

# PEKING REVIEW

14

April 2, 1976

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報

**Beat Back the Right Deviationist Attempt  
To Reverse Correct Verdicts, Promote  
Industrial Production**

— "Renmin Ribao" editorial

**Criticism of "Taking the Three  
Directives as the Key Link"**

**The Egyptian People Cannot Be  
Crushed by Pressure or Abuse**

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## Death of Field Marshal Montgomery Mourned

Acting Premier of the State Council Hua Kuo-feng on March 30 sent a message to the Funeral Committee for the late Field Marshal Bernard Montgomery. The message reads:

"Shocked to learn of the sad news of the passing away of Field Marshal Montgomery, outstanding British soldier and friend of the Chinese people. His determination and bravery in the light against the fascist aggressors during World War II and his efforts to safeguard national independence have won people's respect. On behalf of Chairman Mao Tsetung and in my own name, I wish to express our deep condolences over the passing away of Field Marshal Montgomery as well as our sincere sympathy to the bereaved family."

## Large-Scale Winter Farmland Capital Construction

Since winter set in last year, about 130 million people have taken part in farmland capital construction on an unprecedented scale throughout China's countryside. Within four months, they did more earth-and-stone work than was accomplished in six months in the previous winter-spring season.

Everywhere — from the plains to the mountainous regions — presented a scene of bustling activity, with the commune members and cadres busy at building reservoirs, digging channels, sinking power-operated wells, levelling the fields, deep-ploughing and improving the soil and terracing the hillsides.

According to statistics from departments concerned, in the period from October 1975 to the end of January China added and improved 2 million hectares of irrigated land, freed 1.3 million hectares from waterlogging, transformed another 1.3 million hec-

tares of low-yielding fields, terraced 1 million hectares and levelled 4.6 million hectares, all surpassing those of the corresponding period of last year.

This new upsurge emerged in the great mass movement in which the whole Party was mobilized to make greater efforts to develop agriculture and build Tachai-type counties throughout the country. Even before the autumn harvest began last year, every province, municipality and autonomous region had mapped out plans for farmland capital construction and leading bodies in charge were set up in most parts of the country. The result was work began two weeks earlier than usual.

In this gigantic mass drive for farmland capital construction, Party committees at various levels have led the commune members in conscientiously studying Tachai's basic experience, persistently placing Mao Tsetung Thought in the lead, taking class struggle as the key link and criticizing capitalism and revisionism. This has greatly stimulated the peasants' enthusiasm for socialism.

Much more people have taken part in the work than before in many provinces and autonomous regions in north and central China. In the three northeastern provinces of Liaoning, Kirin and Heilungkiang, the peasants began farmland capital construction even before winter set in and continued their work during the severe winter. In this way they completed more water conservancy projects than in any previous year.

In farmland capital construction, the stress is on building fields giving high and stable yields despite drought or waterlogging, and efforts are concentrated on eliminating those weak links which adversely affect agricultural production. In Kiangsu Province and the suburban areas of Shanghai where the level of farmland capital construction is relatively high, efforts were focused on building more farmland capable of yielding 15 tons of grain per hectare. In Shansi,

Shensi, Kansu and Ningsia, where soil erosion and water losses pose a serious problem, tens of millions of people battled in the hilly regions and on the plains. By the end of last December, the four provinces had built 200,000 hectares of irrigated land, embankment-protected plots and terraced fields.

The 17 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions in north China devoted much efforts to tapping subsoil waters while making full use of surface water for farm production. Consequently, the number of power-operated wells sunk since last winter registered an all-time high. On the outskirts of a number of big and medium-sized cities, pits and gullies were filled in to expand the cultivated acreage and improve environmental sanitation as well. In the coastal areas, dykes were reinforced and beach land was converted into farmland. Capital construction was also in full swing in the pastoral areas in frontier regions; power-operated wells were sunk and channels dug to bring in water to irrigate the newly built grassland.

Some 1.5 million cadres have since last winter fought in the forefront of agricultural production as ordinary labourers. Together with the commune members, they have studied the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and taken the lead in physical labour.

## Senior Middle School Graduates Go to Tibet

Fourteen of this year's Peking senior middle school graduates and one young woman teacher left Peking for Tibet on March 2 to settle in the countryside in China's southwest frontier.

Through the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius and the movement to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and

(Continued on p. 8.)

# Beat Back the Right Deviationist Attempt To Reverse Correct Verdicts, Promote Industrial Production

INITIATED and led by our great leader Chairman Mao, the struggle to beat back the Right deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts has become a powerful motive force promoting industrial production, communications and transport, capital construction, trade and financial work. The working class, taking its stance as the main force in the revolution, has in the past few months actively plunged into this great struggle. They have conscientiously studied Chairman Mao's important instructions and the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and, with the righteous indignation of the proletariat, have risen to criticize that unrepentant capitalist-roader in the Party, thus further heightening their consciousness of class struggle and the two-line struggle and of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. The broad masses of workers and staff members have paid still greater attention to state affairs, and taken an active part in the struggle-criticism-transformation in the superstructure. They warmly support open-door schooling and scientific research and educated youth settling in the countryside. New things and new phenomena conducive to the restriction of bourgeois right such as worker participation in management and cadre participation in productive labour have emerged everywhere. All-time high records in production have been set in many enterprises, and creations and inventions have kept appearing. The excellent situation on the industrial, communications, financial and trade fronts proves that it is entirely groundless to worry that the counter-attack against the Right deviationist attempt might affect production.

Chairman Mao has given many important instructions in the struggle to beat back the Right deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts. These instructions, which defend and develop Marxism, are of tremendous and far-reaching significance in guiding us to carry out the socialist revolution and construction. Chairman Mao has pointed out: **"With the socialist revolution they themselves come under fire. At the time of the cooperative transformation of agriculture there were people in the Party who opposed it, and when it comes to criticizing bourgeois right, they resent it. You are making the socialist revolution, and yet don't know where the bourgeoisie is. It is right in the Communist Party — those in power taking the capitalist road. The**

**capitalist-roaders are still on the capitalist road."** The worker comrades should earnestly study this important instruction of Chairman Mao's and a series of his other important instructions. The proletariat is the leading class in the revolution. The contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is the principal contradiction that runs through the entire historical period of socialism. It is particularly important for the leading class in the revolution to be clear about where the bourgeoisie is to be found, to be clear about the nature of the contradiction between the proletariat and the capitalist-roaders and the method to handle it, to analyse the political and ideological origins and the economic base that give rise to capitalist-roaders in the Party, and to sum up the experience gained in the struggle against them. Only by conscientiously studying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, deepening the understanding of the historical mission of the working class, and deepening the understanding of the law governing class struggle in socialist society, is it possible to raise the level of struggle, constantly triumph over revisionism and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat.

On the basis of studying Chairman Mao's important instructions, it is necessary to penetratingly expose and criticize the revisionist line of the capitalist-roader in the Party who has refused to mend his ways. While centring our criticism on "taking the three directives as the key link," we should criticize the theory of the dying out of class struggle and the theory of productive forces which form the theoretical basis of that revisionist line, and criticize eclectic sophistry. In the light of the actual conditions on the industrial front, some enterprises are criticizing the revisionist wares of that capitalist-roader such as: opposition to maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands and relying on our own efforts and advocating servility to things foreign and the doctrine of trailing behind at a snail's pace; opposition to bringing into play the initiative of both the central and local authorities while re-imposing the practice of "direct and exclusive control of enterprises by the ministry concerned"; opposing the policy of "walking on two legs" and laying one-sided stress on things big and foreign; and opposing the "Charter of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company" and

advocating the rules and regulations of the Magnitogorsk Iron and Steel Combine of the Soviet Union. Through the criticism, people have come to see more clearly the reactionary nature of that unrepentant capitalist-roader in the Party in opposing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and betraying Marxism. Some other enterprises have summed up the progress they have made in management by carrying out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line since the start of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and refuted that capitalist-roader's absurdities aimed at negating the Great Cultural Revolution. We should sum up the experience gained in this respect and deepen the mass revolutionary criticism so that the cadres and masses will further heighten their consciousness of adhering to the Party's basic line and implementing the principles and policies formulated by Chairman Mao for the building of socialism. The mass theoretical contingent on the industrial front, which greatly expanded in the movement to criticize Lin Biao and Confucius, should play a still greater role as the vanguard and backbone force in the struggle to criticize the revisionist line.

The unrepentant capitalist-roader in the Party placed the national economy on the position of key link, as if he was the only person who cared about production and was most dedicated to the realization of the four modernizations (of agriculture, industry, national defence, science and technology). This is a sheer fraud. Our difference with him on this question is not whether production should be pushed forward and the four modernizations realized, but what line should be carried out and what road should be followed to achieve these purposes. Chairman Mao pointed out recently: **"This person does not grasp class struggle; he has never referred to this key link. Still his theme of 'white cat, black cat,' making no distinction between imperialism and Marxism."** This tells us that both production and modernization will go astray if we abandon the key link of class struggle, and if we reject the correct, Marxist line and the socialist road. If we follow his revisionist line, we can never develop production but will only sabotage it; we can never achieve socialist modernization but will only degenerate into capitalism! The history of the past two decades and more, especially since the start of the Great Cultural Revolution, proves that Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line is the only correct line for building our country into a powerful socialist state. We must follow Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, push the national economy further forward and carry the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat through to the end.

To beat back the Right deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts and to consolidate and develop the gains of the Great Cultural Revolution is in the basic

interest of the working class and represents its strong demand. This struggle is bound to greatly enhance the socialist enthusiasm of the workers and staff members. Leading bodies at various levels on the industrial, communications, financial and trade fronts must take this into full account. It is necessary to strengthen the Party's centralized leadership. It is necessary to **"wholeheartedly rely on the working class,"** have full faith in the masses and rely on them and, through mass revolutionary criticism, take further steps to solve the problems which exist in the relations of production and in the superstructure so as to bring into full play the revolutionary enthusiasm of the workers and staff members and develop the productive forces. In criticizing the reactionary theory of the productive forces, it is necessary to grasp class struggle as the key link in a more effective way, adhere to the principle of **grasping revolution, promoting production,** use revolution to command production and push it forward. The masses of workers and staff members should go all out, aim high and achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results in fulfilling the state plans. They should carry forward the revolutionary spirit of **building our country independently and with the initiative in our own hands, through self-reliance, hard struggle, diligence and thrift,** conscientiously implement the **"Charter of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company,"** and advance further the mass movement **In industry, learn from Taching.** They should, in particular, do a good job in the production of iron and steel, coal and electric power, in the production of goods for agriculture and light industrial goods, and in railway transportation. It is essential to strengthen unity and the sense of organization and discipline within the working class and firmly keep to the general orientation of the struggle. It is essential to heighten revolutionary vigilance and guard against sabotage activities by the class enemies, against attempts to incite the masses to fight against one another and attempts to sabotage revolution by disrupting production.

This is the first year of the Fifth Five-Year Plan for developing the national economy. The industrial, communications, financial and trade fronts are undertaking a glorious and arduous task. It is the common determination of the broad masses of workers "to act in direct opposition to the Right deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts and dare to shoulder the heavy task of boosting production." Under the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao and the Party committees at various levels, let us make a greater contribution to safeguarding and developing the victories of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, speeding up socialist construction and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat!

*("Renmin Ribao" editorial, March 28)*

# Criticism of "Taking the Three Directives as the Key Link"

CHINA is now deepening the criticism of that programme for restoring capitalism put forward by the capitalist-roader in the Party who has refused to mend his ways.

## Background to Its Emergence

The programme of "taking the three directives as the key link" was dished up last summer with ulterior motives by that unrepentant capitalist-roader. It is a distortion of Chairman Mao's instructions by putting his directives on promoting stability and unity and on pushing the national economy forward on a par with the directive on studying the theory of the proletarian dictatorship and combating and preventing revisionism, describing all three as "the key link for all work."

Chairman Mao recently pointed out: **"What 'taking the three directives as the key link'! Stability and unity do not mean writing off class struggle; class struggle is the key link and everything else hinges on it."** This important directive of Chairman Mao's has penetratingly exposed the programme of "taking the three directives as the key link" as an out-and-out revisionist programme negating the taking of class struggle as the key link. The essence of this programme is to restore capitalism.

The programme of "taking the three directives as the key link" is diametrically opposed to Chairman Mao's important directive on the question of studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. At the end of 1974, Chairman Mao pointed out: **"Why did Lenin speak of exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie? It is essential to get this question clear. Lack of clarity on this question will lead to revisionism. This should be made known to the whole nation."** "Our country at present practises a commodity system, the wage system is unequal, too, as in the eight-grade wage scale, and so forth. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat such things can only be restricted. Therefore, if people like Lin Piao come to power, it will be quite easy for them to rig up the capitalist system." This directive of Chairman Mao's has further raised the consciousness of the people of the whole country to take class struggle as the key link, uphold the Party's basic line, strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat and combat and prevent revisionism. Thus it has further aroused fear from that unrepentant capitalist-

roader in the Party. He has been filled with resentment when the whole Party, the whole army and the people of the whole country study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, criticize capitalism and revisionism, carry out in a deep-going way the socialist revolution in the superstructure and the economic base and restrict bourgeois right. Hence he hurriedly dished out his revisionist programme of "taking the three directives as the key link."

## Negating the Party's Basic Line

This is a revisionist programme because it completely betrays our Party's basic theory and practice of taking class struggle as the key link.

Throughout the historical period of socialism, there is only one key link guiding all our work, and this is the taking of class struggle as the key link; that is to say, we must persevere in the class struggle waged by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and in the all-round dictatorship exercised by the proletariat over the bourgeoisie. This is determined by class relations and the principal contradiction in socialist society. On the eve of the founding of New China, at the Second Plenary Session of the Party's Seventh Central Committee, Chairman Mao made it clear that in the coming period of socialist revolution the principal internal contradiction would be **"the contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie."** In 1962, Chairman Mao advanced the Party's basic line for the entire historical period of socialism. He stressed: **"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. We must recognize the protracted and complex nature of this struggle. We must heighten our vigilance. We must conduct socialist education. We must correctly understand and handle class contradictions and class struggle, distinguish the contradictions between ourselves and the enemy from those among the people and handle them correctly. Otherwise a socialist country like ours will turn into its opposite and degenerate, and a capitalist restoration will take place. From now on we must remind ourselves of this every year, every month and every day so that we can retain a rather sober understanding of this problem and have a Marxist-Leninist line."** In the 26 years since the founding of New China, Chairman Mao has always urged the whole Party and the people of the whole country to firmly **"grasp class struggle as the key link."** He

has repeatedly initiated and led the people of the whole country to wage struggles by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution that started ten years ago is such a struggle.

Lenin said: "**Opportunism does not extend the recognition of class struggle to what is the cardinal point, to the period of transition from capitalism to Communism, to the period of the overthrow and the complete abolition of the bourgeoisie.**" (*The State and Revolution*.) The unrepentant capitalist-roader in the Party used an eclectic sleight of hand to confuse the principal contradiction with secondary contradictions. He deliberately elevated promoting stability and unity and pushing the national economy forward to the principal position and called them "key links" in an attempt to cover up the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, which is the principal contradiction under socialism. In preaching "taking the three directives as the key link," his intention was to deny the existence of classes and class struggle under socialism so as to negate taking class struggle as the key link and tamper with the Party's basic line.

### **Consistently Opposing Taking Class Struggle As the Key Link**

The Party capitalist-roader who engineered this revisionist programme has always opposed taking class struggle as the key link. In 1957, shortly after the basic completion of the socialist transformation of the ownership of means of production, he proclaimed that "classes have in the main been eliminated and we should not stress class struggle." He took part in formulating and pushing Liu Shao-chi's revisionist line before the Great Cultural Revolution. During the Great Cultural Revolution, the Party and the revolutionary masses exposed and criticized him and gave him a chance to mend his ways. Though he said that he would "never reverse the verdict," he relapsed into error after he took up work again. The new revisionist programme he hatched is a continuation of his consistent revisionist stand against taking class struggle as the key link.

It is obvious that he himself represented the bourgeoisie, yet he said he saw no class contradictions. In China today, there are still remnants of the overthrown landlord and comprador classes, there is still a bourgeoisie and there are large numbers of petty bourgeoisie and intellectuals who have not sufficiently remoulded their ideology, while small production still engenders capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously, and on a mass scale. All these are obvious facts. The inner-Party two-line struggles since the founding of New China are really amazing. Lenin gave a profound explanation of class contradictions in the period of socialism. He pointed out that classes remain and will remain everywhere for years after the conquest of power by the proletariat. The so-called theory of the dying out of class struggle has always been meant to deceive people. Liu Shao-chi suppressed the revolutionaries to protect his handful of renegades and sworn followers. Lin

Piao launched a counter-revolutionary armed coup d'état and plotted to overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat. How can this be called a dying out of class struggle? Now the unrepentant capitalist-roader in the Party has again spread the fallacy of the dying out of class struggle; his aim was to use it as a smokescreen to cover the offensive by the bourgeoisie against the proletariat, to launch vengeful counter-attacks and to restore capitalism.

### **Waving "Red Flags" to Oppose the Red Flag**

As soon as his revisionist programme came out, the Right deviationist wind was stirred up, and there was a spate of restorationist activities in educational, scientific and technical and other circles in an attempt to reverse the correct appraisal of the Great Cultural Revolution. Revisionist absurdities were spread and the spearhead was directed against the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. People now understand that this Right deviationist wind was stirred up from above by that unrepentant capitalist-roader in the Party. He used a trick that was very deceptive and that put people off their guard. The three directives he mentioned are all statements made by Chairman Mao, but they have been woven into a revisionist programme which is in opposition to taking class struggle as the key link and are therefore deprived of their revolutionary essence.

Lenin said that opportunism can use expressions from all kinds of theories, including Marxist theories, and that "**Marxist words have in our days become a cover for a total renunciation of Marxism.**" (*British Pacificism and the British Dislike of Theory*.) Quoting Marxist phraseology to oppose Marxism is a common characteristic of all revisionists.

That unrepentant capitalist-roader in the Party put the study of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and combating and preventing revisionism ahead of the other two directives, but this was merely a camouflage. He himself did not read books and did not understand Marxism-Leninism. He did his utmost to oppose the study of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat by the revolutionary people. He picked faults with socialist new things and was very afraid of restricting bourgeois right, narrowing the three major differences between workers and peasants, between town and country and between mental and manual labour and reducing the soil that engenders capitalism and the bourgeoisie. He has never said that the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is the principal contradiction in present-day China and that revisionism is the main danger today.

He paid lip service to promoting stability and unity while actually sabotaging it. The stability we want is the stability attained by consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, and our unity is the unity based on Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. On the one hand he stressed reliance on those capitalist-roaders who had grudges against the Great Cultural Revolution and wanted to settle scores. On the other hand he used

various pretexts to attack and discriminate against these old and new cadres who persevered in Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. He insisted that young cadres were only "to be promoted step by step" and wanted to remove large numbers of young cadres and new emerging force in the Great Cultural Revolution from leading posts, thus sabotaging the three-in-one combination of the old, the middle-aged and the young in the leading bodies as advocated by Chairman Mao. He also sowed discord between old and new cadres in an effort to split the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao.

To push the national economy forward is an important instruction of Chairman Mao's. Building China into a powerful modern socialist country before the end of the century is a grand blueprint personally drawn up by Chairman Mao. However, sharp struggle between the two lines has always existed on the question of the type of modernization and how to realize it. The unrepentant capitalist-roader in the Party never mentioned taking class struggle as the key link but trumpeted the theory of productive forces. He said that he cared only about a rise in the national economy but not how it was to be done. He disapproved of putting proletarian politics in command and peddled "putting profit in command" and "material incentives." He opposed relying on the masses and advocated the return to "relying on specialists in running factories." He opposed the policy of building our country independently with the initiative in our own hands and relying on our own efforts, and trumpeted servility to things foreign. If things were done according to his revisionist line, then the nature of socialist ownership would be changed, the relation between men would become one between employers and employees, the capitalist system of distribution would reappear, and socialist relations in production would be undermined. In this way, the result would be that the national

economy would fail to develop, or if it developed, it would either be temporary or it would turn out to be modernization of an imperialist or social-imperialist type. Whichever way it might take, production would be hampered and the development of the social productive forces retarded.

### Class Struggle Continues and Deepens

The current struggle to beat back the Right deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts is a struggle waged by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and is a continuation and deepening of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution which has won great victories. This struggle shows that the capitalist-roaders are still on the capitalist road and that the Chinese people's struggle against them will be protracted and repeated. This is a most important feature of class struggle in the period of socialism. In this period some people do not know where the bourgeoisie is. We should of course see that it still exists in society; but more important, it is found right in the Communist Party — those in power taking the capitalist road. They represent the interests of the old and new bourgeoisie. They are the main target of the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Chairman Mao calls on the people of the whole country to "guard against revisionism, and especially its emergence in the Central Committee of our Party." The capitalist-roaders in the Party have great power and it is extremely dangerous when they practise revisionism.

Under the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, the people of the whole country are determined to persevere in taking class struggle as the key link, thoroughly repudiate the revisionist programme of "taking the three directives as the key link" put forth by that unrepentant capitalist-roader, and carry the great struggle against the Right deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts through to the end.

(Continued from p. 3.)

through taking part in the current struggle against the Right deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts, the middle school graduates in Peking have greatly raised their consciousness of class struggle and the two-line struggle. To go to the countryside, go where conditions are toughest, go where the motherland needs them most, and always take the road of integrating with workers and peasants — this is the revolutionary aspirations of the students in present-day China. Valiantly challenging the old traditional ideas and bourgeois right, these 15 youths had time and again handed in their applications to the Party organizations, asking to go

to Tibet to work as ordinary labourers and temper themselves under harsh conditions, so as to become successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause.

Before leaving Peking, they conscientiously studied works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and by Chairman Mao including *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, *The Orientation of the Youth Movement* and *The Struggle in the Ching Kang Mountains*, as well as Chairman Mao's directives on questions concerning minority nationalities. Some of them learnt the Tibetan language and acquainted themselves with the situation in Tibet with the help of Tibetan comrades at the Central Institute for Nationalities and the Nationality Publishing House.

To acclimatize themselves to the local conditions, they practised long-distance running every day.

Their revolutionary action won the enthusiastic support of the Party organizations concerned, the worker-peasant-soldier masses and their revolutionary parents. Prior to their departure, responsible members of Peking municipality and those of the Tibet Autonomous Region then in Peking met them and saw them off at the railway station.

Earlier, four of this year's worker-peasant-soldier graduates of Tsinghua University who volunteered to go to work as peasants in Tibet left Peking on March 1.



# Criticizing the Unrepentant Capitalist-Roader

THE mass revolutionary debate in Tsinghua University is forging ahead victoriously in accordance with Chairman Mao's strategic plan. Teachers, students, staff members and workers are now concentrating fire on that unrepentant capitalist-roader who persists in the revisionist line and negates the achievements of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

Since Chairman Mao's important directive on studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat was published in spring last year, the whole Party, the whole army and the people of the whole country have been conscientiously studying this theory and criticizing bourgeois right and revisionism. This has heightened their vigilance against persons like Lin Biao coming into power. That unrepentant capitalist-roader within the Party hurriedly put out a revisionist programme of "taking the three directives as the key link" in opposition to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. Politically, he used this revisionist programme to negate Chairman Mao's consistent teaching of taking class struggle as the key link and vainly tried to change the Party's basic line. Theoretically, he peddled the theory of the dying out of class struggle and the theory of productive forces. Organizationally, using this revisionist programme as a slogan, he tried to rally like-minded capitalist-roaders who refused to mend their ways to reverse the correct appraisal of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and settle accounts with it, thereby launching a frantic attack against the proletariat. The essence of all these activities was to continue the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of Liu Shao-chi and Lin Biao and restore capitalism.

This is how the Right deviationist attempt at restoration and retrogression started. Manipulated and instigated by that unrepentant capitalist-roader within the Party, other capitalist-roaders in educational, scientific and technological fields became more and more rampant in their counter-attack against the proletariat to settle old scores.

Confronted with these harsh facts, the revolutionary teachers, students, staff members and workers realized how necessary it was to expose and criticize the capitalist-roader in the Party who has refused to mend his ways. Without criticizing him, they could not defeat this frenzied bourgeois attack against the proletariat, and that capitalist-roader's fond dream of restoring capitalism could not be frustrated.

The Party committee of Tsinghua University realized that the attack launched by a few people in the university on the proletariat was in fact directly manipulated by that capitalist-roader. By exposing and criticizing the activities of this handful of people to restore the old order, an opening was thus made and the counter-attack on the Right deviationist attempt was unleashed. Strictly following Chairman Mao's strategic plan, the revolutionary teachers, students, staff members and workers, led by the university Party committee and Party organizations at various levels, have concentrated on exposing and criticizing that unrepentant capitalist-roader in the Party.

In the light of the current class struggle, they have conscientiously studied the Marxist-Leninist theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat expounded by Chairman Mao. They are now discussing what is meant by "capitalist-roaders in the Party" and their class stand.

Our great leader Chairman Mao pointed out in the *Circular* of May 16, 1966: "Those representatives of the bourgeoisie who have sneaked into the Party, the government, the army and various spheres of culture are a bunch of counter-revolutionary revisionists. Once conditions are ripe, they will seize political power and turn the dictatorship of the proletariat into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Some of them we have already seen through, others we have not. Some are still trusted by us and are being trained as our successors, persons like Khrushchev, for example, who are still nestling beside us. Party committees at all levels must pay full attention to this matter." Here Chairman Mao refers to capitalist-roaders in power within the Party. With power in their hands, they take the capitalist road instead of the socialist road, and they are the most dangerous persons in subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat. The fact that the capitalist-roaders are still on the capitalist road is a social phenomenon that will continue to exist throughout the historical period of socialism, and this is an inevitable law of class struggle. Throughout the entire historical period of socialism, the principal contradiction is that between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the main danger is revisionism, the target of the revolution is the bourgeoisie, mainly those in power in the Party taking the capitalist road. We should be aware not only of the existence of the bourgeoisie in society but,

more important, the bourgeoisie in the Party, and we should especially maintain our vigilance against persons of the Khrushchov type usurping the leadership of the Party and the state.

A host of facts exposed during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the current struggle to beat back the Right deviationist attempt prove that some of the capitalist-roaders are alien-class elements who have wormed their way into the revolutionary ranks while others are bourgeois or petty-bourgeois democrats. During the period of democratic revolution, the bourgeois or petty-bourgeois democrats were to varying degrees active in fighting imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism. But during the period of socialist revolution, the ideology of some of these people remains at the stage of the democratic revolution although the revolution is advancing. They did not approve of and even resisted agricultural collectivization in the countryside and the struggle against the bourgeoisie. When these people become important officials and enjoy high positions, their bourgeois world outlook grows. They want to maintain their bourgeois right and therefore do not want to advance; instead, they want to retreat and even oppose the revolution. Their attitude towards the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is: First, they have a grudge against it; second, they want to settle scores. They regard bourgeois right as a sacred right and cannot bear to lose it. Therefore, they resent the criticism of bourgeois right and even oppose it. These people have never been proletarian revolutionaries or Marxists, but only fellow-travellers of the Party, and

their programme has never been for communism but for capitalism.

That capitalist-roader in the Party who has refused to mend his ways is just such a bourgeois democrat. In the 17 years preceding the Cultural Revolution, he joined Liu Shao-chi in pushing the revisionist line. He has always opposed the Marxist theory on class struggle and practised revisionism in the interests of the old and new bourgeoisie. During the Cultural Revolution, the Party and revolutionary people exposed and criticized him, and later tried to save him in the hope that he would mend his ways. In words, he stated "I'll never reverse the verdict"; but, in fact, once he took up work again, he tried to reverse the verdict in an all-round way and went on peddling his revisionist trash.

Teachers and students in Tsinghua University raised the question: Since he persists in practising revisionism, what shall we do? The main experience drawn from the Cultural Revolution gives the answer: Arouse the masses to expose and criticize revisionism. Whoever practises revisionism should be criticized, no matter how high his position or how long his service. If he were left to have his own way, it would mean the restoration of capitalism.

They said: "Chairman Mao has formulated this consistent policy for our Party—'learn from past mistakes to avoid future ones and cure the sickness to save the patient.' We will try once again to save him through serious criticism as we did during the early days of the Great Cultural Revolution and see how he behaves in the future."

## Revolution in Literature and Art

### **Spring Comes to China's Stage**

CHINA'S socialist theatrical art is flourishing as never before. This is demonstrated by the more than 500 items of drama, music, dancing, *chuyi* (ballad-singing, story-telling and cross-talk) and puppet shows staged in Peking by troupes from different parts of the country for nearly two years running.

The theatrical festivals at which these items were presented began in January 1974. All the items were selected from among those performed at theatrical festivals in the various provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions as well as from the repertoire of local theatrical troupes.

Among them are 48 local operas adapted from model revolutionary theatrical works and 96 new modern plays and local operas. There were altogether 1,440 performances.

These festivals, participated by 29 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions (with the exception of Taiwan Province), are the biggest of their kind since the founding of New China, with the greatest number of performers and new programmes. Workers, peasants and soldiers in the capital saw the performances with great interest and spoke highly of them, many of which reflected the spirit and essence of our times. They have vividly demonstrated that the revolution in literature and art exemplified by the model revolutionary theatrical works has achieved fruitful results.

Adaptations from model revolutionary theatrical works presented by the various troupes reflect the new look of local operas. Every province, municipality or autonomous region in China has its own local operas which are performed in local dialects or languages of the different nationalities and are very popular among the masses. By adapting model revolutionary theatrical works, local operas not only have contributed to the popularization of these works, but by learning from the model theatrical works in implementing the policies of "making the past serve the present and foreign things serve China" and "weeding through the old to bring

forth the new," they themselves have made fresh progress.

In order to portray the heroic images of workers, peasants and soldiers, many local operas, while retaining their own melodies and vocal music, have created new tunes of singing to increase the power of expression. In using its own traditional folk music in adapting the model revolutionary Peking opera *The Red Lantern*, the literary and art workers of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region in northwest China have created a new-type opera in Uighur, which has won the acclaim of the Uighur people and the audience in Peking as well. This new Uighur opera has now been made into a film.

One noticeable feature at the festivals is the new look assumed by modern play. All the 35 new plays reflect the real life of struggle of our era. *Battle in the Shipyard* depicts shipbuilders with lofty aspirations determined to build a 10,000-ton-class ship in a small berth through self-reliance. *By the Liehna River* tells of the life and struggle in the countryside where people, learning from Tachai in agriculture, are going all out to transform mountains and tame rivers. Both *New People in a Mountain Village* and *The Main Lesson* are about school graduates who have settled in the countryside to temper themselves in class struggle and the two-line struggle. *The War Is On* reflects the two-line struggle on the educational front. Imbued with the revolutionary spirit of the contemporary epoch, they are of deep significance in educating the people.

From what has been staged at the festivals, one sees that the main themes today are class struggle and the two-line struggle in the period of socialism and the heroic deeds of the masses in socialist revolution and construction. Many items warmly praise the socialist new things such as the revolution in education, workers, peasants and soldiers going to colleges, school graduates settling in the countryside, the revolution in health work and barefoot doctors.

Prior to the Great Cultural Revolution, the stage was dominated by emperors and kings, generals and ministers, scholars and beauties. Since the start of the Great Cultural Revolution, all theatrical works have drawn on the experiences gained in creating the model revolutionary theatrical works and succeeded in portraying the heroic images of workers, peasants and soldiers who, as typical representatives of the tens of thousands of advanced elements in our country, consistently uphold the Party's basic line, criticize the bourgeoisie, repudiate revisionism and courageously fight for the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

All the programmes at the festivals, colourful and rich in variety, are the fruits of labour of literary and art workers who have consciously integrated themselves with the workers, peasants and soldiers. Some have moved their homes to the countryside or factories, some have taken up leading posts and worked at the grass-roots units for a long period of time, and some have gone to live and take part in manual labour for two or three years in factories, mines, oilfields, villages, pastoral areas or army units where they also engage in creative writing. In the fiery struggles, they remould their world outlook and heighten their urge and sense of responsibility to extol the workers, peasants and soldiers and depict their heroic images. In this way they have also gathered rich materials for creative writing.

Most of the performers at the festivals are young people who play the leading roles in most items. Many soloists in both vocal and instrumental music and in dancing are below 20. Tempered in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the older artists have undergone marked changes in their mental outlook. They have either given performances on the stage or helped train the young, thus contributing their share to the development of socialist literature and art.

During the festivals, the artists have adhered to the principle of performing for the workers, peasants and soldiers whose opinions and criticisms were solicited at over 100 forums. These comments, given with a clear-cut stand regarding what to love and what to hate, are lucid and to the point and are of great help to the advancement of literature and art.

To enable a greater number of workers, peasants and soldiers to see the revolutionary theatrical performances, the literary and art workers have since the start of the Great Cultural Revolution often gone to perform in the factories, mines, villages and army units. Performances by the various groups of the model revolutionary theatrical works at the grass-roots level account for over 60 per cent of their total performances in a year. Very often, one such performance draws an audience of more than 10,000. During the national festivals, the troupes from different parts of the country, apart from giving performances in the theatres, have also gone to perform in the villages. To facilitate such performances, many troupes have made changes in their stage properties. A theatrical troupe from Shantung Province has designed a movable stage, and its scenery, costumes and properties can be moved from place to place in one truck. At a festival, this troupe went to the people's communes in the Peking suburbs to perform for the peasants and was warmly welcomed.

## **"Wrath of the Serfs" — A Tableau of Sculptures**

**A**N exhibition of life-size clay sculptures entitled "Wrath of the Serfs" is now on in Lhasa, capital of the Tibet Autonomous Region. On display are 106 figures of men, women and children, six figures of animals and four bas-reliefs, complete with decor, lighting, oral explanations and taped music to

produce the optimum artistic effects. The exhibition consists of four parts, namely, "Feudal Estate Owners' Manors — Miserable Infernos on Earth," "Lamaseries — Dark Man-Eating Dens," "Local Reactionary Government of Tibet — An Apparatus of Reactionary Rule" and "Serfs Rise in Struggle and Yearn for Liberation."

A group of sculptors sent by the Fine Arts College of the Central May 7 Academy of Arts, teachers from the Lu Hsun Fine Arts Institute in Shenyang and staff members of the Tibet Revolutionary Exhibition Centre and other units worked together under the leadership



**Serfs Rise in Struggle and Yearn for Liberation.**

**Close-up of a serf rising in struggle.**

**Feudal Estate Owners' Manors — Miserable Infernos on Earth.**



of the Party Committee of the Tibet Autonomous Region and completed the sculptures in one and a half years.

In the course of their creative activities, they studied again and again Chairman Mao's *Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art* and the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and consulted a large amount of literature on the social history and class struggle in Tibet. They also went to Tibet's rural and pastoral areas where they worked together with the emancipated serfs, visited their homes, made investigations and attended meetings at which emancipated serfs spoke of their past sufferings and present happy life. Many poor and lower-middle peasants and herdsmen were invited to join the artists in discussing and examining the drafts.

Following Chairman Mao's principles of "making the past serve the present" and "weeding through the

old to bring forth the new," the sculptors have incorporated the essence of Tibetan folk arts into their works and used solid sculptures, bas-reliefs, backdrops and other art forms to reproduce in a lifelike manner the old Tibet — a reactionary, dark, ruthless and savage hell on earth — and portray the heroic images of serfs who dared to rise in struggle. These group sculptures have an artistic impact that stirs the hearts of all viewers.

While visiting the exhibition, many emancipated serfs, with bitter hatred and tears in their eyes, denounced the heinous serf system and pledged to educate their posterity never to forget the damnable dark days in old Tibet and to always remember the kindness and concern of Chairman Mao and the Communist Party, and follow the Communist Party in carrying on the revolution from generation to generation.

### At U.N. Security Council

## Chinese Representative Denounces Soviet And South African Intervention in Angola

THE United Nations Security Council met on March 26 to begin discussing the question of Angola. Chinese Representative Huang Hua in his statement strongly denounced Soviet social-imperialism and South African racism for their intervention in Angola.

Huang Hua said: "The Angolan people who carried on struggles for national liberation and advanced wave upon wave at long last solemnly proclaimed their independence on November 11, 1975. This is a great victory won by the broad masses of the Angolan people who have persevered in protracted and courageous struggles against Portuguese colonialists, particularly the armed struggle which was started by various Angolan liberation organizations in the 1960s with the coordination and support of the people of Africa and the rest of the world who are vigorously carrying on struggles against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism. On this, the Chinese Government has extended its warm congratulations to the Angolan people and all the Angolan liberation organizations."

He noted: However, when the victory of the national-liberation struggle in Angola was won, the Soviet social-imperialists crossed the oceans, committed

naked armed intervention and plunged the newly independent young state of Angola into painful division and civil war. The South African racist regime which has always harboured wild ambitions of aggression and expansion also openly carried out armed aggression against Angola and directly interfered in its internal affairs under the pretext of protecting its so-called interests in Angola. This is of course extremely absurd. It must be pointed out that the serious situation in Angola was created by the fierce contention between the two hegemonic powers. The event in Angola is a serious one which has never happened in the history of African national-liberation movement since World War II. Its seriousness not only lies in the fact that the South African racist regime attempts to obstruct the victorious advance of the national-liberation movement in southern Africa so as to continuously maintain its reactionary rule; what merits further attention is that to contend with the other superpower for world hegemony, that superpower which flaunts the signboard of socialism pushes feverishly its colonial policy of expansion and scrambles for strategically important places in southern Africa. Such a frenzied offensive by Soviet social-imperialism is bound to bring to Angola,

southern Africa and even the whole African continent extremely serious consequences.

Huang Hua said: "The Chinese Government and people strongly condemn the South African authorities for their crimes of armed aggression and intervention in Angola. We firmly support the people of Angola and the rest of Africa in opposing the aggression by South Africa in Angola and demanding its immediate and complete withdrawal therefrom. This position of the African people is entirely just. Meanwhile, the Chinese Government and people strongly condemn Soviet social-imperialism for its aggression and intervention in Angola and firmly hold that the Soviet military personnel and its foreign mercenary troops should immediately and completely withdraw from Angola. This is also a just demand of the just public opinion and the governments of many countries in the world."

He went on: Now, because of the stern condemnation and resolute struggles of the Angolan people, the African people and the people throughout the world, the South African racist regime was forced to declare the complete withdrawal of its aggressor troops in Angola on March 27. Whether this can become a reality still remains to be seen. However, some 1,000 Soviet military personnel and over 10,000 foreign mercenary troops supported by the Soviet Union are still hanging on in Angola and refuse to withdraw. Since Soviet social-imperialism got the upper hand in Angola, it has been hatching new schemes of aggression and expansion. The Security Council cannot evade such a serious state of affairs, still less condone it.

He pointed out: The aggression and intervention by Soviet social-imperialism in Angola is by no means an accidental and isolated event. It is the continuation of its ceaseless aggression and expansion abroad over the last decade and more. This constitutes a component part of its quest for the South Atlantic and world hegemony in contending with the other superpower as well as an important disposition for realizing its global offensive strategy. It wormed its way into the Middle East, invaded and occupied Czechoslovakia, stirred up conflicts in the South Asian subcontinent, subsequently thrust itself into Portugal and now has laid hands on Angola in southern Africa.

He continued: Soviet social-imperialism supported one of the three Angolan liberation organizations against the other two, deliberately created division, time and again undermined the joint agreements and ceasefire agreements among the three liberation organizations and it alone wrecked the transitional government which was a symbol of Angolan national unity. The Soviet Union never extended any real support to the Angolan people during their protracted and courageous struggle to free themselves from the Portuguese colonial rule, but right after the collapse of the old colonial rule and the attainment of independence by the Angolan people, the Soviet Union became most "generous" by sending a great amount of such weapons as tanks, rockets, armoured cars,

fighter-bombers of the latest type, etc., with a value of several hundred million dollars, dispatching some 1,000 Soviet military officers and shipping over 10,000 foreign mercenary troops to stir up and directly join the civil war there. As a result, 150,000 black brothers in Angola were killed with the Soviet weapons and many towns and villages were razed to the ground by the Soviet bombshells. Can a real socialist country do a thing like this? The towering crimes committed by this superpower in Angola constitute a big exposure of the policy of expansion it pursues as well as new evidence of the ambitious new tsars' feverish bid for world hegemony.

He noted: To cover up their true feature of aggression and expansion the Soviet social-imperialists have boasted about their consistent "sincere and selfless support for the national-liberation movement," styled themselves as "the natural ally" of the national-liberation movement, and described their intervention, control and expansion as the fulfilment of "internationalist duties." However, the facts have proved all this to be sheer deception.

In his statement, Huang Hua referred to the fact that when the Cambodian people carried on arduous struggles to punish the Lon Nol traitorous clique, the Soviet Union had all along refused to recognize the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia and instead colluded with the Lon Nol traitorous clique of Cambodia. He also exposed the fact that the Soviet Union, taking advantage of the Egyptian people's aspirations to resist aggression, through providing so-called military and economic "aid," has carried out infiltration, exacted military bases and various privileges and fostered pro-Soviet forces in Egypt. Furthermore, the Soviet Union withheld the shipment of munitions and spare parts, ferociously pressed for payment of debts, sowed discord among Arab countries and even went so far as to conspire to subvert the Egyptian Government and undermine Egypt's struggle against aggression. Huang Hua said: "Not long ago, President Sadat firmly announced the termination of the 'treaty of friendship and co-operation.' The just action taken by President Sadat to safeguard the national independence and state sovereignty of Egypt has won the support and praise of the Egyptian people, the other Arab peoples and the justice-upholding countries and peoples throughout the world."

Huang Hua added: The Soviet social-imperialists have repeatedly declared that they "do not seek anything in Angola—either economic, military or other gain." This is likewise sheer deception. For a long time, the Soviet propaganda machine has openly talked of the "enviable natural resources in Angola" and its "extremely important strategic position." Their attempt is to seize naval and air bases in Angola with a view to dominating the South Atlantic. They also intend to make Angola a springboard for expansion in central and southern Africa, and further undermine the national-liberation movements in all southern Africa and grab the region's strategic resources. If

one links their activities in trying so hard to establish new "bridgeheads" in the regions of the Suez Canal and the mouth of the Red Sea with those in seeking footholds in the Western Mediterranean, will he not be able to see clearly the reason why they have been acting so undisguisedly and at all costs?

He stressed: What the Soviet social-imperialists have done in Angola greatly widens one's horizon and tells people that the Soviet leading clique which has honey on its lips and murder in its heart is not a "natural ally" at all, but are vicious new tsars; it also tells people that if the Soviet social-imperialists are allowed to do evils in Angola and realize their designs, it is hard to say that there will not be a second or even a third Angola. Until the Soviet social-imperialists' intervention is done away with, there can be no peace

or tranquillity in Angola and in the continent of Africa.

Huang Hua noted: Soviet social-imperialism has wild ambitions but lacks the strength, and its difficulties abound. Wherever it commits aggression and expansion, it puts a new noose around its neck. It can deceive people and run amuck at a certain time, but it will certainly meet with ignominious defeat.

He concluded: "We are deeply convinced that the great African people who have stood up will certainly do away with superpower aggression and interference, close their ranks, heighten their vigilance, distinguish the true from the false and friend from foe, and push the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, hegemonism, white racism and Zionism ahead to a new victorious stage."

## The Egyptian People Cannot Be Crushed by Pressure or Abuse

by Jen Ku-ping

EGYPT's abrogation of the Egyptian-Soviet "treaty of friendship and co-operation" has laid bare before the world's people the Soviet revisionists' sham aid but real control and sham co-operation but real expansion in their relations with Egypt. This has stung the superpower which flaunts the signboard of socialism to the quick. It is precisely because of this that the Soviet revisionist ruling clique flew into a rage and launched a frantic but feeble attack against Egypt. Cranking up its propaganda machine, the Kremlin desperately tries to embellish itself, enumerating the "favours" it has bestowed on the Egyptian people while at the same time it is doing its utmost to denigrate Egypt, heaping slanders, abuse and attacks on the Egyptian Government and people. Such actions, however, only serve to expose more clearly than ever the ugly features of Soviet social-imperialism.

The Soviet revisionists brag about "the noble and selfless Soviet aid to Egypt" and the "decisive role" played by Soviet arms in the October War of 1973. They even shamelessly declare that the Egyptian people should be "grateful" to the Soviet Union for "coming to their rescue." This ugly performance of a self-styled "saviour" is really disgusting.

The Soviet Union did give Egypt some arms, but not for nothing; it sold the arms and ammunition at

high prices and with an exorbitant interest rate, and it controlled the right to use them and its aim was to use Egypt as a springboard to contend for hegemony in the Middle East. The Soviet Union—a super-merchant of death and hegemonist—has not only pressed Egypt for repayment of debts plus interest running to hundreds of millions of dollars every year, but also withheld the replenishment of arms and spare parts when Egypt refused to obey its orders. Thus the arms it sold to Egypt were turned into scrap iron. It has repeatedly taken advantage of Egypt's economic difficulties to press for the repayment of debts. In the last few days, the Soviet propaganda machine has even resorted to threats, raving that Egypt should "repay its debts in time." Otherwise, it blared, Egypt will bear the consequences. All this has fully revealed the true features of a super-merchant of death and extortioner. This is what Moscow has called "selfless aid." It is shameless blackmail, pure and simple.

The Soviet Union has also brought many shocking charges against the Egyptian Government and people, alleging that Egypt's abrogation of the treaty "went against its fundamental national interests," that Egypt "has abandoned its revolutionary fruits," "has given up the struggle against imperialism and colonialism," "has splitted Arab unity" and "acted in open collaboration" with Israel, and so on and so forth. It has really gone

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## Egypt Closes Port Facilities to Soviet Navy

THE Egyptian people have warmly acclaimed their government's decision to close port facilities to the Soviet navy following abrogation of the Egyptian-Soviet treaty and consider it a new victory in their struggle for defending state sovereignty and against Soviet hegemonism.

The Soviet Union got access to Egypt's port facilities for its navy in 1968, after the war in June 1967, by using arms supplies to force the latter to accept its demands. Taking advantage of these facilities, it tried to strengthen its position in the Mediterranean and the Middle East in its contention for hegemony and to establish itself firmly in Egypt and tighten its control of the latter.

Soviet ambition and shamelessness were clearly manifested in the talks between Podgorny and the then Egyptian President Nasser in 1967. While demanding port facilities for the Soviet fleet, the Soviet Union asked for a command post and repair facilities in Alexandria, both to be guarded by Soviet marines. Soon afterwards, it demanded that the whole related area be handed over to it under the Soviet flag. President Nasser angrily refused, declaring, "This is an act of imperialism, pure and simple."

By means of bullying and pressure, the Soviet Union got access to the facilities in Alexandria and three other Egyptian ports for fresh water, fuel oil, food supply and ship repairing for its naval fleets. But the Russians staying in these ports have long been considered "personae non grata" by the Egyptian people. One resident in Alexandria said: "We are not happy to see foreign armed forces in our country. When Russian navy men wandered in crowds on the shore and streets, people just shunned them, keeping far away."

Having learnt from the press that President Sadat had confirmed the closure of port facilities to the Soviet navy, people in Cairo and Alexandria were jubilant. An officer in the navy said: "The Russians are arms merchants. They sold their arms dear while buying our cotton and rice cheap, until at last they had us by the throat. That's why we must get rid of them!" A prominent physician said: "The general feeling of the Egyptian people is one of welcome towards abrogation of the Egyptian-Soviet treaty and the closure of port facilities to Soviet fleets."

People in Alexandria pointed out that there are still several Russian warships anchored in the port. According to the Egyptian Government's order, they must quit the port before April 14. A citizen declared: "We say: Russians go home!"

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to extremes in attacking Egypt. Such abuses, however, do not in the least impair the image of the great Egyptian people; rather they reflect the meanness of the blasphemers.

The Egyptian people are most clear about their fundamental national interests, and that is to defend their national independence and sovereignty and uphold their just cause against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism. For this purpose, they have carried on a protracted and courageous struggle against the Israeli Zionists, who are abetted and supported by the superpowers, and for liberating the occupied lands and breaking the state of "no war, no peace" imposed on the Arab people by the superpowers. That they resolutely abrogated the Egyptian-Soviet treaty and cast off the shackles imposed on them by the Soviet social-imperialists is precisely for the purpose of defending Egypt's revolutionary gains and fundamental national interests, refusing to be a superpower's pawn and satellite and carrying the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism through to the end. As for such labels as "splitting Arab unity" and "acting in open collaboration" with Israel, they are

only suitable for the Soviet revisionists themselves. It is these revisionists who have tried to sow discord among the Arab countries and isolate Egypt, provided the Zionists with a constant flow of manpower and flirted with Israel, to mention only a few of their evils and disgraceful performances. If the Egyptian people should be "grateful" to such Soviet aid, then would it not mean that Antonio in Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice* should express his gratitude to the usurer Shylock for his "generous assistance"?

Just as Egyptian Deputy-Premier and War Minister Mohammed Abdel Ghany Gamassy said: "The decisive factor is man. Our victories stem from the Egyptian soldiers' courage and skilful fighting." Many of the best sons and daughters of the Egyptian people have laid down their lives and countless heroic fighters have shed their blood in fighting against Israel's aggression and for the Arab people's liberation. The Soviet Union has gone so far as to ascribe the victories won by the Egyptian and other Arab people in their war against aggression to its arms sales. This is the most shameless slander against the Egyptian and other Arab people! The brazen-faced



boasts by Brezhnev and company can only arouse the disgust and resentment of the people of Egypt and the rest of the world.

The Soviet authorities have, tongue in cheek, talked a great deal about Soviet-Egyptian friendship and accused the Egyptian side of undermining this friendship. As regards Soviet-Egyptian friendship, it has undoubtedly existed and will continue to exist, but it is the friendship between the Soviet and Egyptian peoples. This friendship has been undermined by none other than the Brezhnev clique which, with honey on its lips but murder in its heart, has acted in bad faith towards Egypt. Take the Egyptian-Soviet "treaty of friendship and co-operation" for instance. Is it not because the Soviet Union refused to implement its own obligations, thereby reducing the treaty to a mere scrap of paper, that Egypt was compelled to abrogate it? Moscow made a lot of noise about Egypt's charges against the Soviet Union, alleging that they were a "frame-up" and a "distortion of facts." We would like to ask the Soviet revisionists: Have you not pressed Egypt for repayment of debts despite its difficulties? Have you not cut off arms supplies to Egypt and even prevented India from selling spare parts notwithstanding Egypt's urgent needs? Why don't you dare directly answer these questions? Or do you assume that your behaviour accords with Soviet-Egyptian friendship?

As President Sadat has pointed out, what the Soviet Union needed was the kind of "friendship" a cat professes for a mouse.

The Egyptian people are a heroic people tempered in the anti-imperialist struggle. Determined to be masters of their own destiny, they will surely hold their heads high and advance valiantly along the road of national independence and opposition to superpower hegemonism. Neither vicious attacks nor shameless blackmail will shake the Egyptian people's firm determination. President Sadat has put it well: Egypt will "never kneel before anyone" and it will "never yield to anyone." He has also announced the closure of port facilities to the Soviet navy. All this demonstrates the firm will of the 30 million Egyptian people who are not afraid of pressure and are indomitable; it is also a tit-for-tat counter-attack against the anti-Egypt campaign launched by the Soviet Union. Despite twists and turns, this struggle between control and anti-control is sure to end in one victory after another for the Egyptian people and in thorough defeat for the Soviet revisionists.

It is the Egyptian and other Arab people fighting for a just cause, and not social-imperialism, who are really powerful. The abrogation of the Egyptian-Soviet "treaty of friendship and co-operation" by Egypt has proved this truth, and future events will continue to prove it.

## How the Soviet Revisionists Dun Egypt

**T**HE Egyptian people have paid a high price and made enormous sacrifices in their fight against imperialist and Zionist aggression and plunder over the last 20 years. During its wars against aggression, Egypt owed the Soviet Union a debt of thousands of millions of U.S. dollars for arms and ammunition purchases. Egyptian Finance Minister Ahmed Abu Ismail said at a recent session of the People's Assembly that Soviet loans accounted for half of Egypt's foreign debts. According to Egyptian press reports, Egypt's debt to the Soviet Union now amounts to 4,950 million rubles, which has become an important means of economic exploitation and political blackmail the Soviet Union carried out against Egypt.

The Soviet Union has resorted to the most despicable means to dun the Egyptian people. In 1973 — no need to mention anything further back — when the

Egyptian people were fighting a bloody war and facing enormous financial difficulties, the Soviet Union extorted from them interests on loans to the tune of 80 million U.S. dollars. In December that year, that is, two months after the end of the war, the Soviet chieftain in a letter to Sadat asked for payment of the remaining sum of 22.1 million rubles (29.8 million U.S. dollars) for the interest on military loans. In 1974, disregarding the Egyptian people's difficulties, the Soviet Union exacted from them another 200 million U.S. dollars as a repayment of military debts and demanded that Egypt spend some 400 million U.S. dollars in repayment of debts annually.

A common practice by the Soviet Union is to extort large amounts of commodities through trade as payment for debts. As reported by the Egyptian press, from 1960 to 1973 the Soviet Union plundered from

Egypt 11 million tons of commodities at low prices, including cotton, cotton piece goods, crude oil, rice, vegetables, fruits, wooden furniture, iron ware, leather shoes, tobacco and alcoholic drinks. The total value was 1,063.2 million Egyptian pounds, or more than 5,000 million U.S. dollars according to the exchange rate between the Egyptian pound and the U.S. dollar at the end of 1969. In 1974 and 1975, the Soviet Union again grabbed from Egypt 90 million and 100 million pounds worth of goods as payment of debts. To pay the interest on debts, Egypt gave practically all its export commodities and most of its tourist income, with the result that Egypt's national economy was in a tight corner.

In order to overcome its economic difficulty, the Egyptian Government has on many occasions in the last few years asked the Soviet Union for a moratorium and an exemption from the interest on military loans. But all these just demands were repeatedly turned down for no reason at all. On top of this, the Soviet Union went to all lengths to use the debts as a lever in its contention for hegemony in the Middle East and in applying constant pressure on Egypt.

Egypt and the Soviet Union held a round of talks in Cairo between last November and December, but the month-long negotiation again ended in failure because the Kremlin intended to use the debts to exert pressure on Egypt and force it into submission.

The Soviet delegation assumed the haughty manner of a creditor as soon as it arrived in Cairo. At the banquet hosted by Egyptian Deputy Minister of Economy and Economic Co-operation, the head of the Soviet delegation and Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade Greshin arrogantly declared that the debt problem "is no easy question." He told the host in mocking terms that he brought with him a large delegation of economists and financiers on a mission both "to give and take" while the Egyptian delegation consisted only of financiers who would "take and not give." Actually, these remarks let the cat out of the bag: "to give and take" is sham, while "to take and not give" is Moscow's real intention.

This was proved by subsequent negotiations. The Egyptian delegation proposed that: (1) Egypt be given a ten-year grace; (2) repayment be made in instalment over a period of 30 years; (3) interest on arms debts be exempted. The Soviet side immediately rejected these proposals on the pretext that there was "no such precedent." Though the Egyptian side later submitted a compromise proposal, the Soviet side insisted that it still did not conform to Moscow's directive and was therefore unacceptable. The Egyptians requested the Soviet delegation to ask for instructions from Moscow, but no reply was received. The negotiations ended without reaching any agreement.

Is there really "no such precedent"? Of course not! As the Egyptian newspapers pointed out, the Soviet Union owed the United States a military debt of 11,000 million dollars during World War II. After the war, the two sides reached an agreement through a series of negotiations, under which the Soviet Union would have to repay only 722 million dollars, or 6.6 per cent of the total, and the debt was scheduled to be paid off by the year 2001 without interest. Why are the Kremlin bosses so forgetful of this obvious precedent?

The Soviet Union did not mitigate its pressure on Egypt for repayment of debts after the talks had deadlocked. Under the Egyptian-Soviet Trade Protocol for 1976 initialled in the talks, Egypt will export to the Soviet Union commodities valued at 195 million pounds sterling while the Soviet Union will export to Egypt goods worth only 125 million pounds sterling, with a surplus of 70 million pounds sterling for repayment of debts by Egypt. This means the Soviet Union is still squeezing the Egyptian people and demanding repayment of debts in the form of large quantities of exports, though Egypt is already beset with economic difficulties.

*Le Matin-An Nahar Arab Report*, a weekly published in Beirut, noted: "In demanding repayment of loans in the form of goods, the Soviet Union actually deprives Egypt of the hard currency which it can get by selling the same amount of goods elsewhere in the world. What is more disadvantageous is that the Soviet Union often re-exports the goods to other Eastern bloc countries, thus squeezing Egyptian exports out of a potential market."

\* \* \*

Egypt has enormous potentials though it is facing economic difficulties at present.

In a speech at the People's Assembly at the end of last January, Egyptian Prime Minister Salem pointed out: Egypt has sufficient manpower and rich natural resources. It is situated along the Nile, one of the major rivers in the world, with which it can develop irrigation and agriculture. Having a long coast-line, it can build more ports and promote fishery production. It possesses an important international maritime route—the Suez Canal. It has bright prospects for industry. So, he added, "the sufficient manpower and resources of our country will form a weighty force for us to tackle the challenges lying in our way."

By their own labour and struggle, the Egyptian people have traversed a glorious road in history. They will certainly overcome all kinds of difficulties caused by Israeli aggression and Soviet hegemonic oppression and create a bright future.

# The Pak Jung Hi Clique Cannot Avert Its Doom

CONFRONTED with the heroic resistance of patriotic democrats of various circles in south Korea, the petty Pak Jung Hi regime is finding the going tougher and tougher. At a press conference in January this year, Pak talked glibly about the doctrine of "national security first." He declared: "First of all, top priority should be given to national security in implementing the various state policies, with the emphasis on consolidating the security."

Pak's repeated talk about "security" shows that he is deeply conscious of the insecurity of his puppet regime. His so-called "national security" is nothing but fascist rule and wanton slaughter of the people.

Shortly before he released his "administrative programme" for 1976, Pak frantically suppressed the patriots who demanded democracy and the right to survival and sentenced Kim Dal Nam of the "ROK" Residents Association in Japan (Mindan) to death and a number of south Korean youths and students to imprisonment. In February, the Pak clique passed death sentence on three members of Mindan and imprisoned some others. By March, Pak's suppressive atrocities had been intensified. On March 1, prominent public figures in south Korea held a gathering at which they issued the Declaration for Democracy and National Salvation. The Pak clique cracked down on them and made large-scale arrests on the charge that they had violated the "anti-communist" decree and were "attempting to overthrow the government." Twenty-six public figures, including Kim Dae Jung, were arrested within a few days, and more than 90 youths and students were put under arrest on March 11 and 12. These arrests were made on the allegation that the persons involved had "endangered" the "security" of Pak's puppet regime. On March 18, two south Korean patriots were sentenced to death and another five to penal servitude in accordance with the clique's notorious "national security law" and other reactionary laws. These patriots were professors, middle school teachers, medical workers and employees, and their "crime" was the active part they had taken in the just struggle for social democracy and the independent and peaceful reunification of their fatherland. Numerous facts show that Pak's so-called "consolidating national security" is a euphemism for brutal suppression, while

arrest, imprisonment and man-slaughtering are his means of "consolidating security."

The south Korean people, however, refuse to be cowed by the Pak clique's cruel suppression. In the face of the enemy's persecution, the south Korean patriots have waged struggle wave upon wave. On March 17, over 60 journalists of the south Korean *Dong-A Ilbo* (*Oriental Daily News*) gathered in front of the press building and indignantly condemned the clique's fascist rule which trampled upon democracy and freedom. They issued a declaration expressing their determination to carry the struggle through to the end. After the meeting, they staged a demonstration and distributed leaflets calling on the people to join the struggle. A number of the paper's newsmen have been carrying on the struggle in various forms and have formed the East Asian Committee for Press Freedom which convenes once a month. The dependents of the prominent public figures, who had put their signatures on the Declaration for Democracy and National Salvation and had been unjustifiably arrested by the Pak clique, also held a rally on March 18 severely denouncing the clique's atrocities.

The puppet Pak regime's "insecurity" is of its own making because it has been following an extremely reactionary line of selling out national rights and interests and cruelly exploiting the people at home and undermining the reunification of the country. Relying on alien forces in exercising a fascist dictatorship, the Pak clique is hostile to the more than 30 million people in south Korea. This has inevitably aroused their ever stronger resistance. Pak is a teacher by negative example. The south Korean people have learnt from their personal experience under his rule that they must rise in struggle, demand democracy and the right to survival and the reunification of their fatherland.

It is only a daydream for the Pak clique to try to consolidate its "security" and escape its doom by resorting to fascist suppression. History has shown that, in spite of their desperate struggle, all reactionaries came to no good end. This was true of Syngman Rhee and Lon Nol, and Pak Jung Hi is of course no exception.

(A commentary by Hsinhua Correspondent)

# Peddlers of "Asian Collective Security System" Draw in Their Horns

THE Kremlin bosses used to describe unequivocally their so-called "Asian collective security system" as "the only alternative" for security in Asia and "a constructive scheme that nothing can substitute." However, in his report at the opening of the 25th party congress, Brezhnev suddenly dropped the words "Asian collective security system," and only mentioned in general terms that the Soviet Union will "work for Asian security based on joint efforts by the states of that continent." He also said that the Soviet Union intends "participation in the search for ways" to security on the Asian continent and that it is ready "to treat with the utmost attention any proposals prompted by concern."

In the past, the "Asian collective security system" was described as a treasure that "nothing can substitute," but now they say any "proposals" by others will be treated "with the utmost attention." This change of attitude clearly shows that the rubbish ardently peddled by the Brezhnev clique for six years has found no market and fewer and fewer people have any interest in it. Confronted by growing obstacles which have created great difficulties for them the peddlers are now trying to sell old wine in a new bottle.

**A Lever to Contend for Hegemony With the United States.** The "Asian collective security system" was intended as a lever by the new tsars in contending for world hegemony with the United States. It was first put forth by Brezhnev in June 1969 when the United States was bogged down in the Indochina war and the military pact organization it rigged up in Asia was falling apart. The "Asian collective security system" is, in Brezhnev's words, to serve in the first place as a "better substitute for the present military and political bloc." To put it bluntly, it is for edging out U.S. influence and establishing Soviet hegemony in Asia. That is why the scheme was attacked by world public opinion as soon as it was dished up. Some pointed out that "the spectre of Dulles is looming large" while others said that the Soviet Union wants an "Asian Warsaw pact." Over the past few years, more and more Asian countries have seen through the new tsars' conspiracy. Prime Minister Kukrit Pramoj of Thailand pointed out explicitly: "We have asked the Americans to withdraw from the military bases and we have no intention to let the Russians fill the vacuum."

**Facts Tear Aside the Camouflage.** The new tsars have tried a thousand and one ways to prettify the "Asian collective security system" in an attempt to cover up

their intention to use it to control and plunder Asian countries. In his report to the 24th party congress in March 1971, Brezhnev listed as the principles of the system "non-use of force," "non-interference in each other's internal affairs," "respect for sovereignty" and "equality and mutual benefit." In pushing the scheme, Brezhnev resorted to two tactics, that is, using "economic co-operation" as a bait and starting with the signing of "bilateral treaties." Consequently, the "treaty of peace, friendship and co-operation" between the Soviet Union and India, the so-called "first brick of the Asian security house," was signed in 1971. Thus, the so-called "Soviet-Indian all-round economic co-operation" began. The ink on the treaty had not yet dried when high-ranking Soviet officials in New Delhi instigated India to unleash a war, the biggest on the South Asian subcontinent since World War II. At the U.N. Security Council meetings, the Soviet delegate used the veto power three times to obstruct a ceasefire between India and Pakistan. This is the remarkable role the "Asian collective security system" played with respect to "security," "peace" and "non-use of force" in Asia! Through so-called "all-round economic co-operation," the Soviet Union easily became the creditor nation of India. Despite the fact that the broad masses of Indian labouring people are leading a miserable life, large quantities of agricultural products, minerals, clothes and shoes have been shipped to the Soviet Union to pay the debts. This provides a striking and astonishing example of the relations of "equality and mutual benefit" between the Soviet Union and Asian countries.

Before and after the "Asian collective security system" was trotted out, Asian countries had put forward reasonable proposals for making the Indian Ocean a peace zone and for neutralizing Southeast Asia. All these, however, were clearly opposed by the Brezhnev clique. The Soviet Union abstained on several occasions at the U.N. General Assembly and Security Council on the issue of the Indian Ocean peace zone. It attacked the proposal for the neutralization of Southeast Asia as "providing no answer to the problem of security of that continent." But the propositions raised by Asian nations have won more and more support among the people. Since 1973, the Soviet authorities have resorted to other tricks. They changed their tune by saying that "it is a hope of the Soviet Union to turn the Indian and Pacific Oceans into peaceful zone." They alleged that

(Continued on p. 24.)

# ROUND THE WORLD

## DEMOCRATIC CAMBODIA

### Delegates to People's Congress Elected

The people of Democratic Cambodia on March 20 elected to the People's Congress 250 delegates, of whom 50 are workers or other working people, 150 are peasants and the other 50 come from the revolutionary armed forces.

A communique on the election returns, read over the radio by Hu Nim, Minister of Information and Propaganda of Cambodia, said that the election was held in an atmosphere of great unity of the people and in an excellent situation in industrial and agricultural production in the country.

It added: Since the official promulgation and implementation of the new Constitution of Cambodia on January 5, 1976, the people of the whole country have fully discussed the stipulations of the Constitution for the election of delegates to the People's Congress.

An editorial broadcast by Radio Democratic Cambodia on March 23 said: "The March 20 election is a manifestation of closer unity of the Cambodian nation and people and also testifies to the correctness of our political line and the wise leadership of our revolutionary organization. We Cambodian people are determined to uphold the revolutionary banner of Cambodia, build our country by leaps and bounds and successfully defend it."

Another editorial broadcast by the radio on March 24 noted: The 250 delegates have come to the fore in the great revolutionary movement and have rich revolutionary practical experiences. From now on, the Cambodian people will have their own legislature.

The editorial concluded: To celebrate the great victory of the

March 20 election and greet National Day on April 17, the Cambodian workers are determined to do better in industrial production, build new factories, raise rubber, salt and fishery output and improve transportation. The peasants are resolved to build irrigation projects on a large scale so as to reap a better harvest than last year. The revolutionary armed forces, together with the workers and peasants, are determined to build up and defend new Cambodia with gun in one hand and hoe in the other.

## FRANCE

### 105th Anniversary Of Paris Commune

March 18 was the 105th anniversary of the Paris Commune. Several thousand French people held a demonstration in Paris on March 21 to mark this occasion.

Holding aloft red flags and streamers, the demonstrators marched from the Place de la Republique to the Pere-Lachaise Cemetery. All along the way, they sang *The Internationale* and shouted "Long live the dictatorship of the proletariat!" and other slogans.

Many delegates were sent by the demonstrators to offer flowers at the foot of the Wall of the Communards.

The demonstration was sponsored by the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of France, the Revolutionary Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) of France and other French progressive organizations.

## AFRICA

### Sharpeville Massacre Marked

March 21 was the 16th anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre, an incident created by the South African racist regime in suppressing the South African people. The Organi-

zation of African Unity and a number of African governments issued statements, people held rallies and demonstrations, and the newspapers carried editorials, expressing support for the southern African people in their struggle against the racist regime and for liberation.

The Organization of African Unity, in a statement issued on March 19, called upon all peace-loving nations and organizations "to declare their unqualified support for the people of South Africa as well as their liberation movements" and "to take all necessary measures to expose the evils of apartheid and all social and human injustices." The statement demanded immediate and unconditional termination of the South African racist regime's illegal occupation of Namibia and withdrawal of its occupation forces from Angola.

Speaking at the rally held on March 21 by several hundred Tanzanian workers and students, Tanzanian Foreign Minister Ibrahim Kaduma reaffirmed his government's support for the people of southern Africa in their just struggle against colonialism and racial discrimination. The entire Tanzanian people, he said, are fully prepared to support the people who are still fighting for independence.

Several hundred Ghanaian workers held a rally in Accra on March 19 to support the just struggle of the southern African people against white racism. They held high placards reading: "Africa must be free!" "Africa for Africans!" "Total liberation of the African continent!" and other slogans. Speaking at the rally, General Secretary of the Maritime and Dock Workers' Union of the Trade Union Congress (T.U.C.) of Ghana and Chairman of the T.U.C. Anti-Apartheid Committee J.R. Baiden condemned the South African racist ringleader Voster for hatching diplomatic schemes of "detente." At the same time, he stressed that "the liberation struggle in southern Africa should be intensified on all fronts."

Zambian Foreign Minister Rupiah Banda in a press statement on March

21 reaffirmed the "unreserved commitment to continue rendering all possible moral and material assistance to the oppressed people of South Africa who are engaged in a heroic struggle to rid themselves of the barbarous system of apartheid."

The Ghanaian paper *Daily Graphic* in an editorial on March 20 said that the Sharpeville massacre has served the useful purpose of letting the apartheid lords know in very clear terms that guns-and-tanks brutality won't halt the peoples' just fight for freedom in their own land.

An editorial of the *Voice of Uganda* on March 20 pointed out that the bloody suppression of Africans by the South African authorities on March 21, 1960, had not shaken the earnest determination of the millions of Africans. It had only helped them to strengthen their determination, knowing all along that their cause is a just one.

Speaking at the rally held in Dar-es-Salaam to mark the Sharpeville massacre, Vice-President of the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania T.M. Ntantala said: "The progressive forces in Azania are poised for the final assault on the racist regime." "Liberation can be achieved by our own efforts, through the spirit of dedication and the determination to pay the supreme sacrifice of laying down our lives for this noble cause," he added,

#### UNCTAD BOARD

### 7th Special Session

The 7th Special Session of the Board of the U.N. Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) was held in Geneva between March 8 and 21 to prepare for the 4th UNCTAD session to be held in Nairobi, capital of Kenya, in May. It was attended by representatives of nearly 130 countries including 68 member countries of the board.

During the session, representatives of many countries denounced the delegates of the two superpowers for rejecting the reasonable propositions

and demands set forth in the "Manila Declaration" and "Programme of Action." In their speeches, representatives of most of the developing countries maintained that the 4th UNCTAD session should base its deliberations mainly on these two documents. They called for positive response from all other countries and strongly urged them to adopt prompt, concrete measures to implement the principles laid down at the 6th and 7th Special Sessions of the U.N. General Assembly for the establishment of a new international economic order.

However, the representative of one superpower, with a view to stubbornly upholding its own economic, trading, financial and monetary privileges, openly disapproved of a new international economic order. The representative of the other superpower, using his favourite two-faced tactics, professed "support in principle" for the two documents suggested, but refused to be committed to anything of substance. Dead set against the integrated programme for commodities proposed by the developing countries, he recommended medium-term or long-term trade agreements as a substitute.

Speaking at the session, Chinese Representative An Chih-yuan pointed out: Obstructions to efforts towards establishing a new international economic order come from the superpowers. The superpower who calls itself the "natural ally" of developing countries, on the pretext that "the interests of all parties should be taken into account," threatened that "there would be no prospect of agreement so long as the interests of one of the parties are not satisfied." It even charged that the documents submitted by the "Group of 77" were "not constructive." While rejecting the just propositions of the developing countries, it asked them, among other things, to grant it trade terms not inferior to those given to countries with developed market economies. This proves to the hilt that it is socialism in words but imperialism in deeds.

The Chinese representative stressed that the third world countries would

certainly break the monopoly and control of economic affairs by the superpowers and establish, step by step, a just and reasonable international economic order, so long as they strengthen their unity in struggle.

"LONO SENBO" (JAPAN)

### New Tsars' War Programme

The so-called "peace programme" dished up by Brezhnev at the 25th Soviet party congress is the new tsars' war programme, pointed out by *Lono Senbo*, organ of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Japan, in a March 15 commentary.

The commentary stated: In recent years, the Soviet social-imperialist have been feverishly hawking the illusion about "detente" to conceal their stepped-up war preparations in Europe and throughout the world. They have stretched their aggressive tentacles to Angola and further intensified their threats against and infiltration in Japan.

It continued: The Soviet Union has occupied the four northern islands, inherent territories of Japan, built naval, air and guided-missile bases there and slandered the Japanese people's just struggle for the return of their northern territories. All these are a major component part of its war programme. It has interfered in the negotiations for the conclusion of a Japan-China peace and friendship treaty by threatening that it may "have to review its relations with Japan." This is another proof of its pursuing a war programme.

The commentary called on the Japanese people to fully expose Brezhnev's war programme and unfold a powerful movement for the return of the northern territories in factories, schools and in all parts of the country so as to deal due counterblows to the new tsars' provocation.

Correction: In our last issue (No. 13), page 22, middle column, line 11, for March 31 read March 11.

# ON THE HOME FRONT

## **Prosperous National Minority Areas**

**T**HANKS to the concern and help of the Party and government, production is developing and economy thriving in areas inhabited by the national minorities.

China is a unitary multinational socialist state. Apart from the Han people, there are more than 50 minority nationalities which make up approximately 6 per cent of its total population and inhabit over 50 per cent of the Chinese territory.

Before liberation these areas long remained backward and some nationalities verged on extinction as a result of the atrocious policy of national oppression enforced by the Kuomintang reactionaries.

Shortly after the birth of New China, Chairman Mao pointed out: **"Help the national minorities and enable them to develop and advance, for this is in the interest of the whole country."** In accordance with this instruction of Chairman Mao's, the Party and government have offered assistance in every possible ways — manpower, material and financial — to help national minority areas rapidly overcome their backwardness.

One of the important contents of the Chinese Communist Party's policy of regional national autonomy is to help various minority nationalities train their own cadres. As a result, a great number of cadres of national minority origin have held leading posts from the central organs down to where regional national autonomy is practised. Today, 40 per cent of the cadres in the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region are minority peoples. In areas where Mongolians live in compact communities in the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region, over a half of the cadres belong to the Mongolian or some other minority nationalities. Cadres of Tibetan and other nationalities, including upwards of 10,000 women cadres,

account for more than 60 per cent of the Tibet Autonomous Region's total. In the Hsishuang Panna Tai Autonomous Prefecture in Yunnan Province, all the Party committee secretaries and revolutionary committee chairmen at both prefectural and county levels are of minority nationalities. The Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous Region has paid attention to training minority women cadres, and consequently each nationality in this region has had women cadres in the leading bodies at various levels.

Since its establishment in 1950, the Central Institute for Nationalities in Peking has trained from among China's 50-odd national minorities some 10,000 cadres including more than 2,000 Tibetan ones. Even the Hoche nationality with a population of over 700 has had a dozen or so who graduated from this institute.

In order to help areas inhabited by minority peoples develop socialist construction, the state grants preferential treatment as regards finance, taxation and prices, while sending in large numbers of cadres and scientific and technical personnel from other parts of the country. In the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region, the revenue is entirely at the region's disposal, in addition to huge state subsidies. All the Tibet Autonomous Region's expenditures are covered by state funds, the amount of which has kept increasing at an annual rate of 10 per cent. The national minority peoples are free from income tax as are the Han people. For the direct benefit of the minority peasants and herdsmen, the state has on several occasions raised the purchasing prices of farm and side-line products while reducing the prices of industrial goods.

Industrial foundation was so feeble in the pre-liberation Inner Mongolia that total industrial output value equalled only that of one of the medium-sized factories in this region

today. By contrast, this autonomous region has built more than 2,800 factories and mines, including the Paotow Iron and Steel Company. Animal husbandry has also seen steady growth, with total output value six times that in the early post-liberation years.

The Lanchow-Urumchi Railway, built by the state shortly after the founding of the People's Republic, provided the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region with favourable conditions for the development of its socialist economy. Sinkiang now boasts a sizable industrial buildup embracing petroleum, iron and steel, coal, non-ferrous metal smelting, mining, chemical, building materials and woollen textile industries. Farm mechanization has proceeded apace, and more than 60 per cent of Sinkiang's cultivated land are now tractor-ploughed.

Having virtually no industry to speak of in the old days, the Tibet Autonomous Region now runs 250 or so industrial enterprises whose 1974 total output value was 3.5 times that of 1965, the year before the Great Cultural Revolution started. Lhasa, Linchih and Changtu are among the rising industrial cities and towns.

The Ningsia Hui Autonomous Region before liberation had only a small number of workshops. Now its total industrial output value is 74-fold greater than in 1949, the year of liberation.

Industrial cities and towns have emerged one after another in Yunnan and Kweichow Provinces, the Yen-pien Korean Autonomous Prefecture and other places where people of minority nationalities live in compact communities. A rapidly expanding railway and highway network has closely knit together the interior with a number of outlying areas once poor in communications facilities.

What with the state's unstinting aid, great progress has also been made in health and medical service, sports and literature and art in the minority areas. People's health has markedly improved and the popula-

tion of every national minority is growing fast.

### **Another Modern Power Plant Built**

THE large, modern Laiwu Thermal Power Plant in Shantung Province was completed recently and is now in operation.

This power plant has three of the nation's most up-to-date 125,000 kw. steam turbo-generating units with inner water-cooled stators and rotors. Their total capacity is 375,000 kw. All the equipment was designed, manufactured and installed by Chinese workers and technicians.

The plant plays a significant role in supplying more power for industry and agriculture, in addition to making life in general more convenient for the people, by improving the province's power grid and enlarging the power network in central Shantung.

Construction started in 1970 and took four years to complete.

(Continued from p. 20.)

there were "common points" or even "consonance" between the proposal for Southeast Asian neutralization and their "Asian collective security system." What is more fantastic is that the Soviet weekly *New Times* brazenly claimed that the Korean people's struggle for the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea is "a component part of the effective realization of the proposition for a collective Asian security." Passing off fish eyes as pearls, the new tsars surreptitiously tried to put the "Asian collective security system" into the peace proposals made by Asian nations. But this could not deceive the Asian nations which were unwilling to fraternize with the new tsars. At the ASEAN Foreign Ministers Conference in 1973, views were exchanged on the "Asian collective security system." The result was it was unanimously rejected.

**Shopworn Wares Find No Buyers.** The focus of U.S.-Soviet contention is in Europe. While peddling the "Asian collective security system," the Soviet revisionists often inadvertently reveal their real intention of "making a feint to the east while attacking in the west." An outstanding example was their clamour about the "Asian collective security system" after the conclusion of the European security conference last year. Their propaganda machine blared that Asia needs "the Helsinki spirit" and "the time is ripe" for Asian countries to sit down together to discuss the "collective security problem." Everybody knows that it is absolutely impossible to hold a conference of Asian nations tailor-made for the Soviet Union. In trying to extend the European security conference to Asia, the Soviet Union aims at diverting the attention of the European countries. Such a scheme is doomed to failure. In a press interview, Pakistan Prime Minister Bhutto pointed out that the situation in Asia is "quite different" from that in Europe. At the Lima Conference of Foreign Ministers of the Non-Aligned Nations in August 1975, Burmese Foreign Minister U Hla Phone explicitly stated: "We refuse to accept an international system which is calculated above all to satisfy the aspirations of the great powers, and are opposed to any attempt to impose such a system on the rest of the world." The Japanese Government also made it clear that "Japan just couldn't accept" that the "Asian collective security system"

should fix boundaries. This quickly silenced the clamour made by the Soviet Union in peddling the system after the Helsinki conference. To date, none of the more than 30 Asian countries, except the one with massive Soviet military presence, have clearly accepted the idea of an "Asian collective security system." What a poor show the peddlers of this rubbish have put up!

**Main Threat Comes From Soviet Union.** Actually, the main threat to Asian security comes precisely from Soviet social-imperialism. Since the "Asian collective security system" was put forth, the Soviet Union has permanently stationed a naval fleet in the Indian Ocean. It has obtained the right to use over 10 coastal ports and military bases. Soviet warships and aircraft of various kinds frequent the areas around Japan. Encroaching upon the sovereignty of some Asian countries, the Soviet Union has insisted on the "internationalization" of the Strait of Malacca. Inheriting the mantle of the old tsars, the Brezhnev clique has attempted to seize a land passage to the Indian Ocean. It provoked disputes between South Asian countries. It has occupied the northern territories of Japan and established military bases there as a bridgehead to gain access to Asia and the Pacific. It has dispatched large numbers of spies to Asian countries for subversion and sabotage. The Soviet military threat to China is a fact known to all. Commenting on a European country stepping forward to prattle about its "concern about Asian security," a Thai newspaper has put it well: "Brezhnev intends to lure Asian countries into the Soviet trap! He has underestimated far too much the wisdom of the Asian people."

Denouncing the expansionist policy of the old tsars, Marx pointed out: "Its methods, its tactics, its manoeuvres may change, but the Polar Star of its policy — world domination — is a fixed star." Though Brezhnev and company did not openly mention the "Asian collective security system" at their 25th party congress, it does not mean that they have given up their ambition to seek hegemony in Asia. It is at most only a change of tactics; the people must maintain high vigilance against it.

(A commentary by Hsinhua Correspondent)

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