and sedulously trying to impress the world that it is the very archangel who would bring peace to humanity. But it is in these years that the Soviet social-imperialists have thrown themselves body and soul into a feverish arms expansion and war preparations drive.

In the past, tsarist Russia was known as a state of military and feudal imperialism which sustained aggression and expansion abroad through its recklessly inflated military power. Outdoing their predecessors, the new tsars in the Kremlin today, in rivalry with U.S. imperialism for world domination, have given top priority to arms expansion and war preparations and devoted ever more manpower, material and money to military purposes.

Drastic Rise in Military Spending

Soviet military spending has risen sharply for more than a decade. According to statistical data gathered from various sources, the average annual rate of increase in actual Soviet military expenditure was 9.7 per cent during the 14 years ending 1974: 9 per cent in the five years 1961-65; 11.1 per cent in the five years 1966-70; and 11.9 per cent in the four years 1971-74. The 1974 military expenditure was nearly four times that of 1960.

The share of military spending in the national income has registered a similar increase. It was 13.1 per cent in 1960, 17.1 per cent in 1970 and 19.6 per cent in

1974. The percentage in the Soviet Union today is about the same as that reached by Hitlerite Germany on the eve of World War II and greatly surpasses the levels attained by the United States at the time of its war of aggression in Korea and then in Viet Nam and in the present period. According to official Soviet statistics, the Soviet Union's national income is about 66 per cent of that of the United States, while actual military spending tops that of the United States by 20 per cent. In 1974, 35 per cent of the Soviet Government's expenditure actually was swallowed up by its military machine.

The militarization of the Soviet national economy has reached truly glaring proportions. The Brezhnev clique calls for "an economy which can guarantee the waging of a war by either nuclear fragmentation means or conventional weapons." As a result, the economy has been turned into a special war economy in the past 20 years with the munition industry swelling up lopsidedly while the consumer goods industry and agriculture remain in a grave state of backwardness. It was reported that 60 per cent of Soviet industrial enterprises were geared to military purposes.

To prepare industries for wartime production, the Brezhnev clique has altered the pattern of industrial disposition, set up several munition industry belts and increased strategic stockpiles. Especially noteworthy is the fact that in the last few years the Kremlin bosses have turned more and more to Western countries for huge credits, advanced technical know-how and equipment and grain as a convenient expedient for coping with the staggering consequences of a militarized

economy and further boosting the potential to keep up the arms race and war preparations.

Increasing Production of Nuclear and Conventional Weapons

The expansion of the Soviet arsenal, both nuclear and conventional, has been rapid. In the last decade or so, the two superpowers have concluded agreements supposedly to limit their nuclear weapons, but the more they professed to impose limitations, the more they inflated their arsenals. Moscow's rush for nuclear supremacy has been particularly glaring. According to Western press reports, in the case of ICBMs, in 1962, the United States had 294 as against the Soviet Union's 75; in 1969, it was 1,054 against 1,050; and in 1975, the United States remains at the 1969 level, while the number of Soviet ICBMs has soared to 1,618, 564 more than what the United States possesses. In the 13 years from 1962 to 1975, the number of Soviet ICBMs increased nearly 22 times, seven times faster than that of the United States.

In the case of submarine-launched ballistic missiles, the United States had 224 in 1963, while the Soviet Union had 100; in 1975, the former has 656 and the latter 784, that is, 128 more than the former. Thus, in the 12 years up to 1975, the number of Soviet SLBMs increased nearly eightfold, 3.5 times faster than that of the United States.

The Soviet Union today is more or less on a par with the United States in nuclear armaments. The former excels the latter in the number of nuclear-capable delivery systems and in the yield of nuclear warheads, but is inferior in technology and accuracy. To overcome its weak points, the Soviet Union has since 1972 speeded up trial production and deployment of four new-type missiles and has successfully tested its multiple independently-targetable missiles. It is intensifying its efforts in the race for overall nuclear supremacy.

Total tonnage of Soviet naval craft has doubled in the past ten years. Despite the smaller number of strategic bombers, the Soviet Union enjoys overwhelming superiority over the United States in the number of conventional combat aircraft. It also has far outstripped the United States in armaments for land forces. For instance, according to data from the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London, the Soviet army now has 40,000 tanks as against the 10,000 of the U.S. army.

Numbers in the Soviet armed forces have grown steadily. While remaining at the level of over three million in the 60s, they rose sharply in the first years of the 70s and now have reached 4,200,000, nearly twice the numbers in the U.S. armed forces — 2,130,000.

The Soviet Union also has adopted a series of measures to enlarge the source of reserves and reinforce its wartime mobilization system. Under the new conscription law effected in 1968, the age of induction begins at 18 instead of 19. The number of those enjoying defer-

ment from service is cut and pre-service military training carried out among the youngsters. The term of service for privates has been shortened by a year, but that for officers prolonged and a new military rank of warrant officer (the lowest rank) has been instituted. All this has not only enlarged the source of recruits and increased the number of servicemen and officers, but greatly expanded the reserves of both officers and men. According to data from the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London, Soviet reserves of men and officers came to 25 million, with nearly six million having served in the armed forces in the last five years.

The Soviet Union has frequently held different kinds of military exercises. In the last decade, many large-scale military manoeuvres were carried out by the Soviet forces themselves or together with those of Warsaw Treaty member countries. To demonstrate its global operation capability, it held a naval exercise on an unprecedented scale last April, involving over 200 warships and support vessels.

A Stimulant to War Adventures

All these facts clearly show that the Soviet social-imperialists have in recent years pushed the arms race to a new high and a marked change has taken place in the balance of military power between the two superpowers.

Lenin pointed out: "Any other basis under capitalism for the division of spheres of influence, of interests, of colonies, etc., than a calculation of the strength of the participants in the division, their general economic, financial, military strength, etc., is inconceivable." (*Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*.) He also wrote in the same work that "once the relation of forces is changed, what other solution of the contradictions can be found under capitalism than that of force?" The build-up of military strength by the Soviet social-imperialists is certainly a stimulant to their policy of war adventures.

Time and again the Soviet social-imperialists have been bragging recently that "on the whole front of global confrontation," they are "historically on the offensive" and that they will "launch an extensive and really general offensive" backed by military might.

Meanwhile, the Brezhnev clique has stressed that the Soviet armed forces should be ready "for a war using any weapons," and for "launching a tactical offensive with or without nuclear weapons."

To build up all-round military supremacy over the other superpower, the clique is now energetically speeding up the "wheels of the arms race" and "material preparations for a world war."

This stern reality has enabled the world's people to see through the true features of the Soviet social-imperialists more and more clearly. At the same time, it is a stinging rebuke to those who try to check, with the help of "disarmament" and "detente," the momentum of the Soviet arms expansion and war preparations.

At United Nations

The Korean Question Must Be Settled By the Korean People Themselves

The United Nations General Assembly at a plenary meeting on November 18 adopted a resolution on Korea jointly submitted by Algeria, China and 41 other nations by a vote of 54 in favour to 43 against with 42 abstentions.

The resolution demands "the dissolution of the 'United Nations Command' and withdrawal of all the foreign troops stationed in south Korea under the flag of the United Nations" and "calls upon the real parties to the armistice agreement to replace the Korean Military Armistice Agreement with a peace agreement as a measure to ease tension and maintain and consolidate peace in Korea."

The resolution "urges the north and the south of Korea to observe the principles of the North-South Joint Statement and take practical measures for ceasing arms reinforcement, reducing the armed forces of both sides drastically to an equal level, preventing armed conflicts and guaranteeing against the use of force against the other side, and thereby remove the military confrontation and maintain a durable peace in Korea, conducive to accelerating the independent and peaceful reunification of the country."

Another draft resolution on Korea submitted by the United States and others was adopted at the General Assembly.

Following are excerpts of the speech by Chinese Representative Huang Hua at the plenary meeting:

HUANG Hua said that the current session of the General Assembly has adopted by a majority the draft resolution submitted by Algeria and 42 other countries. This is an important step taken by the United Nations in the right direction towards the settlement of the Korean question. This is a victory of the just struggle of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the entire Korean people who have long pursued the cause of independent and peaceful reunification of their fatherland, as well as a common victory of the people of the third world countries who support each other and fight in unity.

Huang Hua pointed out that the 43-nation resolution adopted by the General Assembly has set forth the correct and effective propositions for the settlement of the Korean question. A number of important measures stipulated in the resolution are aimed at terminating foreign interference, removing tension and creating favourable conditions for accelerating the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea. This fully conforms to the urgent desire of the Korean people for the

independent and peaceful reunification of their country, reflects the current situation in the Korean Peninsula and the rest of Asia and the needs of our time and is conducive to the fundamental improvement of the situation in the Korean Peninsula and Northeast Asia. All the important provisions of the resolution must be implemented without delay and in a comprehensive way.

Huang Hua said: "The draft resolution of the United States and others made no mention whatsoever of the vital issue of the withdrawal of U.S. troops from south Korea. On the contrary, during the debate the U.S. representative has gone so far as to declare that less than 300 of the U.S. troops stationed in south Korea belong to the 'U.N. Command,' that the remaining 40,000 and more U.S. troops are present in south Korea in accordance with the so-called 'U.S.-ROK' treaty, and that therefore they are not bound by the resolution. This is a downright sophistry which is completely untenable. As is known to all, all the U.S. troops have been introduced into south Korea under the U.N. flag. Up till September 1974, the U.S. representative had declared at the meetings of the Korean Military Armistice Commission that U.S. troops were stationed in south Korea as 'U.N. force.' A few days thereafter the U.S. side abruptly changed its tune by saying that the 40,000 and more U.S. troops were stationed in south Korea in accordance with the so-called 'U.S.-ROK' bilateral defence arrangement.' The United States tries to alter the fact that the U.S. troops are stationed in south Korea as 'U.N. force' by means of removing its 'helmet.' But how can it succeed? It must be noted that the 'armistice agreement,' which the United States has kept on declaring its intention of preserving, explicitly provides for 'ceasing the introduction into Korea of reinforcing military personnel' except for the rotation of the 'U.N. forces' then in south Korea 'on a man-for-man basis.' One may ask: Do the so-called U.S. troops not belonging to the 'U.N. Command' fall from heaven? Furthermore, the Korean Armistice Agreement has affirmed the principle of withdrawal of all foreign forces from Korea. The sophistry on the part of the United States precisely shows that it has violated the 'armistice agreement' which it declares it wants to preserve and that it has contravened the basic principles of the U.N. Charter. The United States tries to justify the presence of U.S. troops in south Korea with the above sophistry. This is of course absolutely impermissible."

Huang Hua said: "The prolonged refusal of U.S. troops to quit south Korea is the root cause of the present tension in the Korean Peninsula as well as the main

obstacle to the realization of independent and peaceful reunification by the Korean people. The purpose of the draft resolution of the United States and others is none other than to use the dissolution of the 'U.N. Command' as a pretence in exchange for the legalization of the perpetual presence of U.S. troops in south Korea and the continued creation of 'two Koreas.' In fact, the 'U.N. Command' has long become the 'U.S. command' in every sense. Evidently, the dissolution of the so-called 'U.N. Command' must be settled together with the withdrawal of U.S. troops from south Korea, and the two must not be separated. The use of any pretext to justify the continued presence of U.S. troops in south Korea is in violation of the principle of the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea which has been confirmed by the General Assembly."

As the resolution submitted by Algeria and 42 other nations has been formally adopted by the General Assembly, Huang Hua stressed, the U.S. draft resolution is certainly of no value and completely null and void.

Cyprus' Independence and Sovereignty Must Be Respected

The United Nations General Assembly on November 20 adopted a resolution on the question of Cyprus submitted by Algeria and five other states.

The resolution calls upon "all states to respect the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus and to refrain from all acts and interventions directed against it."

It calls for the immediate resumption of the negotiations between the representatives of the Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities, and urges the withdrawal of all foreign armed forces and foreign military presence and personnel from Cyprus, and the cessation of all foreign interference in its affairs.

Before voting, Chinese Representative Lai Ya-li said: In our statement at the plenary meeting on November 14, the Chinese Delegation already expounded in a comprehensive way the Chinese Government's position on the question of Cyprus. Based on the above position, the Chinese Delegation has decided to vote in favour of the draft resolution submitted by Algeria and five other countries. But we have reservations on the portion of the above draft resolution concerning the U.N. force.

Following are excerpts of his speech at the plenary meeting on November 14:

LAI Ya-li said: "The question of Cyprus is a legacy of imperialist colonial rule. This question has been complicated to the present degree mainly because of the active meddling and intervention by the two superpowers, each of which tries hard to put this island of

Huang Hua continued: "The Korean people are the masters of Korea. The Korean question must be settled by the Korean people themselves free from any outside interference. The prolonged U.S. military aggression and gross intervention in Korea by illegally usurping the name of the United Nations have evoked the strong opposition of the entire Korean people and the people of the world. The U.S. obstinate procrastination of a settlement of the Korean question will only land itself in a more passive and isolated position."

"It must be pointed out that all artificially divided countries will eventually realize their national reunification. This is the general trend and popular demand, which no force on earth can frustrate. We are deeply convinced that with the support of the people of the world, the entire Korean people will do away with interference by outside force and realize the independent and peaceful reunification of their country. The Chinese people will as always fight shoulder to shoulder with the fraternal Korean people and support them in their just struggle until final victory," Huang Hua concluded.

strategic importance under its own influence and control; the internal cause is the lack of a satisfactory solution to the question between the two communities on the island.

"Where there is contention between the two superpowers, there is endless suffering for the people. Their contention has extended to every corner of the globe, the focus of their contention being in Europe. Social-imperialism has shown greater aggressiveness in the contention. Strategically, in the recent period, it has more often resorted to the manoeuvres of outflanking Europe in a devious way. In the northern flank, it has stretched its tentacles to the Barents Sea and the North Sea, in the southern flank, apart from meddling in the Iberian Peninsula, it has worked hard to infiltrate into the Balkans and the East Mediterranean in an attempt to make a breach in Southern Europe. This is an important component of its plan for contention in Europe and for global expansion. Situated in a place of strategic importance in the East Mediterranean, Cyprus has naturally become a target of fierce contention between the two superpowers. This is exactly how things have turned out."

He pointed out: Over the past year and more, both superpowers have given revealing performances on the question of Cyprus. As a result of its meddling in the Cyprus question, one superpower suffered from its own manoeuvres and found itself in passivity. Then it tried to mend the fence, yet its strength was not equal to its ambition. The other superpower, styling itself the "friend" of the Cypriot people, is even more mali-

cious in its behaviour. Supporting one party today and the other party the next day, playing fast and loose and changing its attitudes now and then, it has done its utmost to sow dissension and incite troubles so as to aggravate the situation and fish in troubled waters. To this end, it has racked its brains to produce a great variety of proposals and suggestions for "internationalization," and even did not hesitate to exert gross pressure on a number of third world countries. This has inevitably met with the opposition of the aforesaid countries and the people of the countries concerned. That is why it cannot succeed. What calls for attention is that recently it is talking profusely about "friendship" trying to woo different parties. At the same time, it has resorted to a changing variety of tactics to utilize the contradictions by various means and sabotage the intercommunal talks on Cyprus overtly and covertly. What is more, over the past year and more it has been constantly reinforcing its military strength in the Mediterranean and its warships have been dashing around in the vicinity of Cyprus. Are not the above series of acts on its part ample evidence of its vicious intent?

He stressed: "The people of Cyprus who have a glorious anti-imperialist tradition have come to realize ever more clearly that the destiny of Cyprus must be taken into the hands of the Cypriot people themselves and that in the final analysis only the Cypriot people

themselves can be relied on for a settlement of the Cyprus question. We have noted that although the Cyprus question has remained unsettled as a result of intervention by the superpowers, thanks to the joint efforts of the parties concerned, the leaders of the Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities have held a number of meetings and achieved some initial progress on certain matters over the past year and more. This is a good beginning.

"We firmly hold that the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus must be respected. Cyprus, Turkey and Greece are all friends of China. We have all suffered from the imperialist tactics of sowing discord and 'divide and rule.' We fully understand that the problem is rather complicated and that in view of the above existing factors some time will be required for a settlement of the issues left over from history and the immediate issues before us. Nevertheless, we believe and earnestly hope that the two Cypriot communities and the countries concerned, bearing in mind the overall interests, will remove superpower meddling, intervention and sabotage and take a positive attitude to hold peaceful negotiations and settle their differences step by step on the basis of equality and, in a spirit of sincerity, mutual understanding and mutual accommodation, and that in so doing, the Cyprus question will be settled reasonably in the end."

Speech by Chinese Representative at FAO Conference

The 18th Session of the U.N. Food and Agriculture Organization Conference opened in Rome on November 8 with the participation of delegations of more than 100 countries. Apart from studying the programme of work and budget for 1976 and 1977, this bi-annual conference lays emphasis on discussing the long-term trend and policies for world food and agricultural development as well as the implementation of the resolutions of the World Food Conference. Following are excerpts of the speech by Yang Li-kung, Head of the Chinese Delegation and Vice-Minister of Agriculture and Forestry, at the plenary session of the conference on November 14.

YANG Li-kung stressed that only when the third world countries achieve and safeguard their political and economic independence and shake off colonialist and imperialist plunder and control, will they be able to develop their national economies self-reliantly and in a planned way and ensure a better and faster development of their food and agricultural production.

He said: "Encouraged by the current excellent international situation, the numerous third world coun-

tries and people, uniting themselves and fearing no duress, have launched a struggle against imperialist, and particularly superpowers' control, plunder and exploitation in the international sphere of food and agriculture. At the same time, many third world countries are adopting effective measures and making great efforts in the spirit of independence and self-reliance to increase the output of food grains so as to change the lopsided state of their agricultural production created by colonialism. Some countries have attained or are attaining self-sufficiency in food: they no longer live on imported food."

He continued: "Many second world countries have also made progress in food production. Among them there is an increasingly evident trend towards shaking off superpower control and stepping up dialogues and contacts with third world countries."

Superpowers' Real Aims

He pointed out: "In the face of this excellent situation of struggle, the two superpowers are getting more and more isolated; beset with troubles at home and abroad, they are having a very tough time."

"Of late, one superpower has more than once bragged about its food producing capability and spread the pessimistic view that developing countries will face an increasingly serious food problem," Yang Li-kung said. "This superpower has dished up a 'global food strategy' and repeatedly said that it wants to assume 'leading responsibility' in the field of food. Its 'global food strategy' is a strategy of 'using food as a weapon.' In fact, this so-called strategy is nothing but a new trick by which this superpower seeks stubbornly to preserve the old international economic order and continue its policy of intensifying control and exploitation of the third world people by means of food. To put it bluntly, its 'leading responsibility' based on this strategy is aimed at keeping the third world countries subservient under its wilful sway, exploitation and plunder as before. This superpower has also assiduously preached that 'the international economic system should be based on interdependence.' This is nothing new. This interdependence has been in existence ever since the emergence of a single world market. The question is that under the old international economic system interdependence can only be that between exploiters and exploited, between plunderers and plundered. The purpose of advertising such 'interdependence' is to preserve the old economic relations and perpetuate the exploitation of the third world."

Yang Li-kung noted: "The other superpower, which claims to be a 'natural ally' of the third world, bought up large quantities of food two years ago, causing shortage in supply and a sharp rise in food prices to the great detriment of some third world countries and people who are short of food. This remains fresh in their memory. This year, this superpower has again bought up large amounts of food in the world market, causing trouble and dislocation and benefiting itself at the expense of others. Moreover, it is also seen playing the overlord on the oceans. It opposes the reasonable demand of the third world countries and other countries for the establishment of an exclusive economic zone of 200 nautical miles, disregards the sovereignty of coastal countries and rapaciously plunders fishery resources in waters off the coast of other countries. These actions fully lay bare the hypocritical features of this 'natural ally.' This superpower has spared no effort to peddle to the third world such trash as 'international division of labour' and 'economic integration' and boast how its 'economic co-operation' with the third world has added 'an international economic relationship of a new type.' But no matter how nice its words may sound, it is not difficult to expose its fraud by referring to its actual deeds. Its so-called 'international division of labour,' 'economic integration' and 'economic co-operation' are synonyms of economic exploitation or plunder. In essence, they serve the objectives of bringing the third world countries into its social-imperialist system of economic exploitation and reducing them to its source of cheap agricultural produce, its market for dumping poor-quality industrial goods and its outlet for capital investment. In all this, it has outdone old-line colonialism and imperialism."

He stressed: "This superpower has also insidiously preached such platitudes as 'development depends on detente' and 'funds saved from disarmament can be used to aid those developing countries which face the most serious food problem.' Its so-called 'detente' is in fact nothing but a camouflage for its fiercer rivalry with the other superpower. While paying lip-service to 'disarmament,' it is actually using wealth extorted from developing countries to constantly step up its own arms expansion and war preparations. This superpower that is most zealous in mouthing 'detente' and 'disarmament' is precisely the most dangerous source of war in the world today."

China's Experience and Stand

Yang Li-kung said: "We developing countries, with our large industrious populations, our long experience in production and our abundant agricultural resources, have great potentialities for developing food and agricultural production. So long as we free ourselves from foreign control and exploitation, grasp our own economic lifelines, extensively arouse the masses, rely on our own strength, make full use of national resources, formulate and implement correct policies in the light of our specific circumstances, and train and expand our own contingents of scientists and technicians, we can certainly develop our national economy, solve the food problem and lift ourselves from poverty and backwardness."

He continued: "China is a developing socialist country. We have adhered to the policy of independence and self-reliance, plain living and hard work and diligence and thrift in building the country. In developing the national economy, our policy is 'take agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor.' In developing agriculture, our policy is 'take grain as the key link and ensure an all-round development.' A mass movement of 'In agriculture, learn from Tachai' is in full swing all over China. Full play is given to the strength of the collective economy of the rural people's communes and the masses of commune members. Farmland capital construction centred on soil improvement and water conservancy is undertaken in a big way so as to improve conditions for agricultural production. Consequently, good harvests have been reaped for 13 years running and another good harvest has been gathered this year after conquering fairly serious natural disasters. New progress has also been made in forestry, animal husbandry, sideline occupations and fishery."

He stressed: "We have learnt from our own experience that in the course of developing the national economy independently and self-reliantly, it is essential to correctly handle the relationship between agriculture, light industry and heavy industry, and make national economic plans according to this order of priorities: agriculture, light industry and heavy industry. Priority is given to the development of agriculture to solve the problem of feeding and clothing the people, to supply industry with raw materials, markets and funds, so as to

(Continued on p. 18.)



Workers' Forum (III)

Workers and Peasants Have Risen In Their Millions

DURING the early stage of the Chinese people's revolutionary armed struggle, Chairman Mao in 1931 wrote the following line in an inspiring poem: "Workers and peasants have risen in their millions to fight as one man." It was by relying on the workers and peasants that the revolutionary wars were finally crowned with victory. After the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the masses of workers and peasants, too, had to be relied on for its consolidation. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution personally initiated and led by Chairman Mao is a general rehearsal participated in by hundreds of millions of people to prevent the restoration of capitalism. Workers, peasants and soldiers are the main force in criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius. The current movement to study the Marxist-Leninist theory of the proletarian dictatorship is also a mass movement. As instructed by Chairman Mao, this question "should be made known to the whole nation."

Those with bourgeois prejudices consider that we working people are unable to master theory and are not qualified to criticize Confucius, because, they say, we have no "learning." The movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius in our plant has proved that such a notion is entirely groundless.

Universal "Disinfection"

There is a popular saying in our plant: "Let's sweep away the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius from every nook and corner." Within a few months after the movement was launched in January 1974, many fallacies of Confucius and Mencius were criticized in meetings or big-character posters. It can be said that everybody took part, thereby making the criticisms known to all. This is something which cannot be accomplished even if many universities of liberal arts are set up.

Bad Books Criticized. As the movement went deeper, some veteran workers in the No. 2 workshop suggested that *San Tzu Ching (Three-Character Rhymes)* be criticized. Edited by a Confucian scholar during the Southern Sung Dynasty (1127-1279 A.D.), this book in rhymed sentences with three characters each publicized the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius in an all-round way and was regarded as a primer by the reactionary

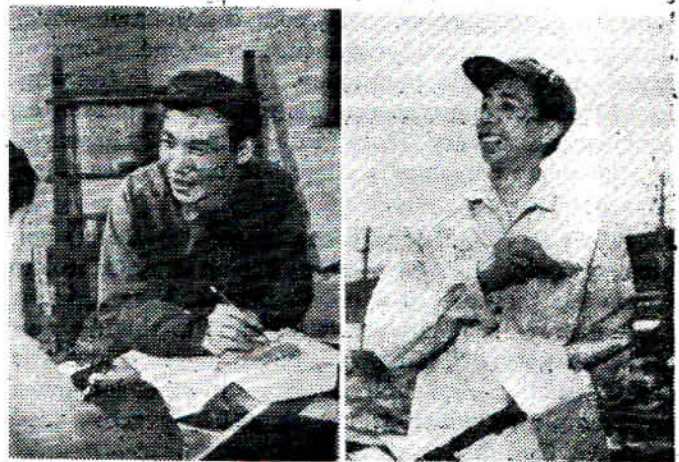
This is the third in a series of articles written by six workers at the Shanghai No. 5 Steel Plant reviewing their factory's movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius.

rulers in the past. As a result its pernicious influence had gone far and wide.

The Party organization supported the workers' suggestion and organized them to criticize the book. Instead of making scholastic investigations or empty "academic" research, we got hold of the book's main fallacies and criticized them by closely linking them with reality.

Many wrong ideas were criticized. Here we mention just one example—the "theory of human nature" publicized by the landlord and capitalist classes. "Man's nature is good at birth" is the opening sentence of the book, which preached supra-class "benevolence." If this is true, then the landlord and capitalist classes, the imperialists, colonialists and other reactionaries are all "good by nature" and would show "benevolence" to the oppressed people and nations. The supra-class "fraternity" vaunted by the Western bourgeoisie and "everything for man" and "everything for the happiness of man" advocated by the Soviet revisionists are of the same stuff.

This is diametrically opposed to the proletarian viewpoint, that is, the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint. We hold that "there is only human nature in the concrete, no human nature in the abstract. In class society there is only human nature of a class character; there is no human nature above classes." (Mao Tsetung: *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art.*) The workers castigated the hypocrisy of "benevolence" by citing examples from their bitter suffering in the old society.



Trade union cadre Wang Hsiu-kuo (left) and oxyacetylene cutter Pei Nien-chou, who have taken part in writing this series of articles.

They further asked: "Would the bosses in capitalist countries now plagued by economic crisis show benevolence when they sack workers to cut production?" "Would the rulers in the Soviet Union show kindness when they throw large numbers of people who dare to rebel against them into concentration camps and 'asylums'?" Through criticism we have come to understand that acceptance of the reactionary viewpoint that "man's nature is good at birth" would lead to the abolition of both proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Our criticism of the *Three-Character Rhymes* proved to be a good method of deepening and broadening the movement. The workers followed up by searching "the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius from every nook and corner" and criticized 14 bad books that had been spread widely in the old society. One of these is *Poems for Gifted Children*, which advocated the study of books by Confucius and Mencius from childhood so that they could get high official positions and make money when they grew up, as the verse goes: "Of all trades and professions, learning is the highest." Another bad book is *Guide to Women's Manners*, which preached that "men are superior to women." It set the criteria for women's speech and conduct and even prescribed that women should speak softly.

Though these obnoxious books can no longer be openly circulated since liberation, the exploiting classes' ideology they advocate still poison the minds of the people. If their influences are not done away with, the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat will be affected. The harsh facts in the Soviet Union today tell us by negative example how important it is to clear away such ideological garbage. In that self-styled "developed socialist" country, a large number of young people have been corrupted ideologically. They are unwilling to be workers or peasants but anxious to get "doctorates" or become "academicians" for personal fame and gain. Also in the Soviet Union, prostitution, the worst form of degradation of women forced on them by the exploiting classes, is being revived.

Bad Proverbs Criticized. Later, the workers pointed out that some proverbs have the poison of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. They collected the most widely used proverbs and analysed them one by one. Some are healthy and are still good today. "Nothing in the world is difficult for one who sets his mind to it." "Man can conquer nature," and "A fall into the pit, a gain in your wit" are a few examples. The bad ones we criticized. Here are two examples.

"Life and death are preordained, riches and honours come from heaven." These are actually Confucius' words but they are so widely used that they have become a proverb. Many varieties exist to this day, one of which goes: "Man plans, but heaven decides." It is said that there are similar versions in other languages, an example of which is the English proverb: "Man proposes, God disposes."

At a meeting, a veteran worker recalled his experience. Before liberation, he worked in a Shanghai

factory owned by a foreign capitalist. When the workers got organized and demanded better living conditions, the foreign boss told them: "Your Chinese sage Confucius long ago said: 'Life and death are preordained, riches and honours come from heaven.' There is no need to ask for something which is not your lot." Another veteran worker recollected: "I was a worker in a Chinese capitalist's factory. That fellow often used the proverb: 'Cows eat grass, ducks eat grain, each has its fate.' It meant that the wealth of the capitalists and the poverty of the workers were determined by birth." Through criticism we have come to understand that they are the same stuff as the theory of "heaven's will" preached by Confucius. They are mental shackles imposed on the working people by the exploiting classes in the hope that they would give up struggle, willingly submit to "heaven's will" and accept the exploiting system as everlasting.

Other proverbs propagate the exploiting classes' selfish ideas, like "Good food and good clothing — that's the aim in life." Another example is: "He who is not for himself will be killed by heaven and earth." It is said that there are similar sayings in other languages, such as in English, "Each for himself and the devil take the hindmost."

There is no construction without destruction. The process of discarding such decadent traditional concepts is also the process of praising and disseminating proletarian new ideas. It enhances the revolutionary drive of "battling the elements and fighting the class enemies" and the communist spirit of "serving the people wholeheartedly" and "utter devotion to others without any thought of self."

A Thorough Sweep-Up

Those with bourgeois prejudices consider that we working people may be able to make some criticism but it cannot be deep-going. But facts have proved to the contrary. The systematic criticism of the *Analects* by the workers' theoretical group in our plant's No. 2 workshop is an example. (See *Peking Review* Nos. 16, 18 and 19, 1975. — Ed.)

A record of Confucius' words and deeds, the *Analects* has about 500 sections in 20 chapters. Each section records several sayings by Confucius or his dialogues with his disciples. This ponderous book is full of obscurities and its logic tangled. But the central theme advocating retrogression and restoration of the old and opposing social changes permeates the book. For centuries this hotchpotch was regarded as a "bible" by the reactionary rulers and used by them to numb and poison the minds of the working people.

Expressing their determination to criticize it politically and ideologically, workers in the No. 2 workshop said: "We dare to trample the *Analects* underfoot." The Party organization gave strong support to the workers' initiative. Comrades in the theoretical group assiduously studied Marxism-Leninism and read reference material in the municipal and university libraries. College teachers and students as well as professional theoretical workers offered their help, explaining difficult pas-

sages in the *Analects* and other classics which are written in classical Chinese.

A comparatively systematic criticism of selected passages from the *Analects* was written after a few months, and was published in the Shanghai and Peking papers. The criticism, with a clear-cut viewpoint and written in easy-to-understand language, was widely praised by the working people. According to a rough estimate, various editions of the *Analects* (including foreign languages), books of annotations as well as books lauding the *Analects* ran to some 3,000, but none ever expressed the views of the working people.

That the callused hands of the working people are capable of writing articles criticizing the Confucian "bible" is first of all due to their studying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought with profound proletarian sentiments and grasping this sharp weapon. An example is their criticism of "benevolence" and "love all men" — subjects propagated repeatedly in the *Analects*. How did they analyse such sweet-sounding preachings?

"Marxism has provided the guidance, i.e., the theory of the class struggle, for the discovery of the laws governing this seeming maze and chaos." (Lenin: *Karl Marx*.) Comrades in the No. 2 workshop first of all studied the basic situation of class struggle during Confucius' time. In our previous article (see *Why Do We Criticize Confucius* in the last issue), we briefly explained the basic viewpoint that Confucius was the spokesman of the slave-owning aristocrats and the "benevolence" and "love all men" he preached concerned the slave-owning aristocrats only, not the slaves nor the feudal landlord class which represented the social progressive forces of that period. We have found that Confucius made a strict distinction in many of his sayings between the "superior men" and the "inferior men." By "superior men," he meant the slave-owning aristocrats, and "inferior men" referred to the slaves. "If there were no superior men, there would be no one to govern the rustics. If there were no rustics, there would be no one to feed the superior men." (*Mencius*.) From this, we can see that the "superior men" meant the rulers, and the "inferior men" meant the "rustics" or working people who fed the "superior men." "There are no inferior men who are benevolent." (*Analects*.) From this we can see that the slaves and other enslaved working people were excluded from "benevolence" by Confucius. By grasping class struggle as the guiding line, we can see through the appearance and get at the essence.

Another reason why we workers are able to criticize the reactionary classes' "bible" is because of our clear-



We are the main force in criticizing Lin Biao and Confucius.

Woodcut by Wang Chieh-yin

cut stand which is determined by our class status. A young comrade in the No. 2 workshop was assigned to criticizing the section propagating "benevolence is to love all men." He turned to the long-time workers for help. A veteran warehouse keeper recalled that in old Shanghai, the words "propriety, righteousness, honesty and a sense of shame" posted on the tall International Hotel were the same junk as Confucius' "benevolence." At that time, he worked in a factory near that hotel. With a gunny bag draped over his shoulders, he worked like a beast of burden all year round beside a hydrochloric acid bath, a job both heavy and risky. He said: "Did those capitalists love the workers? So-called 'love all men' is deception pure and simple, it means 'devouring the people!'"

After collecting a large quantity of material from actual life, members of the theoretical group studied the teachings of the revolutionary teachers once again. Chairman Mao has said: "There has been no such all-inclusive love since humanity was divided into classes. All the ruling classes of the past were fond of advocating it, and so were many so-called sages and wise men, but nobody has ever really practised it." (*Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art*.) Why then did they advocate 'love all men'? Lenin pointed out in *The Collapse of the Second International*: "All oppressing classes need two social functions to safeguard their rule: the function of the hangman and the function of the priest. The hangman is required to quell the protests and the indignation of the oppressed; the priest is required to console the oppressed, to paint for them the prospects of mitigation of their sufferings and sacrifices (this is particularly easy to do without guaranteeing that these prospects will be 'achieved'), while preserving class

rule, and thereby to reconcile them to class rule, wean them from revolutionary action, undermine their revolutionary spirit and destroy their revolutionary determination." We thus gained a deeper understanding.

"We don't want to be 'doctors' with fame or position, but we want to be fighters in combating and preventing revisionism' — this is how members of the workers' theoretical group encourage one another. Since we study not for our own sake, we do not care in the least for personal interests. Many comrades often study until the small hours after a day's work. Some keep on reading even when they are ill. Since we are entrusted by the working class, we do not do "research" in a secluded study, but persist in working with our mates and living among them so as to absorb nourishment from the masses' wisdom. Take the young comrade mentioned

above for example. He had solicited opinions and help from more than 40 veteran workers in order to criticize the section propagating "benevolence is to love all men." This is also the case with other comrades. Whenever articles are written, the writers always ask fellow-workers for opinions so as to revise and improve them.

The fruits of criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius show that not only can we working people overthrow the political rule of the landlord and capitalist classes, but we can thoroughly criticize the exploiting classes ideologically. We are determined to use Marxism to occupy the entire realm of the superstructure including philosophy, history, education, literature, art and law.

Together with the entire workers of our plant, our theoretical groups have since the beginning of this year been studying the theory of the proletarian dictatorship with still greater zeal and confidence.

(Continued from p. 14.)

promote the development of industry. A developing industry can in turn provide agriculture with technical equipment and other means of production. In developing agriculture, we pay special attention to the development of food production as the link to promote overall development in agriculture. This is because feeding the population is a matter of the first importance. A country will be in a passive position if it can't attain self-sufficiency in food and has to rely on food imports for subsistence. It will find itself in an even more critical situation in the event of natural calamities or the outbreak of war as a result of the rivalry between the two superpowers."

Yang Li-kung said: "The development of food and agricultural production by the third world is an important component of the current international struggle in the political and economic spheres. The solution of this problem is closely linked with the struggle against colonialism, imperialism and hegemonism and the struggle to destroy the old inequitable international economic order and establish a new international economic order."

Yang Li-kung then stated the following views on some questions to be discussed at this conference:

"1. In the field of production, it is essential to speed up the development of food production of the developing countries so as to gradually achieve self-sufficiency or basic self-sufficiency in food in these countries. This is an important link in solving the world food problem. Only when food production is developed, will a country gain the initiative in building reserves, improving consumption and expanding trade.

"2. In the field of trade, it is imperative to thoroughly change the existing unfavourable terms for the developing countries in the world trade in agricultural products. International trade in agricultural products should be based on the principle of equality, mutual benefit and the exchange of needed goods. We firmly support the reasonable proposals on the 'integrated programme for commodities' and the 'indexa-

tion of prices' recently put forward by the developing countries at the 7th Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly. We support the developing countries in their endeavour to set up various associations of agricultural products exporting countries for a united struggle against exploitation and monopoly. We support their demand for importing food and means of production at fair and reasonable prices.

"3. In the field of scientific research, it is necessary to lay emphasis on helping the developing countries undertake agronomical research, popularize practical and effective technique for increasing output, build and train their own agricultural technicians. International agronomical research should also serve the increase of food and agricultural output of the developing countries.

"4. We have consistently stood for relying mainly on one's own efforts, but this in no way means that the developed countries may shirk their due responsibility to the developing countries. Of course, aid must be provided on the basis of strict respect for the sovereignty and equality of the recipient countries, and must not be accompanied by any conditions. It is all the more impermissible to control and exploit the recipient countries in the name of 'aid.'

"5. We hold that all countries alike have the full right to take part in the discussion of, and decision-making on, world food and agriculture problems. Superpower monopoly and control are absolutely impermissible. Any international measure on food and agriculture must strictly respect the sovereignty of all countries and must not be compulsory. We are resolutely opposed to superpower practice of upsetting the market and profiteering at others' expense in the grain trade."

Yang Li-kung said in conclusion: "There are bright prospects for the future development of the world food and agricultural production. We believe that so long as the developing countries unite as one, ally with all the forces that can be allied with, and wage a joint struggle, they are sure to win new and still greater victories in establishing a new international economic order and solving world food and agriculture problems."

"Marx, Engels and Lenin on the Dictatorship of The Proletariat": Questions and Answers (9)

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

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

Question: In what circumstances did Lenin say this? What is its profound significance?

Answer: After the victory of the October Revolution, the imperialist countries jointly launched an armed intervention while domestic reactionaries took advantage of the situation to rebel, causing the Soviet regime to face serious economic difficulties, the threat of famine in particular. Workers in Moscow and Leningrad sometimes could only get one-eighth of a pound of bread a day. The Soviet regime at that time put into practice the surplus-grain appropriation system which required that the peasants lend their surplus grain to the state at a fixed price. The impoverished peasants firmly supported this policy, but a number of well-to-do peasants who had a surplus of hundreds of poods of grain did not deliver it to the workers' state as a loan to help the hungry workers; they profited with it and developed capitalism. Standing for a resolute crackdown on such speculative activities, Lenin pointed out: **"We shall fight against this to the last drop of blood. There can be no concessions in this matter."** (*Seventh All-Russia Congress of Soviets*.) However, the bourgeois representatives and opportunists wildly attacked the Bolshevik Party for doing this, calling it undemocratic. What Lenin said above was a rebuff to them.

The profound significance of this passage is that it points out that the bourgeoisie is born of commodity production. With iron-clad facts, it tells us that even in a socialist country under the dictatorship of the proletariat, new bourgeois elements will inevitably be engendered continuously so long as small commodity production exists. That is why the proletarian state must restrict bourgeois right in regard to the commodity

system and exchange through money and deal resolute blows at speculative activities.

Question: Small commodity production has been in existence for several thousand years, whereas capitalism only emerged in modern times. How then should we understand Lenin's remark that **"the bourgeoisie is born of commodity production"**?

Answer: Yes, commodity production, or the production of products for the purpose of exchange, already emerged towards the end of primitive society. At the time, the social division of labour which twice took place on a big scale — between animal husbandry and agriculture and between handicrafts and agriculture — pushed the development of production and gave rise to private ownership. After that, simple commodity economy, or small commodity production, came into being. Its characteristics were that the commodity producers themselves possessed the means of production and took part in productive labour and the products belonged to them. In selling their commodities, they aimed mainly at buying other commodities to meet their own needs.

Engels pointed out: **"At a certain stage of development, the production of commodities becomes transformed into capitalist production."** (*Anti-Duhring*.) This is to say, commodity production does not engender capitalism in just any circumstances; it engenders the bourgeoisie and capitalism only when it has developed to a certain extent, i.e., only when the productive forces have developed to a certain level. For example, in slave and feudal societies lasting several thousand years, because the productive forces were backward and the self-sufficient natural economy was absolutely predominant, commodity economy could not develop but remained in a state of simple commodity production or small commodity production. Towards the end of feudal society, the peasants and handicraftsmen had accumulated much experience in production through long years of industrious labour and had improved their production tools and techniques, which enabled the productive forces to develop further and led to the expansion of social division of labour. Many new branches appeared in the cultivation of farm and garden crops and many specialized branches emerged in handicrafts. This enabled commodity production to make comparatively big progress, stimulated competition among com-

modity producers and hastened the polarization of individual peasants and handicraftsmen, with the result that those who were rich became capitalists and those who had gone bankrupt became wage labourers. Only then did the capitalist relations of production appear. Capitalist commodity production is different from small commodity production; the former is characterized by the fact that factories and enterprises are owned by the capitalists and those who take part in productive labour are wage workers without any means of production and subject to exploitation. The capitalists' aim in producing commodities is to squeeze surplus-value from the workers and make profit.

In China's socialist society today, owing to the existence of socialist ownership by the whole people and socialist collective ownership by working people, the commodity system is still retained. At the same time, some small commodity production still exists. All this is needed to cater to socialist construction and the people's livelihood. But commodity production under socialist conditions remains the soil for engendering capitalism. While using commodity production to serve socialist revolution and socialist construction, we must restrict its negative role so as to push commodity production forward in line with socialist principles. This is what our Party has always done under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

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

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

Question: How should we understand the basic spirit of this passage from Lenin?

Answer: Lenin here dealt mainly with the fact that in socialist society there still exists the soil giving rise to the new bourgeoisie, and in great numbers at that, while petty proprietors and those who have such proprietors' frame of mind are the source of new bourgeois elements. Therefore, in exercising the dictatorship of the proletariat, it is necessary not only to clear away the older bourgeois generation but also struggle against new generations and work hard to remove the soil engendering new bourgeois elements.

Question: Why did Lenin say that people with the small proprietors' frame of mind are "the source of a new generation of bourgeois?"

Answer: In the light of the experience gained after the victory of the October Revolution, Lenin pointed out on several occasions that from among petty proprietors or small producers emerged large numbers of bourgeois. Making a profound analysis of the small proprietors' frame of mind, he pointed out: "He [the petty proprietor] has only one desire — to grab, to get as much as possible for himself, to ruin and smash the big landowners, the big exploiters. In this the petty proprietor eagerly supports us." But he does this "not as a socialist does in order, after breaking the resistance of the bourgeoisie, to begin building a socialist economy based on the principle of firm labour discipline, within the framework of a strict organization, and observing correct methods of control and accounting — but in order, by grabbing as much as possible for himself, to exploit the fruits of victory for himself and for his own ends, without the least concern for general state interests and the interests of the class of working people as a whole." (*Session of the All-Russia C.E.C.*) This means that as labourers, the small producers are willing to take the socialist road, but as proprietors, they want to make a fortune and get rich. Some petty proprietors, chiefly those in the upper stratum, are resentful of the landlords and capitalists. Not that they hate exploitation itself but that they have been shoved aside by the latter and deprived of the chance to get rich. They want to overthrow the landlords and capitalists so that they may "grab" and raise themselves to the position of exploiters. This is how they look at the victory over the capitalists — "they grabbed, let me have a go too," and try to "exploit the fruits of victory for himself and for his own end." Here Lenin penetratingly exposed the ideological essence of the petty bourgeoisie's spontaneous capitalist tendencies.

We must be aware that the ideas of the petty proprietors in society cannot but find expression in our Party and revolutionary ranks. In fact, such a state of mind characteristic of the petty proprietors who want to "grab" actually survives stubbornly in the minds of a few comrades. These people never fail to use existing bourgeois right and the three major differences between worker and peasant, between town and country and between manual and mental labour to grab more benefits for themselves and even scramble for fame and gain, feeling proud instead of ashamed of this. Since the petty-bourgeois world outlook is essentially identical with the bourgeois world outlook, if such selfish ideas of the petty bourgeoisie are allowed to develop freely, they are bound to lead the petty bourgeoisie to become the bourgeoisie. Precisely because of this, like the petty proprietors, those in the proletarian revolutionary ranks who have the spontaneous capitalist ideas of these proprietors are the source of a new bourgeois generation. That is why we must fully understand this question and carry on a sustained struggle to eliminate what is bourgeois and promote what is proletarian.

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

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

Question: What was this passage from Lenin driving at?

Answer: Lenin said this in March 1919 in his report at the Eighth Congress of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) during which Lenin's Marxist line and Bukharin's opportunist line were locked in a sharp struggle. Bukharin and his followers denied the emergence of the bourgeoisie from the commodity economy under socialist conditions and defended instead the development of capitalism. Sharply denouncing their opportunist viewpoint, Lenin made this remark at the conclusion of his report on the Party programme. He pointed out that the arising of the bourgeoisie from commodity economy was an objective fact in Russian society at that time which was obvious to all. Evading this fact, Bukharin and company were "**flattering your illusions, or introducing badly digested book learning into reality, which is far more complex.**" All opportunists are characterized by the separation of the subjective from the objective and, owing to their reactionary class stand, they dare not face objective facts and can only proceed from subjective "illusions" or badly digested "book learning" to establish a basis for their reactionary arguments. Herein lies a fundamental reason for the bankruptcy of their theory.

Question: Why is it that the bourgeoisie could arise from among the Soviet government employees, and the peasants and handicraftsmen in particular?

Answer: Before the victory of the revolution, Russia was a country under feudal and military autocracy and the colossal state machinery supported a large number of officials of the exploiting classes riding roughshod over the people. And before the October Revolution, a dual power existed for a short time — Soviet political power and Kerensky's bourgeois regime. After the proletariat had seized political power, quite a number of people

who had worked for the exploiting classes' regime went over to the side of the proletariat and some became cadres in the Soviet regime. Just as Lenin pointed out in his report on the Party programme at the Eighth Congress of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks): "**The tsarist bureaucrats began to join the Soviet institutions and practise their bureaucratic methods, they began to assume the colouring of Communists and, to succeed better in their careers, to procure membership cards of the Russian Communist Party. And so, they have been thrown out of the door but they creep back in through the window.**" Some of these people were hidden class enemies, while others, though not enemies, had not changed their stand and remoulded their world outlook and thus did not understand the fundamental difference between proletarian revolutionary cadres and lords of the exploiting classes. In joining the Soviet regime, they did not aim at serving the people but at seeking fame and power to secure political privilege and looking for a ladder to upgrade themselves and gain a fortune. Meanwhile, until the complete abolition of classes, the exploiting classes invariably resort to the base means of luring some people out of the revolutionary ranks and sending their own men in to corrupt the ranks of proletarian cadres. As a result, a few people in the proletarian organs of political power who are weak in revolutionary will and deeply affected by bourgeois ideology may degenerate and become bourgeois agents in the proletarian regime. Such things not only took place in Russia at that time, but they also can be found in China today. Chairman Mao explicitly pointed to this in his important instruction on the question of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

That the bourgeoisie also arises from among the peasants and handicraftsmen is determined by their class status. As labourers, the peasants and handicraftsmen are the allies of the proletariat and can take the socialist road under the leadership of the proletarian political party, but as proprietors, they have spontaneous capitalist tendencies and long for freedom to trade. When agriculture and handicrafts were still under private ownership, the peasants and handicraftsmen always waver between the socialist and capitalist roads and, whenever opportunities arise, they often try to depart from the socialist road. Russia was a country where the petty bourgeoisie made up the majority. After the October Revolution, the peasants and handicraftsmen were liberated politically and freed economically from the exploitation and shackles imposed on them by the bourgeoisie through the banks. But the capitalist commodity economy was still alive, operating and developing. Since imperialist intervention and domestic counter-revolutionary armed rebellion at that time had crippled railway transport, resulting in a state of isolation and disruption in commodity circulation, the state could not ensure the people's needs for grain and other commodities in various places. Using the commodities and money in their hands and taking advantage of the disrupted communications and certain temporary difficulties in the state's economic life, those comparatively

well-to-do peasants and handicraftsmen with serious spontaneous capitalist tendencies went in for hoarding and speculation and raked in fabulous profits. In this way, a new bourgeoisie was engendered in greater numbers in these places.

Practice in the Chinese revolution has proved that the destitute peasants and handicraftsmen, especially the poor and lower-middle peasants who experienced ruthless exploitation and oppression in the old society, have always been the proletarian revolution's most reliable allies. After the carrying out of the socialist transformation of agriculture and handicrafts, the peasants and handicraftsmen in China have embarked on the road of socialist collective economy and their economic status and mental outlook have undergone tremendous changes. But since there are remnants of private ownership, and since the commodity economy is still alive and bourgeois right with respect to exchange and distribution remains, spontaneous capitalist tendencies inevitably exist among the peasants and handicraftsmen, mainly the well-to-do ones, and will give rise to new bourgeois elements. That is why in China we must make constant efforts to carry out socialist education among the peasants and handicraftsmen so as to enable them to keep to the socialist road.

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

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

Question: What did Lenin mean by "all the negative traits peculiar to bourgeois parliamentarism"?

Answer: The bourgeois parliament is an ornament as well as an instrument with which the bourgeoisie exercises dictatorship over the proletariat and other labouring people. Under the cloak of "democracy," the bourgeois members of parliament often put on farces of bickering and rivalry over power and gain in the parliament, giving full expression to all the bad things of bourgeois officialdom. These include tricky machinations and vulgar practices, chasing after privileges, fame and gain, sitting high above and aloof from the masses, indulgence in empty talk without doing any practical work as well as pleasure-seeking and debauchery. All these negative traits of bourgeois parliamentarism are an expression in political life of the bourgeoisie's rapacious profit-seeking nature. This is an evil and to

stamp out its influence is a difficult and arduous task of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Question: Why is it that all the negative traits peculiar to bourgeois parliamentarism constantly revived among Soviet engineers and schoolteachers and privileged workers?

Answer: This mainly refers to the fact that there is a constant revival of bourgeois ideas and styles of work among the intellectuals and elements of the upper stratum of workers who came from the old society and this is an evil to the proletarian revolutionary ranks. In capitalist society, most of the engineers and schoolteachers are appendages of the bourgeoisie, they are bourgeois intellectuals with a bourgeois world outlook. To build socialism, the proletariat should see to it that "the bourgeois intellectuals cannot be expelled and destroyed," but should be "remoulded, assimilated and re-educated." (Lenin: "Left-Wing" Communism, An Infantile Disorder.) Before being remoulded in real earnest, they will bring all the negative traits of bourgeois parliamentarism into the ranks of the proletariat. As to the privileged workers, i.e., the most highly skilled and best situated, they belong to the upper stratum of the workers who were closer to the bourgeoisie in the old society and were thus more affected by bourgeois habits and practices. Lenin pointed out: "The comparatively peaceful and cultural existence of a stratum of privileged workers made them 'bourgeois,' gave them crumbs from the profits of their national capital, and isolated them from the sufferings, miseries and revolutionary sentiments of the ruined and impoverished masses." (*The Collapse of the Second International*.) These elements in the workers' upper stratum often corrupt the proletarian ranks with their bourgeois influence. To triumph over the evils left over from bourgeois society and prevent the bad habits and practices of the bourgeoisie from making inroads into the proletarian state organs, the proletariat must strengthen its organization and discipline. Lenin pointed out: "Absolute centralization and the strictest discipline of the proletariat constitute one of the fundamental conditions for victory over the bourgeoisie." (*"Left-Wing" Communism, An Infantile Disorder*.) Under the leadership of Chairman Mao, our Party has always attached importance to the ideological remoulding of bourgeois intellectuals and the ideological education of the worker and peasant masses and achieved great success in this respect. But we must be aware that eradicating all sorts of evils left over from capitalist society involves a long process and, in China today, as Chairman Mao has pointed out, "both within the ranks of the proletariat and among the personnel of state and other organs there are people who take to the bourgeois style of life." Therefore, we must firmly implement the Party's basic line, strengthen proletarian organization and discipline, consciously resist corruption by bourgeois ideas, exert ourselves to remould our world outlook, completely break with the old traditional ideas and enable the proletarian ideas to occupy all positions.

(To be continued.)

ROUND THE WORLD

CENTRAL AFRICAN FOREIGN
MINISTERS' CONFERENCE

Intervention in Angola Condemned

The Central African Foreign Ministers' Conference was held from November 16 to 19 in Gabon's capital Libreville.

The foreign ministers or representatives of Cameroon, the Central African Republic, Chad, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe, Gabon and Zaire agreed that a final communique on Angola should be issued.

The communique said that the civil war in Angola imposes hardship and sacrifice on the people there. "The extremely grave situation in Angola directly menaces peace and security in Central Africa in particular and in Africa as a whole."

It added: "Central Africa has the obligation to continuously study ways and means which can lessen the suffering of the Angolan people and safeguard the peace and security of the region."

It pointed out: "All foreign intervention in Angola, no matter where it comes from, can only complicate the situation in that country."

It said: "In view of this situation, the conference strongly condemned all aggression against the fraternal Angolan people and asked all those interfering in Angola's internal affairs to refrain from doing so hereafter so that the sovereign Angolan people may settle their problems by themselves."

The conference "proposed that a Central African summit conference be convened speedily in Libreville so as to study the Angolan situation more thoroughly," the communique stated.

"UNIDADE POPULAR" (PORTUGAL)

Denouncing Soviet Sabotage of Angolan Independence

Unidade Popular, organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Portugal (Marxist-Leninist),

in a recent article denounced the Soviet social-imperialists for provoking a civil war in Angola and undermining its independence.

The article said: "Angola is very rich in natural resources and situated strategically in an important geographical position. The superpowers appeared there just as the Angolan people were struggling for independence. Each is eager to grab economic and military bases there, with a view to ensuring its own superiority over the other superpower in the contest for world hegemony."

The article added: "The current situation in Angola is characterized by the existence of a civil war provoked by Soviet social-imperialism," and "this superpower has done its utmost to undermine the unity of the three liberation organizations."

Despite "the regional, tribal and historical differences" between the three organizations, it pointed out, "they have a common characteristic: waging a protracted struggle for the overthrow of Portuguese colonialism by violence." After the signing of the Alvor agreement on Angola's independence and the summit conference of the three liberation organizations in Kenya, "the Angolan people were elated over the unity they had achieved and the new victories in their anti-colonial and anti-imperialist struggle. They also enjoyed the support of other African countries and peoples." But "at this juncture, Soviet social-imperialism launched a powerful offensive in Angola with the purpose of provoking a civil war and fishing in waters stained with the blood of African patriots."

The article noted that while styling itself a "natural ally" of the peoples fighting for liberation and a "supporter" of the resolutions of the Organization of African Unity, the Soviet social-imperialists have resorted to every trick and scheme to create a split among the three organizations which are internationally recognized and regarded as legitimate representatives of the Angolan people by the

Organization of African Unity. They support one of the organizations unilaterally. "The despicable purpose of their action is to control (Angola)," the article said. It pointed out that the Soviet Union had sent large quantities of arms to this country. All these are "sophisticated weapons which have never been given to the African patriots in the long struggle against Portuguese colonialism," it noted.

WESTERN EUROPE

Economic Recession Continues

Western Europe was still gripped in economic recession by the end of October, said a bulletin issued in mid-November by the Secretariat of the U.N. Economic Commission for Europe.

The bulletin pointed out that during the period from mid-1974 to mid-1975, industrial production dropped 10 per cent in all industrialized West European countries. It was estimated that their gross national product will record a general decline this year, with the Federal Republic of Germany, Ireland, Italy and Switzerland registering a 3-4 per cent and France a 2.5 per cent decrease.

Unemployment in West European countries has continued mounting since the beginning of the year, surpassing the levels in previous postwar periodical decreases in production. The officially-registered number of unemployed in the industrialized West European countries was close to 4.2 million last summer against 2.5 million a year earlier.

Because of the postponement of recovery and the fear of a further rise in unemployment, a number of West European countries last August and September had to take such inflationary measures as increased expenditure and reduction of taxes. This has brought them huge budget deficits.

The bulletin stressed that the economic crisis has led to a most serious postwar slump in Western Europe's trade. Exports dropped sharply in France, Britain, Italy, Switzerland and some other West European countries. Imports in all industrialized countries there this year probably will be less than last year.

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