

PEKING REVIEW

23

June 7, 1974

北
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報

**Chairman Mao Meets Malaysian
Prime Minister Razak**

**Chairman Mao Meets
Dr. Li Cheng-tao**

***Deepen the Criticism of the Bourgeois
Theory of Human Nature***

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Chairman Mao Meets Malaysian Prime Minister Razak

CHAIRMAN Mao Tsetung on the afternoon of May 29 met and had a friendly and frank talk with Malaysian Prime Minister Tun Abdul Razak bin Datuk Hussein.

Chairman Mao welcomed Prime Minister Razak on his visit to China. Prime Minister Razak said that he

was very glad and greatly honoured to meet Chairman Mao.

Present on the occasion were Premier Chou En-lai, Vice-Chairman Wang Hung-wen, Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien, Assistant Foreign Minister Wang Hai-jung, and Tang Wen-sheng and Chang Han-chih.





Prime Minister Razak in China

PEKING'S Great Hall of the People was brightly lit on the evening of May 28 when Chinese leaders Chou En-lai, Chiang Ching, Li Hsien-nien, Hua Kuo-feng, Wu Teh and Ngapo Ngawang-Jigme met with Malaysian Prime Minister Tun Abdul Razak and the other distinguished Malaysian guests accompanying him on his official visit to China.

Premier Chou gave a grand banquet in the Great Hall of the People the same evening in honour of the guests from Southeast Asia. Both the Chinese Premier and the Malaysian Prime Minister spoke at the banquet. (For excerpts of their speeches see pp. 9-10.)

During the Malaysian guests' stay in Peking, Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien held talks with Prime Minister Razak. The Malaysian Prime Minister and his party attended a concert organized in their honour, visited Tsinghua University, the Peking Arts and Crafts Factory, a people's commune on the outskirts of Peking and the Palace Museum where they saw an exhibition of archaeological finds excavated during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and toured the Great Wall and Ting Ling, one of the Ming Tombs.

A joint communique of the Governments of China and Malaysia was signed in Peking on May 31 (for the

full text of the communique see p. 8). It was signed by Premier Chou En-lai and Prime Minister Razak on behalf of their respective governments. The joint communique announced that the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of Malaysia, with a view to promoting the traditional friendship of the two peoples, had decided upon mutual recognition and the establishment of diplomatic relations as from the date the communique was published.

That evening, Prime Minister Razak gave a grand return banquet

in the Great Hall of the People. In his speech at the banquet, the Prime Minister said: We are able to celebrate tonight the decision taken by our respective governments to enter into diplomatic relations. No act can speak more eloquently of the satisfactory progress of our talks these last few days in Peking. None expresses better our hope for the enduring friendship of our two countries. He said: My visit is admittedly a short one, measured in terms of time. But, if we should use the measure of how much it has contributed to deepening our mutual understanding, it has been timeless. It is my earnest hope that the ties of



A rousing welcome for Prime Minister Razak.



friendship we have woven in this short time will expand and endure in the years ahead.

Representing the Chinese Government and people, Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien, who attended the banquet on behalf of Premier Chou En-lai, expressed in his speech warm congratulations on the formal establishment of diplomatic relations between China and Malaysia. He pointed out that relations between the two countries have now entered a new stage. The Vice-Premier said: China and Malaysia are both developing countries belonging to the Third World. Our two countries are both opposed to great-power hegemonism. I am convinced that, although the social systems of our two countries are different, our friendly relations will continue to develop on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence. Our two peoples will certainly remain friendly to each other from generation to generation.

The Prime Minister and his party left Peking for Shanghai June 1 and wound up his visit the next day.

Edward Heath Concludes His Visit to China

Former British Prime Minister Edward Heath and his party left Kwangchow for home on June 2 after a 10-day visit to China.

Proposing a toast at a banquet in Kwangchow, Mr. Heath reviewed

his China visit with satisfaction. He said: "This visit has been an experience which I shall never forget. I have been greatly moved by the outstandingly warm welcome which my companions and I have received in every city which we have visited." Mr. Heath went on: "I have been much impressed by the achievements of the Chinese people since the birth of the People's Republic—their achievements in industry and agriculture, and their achievements in building on the rich cultural inheritance. It has also been a great privilege for me to hold talks with Chairman Mao Tsetung, Premier Chou En-lai, Vice-Premier

Teng Hsiao-ping and other Chinese leaders. These have been excellent discussions. . . . I am convinced that my visit will provide a foundation for a further advance in the friendship between our two countries."

Mr. Heath and his party visited Shanghai, Sian and Kunming after leaving Peking. Kwangchow was the last leg of their visit.

International Children's Day Celebrated

June 1, International Children's Day, was enthusiastically celebrated by 50,000 of Peking's children at the Working People's Palace of Culture which was gaily decorated that day for the festival.

Surrounded by flowers, a huge red screen at the entrance had a facsimile of Chairman Mao's inscription: "Study well and make progress every day." Big streamers hanging in the park were inscribed with the slogans: "Hail the tremendous victories of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution!" "Carry the struggle to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius through to the end!" "Long live the great, glorious and correct Communist Party of China!" and "Long live Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought!"

A great variety of activities took place at the celebrations. There were sports performances by kindergarten children, and gymnastics and traditional Chinese boxing and swordplay

and mini-football matches by children on the playgrounds. Films based on model revolutionary theatrical works and children's pictures, all prized by children, were shown in the cinema. In groups, boys and girls joined in playing riddle games on the artificial hills and in the corridors with flowers on both sides. Scattered under the trees all over the park, children joyously took part in various games.

On the stages in the park, happy children performed *Present Flowers to Chairman Mao*, *I Love Peking's Tien An Men*, *The Upbringing of Little Red Guards Depends on the Communist Party* and other theatrical items. They also presented other items including *Little Red Guards Learning Industrial Work at a Construction Site*, *I'll Be a New Peasant When I Grow Up*, *Little Red-Tasselled Spears* and *Battle Song of the Movement to Criticize Lin Piao and Confucius*. This demonstrated their readiness to learn industrial and agricultural production and military affairs and their militant will to criticize the bourgeoisie.

As a group of children of Taiwan-born compatriots in Peking came to join one of the celebration centres, the youngsters warmly clapped to express their welcome. This group sang the song *I Love Peking's Tien An Men* in the get-together. They said: "We are fully convinced that Taiwan will be liberated one day. Then the children on Taiwan will celebrate June 1 happily as we do today."

The Working People's Palace of Culture was permeated everywhere with a warm atmosphere of unity and friendship between Chinese children and those from other parts of the world. Children from dozens of countries on the five continents residing in Peking joined Chinese children in celebrating the festival. Chinese pupils from the Fangtsaoti Primary School and their schoolmates from more than 30 countries came to the celebrations. Hand in hand they sang in unison: "From the four oceans and five continents, children of the world march forward together in high spirits towards the rising sun."

Chairman Mao Meets Dr. Li Cheng-tao

CHAIRMAN Mao Tsetung on the morning of May 30 met and had a very cordial conversation with Chinese-American physicist Dr. Li Cheng-tao who had

come to China to see his relatives and for a visit.

Present on the occasion were Chu Kuang-ya, Lo Ching-chang, Wang Hai-jung and Tang Wen-sheng.



Similar activities also took place in Shanghai and Tientsin.

Literary and Art Activities by Worker-Peasant-Soldier Amateurs Thriving

Guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in literature and art, amateur activities in literary and art creations and stage performances by workers, peasants and soldiers in Peking, Shanghai and Tientsin are thriving.

These activities are characterized by the common orientation of serv-

ing the workers, peasants and soldiers, socialism and proletarian politics, and are guided by the principle that they are carried out in the spare time, on a small scale and in varied forms.

The over 1,300 items presented by more than 530 amateur troupes during Peking's May Day festivities covered a wide range of subjects, from criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius to reflection of the excellent situation in industry and agriculture and praise for the new socialist things. All vividly reflected the rev-

olutionary enthusiasm of people on various fronts.

Worker-peasant-soldier amateur troupes in Shanghai have made extensive use of skits, story-telling and ballad singing, poetry and songs in criticizing Lin Piao's revisionist line and the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. Seven city-wide concerts of vocal music were held during the first quarter of this year. The songs dealt respectively with criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius, self-reliance, city militia, educated young people settling in the countryside, the rev-

olution in education, dockers and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

In the coastal city of Tientsin in north China, a city-wide workers' amateur theatrical festival was held in March and April. It lasted five weeks, with nearly 10,000 amateur worker-artists taking part; more than 300 items were created by the workers themselves, warmly praising Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and the great achievements of the Cultural Revolution.

An important aspect of the mass amateur literary and art activities is the vigorous drive to learn and present model revolutionary theatrical works—the brilliant accomplishments of the proletarian revolution in literature and art, thus further popularizing these works. The amateurs study and use the creative experience of these model revolutionary theatrical works to guide their own literary and art activities.

Party organizations at all levels pay great attention to the development of amateur literary and art activities, enthusiastically helping the amateur writers and artists to study works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and Chairman Mao's works and make deep-going criticism of the revisionist line in literature and art pushed by Liu Shao-chi and Lin Biao, so as to guide them to march forward by keeping to the correct orientation.

Statement by Spokesman of Information Department Of Foreign Ministry

Following is the statement issued on May 30 by the spokesman of the Information Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China:

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R., in its so-called statement, which was reported by TASS on May 23, 1974, hypocritically pretends that it wishes to improve Sino-Soviet relations, but is in fact shamelessly attempting to blackmail China.

Under the unequal Sino-Russian Treaty of Peking, which was imposed on China by tsarist Russia, the Sino-Soviet boundary line passes through the confluence of the Heilung and

the Wusuli Rivers, which is located at the city of Khabarovsk (Poli). It is China's inalienable right for Chinese boats to navigate the main channel through the confluence of the two rivers. But the Soviet Union has brazenly described this 100-kilometre section of boundary rivers between China and the Soviet Union as her inland waters, and China's inland water-course the Fuyuan stream as a boundary river between China and the Soviet Union. Ever since 1966, moreover, the Soviet Union has been obstructing by force navigation of Chinese boats through the confluence of the two rivers. The intent of the May 23 statement of the Soviet Foreign Ministry is that China should first accept the Soviet territorial claim involved before consideration can be given to the question of navigation of Chinese civil boats along this section of boundary rivers. This is an unreasonable demand that the Chinese side has repeatedly rejected and absolutely will not accept now.

French Industrial Exhibition In Peking

The French Industrial, Scientific and Technical Exhibition opened in Peking on May 22 and concluded on June 7.

In the large exhibition sponsored by the French Government, the exhibits consisted chiefly of machine tools, transport machinery, textile machinery, equipment for public works, electronics and telecommunications equipment, aeronautical equipment, medical equipment and other industrial products.

Attending the opening ceremony were Li Chiang and Chai Shu-fan, Minister and Vice-Minister of Foreign Trade; Wang Yao-ting, Chairman of the China Council for the Promotion of International Trade; leading members of the departments concerned as well as more than 700 people in the Chinese capital.

Also present were Pierre Sudreau, Member of the French National Assembly and President of the Permanent Committee of Economic Fairs and Exhibitions in Foreign Countries, and the French Official Delegation he headed; the Delegation of the Na-

tional Council of French Employers led by its Honorary President Paul Huvelin; French Ambassador to China Etienne Manach and other French friends in Peking.

Pierre Sudreau said at the opening ceremony that the exhibition would help strengthen friendly ties between the French and Chinese peoples and open new prospects for further developing economic and trade relations between the two countries.

Wang Yao-ting expressed the conviction that the exhibition would help increase mutual understanding and friendship between the peoples of China and France and promote the growth of economic and trade relations between the two countries.

Premier Chou En-lai on May 23 met and had a friendly conversation with delegation leader Sudreau.

Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping also met the French Official Delegation and the Delegation of the National Council of French Employers.

News Briefs

- Keng Piao, Member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Head of the International Liaison Department of the C.P.C. Central Committee, on May 28 met and feted the members of the Delegation of the Marxist-Leninist Party of the Netherlands led by C. Petersen, Member of the Political Bureau and International Secretary of the Central Committee of the Marxist-Leninist Party of the Netherlands. The delegation arrived in Peking on May 16 and left it for home on May 29.

- A civil air transport agreement between the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of the Republic of Zaire was signed in Peking on May 31. Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping attended the signing ceremony.

- Acting Chairman Tung Pi-wu and Premier Chou En-lai on June 1 sent a message to Jigme Singye Wangchuck, King of Bhutan, warmly congratulating His Majesty the King on his coronation.

- Premier Chou En-lai sent a message to the Palestine National Council on May 30 warmly congratulating it on the convocation of the conference of the council.

JOINT COMMUNIQUE OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA AND THE GOVERNMENT OF MALAYSIA

AT the invitation of His Excellency Chou En-lai, Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, His Excellency Tun Abdul Razak bin Datuk Hussein, Prime Minister of Malaysia, visited the People's Republic of China from May 28 to June 2, 1974. His Excellency Prime Minister Tun Abdul Razak was accompanied by representatives of political parties in the Government and government officials.

During his visit, Prime Minister Tun Abdul Razak called on Chairman Mao Tsetung and conveyed to him the best wishes of the Malaysian Government. They had a friendly and frank talk.

Premier Chou En-lai, Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien and Prime Minister Tun Abdul Razak had wide-ranging talks on various subject matters of bilateral, regional and international nature. These talks were held in a frank and friendly atmosphere. The two Prime Ministers agree that in recent years the situation in Asia has undergone deep changes favourable to the people of all countries. It is in conformity with the interests of the peoples of China and Malaysia to normalize the relations between the two countries. To this end, the two Prime Ministers have decided to announce the normalization of relations between their two countries by issuing this Joint Communique.

1. The Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of Malaysia, with a view to promoting the traditional friendship of the two peoples, have decided upon mutual recognition and the establishment of diplomatic relations as from the date this Communique is published.

2. The two Governments hold that although the social systems of the People's Republic of China and Malaysia are different, this should not constitute an obstacle to the two Governments and peoples in establishing and developing peaceful and friendly relations between the two countries on the basis of the principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence. The two Governments consider all foreign aggression, interference, control and subversion to be impermissible. They hold that the social system of a country should only be chosen and decided by its own people. They are opposed to

any attempt by any country or group of countries to establish hegemony or create spheres of influence in any part of the world.

3. The Government of Malaysia recognizes the Government of the People's Republic of China as the sole legal government of China, and acknowledges the position of the Chinese Government that Taiwan is an inalienable part of the territory of the People's Republic of China. The Malaysian Government decides to close down its consulate in Taipei.

4. The Government of the People's Republic of China recognizes the Government of Malaysia and respects the independence and sovereignty of Malaysia.

5. The Government of the People's Republic of China takes note of the fact that Malaysia is a multi-racial country with peoples of Malay, Chinese and other ethnic origins. Both the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of Malaysia declare that they do not recognize dual nationality. Proceeding from this principle, the Chinese Government considers anyone of Chinese origin who has taken up of his own will or acquired Malaysian nationality as automatically forfeiting Chinese nationality. As for those residents who retain Chinese nationality of their own will, the Chinese Government, acting in accordance with its consistent policy, will enjoin them to abide by the law of the Government of Malaysia, respect the customs and habits of the people there and live in amity with them. And their proper rights and interests will be protected by the Government of China and respected by the Government of Malaysia.

6. Premier Chou En-lai and Prime Minister Tun Abdul Razak agree that the two Governments, in conformity with international practice, will provide each other with all necessary assistance for the establishment and performance of the functions of embassies in their respective capitals, and that ambassadors will be exchanged as soon as practicable.

(Signed) Chou En-lai

Premier of the
State Council of the
People's Republic of China

(Signed) Tun Abdul Razak
bin Datuk Hussein

Prime Minister
of Malaysia

Peking, May 31, 1974

Peking Review, No. 23

Premier Chou En-lai's Speech

(Excerpts)

WE are very glad that His Excellency Tun Abdul Razak, Prime Minister of Malaysia, has come upon invitation to our country on an official visit. On behalf of the Chinese Government and people, I express our warm welcome to His Excellency the Prime Minister and the other distinguished guests from Malaysia.

Malaysia is a beautiful and richly-endowed country in Southeast Asia. The industrious and valiant people of various nationalities of Malaysia have a glorious tradition of opposing imperialism and colonialism. In recent years, the Malaysian people have achieved new successes in safeguarding national independence and sovereignty. In international affairs, Malaysia has actively participated in the activities of the Third World countries and opposed great-power hegemonism and power politics. The Malaysian Government's position for the establishment of a zone of peace and neutrality in Southeast Asia gives expression to the desire of the Southeast Asian peoples to shake off foreign interference and control and has won support from many Third World countries. The Chinese people sincerely wish the Malaysian people still greater victories on their road of advance.

At present, the people of the world are increasingly awakening and advancing with big strides amidst great turbulence. The Third World countries are uniting on an ever broader scale and playing an ever greater role in international affairs. They have become the main force in the united struggle of the people of the world against hegemonism. Beset with troubles at home and abroad, the superpowers are having an increasingly hard time. The whole international situation is developing in a direction favourable to the people of the world.

The Southeast Asian countries are an important part of the Third World. The realities of Southeast Asia show that superpower aggression and expansion are the main source of danger to peace and security

in this region. We are convinced that, so long as the Southeast Asian peoples strengthen their unity and persist in struggle, they will certainly be able to frustrate superpower schemes and safeguard their own independence and sovereignty.

China is a developing socialist country belonging to the Third World. The Chinese people consistently support the just struggles of all oppressed nations and oppressed peoples. This is our internationalist duty. We hold, at the same time, that the social system of a country can only be chosen and decided by its own people and cannot be imposed by other countries. Countries with different social systems can develop state relations on the basis of the five principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit and peaceful coexistence.

There is a traditional friendship of more than two thousand years between the peoples of China and Malaysia. Our two peoples have always sympathized with and supported each other in the common struggle against imperialism and colonialism. We are glad to see that in recent years the friendship between the peoples of China and Malaysia has made new progress. Trade and friendly exchanges between our two countries have steadily increased. Normalization of relations between China and Malaysia is in the interests of both peoples. The Governments of China and Malaysia have, through friendly consultations and in the spirit of mutual understanding, reached agreement on the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries. During Prime Minister Razak's visit in China, our two Governments will formally announce the establishment of diplomatic relations, thus opening a new page in the history of China-Malaysia relations. The Chinese Government and people warmly welcome this development. We wish complete success to the visit of His Excellency the Prime Minister and the other distinguished guests from Malaysia.

Prime Minister Razak's Speech

(Excerpts)

I WAS happy to receive your invitation to visit China, Mr. Premier, and I thank you for your warm welcome and for the many courtesies which have been extended to me and members of my delegation. Your generous words tonight have honoured my country and all Malaysians.

The journey that has brought me to Peking, Mr. Premier, is a reaffirmation and a renewal of the ties which have existed for so long between our two countries and peoples. These ties have not found expression at the official level owing to the political accidents of the past decades. In the last three years, however, there have been growing contacts between our two countries, and our relations can be said to have been resumed on the very practical note of trade and sporting missions. Today, with this journey of mine to China, we seek to set the final seal of formal diplomatic relations between our two countries.

In ancient times, Mr. Premier, the physical barriers of contacts between our two countries and peoples were indeed awesome. Today, it is the barriers of mind and spirit, of misunderstanding and misapprehension, that loom so large in our lives. I believe that these barriers must be crossed, if our two peoples are to reforge their historic links. Voyagers on such a journey need to be both realistic and imaginative so as to meet both the challenges and the opportunities which lie ahead. These, I know, are the qualities that both our governments bring to the present enterprise.

Malaysia, Mr. Premier, is a relatively young country, a small country, but like China, an ancient land with its vast continental expanses and immense population, we have a fierce pride in our freedom and independence. Like China, too, whose epic struggle over the centuries to forge an enduring unity, we are jealous of the unity we are moulding out of the diversity of peoples, languages and cultures which are to be found within our shores. Our two countries seek peace in the world, and freedom and justice. We both strive for a life of security, decency and dignity for our peoples. In rediscovering our ties, therefore, I am happy to note these similarities which we share.

I am not, at the same time, losing sight of the differences between us. Nevertheless, I am totally convinced, Mr. Premier, that differences in ideology, in our relative size, and in our approaches to some international issues, should not present obstacles to the development of fruitful relations and beneficial co-operation between our two countries on the basis of mutual respect, equality and peaceful coexistence. Malaysia extends our hand of friendship to all countries which respect us and wish to be friends with us, irrespective of their political ideology or social system. It is in that spirit, I know, that we meet today in Peking, to begin the long journey ahead, after the vicis-

situdes of the recent past, of establishing genuine and enduring ties of friendship.

Mr. Premier, the last few years have seen positive developments in the international political scene, characterized by a spirit of mutual accommodation and goodwill. China's own contributions in this direction have been far-reaching. It is important for all of us that we should carefully nurture this spirit so that we may see even more fruitful results.

Nevertheless, we cannot be unaware, Mr. Premier, of the conflicts that still beset our world. The countries of Southeast Asia know better than most the ravages of war for we have been its unceasing victims for the last three decades and more. And even today, the prospects of peace in Southeast Asia are by no means certain.

It is all the more important, therefore, that we must each do what we can to contribute towards peace. We in Malaysia choose the path of co-operation in international relations, not the path of conflict. Malaysian foreign policy seeks to avoid tension, to strengthen international co-operation and to bring about a greater awareness of the common interest of every country in a peaceful, just and equitable international order.

Malaysia and its neighbours in Southeast Asia are taking the first steps towards freeing our region from the constant threat of war. We collectively realize that if we do not endeavour to create within our region a climate of peace, others will not disperse the clouds of war for us. The proposal for a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in Southeast Asia, which the countries of ASEAN have put forward, is the framework within which we hope to achieve a secure freedom, lasting peace and greater prosperity for our troubled region. The way ahead will be both difficult and delicate because the proposal is designed to serve the interests of all, not deny the rights of any, I am confident of its eventual success. In that long journey that Southeast Asia must take to establish its true rights in the world, the comradeship and help of true companions can only serve to lighten the burdens along the way.

Historically, Mr. Premier, China has always contributed much to Southeast Asia. I am confident that today, in a spirit of mutual understanding and goodwill, China can play a constructive role in promoting the cause of peace and harmony in Southeast Asia. In these different and far more complex times, we in Malaysia warmly welcome the development of relations between us, based on the genuine desire for friendship. In renewing and reaffirming the relations between Malaysia and China by my presence in Peking today, I am fully confident that we can do much to contribute to greater understanding. It is in that spirit I look to the future.

Confucius and Flunkies of Imperialism

— Notes on studying Chairman Mao's "On New Democracy"

by Nan Chien-hsin

THE Soviet revisionist social-imperialists have been stricken with the utmost panic by the in-depth development of the Chinese people's movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius. They have made a great many charges against the movement and shouted that it was to "oppose the internationalist forces at home." This may sound like somewhat strange "logic" at first hearing. What connections can there be between the renegade and traitor Lin Piao and Confucius on the one hand and "the internationalist forces" on the other? A careful analysis of this, however, shows that such connections do exist, and not insignificant ones at that. As far as social-imperialism is concerned, "internationalism" has always been an euphemism for its intent to enslave other countries. What it means by "internationalist forces" is nothing but a handful of lackeys and hirelings selling themselves to social-imperialism. When we criticize Lin Piao and the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius he trumpeted, we have hit hard at the decaying forces of social-imperialism and all exploiting classes and have smashed the pipe dream of imperialism and social-imperialism to bring about a counter-revolutionary restoration in China to smithereens. Naturally it pains the master when his flunkey is given a beating!

Doctrines of Confucius and Mencius Suited to Enslavement of China by Imperialism

In a sharp criticism of the Confucius-worshippers 34 years ago in his work *On New Democracy*, Chairman Mao did this by pairing imperialism with Confucius. Having analysed the historical characteristics of the Chinese society which had become colonial, semi-colonial and semi-feudal from the time of imperialist intrusion, Chairman Mao penetratingly pointed out: "Imperialist culture and semi-feudal culture are devoted brothers and have formed a reactionary cultural alliance against China's new culture. This kind of reactionary culture serves the imperialists and the feudal class and must be swept away."

Why did imperialist culture seek to form a reactionary alliance with semi-feudal culture? The root cause lay in the fact that Chinese feudal culture represented by the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius perfectly suits the counter-revolutionary aim of imperialism to enslave and subjugate China.

When imperialism made inroads into China, it certainly did not contemplate transforming feudal China into a capitalist one, but making this country its colony and semi-colony. To this end, simultaneous with their aggression in the military, political and economic fields, the imperialists did not in the slightest ease up in their

cultural or spiritual aggression. On the one hand, they hoped to disseminate the so-called bourgeois culture of the West, i.e., imperialist culture, through religious missions, running hospitals, educational institutes and newspapers, attracting Chinese to study in their countries and so on. On the other hand, they were bound to make use of the reactionary culture with which the past reactionary ruling classes in China had fooled and enslaved the masses, so as to fasten the spiritual shackles on the Chinese people.

The doctrines of Confucius and Mencius were the core of China's reactionary and decaying old culture for more than 2,000 years. The moment these doctrines appeared on the political scene amidst a great social upheaval which saw the downfall of the slave system and the rise of feudalism, they started playing the reactionary role of obstructing social reform in an effort to restore the old order and retrogress, thereby winning the respect of all reactionaries hoping to put back the clock. At one time before and after it seized ruling power, the landlord class clung to the Legalist school of thought which had a progressive significance at that time. But later, when its ruling power had been consolidated, and the basic contradiction between this class and the peasant class had risen to the main position, the former needed the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius to serve its own reactionary rule. The reactionary ideology of Confucius upholding the slave system, remoulded and modified by his followers in succeeding generations, thus became the representative of China's feudal culture while Confucius himself too had been made the "sage" of feudal society. The change in the landlord class from revering the Legalist school and opposing the Confucian school to the other way round was precisely the sign of its gradual lapse from its period of ascendancy to that of decline. This very fact also shows that the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius are the reactionary ideological weapon of the decayed exploiting classes for preserving their reactionary rule and enslaving the masses. With a view to establishing and consolidating its colonial rule in China and making the Chinese people its slaves, imperialism naturally wanted to make full use of these doctrines.

Said to be the "national characteristics par excellence" which lingered on in old China for more than 2,000 years, the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius were more deceptive than the imperialist culture from abroad. As a matter of fact, for more than a century after the Opium War (1840-42), these hypocritical sermons on idealist benevolence and virtue had to all intents and purposes become a tranquillizer helping

imperialism enslave the Chinese people. Thus, when the Chinese people rose to resist imperialist aggression, the imperialists harped on *chung* (loyalty) and *shu* (forbearance) and *chung yung* (the mean), aimed at liquidating the popular struggle; when the Chinese people strove to make revolution and take the nation's destiny into their own hands, they talked about "everything being decided by heaven" and the "cardinal guides and constant virtues" designed to keep the old order intact; and when the Chinese people struggled to liberate themselves from the spiritual shackles of feudalism, they peddled the fallacy that some were "born with knowledge" and "the highest are the wise and the lowest are the stupid," and so forth.

Lu Hsun (1881-1936), the chief commander of China's cultural revolution, a great man of letters and a great thinker and revolutionary, saw through this imperialist scheme to vanquish China by means of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. Hitting the nail on the head, he noted that foreigners who came to vanquish China "too will pay still greater respect to Confucius." He also cited a few facts to support the case: China had given up studying the Confucian classics and abolished kowtowing, but the schools in China run by foreigners insisted on employing old Confucianists to teach students the Confucian canon and make them kowtow; newspapers put out by foreigners for Chinese consumption also employed Chinese subeditors who upheld Confucianism and preserved the "national characteristics par excellence." Thus imperialism was really very "fond" of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius!

The Soviet revisionist renegade clique has completely taken over the mantle of the old-time imperialists. Seeing that the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China has swept away the ideology and culture of feudalism, capitalism and revisionism and seeing that first Liu Shao-chi who cried "old Confucius was a great man" and then Lin Piao who kept calling for "restraining oneself and returning to the rites" in the wake of Confucius had been put in the dock of history by the Chinese people, it ran around as restless as ants on a hot pan and loudly trumpeted: "It is exactly Confucianism that has made Chinese the Chinese and the unique Chinese civilization the genuine Chinese civilization;" it attacked China's movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius as being aimed at destroying "cultural treasures" and "the superior compendium of solely valuable wisdom accumulated for centuries." All these are completely in tune with the utterances of Hermann Keyserling, the old tsar's special agent in the field of culture, who exalted "Confucianism" as "China's one and only fundamental" and claimed that China's destiny depended on the revival of the ancient principles.

Imperialist flunkys Invariably Extol Confucius

To make use of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius as the reactionary ideological weapon for enslaving the Chinese people, imperialism had to find

a number of flunkys in China. Those in China who sing the praises of Confucius most enthusiastically often turn out to be the lackeys and stooges who sell themselves to imperialism. In addition to stooges and compradors in the pay of imperialist cultural organizations, their backbone is the feudal survivors of the landlord class, representatives of the big bourgeoisie, and ringleaders of the opportunist lines who had wormed their way into the Communist Party.

The arch-traitor Yuan Shih-kai who signed with Japanese imperialism the Twenty-One Demands, a treaty to sell out the country, was the most anxious one plotting to restore the monarchy after the Revolution of 1911 which toppled the Ching Dynasty. In 1915 before and after the nauseating farce of his "ascension to the throne" with Hung Hsien as the title of his reign, Yuan Shih-kai time and again decreed worshipping Confucius and studying the Confucian canon, saying that "Heaven has sent us Confucius who is the paragon for generation after generation," while stipulating that the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius be made the "most fundamental course for self-cultivation" in "national education."

Hu Shih, an accomplice of the Kuomintang reactionaries and a notorious man of letters of the comprador-capitalist class, also was a devout apologist for the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. He exalted Confucius as "the great sage to deliver all mankind." At a time when the Chinese people's anti-imperialist struggle was developing vigorously, he listed a number of books of the Confucian school and urged the young people to bury their heads in the old books and keep out of politics. Lu Hsun then angrily demanded: While the imperialists are very eager that China should remain one great antique, there are actually people in China who, not content to form part of a great antique themselves, are dragging our young folk and children with them. "What did these men have at heart?"

Just what did these men have at heart? To put it bluntly, they were simply trying to give China away to imperialism with both hands so that they themselves, waving the tattered banner of Confucius, could continue riding roughshod over the people and sharing with their imperialist masters the cup of the working people's blood.

Revering Confucius while worshipping things foreign; being followers of Confucius as well as accomplices and flunkys of imperialism. This reflected the reactionary nature of China's landlord class nearing its end and the weak and incompetent bourgeoisie. When the decaying and declining feudal landlord class, in the face of imperialist intrusion in China, found itself unable to cope with the rifles and guns of imperialism and the latter doing little harm to their reactionary rule, they simply placed themselves under the aegis of imperialism and willingly acted as the "No. 2 master." China's big bourgeoisie which rose as compradors had all along been a class serving imperial-

ism and was nurtured by it. This class owed its existence to the interdependence between it and imperialism and had countless ties with the feudal forces. To preserve its own rule, this class was only too happy to be accomplices and flunkies of imperialism and formed a counter-revolutionary alliance with the feudal forces.

As to the national bourgeoisie, though in a given period it had to a certain extent the revolutionary character of opposing imperialism and feudalism, it could not, nor was it willing to, totally oppose the two because it was, economically and politically speaking, extremely flabby and had not completely severed its economic ties with both forces. When the people's revolutionary struggle touched its fundamental interests, it was liable to follow the big bourgeoisie to nestle in the arms of imperialists and become an assistant of counter-revolution.

"Better give it away to a country on amicable terms than let the domestic vassals have it" — a saying that prevailed among the reactionary rulers towards the end of the Ching Dynasty (1644-1911) — was an undisguised confession of their traitorous complex. This formulation later became an apothegm of the big landlord and big capitalist classes and was put into practice by them — from Yuan Shih-kai and other northern warlords down to Chiang Kai-shek.

"A given culture is the ideological reflection of the politics and economics of a given society." The reactionary political and economic interests of the landlord class and the bourgeoisie determined that ideologically and culturally they were bound to revere Confucius and worship things foreign, bound to propagate the enslaving ideology of imperialism and the feudal ideology of

returning to the old, of worshipping Confucius and studying the Confucian canon. The ringleaders of the opportunist lines inside the Party were the agents of the landlord and capitalist classes inside our Party. They fanatically revered Confucius and worshipped things foreign for the same purpose of responding to the needs of imperialism, social-imperialism and the landlord and capitalist classes. This was the case with all from Chen Tu-hsiu and Wang Ming down to Peng Teh-huai and Liu Shao-chi, none being an exception. The renegade and traitor Lin Piao went even farther: While pinning his hopes for a restoration on the "nuclear umbrella" of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism in a vain attempt to crawl up to the throne of a "puppet emperor" with the support of the new tsars, he also piously prostrated himself before Confucius and picked up the latter's worn-out banner of "restraining oneself and returning to the rites" in a futile effort to wield the reactionary ideological weapon of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius to bring about a counter-revolutionary restoration. Lin Piao was both an accomplice and flunkie of imperialism, social-imperialism and a dyed-in-the-wool devotee of Confucius.

Having studied anew Chairman Mao's *On New Democracy* in the struggle to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, we have come to understand more about the close relationship between Confucius and the flunkies of imperialism; we also have come to a better understanding of the great immediate significance as well as the far-reaching historic significance of the current struggle to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius in thoroughly getting rid of the old ideas and old culture and developing the new ideas and new culture of the proletariat.

Workers, Peasants and Soldiers Criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius

Lin Piao's Attempted Defection to Soviet Revisionism Denounced

DURING the current movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, the worker, peasant and soldier masses in some parts of the country have condemned Lin Piao for his crimes of following Confucius in preaching "restrain oneself and return to the rites" in a vain attempt to restore capitalism and turn China into a colony of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism. Their criticism was in connection with the crimes of aggression committed by the tsars, old and new.

Angry Accusations Against Old Tsars' Crimes

Aihwei County in northeast China's Heilungkiang Province was where tsarist Russia forced the Ching

government to sign the unequal Sino-Russian Treaty of Aigun in 1858. Since the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius began, the officers and men of a P.L.A. company stationed in the county have called on a number of elderly poor peasants and militiamen to acquaint themselves with the old tsars' crimes of invading China and the Soviet revisionist new tsars' anti-China atrocities.

In 1900 when the allied forces of the eight powers invaded China, tsarist Russia, being one of them, took it as another opportunity to seize Chinese territory. Just as the great revolutionary teacher Lenin exposed with deep indignation, what the tsarist Russian troops

taking part in that aggressive war did was to burn down whole villages, shoot, bayonet, and drown in the Heilung River unarmed inhabitants, their wives, and their children. A witness to this unprecedented massacre is 84-year-old Chen Hsiu-shan who was born in Aihwei and has always lived there.

In June 1900, he recalled, tsarist aggressor troops swarming down along the Heilung River pounced like mad on Chinese territory. They set fire to many villages and pushed local Chinese people into the river in sixes or sevens, their hairs tied together. They sabred those who resisted and shot at those coming to the surface. Crimson with blood, the river was jammed by floating bodies. After burning, killing and looting all in these villages, they went on to burn the ancient city of Aihwei with its several thousand dwellings to the ground.

The old man's accusations filled the commanders and fighters with burning hatred for the old and new tsars and Lin Piao. Wang Yi-chun, a member of the 2nd Squad, said: "The rulers in the old society, from the Ching Dynasty to the Chiang Kai-shek clique, relied on foreign imperialists to maintain their reactionary rule. Led by Chairman Mao and the Communist Party, the Chinese people have long stood on their own feet and are no longer at the mercy of imperialist marauders. Lin Piao's vain attempt to turn China into a colony of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism fully exposed his ugly features as a traitor who could only end up in ignominious defeat."

Soviet revisionist social-imperialism has on many occasions carried out armed provocations against China in and around Aihwei County. With these new crimes of aggression by the Soviet revisionist new tsars in mind, the commanders and fighters and the local people repudiated Lin Piao's crimes of national betrayal and came to a clearer understanding of the ultra-Rightist nature of his revisionist line, thereby increasing their hatred for social imperialism. They pledged to further strengthen the army-people unity, be better prepared against war and step up production so as to make new contributions to defending and building up the frontiers of the motherland.

Recurrence of Historical Tragedy Not Allowed

In Lushun, a seaport in northeast China which was once under the heel of tsarist Russian imperialist aggressors for as long as seven years, the cadres and peasants of the Wuchienfang Production Brigade criticized Lin Piao in connection with the criminal history of the old tsars' occupation of the port.

Speaking of his own experience, Wu Tao-teh, an 82-year-old poor peasant, reminisced: "Our village was originally called Wuchiafang. During the 1905 Japanese-Russian War, the old tsarist aggressor troops destroyed all the crops and blew up our houses, leaving only five badly-wrecked ones for the village's 17 families. After that, the village was renamed Wuchienfang (meaning five dwellings). Testimony to the

old tsars' crimes of aggression, they are a constant reminder of our past sufferings which cannot but rouse our deep class hatred and national feeling against the invaders. The renegade and traitor Lin Piao tried in vain to turn China into a colony of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism and let the new tsars butcher and oppress us like the old tsars had done. We will never allow such a recurrence of that historical tragedy!"

Miao Shuang-ching who toiled as long as 20 years for the landlords in the old society said: "In the more than 50 years when Wuchienfang was under the dark rule of tsarist Russia and Japanese imperialism, the masses lived in misery and many lost their lives. But it is a different story since liberation. Having embarked on the bright road of socialism, we have kept improving our farm production and our living standards. Today our brigade owns a total of 25 electric motors, diesel engines, tractors, threshers and other farm machines and implements. Every family has surplus grain and most of us have deposits in the bank. Lin Piao's capitulationist and traitorous line was designed to plunge us again into the abyss of misery. We must consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and build our socialist motherland into a still more prosperous country by **'maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands and relying on our own efforts,'** a principle laid down by Chairman Mao."

In the struggle to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, the brigade's Party branch also organized the masses to study Chairman Mao's teachings on opposing and preventing revisionism and to criticize Lin Piao's fallacies attacking our struggle against Soviet revisionism. The Party branch secretary Tang Fu-sheng pointed out: "Imperialism means war and plunder. Under the signboard of 'socialism,' Soviet revisionist social-imperialism is pushing ahead with its imperialist policies and carrying out aggression and expansion everywhere in a futile attempt to dominate the world. The current movement of the Chinese people to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius now developing in depth under the leadership of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee has dealt a telling blow to the new tsars' wild ambitions to invade China. Filled with terror and hatred, they have maliciously attacked this movement. By slandering our struggle against revisionism as 'going to extremes,' the renegade and traitor Lin Piao aimed at bringing the Chinese people to their knees before Soviet revisionist social-imperialism. The Soviet revisionists wanted to lord it over the world while Lin Piao dreamt of becoming a tsarevitch. Like wolves from the same den, both were sworn enemies of the poor and lower-middle peasants."

Yang Chuan-shan, political instructor of the brigade's militia, said: "Soviet revisionist social-imperialism's aggressive nature will not change. We militiamen in Lushun, a national defence outpost, must bear in mind Chairman Mao's teaching **'Dig tunnels deep, store grain everywhere, and never seek hegemony,'** strengthen preparedness against war and heighten our

vigilance so as to contribute to the defence of the socialist motherland."

Jackals From the Same Lair

Together with the people of Chenpao Island, the commanders and fighters of the 6th Company of a P.L.A. unit stationed there denounced Lin Piao for his crimes of trying to turn China into a colony of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism. Located in the Wusuli River in northeast China, Chenpao Island was the place where the Chinese army and people counter-attacked in self-defence against the Soviet revisionist aggressors in 1969 and gave them a deserved blow. The local army and people are highly vigilant against the aggressive designs of the Soviet revisionist social-imperialists.

In the course of revolutionary mass criticism, they made a comparison between Lin Piao's reactionary fallacies in advocating the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius and those of the Soviet revisionists in worshipping the Confucian school and opposing the Legalist school.

The Soviet revisionists spared no effort in lauding Confucius and Mencius for their "humanitarianism" and vilifying the Legalist school as "anti-humanitarian" and cursing Chin Shih Huang (first emperor of the Chin Dynasty) as a "tyrant," while Lin Piao who clenched his teeth in a dark corner maligned the proletarian dictatorship as "enforcing Chin Shih Huang's laws" and "autocratic." When the Soviet revisionists shouted about the "benevolent government" preached by the Confucian school, Lin Piao clamoured for "liberating without exception politically" the overthrown landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists. The Soviet revisionists' vicious attacks on China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution corresponded with Lin Piao's slinging mud at it. Such comparisons enabled the armymen and people to further see through the Soviet revisionists' wild ambitions and Lin Piao's criminal machinations. Deputy political instructor Po Chiu-yu said: "The Soviet revisionists' feverish worship of the Confucian school and opposition to the Legalist school and their frantic opposition to China were aimed at making Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao, both devout disciples of Confucius, their 'tsarevitches,' thus reducing China to their colony."

Speaking at a criticism meeting, militia company commander Chen Wen-chung who had heroically fought against the Soviet revisionist invaders said: "Whenever the Soviet revisionists whipped up a gust of evil wind in the international arena, Lin Piao in China was bound to make trouble in close co-ordination with them. This showed that Lin Piao, Confucius and the Soviet



P.L.A. frontier unit commanders and fighters defending Chenpao Island and a fisherman injured by a Soviet armoured car criticize the Lin Piao anti-Party clique's crime of attempted defection to Soviet revisionism.

revisionist renegade clique were jackals from the same lair, who all wanted to bring about a restoration and were deadly enemies of the Chinese people."

Looking back on their struggle against the Soviet revisionist intruders, the commanders and fighters of the 6th Company and the local people stressed the need to fight resolutely against the class enemies at home and abroad and never follow the "doctrine of the mean." Company commander Yu Yang-ho pointed out: "While chanting 'peace' and 'detente,' the Soviet revisionist social-imperialists are feverishly engaging in arms expansion and war preparations in a bid to dominate the world. As a Soviet revisionist mouthpiece parroting the tune of Confucius, Lin Piao babbled that 'the doctrine of the mean . . . is rational' and that 'when two sides fight, they become enemies; when two sides live in harmony, they become friends.' He maliciously vilified our struggle against revisionism as 'going to extremes' in a vain attempt to lull the fighting will of the revolutionary people and bind them hand and foot, so that he could have a free hand to restore capitalism and sell out the country."

Veteran lumberjack Wang Wen-min recounted how he and several fishermen beat back some 20 invading Soviet revisionist provocateurs carrying bars and supported by three armoured cars when they were fishing on the ice one winter. From this victorious struggle he came to the conclusion that "the only way to deal with ferocious enemies is to hit them hard. The victory of the counter-attack in self-defence on Chenpao Island was the result of the armymen and people fighting shoulder to shoulder. Revolution means waging struggles and victory comes only after that. To hell with the 'doctrine of the mean' preached by Lin Piao!"

Taching Is Five Times Its Former Self

THERE has been a big development in production and construction in the Taching Oilfield, one of China's important oil-producing centres, since the start of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

New Achievements

Crude oil output has gone up by a wide margin each year. Last year's was four times that of 1965, the year before the Great Cultural Revolution started. Propelled by the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, production of crude oil in January-April this year was 26 per cent higher than the same 1973 period, or five times that of the same 1965 period. In terms of crude oil, Taching today is five times its former self. In addition, there have been big increases in refining crude oil and the manufacture of synthetic ammonia. The number of wells bored was the highest for the same period in Taching's history. Funds accumulated by Taching is equivalent to 11 times the amount the state has invested in it. Taching has made big contributions to the state in the form of products, training technical forces and accumulation of funds.

Taching rose from a barren wilderness 14 years ago. The revolutionary drive of the workers and staff of this oilfield has soared higher in the Cultural Revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and rectify the style of work. Getting rid of the interference by the revisionist line of Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao, they have firmly implemented the principle formulated by Chairman Mao of building the country independently and with the initiative in our own hands, through self-reliance and hard struggle, diligence and thrift. To help the other oilfields to develop, Taching over the years has sent out half its backbone force as well as a large amount of equipment. At the same time it has continued to develop in an all-round way.

The workers and staff have heightened their consciousness in implementing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. Guided by Chairman Mao's philosophical essays

On Practice and *On Contradiction*, they have continuously improved their technical and scientific research standards and tapped the potential of old areas to maintain a relatively high standard of output.

After several years of technical innovations, the refinery built and put into operation in 1966 has almost doubled its designed capacity. In addition, a number of large and medium-sized chemical facilities such as those for making synthetic ammonia, ammonium nitrate and acrylonitrile have been added.

The workers and staff of the No. 1202 drilling team, known as the "eversharp" crew, have set new boring records time and again since the start of the Cultural Revolution. In January this year they bored more than 11,100 metres, despite complicated geological conditions, frigid weather and frozen ground, to create a new record for winter drilling.

Opening Up New Oil Area

According to a decision of the higher authorities, a new area in Taching was to be opened up in January last year. The subterranean conditions of this area had been explored and found to be rich in oil, with high pressures, potentially high output and of good quality.



A leading cadre working together with members of the No. 1202 drilling team in opening up a new oil area.

Winter temperatures in Taching drop to 20 to 30 degrees below zero (centigrade). Only endless snow-covered grassland meets the eye and the earth is frozen to a depth of three metres. The new area had to be built in two years and production capability was expected to be greater than Taching's total for the six years 1960 to 1965. Though it was an arduous task, the workers and staff of Taching continued to give play to their creative spirit. They took upon themselves the heavy burden of opening up this new oil-rich area.

In less than two months blueprints were drawn up and dozens of drilling crews set out for the new site from the old oil areas, some as far away as a hundred kilometres.

Drilling required the assistance of 140 supplementary work crews. That number was sent out immediately to the wild grassland. What normally took a fortnight was accomplished by the powermen in eight hours in putting up high-tension transmission lines. When it came to putting in the water supply the drilling command post called a midnight meeting to delegate jobs, and by early morning the 140 or so people who knew how to use a welding machine had reached the work-sites. All the drilling teams had access to water on the third day. The job was accomplished more than 20 days ahead of time.

The exploits of the No. 1266 drilling team are well known. By last September 22, this crew had drilled 30 wells, thereby fulfilling their annual quota with 100 days to spare. They did not have a celebration rally but called a meeting to mobilize the members to battle for their second target — drill a well a man in one year. They did this by December 14, with the crew of 43 drilling 43 wells. The workers in this crew said: "In building socialism, a fast steed needs the spur, and we must redouble our efforts." They did not stop to celebrate or take a breather. Before the year was out they had drilled two more wells.

To make the new area give oil early, the workers and staff of Taching concentrated forces to fight "battles of annihilation" and in this way they overcame one difficulty after another. They worked at a high speed and as soon as a well was drilled installation crews moved in, after which extracting crews took over. The heroic workers of Taching were always well ahead of the dead-line. Oil was being brought up by July 18 instead of August 1, the latter date already being an advance from October 1 as originally planned. From the day drilling on the first well started to the day

the first group of wells began producing oil took only 98 days. Moreover, production reached a fairly high level in the same year. The speed of this accomplishment was unprecedented in China's oil production history. Daily production of crude oil in this new area today is equivalent to the daily output reached in Taching's first three years.

New Motive Force

The outstanding achievements of the Taching Oilfield clearly and forcefully proclaim that the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is a powerful motive force for developing production. They are also a powerful rebuff to the vicious attacks on the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution by the Lin Piao anti-Party clique which slanderously claimed that the national economy had come to a standstill.

The vast oilfield was a battlefield between Taching's workers and staff and nature as well as a battlefield in the struggle against the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao. There were no electric lights at first in the new oil-producing area, so the workers studied by candlelight the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and Chairman Mao's works and deeply criticized the ultra-Rightist nature of the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of Lin Piao. Study and criticism never ceased even in the most crucial days of opening up the new area. There are now more than 2,000 year-round after-work theoretical study groups in Taching, and a contingent of worker-theoreticians is growing up sturdily there.

After the Tenth Party Congress in August last year the Party committee of the oilfield continued educating the workers in the basic line of the Party and carrying out the movement to criticize Lin Piao and rectify the



Workers of Taching writing big-character posters to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius.

style of work. Since spring this year they have unfolded the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius. Tens of thousands of workers and staff and their dependents have recounted their blood and tear drenched family histories in the old society.

Veteran workers showed the scars of old injuries suffered in the old society, while new workers brought forth deeds of sale — evidence of family members being bought and sold in the past — sent them by their fathers and mothers from great distances away. One and all angrily criticized the counter-revolutionary crimes of Lin Piao in trying to restore capitalism and making the people suffer again.

Citing examples from their practice over the last decade and more, the workers refuted Lin Piao who

followed Confucius in preaching the aprioristic theory that some are "born with knowledge" and the idealist conception of history that "the highest are the wise and the lowest are the stupid" and the reactionary theory of "genius." They said: "Who built this Taching Oil-field out of a wilderness? Not Lin Piao, Confucius and their like, not the so-called 'geniuses' and 'sages,' but the working class! Where did the knowledge to open up Taching come from? We are not 'born with knowledge,' as Lin Piao raved, but our knowledge is derived from practice by relying on the guidance of Chairman Mao's philosophical thinking." The workers turned their anger and hatred for the Lin Piao anti-Party clique into a powerful force for building socialism, which has greatly pushed production and construction forward.

Deepen the Criticism of the Bourgeois Theory of Human Nature

— Starting from the discussion on programme and absolute music

by Chu Lan

THE current discussion about programme music (music with descriptive titles) and absolute music (music without descriptive titles) reflects the sharp struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and between Marxism and revisionism in the field of music. We believe this debate will be beneficial for the wholesome development of socialist musical creation and aesthetics in the days to come.

Discussions on Debussy by Chinese musical circles in 1963 to criticize certain erroneous viewpoints which lavished praise on the Western impressionist aesthetics and musical compositions gave the then rampant ideas of idolizing things foreign and reviving the ancient a hard knock. In fact, the discussion in 1963 and the present one on the question of programme and absolute music centre round the question of what class stand, viewpoint and method we should take in dealing with Western bourgeois music. The current discussion is concentrating more on criticizing the theory of human nature, which is the core of bourgeois and revisionist musical aesthetics. The criticism touches not only on Western bourgeois impressionist and modernistic music but also on classical bourgeois music.

As a matter of fact, classical music on the one hand and impressionist and modernistic music on the other reflect the political features, ideas and feelings of the

bourgeoisie in two historical periods, one the rise of capitalism and the other its decline. The two differ in their historical role and artistic form. (Some works of the first period played an anti-feudal historical role to one degree or another while those of the second played none. As far as the artistic form is concerned, the former has something for us to assimilate whereas the latter has nothing.) But their common characteristic is the bourgeois theory of human nature which runs through their structural ideas and creative conceptions. Later, this theory of human nature was taken over by revisionism to continue to spread its reactionary effect. The current claim that bourgeois musical works have no social content, in essence, stands for the bourgeois theory of human nature in opposition to the Marxist theory of classes.

Some bourgeois musical works being considered in the current discussion have descriptive titles and some have none, but this is not the essence of the question. To divide musical works into those with or without descriptive titles, to distinguish merely from the titles whether the music has social content or not, is in itself a trick to obliterate class content. Only by making a concrete analysis of the class content of bourgeois musical works, grasping the essence of why revisionism spreads the bourgeois theory of human nature and thoroughly ex-

posing its deceptiveness and perniciousness can we deepen this discussion and criticism.

Theory of Human Nature in the Abstract Is an Ideological Weapon of The Exploiting Classes

In criticizing the theory of human nature, Chairman Mao pointed out: "Is there such a thing as human nature? Of course there is. But there is only human nature in the concrete, no human nature in the abstract. In class society there is only human nature of a class character; there is no human nature above classes. We uphold the human nature of the proletariat and of the masses of the people, while the landlord and bourgeois classes uphold the human nature of their own classes, only they do not say so but make it out to be the only human nature in existence." It is very necessary for us to restudy this passage in order to expose the essence of the theory of human nature of the landlord and bourgeois classes and recognize class content in music.

The theory of human nature in the abstract has always been an ideological weapon for the exploiting classes. The representatives of declining classes on the verge of extinction, in particular, stubbornly cling to the theory of human nature and regard it as an instrument for influencing the masses to save their own classes from extinction and carry out frantic restorationist activities.

Confucius, who was set on maintaining and restoring slavery, can be regarded as the venerable master of the advocacy of the theory of human nature. He and his disciples did their utmost to preach "benevolence," "harmony is to be prized" and so forth, and clamoured: "If a man is not benevolent, what can he have to do with music?" They stressed that "music's function is to arouse the harmonious sentiments of the people" and "the basic function of music is to harmonize." The so-called "benevolence" and "harmony" Confucius preached were intended to blur contradictions, negate struggle, oppose revolution and turn back the wheel of history. Politically, he advocated the restoration of slavery. So it was inevitable that in art and literature he preached a back-to-the-ancients theory which lauded the past and disparaged the present. It was for this purpose that he energetically praised the slave-owning class' "music of the superior men" and spared no effort to denigrate folk music which met the needs of social changes.

Notes on Music, a book embodying the Confucian viewpoint on musical aesthetics, vigorously preached that the role of music is to bring the relations among people into harmony, draw them close together and make them bear no hatred or complaint against one another. It claimed that when there are "rites," people can be differentiated into various ranks and that when people of different ranks (those above and those below, the elite and the lowly) have music in common, harmonious relations among them follow. This means

spreading "music of the superior men" that reflects the ideas and feelings of the slave-owning class to cover up exploitation and class contradictions and corrode the fighting will of the working people so that they will docilely accept exploitation and oppression. The historical experience of class struggle tells us that all reactionary classes inevitably spread the theory of human nature so as to strengthen their ideological control over the people and consolidate their political power.

In the process of restoring capitalism and degenerating into social-imperialism, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has also done everything in its power to extol the theory of human nature. Waving the flag of "Marxism" and picking up the trashy theory of human nature, it spares no effort to spread bourgeois music widely, describing it as being "of the people" and brimming with "the common feelings of mankind." It raves that bourgeois classical music "has no boundary, be it in time, space or in its inspiration for man" and "is able to give people with different political views a pleasant artistic experience from beginning to end." It tries hard to conceal the class content reflected in these works and characterizes bourgeois human nature as that "of the whole people" and "of all mankind."

The Soviet revisionist renegade clique has exerted more effort, certainly not less, on propagating the theory of human nature than the landlord and bourgeois classes and old-line revisionism. Its aim is to benumb and corrupt the revolutionary will of the Soviet people and strengthen its fascist dictatorship.

Before the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution started in China, Liu Shao-chi, Chou Yang and company peddled feudal, bourgeois and revisionist literature and art and the theory of human nature and they did this for the same political purpose of restoring capitalism. Under the influence of this revisionist line in literature and art, many viewpoints upholding the theory of human nature appeared, which served to cover up the class content of bourgeois music. They were manifested in the following ways:

1. Deny the social content of musical works. For example, they claimed that Debussy's musical works with descriptive titles "convey a new, poetic appreciation of nature" and yet "lack deep ideological content."

2. Use abstract "emotional changes" of delight and anger, joy and sorrow to conceal the class character of the feelings. For instance, they asserted that bourgeois music expressed "man's lofty feelings," "true feelings," and so on.

3. Preach that music has the social function of transcending the times and classes. For instance, they wanted to "let all people enjoy" the "healthy and bright works" of Western bourgeois music. They even alleged that classical music could "encourage us to struggle more bravely for peace, progress and a brighter future for all mankind."

If we make a simple contrast, we can clearly see that the present revisionist views -- that classical music "has no deep social content" but only expresses abstract "contrasting and changing moods" and is "healthy and bright" and so forth -- are nothing new, but the time-worn argument of the landlord and bourgeois classes and new and old-line revisionism. But in the new situation of international and domestic class struggle this argument is again trotted out to meet the needs of the bourgeoisie for waging a counter-offensive against the proletariat.

The "Pure Music" Lies Paraded by the Bourgeoisie

Is there "no deep social content" in bourgeois musical works? Doesn't music become "purely a form of the flow of sounds" if the "social content" reflected in musical works is covered up? The "pure music," "aestheticism" and so forth paraded by the bourgeoisie are deceitful lies. They deny the class character of musical content and of aesthetics.

Chairman Mao pointed out: **"Works of literature and art, as ideological forms, are products of the reflection in the human brain of the life of a given society."** In class society, the social content reflected in the works of literature and art invariably cannot be separated from classes and class struggle in given historical conditions. Likewise, the social content reflected in musical works invariably includes specific class content and it is impossible for them to have "social content" above classes.

For instance, the works of the classical bourgeois composers Bach, Mozart and Beethoven in the period of rising capitalism to varying degrees reflected the social content of the period of bourgeois revolution and the ideas and feelings and political demands of the bourgeoisie which were opposed to the ideology of the feudal class. They kept abreast of the trend of historical development, i.e., the replacement of the dictatorship of the feudal class by the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, and were progressive to a certain extent in the historical conditions of that period.

Engels pointed out in *Notes on Germany* that the period from the end of the 18th century to the early 19th century was **"the most humiliating period of dependence on what is foreign"** in the history of Germany, which **"coincides with . . . the highest flourishing of music in the person of Beethoven."**

Beethoven in many of his works in this period reflected in a clear-cut way the political ideals of the German bourgeois revolution and became the foremost German classical composer. But, because Beethoven and other classical composers reflected social content from a bourgeois class stand, they could not help having the prejudices of this class. The bourgeois humanitarian ideas their works spread also had an element of deception even at that time.

Take for instance the chorus in the final movement of Beethoven's Symphony No. 9 in D minor, a representative work of Western classical music. The lyrics go, in part: "All mankind shall be as brothers" and "love to countless millions swelling, wafts one kiss to all the world!" This was spreading bourgeois humanitarian ideas.

In the historical circumstances of the early 19th century when Beethoven lived, such ideas reflected the revolutionary demands which the bourgeoisie set forth in opposing the feudal hierarchy and the dismemberment brought about by independent feudal regimes. But the so-called "love of humanity" transcending classes which this musical work trumpeted can never be achieved in class society. It was precisely under the cover of the banner of this false "love of humanity" that the bourgeoisie brutally exploited the proletariat and other working people.

Only by applying the Marxist stand, viewpoint and method in analysing bourgeois classical musical works can we truly recognize the essential class character of the social content reflected and the progressive and negative role in given historical conditions. And to dismiss class analysis and deny that classical musical works have "social content" and to regard them as empty things transcending the times and classes, as a matter of fact, raises a veil to cover up their class content.

Behind this veil, concrete "social content" has disappeared, and hence bourgeois music can be said to be "merely expressing certain contrasting and changing moods." To which era and which classes do these so-called "certain moods" belong? No definite answer was offered. Apparently it was a deliberate evasion of the essence of the question. Lenin in *One Step Forward, Two Steps Back* pointed out when speaking of the struggle against opportunism: **"We must never forget a feature that is characteristic of present-day opportunism in every sphere, namely, its vagueness, diffuseness, elusiveness."** This was because, Lenin added, **"an opportunist, by his very nature, will always evade formulating an issue clearly and decisively."** The aim in not formulating an issue clearly is to cover up the class content. Those "certain moods" which the revisionists claim to be devoid of class content are actually synonymous with bourgeois "human nature."

In class society everyone's thinking, without exception, is stamped with the brand of a class. All works of music, far from expressing personal sentiments that stand above classes, invariably reflect the interests and aspirations of a given class. Bourgeois works of music, whether classical or modernistic, with or without titles descriptive of their theme or content, no matter how deviously or obscurely they express "contrasting and changing moods," invariably reflect the political demands of the bourgeoisie and are subordinate to its political line.

Beethoven's Symphony No. 5 in C minor, for instance, is a composition expounding the bourgeois concept of the "emancipation of individual personality." In Beethoven's own words, "fate knocks at the door" is the theme of the first movement. Through the contrast between the main and secondary themes and the variations on them, the movement shows the so-called "man's struggle with his fate," which in fact reflects the political aspirations towards the end of the 18th century of the German bourgeois radicals to sunder the feudal bonds. The "contrasting and changing moods" in this symphony thus have a clear-cut political content. If this analysis brings out the class tendency of this work, then a comparative study of works by different classes will show the particularity of their class nature still better. This is especially true for years of acute class struggle.

4. Towards the end of the 19th century, for example, the whole of capitalist society, pounded by the revolutionary storm generated by the Paris Commune, was tottering. The irresistible torrent of proletarian revolution finds expression in *The Internationale* composed by Pierre Degeyter in 1888, which is a dynamic piece of music full of militant spirit. It fully demonstrates the thoroughgoing revolutionary spirit of the proletariat to overthrow the old world and create the new.

In contrast, many of the works of Debussy, a bourgeois impressionist composer of that period, are rife with decadent "fin de siècle" moods of despondency. The images conjured up by such music, like an "insane piano," are a self-portrayal of the ugly soul of a declining class facing its doom. It is no coincidence that *The Internationale* and Debussy's works appeared in the same period. The former marks the rise of proletarian revolutionary music while the latter signifies the decline and decay of bourgeois music. And this is an inevitable reflection in music of the important turning point in history characterized by the transition from "free trade" capitalism to monopoly imperialism.

The conflict between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the realm of music precisely reflects the sharp struggle between these two classes in the political arena. If one substitutes the abstract concept of "contrasting and changing moods" for concrete class analysis, one will inevitably lump together works of music belonging to different times and classes indiscriminately, thus glossing over the class struggle in the realm of music and negating the class struggle in the political field and its historical development.

In criticizing the idealist views of the young Hegelian, Szcliga, Marx and Engels pointed out in their work *The Holy Family*: "His art is not that of disclosing what is hidden, but of hiding what is disclosed." This remark also makes clear the difference between the Marxist theory of classes and the bourgeois theory of human nature. While we employ the Marxist method of class analysis to expose what is being covered up

by the bourgeoisie and the revisionists, they aim precisely at "hiding what is disclosed" by hawking the theory of human nature. Haven't we had enough experience of this "art" of the revisionists?

The theory of human nature covers up the class content of bourgeois works for the purpose of protecting them, prettifying them and decking them out as sacrosanct and acceptable to all classes. The current view of the theory of human nature before our eyes goes like this: It begins by obliterating the class nature of bourgeois classical music and follows this up immediately by openly lauding it as "healthy and bright."

The real purpose of the assertion that bourgeois music "has no deep social content" is to introduce and play up this key-note of its being "healthy and bright!" This tune, however, is hackneyed, and is only a replica of the theory of "beneficial and harmless" literature and art and "coffee-house literature and art" which Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and their followers advocated.

If the content of bourgeois classical music is "healthy" and its image "bright" for the proletariat, why then is it necessary to analyse and criticize it from the Marxist point of view? No, that's not necessary. Just "inherit it in its entirety." Is it still necessary to carry out a proletarian revolution in literature and art? No, that isn't necessary either. Just present on our stage all those works of music that transcend the times and classes.

In a broader sense, all feudal, bourgeois and revisionist works of literature and art can make a breakthrough because of "certain moods" that are "healthy and bright" and common to humanity and make a comeback to wrest the positions of literature and art from the proletariat! Can this be termed "enjoyment" for the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers? It is corruption and poisoning!

The Theory of Human Nature and Idolizing The Foreign and Reviving the Ancient

Whether we should penetratingly criticize the bourgeois theory of human nature in the field of music or not is an issue concerning whether to propel this particular field forward or push it back, whether to carry the proletarian revolution in literature and art through to the end or abandon it halfway and return to the old path dominated by the sinister revisionist line in literature and art. A tendency at the present moment to idolize the foreign and revive the ancient in the realm of music is, in essence, to negate the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, try to turn back the wheel of history and revive the practices of the sinister revisionist line in literature and art. This tendency of idolizing the foreign and reviving the ancient stems ideologically from the theory of human nature.

It is not surprising that this phenomenon has appeared in musical circles. So long as class struggle and

the pernicious influence of the theory of human nature exist in society, the tendency of idolizing the foreign and reviving the ancient will be reflected to varying degrees. The theory of human nature, which blurs class distinctions, robs people of their revolutionary vigilance in the face of attacks by the bourgeoisie and leads inevitably to capitulation to the bourgeoisie.

Idolizing the foreign and reviving the ancient is a reflection in literature and art of class and national capitulationism by abandoning the revolutionary stand and principles of the proletariat. Certain people in musical circles blindly worship foreign bourgeois works of music and lavish praise on them, and they have even lowered their guard against cultural infiltration by imperialism and social-imperialism. Whenever the need to "raise the standards of creation and performance" is mentioned, they prostrate themselves before Western classical music; but as for our fine revolutionary and national works, our model revolutionary works, sorry, they have forgotten them entirely, casting to the winds the orientation and tasks of the revolution in literature and art.

This appears to be a matter of worshipping the technique of Western music, but in effect it is an issue involving class stand and feelings. The main reason for this is that they have been so deeply affected by the theory of human nature that ideologically they are unable to perceive the basic distinction between bourgeois and proletarian literature and art.

The experience and lessons of class struggle in the field of music tell us that it is imperative to persist in criticizing the bourgeois theory of human nature in order to consolidate the positions of socialist music, remould the ranks of the musicians and overcome the tendency of idolizing the foreign and reviving the ancient.

Critical Assimilation

The fact that we are criticizing ideas of idolizing what is foreign does not mean that we forswear everything foreign. Some people accuse us of "rejecting everything foreign" when they see us criticizing the bourgeois theory of human nature and persistently using a class viewpoint to analyse Western classical music. They have ulterior motives in making this attack. But it serves only to reveal that they themselves are fawning on foreign things to the marrow of their bones. Some other people pose criticism against assimilation, arguing that criticism excludes assimilation and that assimilation brooks no criticism. This is a metaphysical view. The proletariat has never indiscriminately approved or negated Western classical music. In line with the consistent principles of "making the past serve the present and foreign things serve China" and "weeding through the old to bring forth the new," the proletariat criticizes the bourgeois ideological content of Western classical music while transforming and assimilating some

useful artistic forms from it. This is a meticulous job and is also a very complicated struggle.

As the form of a given piece of music invariably serves its content, content and form being in the dialectical relation of a unity of opposites, so when we are transforming the artistic forms of some classical music, there is the likelihood of our being unconsciously corroded by its bourgeois ideological content. This involves a question of who transforms whom. Different stands, viewpoints and methods will lead to diametrically opposite results.

We must proceed from the proletarian stand and use the class viewpoint to analyse classical music. We must first of all make a clear class distinction as regards the ideological content. At the same time we must use the method of one dividing into two and make a scientific analysis of the useful and useless elements of the artistic forms. Only in this way can there be beneficial assimilation.

If our comrades get taken in by the theory of human nature which confuses class distinctions, do not use Marxism as their weapon of criticism and fail to distinguish and criticize bourgeois literature and art, they will be remoulded into followers of bourgeois literature and art. Where then is the assimilation?

So we must criticize the theory of human nature if we want to implement the Party's correct principles of "making the past serve the present and foreign things serve China" and "weeding through the old to bring forth the new." It is precisely through thorough criticism, from theory to practice, of the bourgeois theory of human nature and through resolute implementation of the Party's correct principles of "making the past serve the present and foreign things serve China" and "weeding through the old to bring forth the new" that the dozen or so model revolutionary works fostered by the proletariat have come into being to set a brilliant example for us.

To criticize the bourgeois theory of human nature is a long-term fighting task in the field of literature and art, including music. We must not ease up on this important task of criticism because an excellent situation prevails on the literary and art front. In the days ahead, with the ebb and flow of the class struggle, the bourgeois theory of human nature will continue in various guises to launch attacks on the proletariat. In view of this, we must keep up our high vigilance and be ready at all times to deal firm counter-attacks! Let us, in the course of the current great struggle to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, go a step further in criticizing the bourgeois theory of human nature and carry the proletarian revolution in literature and art through to the end!

(Translation of an article in "Hongqi,"
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A Scrap of Paper, a Sheer Fraud

THE developments in the last two years since the signing of the Soviet-U.S. "agreement on certain measures with respect to the limitation of strategic offensive arms" in May 1972 have shown that any agreement or treaty between the two superpowers is nothing more than a scrap of paper and a sheer fraud, no matter how they laud it to the skies.

Over the last two years, the development of nuclear weapons by the two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States, not only has been quite unrestrained but, on the contrary, has become more acute and pronounced. A new round of nuclear arms race between the Soviet Union and the United States began the very day the agreement was signed.

Intensified Nuclear Arms Expansion

Right after the signing of the "agreement," the Soviet Union and the United States began finding all kinds of excuses for frantically starting more intense nuclear arms expansion. The Soviet revisionist clique claimed that this "agreement" "is unable to eliminate the danger of a nuclear war" and that the Soviet Union would "take all necessary measures to strengthen its own defensive capacity." They bluntly asserted that to "seek strategic superiority over the U.S.," the Soviet Union "will spare no money to strengthen national defence and develop the armed forces" and to "continue the stockpiling and perfection of weapons, first of all nuclear weapons" so that Soviet military capability may "be kept at the highest level." U.S. military chieftains have also stressed that the United States must "have an adequate deterrent which is fully equal to that of the Soviet Union" and that it "must continue to modernize and to improve the readiness of its combat forces."

Taking advantage of the "agreement," the Soviet revisionists have established their numerical advantages in intercontinental missiles and are trying in every possible way to surpass the United States in quality as well. Since the Soviet Union is far behind the United States in multiple independently targetable missiles which are capable of attacking many strategic targets of the opposite side, improvement of the guidance system and perfection of the technique of these missiles have become over the last two years a key point in Soviet nuclear arms expansion. It was reported that on the day the "agreement" was signed in 1972 the Soviet Union lost no time in conducting tests on this type of missile. More than 100 ICBM launching tests were carried out in 1973. Since May 1972, it has conducted 30 underground nuclear tests on minimizing nuclear warheads and raising the explosive power per unit weight, 16 of which were made in 1973 alone, the highest in recent years. In the past two years, it has

accelerated the building of missile-carrying nuclear submarines and strategic "Backfire" bombers.

In the face of the speeding up of Soviet nuclear arms expansion, U.S. ruling circles cannot reconcile themselves to this state of affairs and have declared over and over that they "cannot put up with it" and must "show response." They, therefore, have increased military expenditures in fiscal 1975 to a record high of 91,000 million dollars. They have begun revising the "nuclear deterrent strategy" in order to ensure that U.S. strategic nuclear units have the strength not only to attack Soviet cities but also to hit Soviet military targets with greater impact so as to strengthen nuclear deterrence against Soviet revisionism. To cope with Soviet multiple independently targetable missiles, the United States is stepping up efforts to change its existing strategic missiles into multiple independently targetable missiles. In addition, it is energetically conducting research on and building "Trident" missile submarines and B-1 strategic bombers, etc., so as to check Soviet nuclear expansion on the sea and in the air.

SALT II in an Impasse

The May 1972 "agreement" was the product of the first phase of the so-called "strategic arms limitation talks" (SALT) between the two superpowers. The second SALT phase which started in November 1972 was aimed at signing in 1974 a "permanent agreement between the U.S.S.R. and U.S.A. on certain measures in the field of strategic offensive arms limitation." But the object of each side is to develop its own nuclear weapons and restrict the other side so that its own weapons will surpass those of the other side and overwhelm it.

As soon as the second phase of SALT began, the U.S. Congress demanded that in its talks with the Soviet Union, the U.S. Government should not be in an inferior position but always maintain U.S. nuclear arms superiority in the "permanent agreement." Thus the United States openly pointed out during the talks that "the U.S. is not in a position to tolerate the numerical advantages presently possessed by the Soviet Union." The United States wanted Soviet revisionism to reduce the number of its intercontinental missiles in order to maintain an "essential equivalence" with the United States but the Soviet revisionists, on the pretext of maintaining the "basic principle of equal security," called for "freezing" the quota on the number of missiles stipulated in the "agreement," in an attempt to keep its lead in the number of intercontinental missiles. The Soviet Union tried by every means to limit both the technical development of U.S. nuclear weapons and strategic bombers carrying nuclear warheads, while leaving unimpaired its own superiority in throw-weight.

At the same time, the United States wanted to limit the Soviet advantage in throw-weight, while leaving its superiority in nuclear technique intact. The limitation of multiple independently targetable missiles was the key issue of the second SALT phase. Fearing that the Soviet Union would become its match in this matter, the United States called for a cessation of multiple-warheads missile tests by the two sides, while on the contrary the Soviet revisionists demanded a ban on deployment, and no restrictions on tests, in order to catch up with the United States. In addition, the Soviet revisionists proposed that all nuclear weapons capable of reaching Soviet territory should be restricted as strategic offensive weapons, trying in this way to limit the U.S.-deployed tactical nuclear weapons in Western Europe. The United States was against this and demanded that the Soviet Union remove the intermediate range missiles it has deployed in Eastern Europe.

Basically, the second SALT phase has run into an impasse because of the bitter brawl. In his visit to the Soviet Union last March, U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger tried but failed to make a "conceptual breakthrough" with the Soviet revisionists on strategic arms limitation. In a statement to the press in Washington

in April, Kissinger said that the United States and the Soviet Union "will not have a permanent agreement (on strategic arms limitation) this year." U.S. Vice-President Gerald Ford said that the best way to reach a satisfactory agreement is to maintain U.S. military strength. U.S. Deputy Secretary of Defence William Clements pointed out in Washington on May 16 that the United States must maintain its nuclear superiority over the Soviet revisionists. He considered that "no United States' interest has greater potential importance for the American people than the one involving strategic nuclear weapons," and that "we must be just as tough as the Soviets." He was firmly against signing a so-called "permanent agreement," which "isn't worth the paper it's written on."

The ever fiercer nuclear arms race between the Soviet Union and the United States tells the people more clearly that any "agreement" or "treaty" concluded between the two superpowers is an out-and-out fraud and is intended, in essence, for bigger and fiercer contention. So long as imperialism and social-imperialism exist, there will be no tranquillity in the world, nor "lasting peace," nor "peace in one generation."

(A commentary by Hsinhua Correspondent)

U.S. Trans-National Corporations' Plunder and Exploitation of Developing Countries

by Cheng Wei-min

SPEAKING at the recent Special Session of the U.N. General Assembly on Raw Materials and Development, representatives of Asian, African and Latin American countries condemned U.S. trans-national corporations for plundering and exploiting the developing countries. This reflected the strong desire of the Third World countries to protect the rights and interests of their national economies.

Capitalist world's trans-national corporations are international monopoly organizations which operate on a large scale and have abundant financial resources, with U.S. monopoly capital as their mainstay. These corporations are engaging in frenzied plunder and expansion in various parts of the world, particularly in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Some 60 per cent of the capitalist world's several hundred such monopoly organizations are U.S. trans-national corporations. Their investment overseas exceeds one half of the capital invested by capitalist world's trans-national corporations in other countries. Statistics show that U.S. corporations accounted for about two-

thirds of the total sales of trans-national corporations — 450,000 million U.S. dollars — in the capitalist world in 1970 — while the gross national product of all the developing countries (with the exception of China) in the same year amounted to 354,000 million U.S. dollars.

Many giant companies listed by the U.S. magazine *Fortune* as topping the 500 biggest U.S. industrial corporations are well-known trans-national corporations in the capitalist world. The three giant U.S. auto companies, General Motors, Ford and Chrysler, have set up many subsidiary companies and branch agencies in Mexico, Argentina, Brazil, Peru, Venezuela and Chile in Latin America and in many Asian and African countries. Total sales of General Motors alone in 1972 exceeded 30,000 million dollars, which topped the whole year's G.N.P. of each of many developing countries.

Through the giant trans-national corporations under its control, U.S. monopoly capital has spread its tentacles to every corner of the world by investing in factories abroad, swallowing up enterprises run by the capitalists of other countries, buying up the stock of

their companies or setting up new firms in partnership with them. Investments of these U.S. corporations account for about half the total foreign investments in Asia, Africa and Latin America; and the proportion comes to nearly two-thirds of the total in Latin America. The corporations hold back the development of the national economies of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples, flagrantly interfere in the political affairs of the governments of the host countries, put pressure on them to base their internal and external policies on the corporations' interests, or openly engage in subversion. Furthermore, they set up their own administrative, economic, communications and transport systems and even judicial and military structures, so that they become "a state within state" ruling as an overlord over the governments of these countries.

U.S. trans-national corporations are ruthlessly plundering and exploiting the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. For instance, Venezuela, the largest oil producer in Latin America, naturally becomes a major area of investment by U.S. oil magnates. The Creole Petroleum Corporation, a subsidiary of the Exxon company, has brought under its control some 40 per cent of Venezuela's oil production. An international oil consortium, with U.S. monopoly capital as its chief support, has grabbed no less than 10,000 million U.S. dollars in profits in the last 50 years from the Venezuelan people. Exxon and four other major U.S. oil companies have in the postwar years replaced British monopoly capital to become the biggest investor in the Middle East. They are the biggest plunderer of the oil resources of the Middle East and the biggest exploiter of the people there.

Through so-called lease agreements, these giant U.S. companies have forcibly occupied large tracts of oil concessions in the Middle East and monopolized more than half its oil production. By the end of 1972, about 90 per cent of direct U.S. private investment in the Middle East was in the oil industry. In recent years, particularly since the Middle East war of last October, the big U.S. oil companies, by cashing in on the "energy crisis," have stirred up trouble in the world markets to jack up oil prices and reap superprofits. It was reported that the Exxon Oil Company whose profit was as high as 1,500 million dollars in 1972 reaped a record profit of 2,440 million the following year.

Of the total 94,000 million dollars in direct U.S. private investment abroad, just over one-fourth is invested in Asia, Africa and Latin America, but the rate of profit and the total amount of profit exacted from these areas are much larger than those obtained in the industrialized capitalist regions and countries in Europe and elsewhere.

For instance, the assets of the U.S.-owned Marcona Company in Peru jumped to 200 million U.S. dollars in 1972 from an initial capital of 7 million in 1953 when the company was founded. Another example is the U.S. copper companies, including the Kennecott Company, which invested 50 million U.S. dollars in Chile more

than 40 years ago. By 1972, the profits they had seized from that country alone reached 3,500 million dollars. According to Latin American press reports, the average profit the U.S. trans-national corporations have obtained from their investments in Latin American countries was six times more than that they could possibly get in the United States. The rate of profit of the giant U.S. oil corporations from their investments in the Middle East is even more staggering.

From 1946 to September 1972, U.S. trans-national corporations seized from Asian, African and Latin American countries a total of 62,500 million dollars in profits, representing 56 per cent of the total profit of 112,500 million dollars from direct U.S. investment abroad in the same period, or far surpassing the total profit of 49,000 million dollars from U.S. investments in the industrially developed capitalist regions or countries from 1946 to 1971.

Where there is exploitation, there is resistance. The plunder, exploitation and control of the developing Asian, African and Latin American countries by U.S. trans-national corporations have met with strong opposition from the Third World countries and people.

The fight against U.S. trans-national corporations has in recent years constituted an important part of the struggle by the Asian, African and Latin American peoples against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism and for safeguarding national independence and sovereignty as well as protecting their natural resources and developing their national economies.

The Economic Declaration adopted at the Fourth Conference of the Heads of State and Government of Non-Aligned Countries which met in Algiers last year pointed out that the non-aligned countries should adopt measures for joint action against trans-national enterprises. The Inter-American Foreign Ministers' Conference in Mexico last February also strongly condemned the U.S. trans-national corporations for their constant interference in the internal affairs of Latin American countries and demanded that these corporations and foreign private investors abide by the development policy and the laws and decrees of the countries in which they operate.

To protect their natural resources and accelerate the development of their national economies, many Third World countries in recent years have adopted measures to supervise, restrict, buy up or nationalize U.S. trans-national corporations. Some of the measures, originally taken by a country individually, have developed into trade-wide or regional joint action. Some developing countries have jointly set up organizations of the countries exporting oil, copper, bananas and coffee. Six Latin American countries, including Peru and Ecuador, have formed the Andes Pact Organization. Guyana, Jamaica and two other Latin American countries have set up such regional organizations for economic co-operation as the Caribbean Community and

(Continued on p. 28.)

ROUND THE WORLD

GENEVA DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE

Superpowers Denounced

The Geneva disarmament conference has entered its 13th year. At the 1974 spring session of the conference (April 16-May 23), the two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States, were under fire by representatives of small and medium-sized countries for their stepped-up arms expansion while engaging in empty talk about "disarmament."

The main problems discussed in the session were still the so-called "complete prohibition of nuclear tests" and the "ban on chemical weapons," which had been argued about since 1972. As a matter of fact, the two superpowers used the session to create "disarmament" illusions so as to intensify arms expansion. Therefore, the session, like many previous sessions, has not settled a single problem. At the same time it has further bared the two superpowers' true intention of sham disarmament and real arms expansion. Thus, dissatisfaction and denunciations were aroused among a number of small and medium-sized countries.

An AFP report on the closing session said that the session began in "disillusionment" and ended in "bitterness and anxiety."

The Mexican representative pointed out on the first day of the session that the road to the grave for the disarmament conference had been paved with acts of sham disarmament and real arms expansion by the nuclear superpowers.

The Nigerian representative exposed the fraud of the so-called partial nuclear test ban treaty. He pointed out: "Ten years after the Moscow treaty, we have been treated to a capping competition by the two superpowers who have gone on producing more and more destructive weapons."

The Pakistan representative noted that despite the "strategic arms limitation talks" or other bilateral talks between the two superpowers, no changes have taken place in their spiralling arms race.

Similar remarks were made by representatives of Sweden, Romania, Japan, Egypt, the Netherlands and other countries.

SYRIA-ISRAEL

What Is Behind Troop Disengagement

An agreement between Syria and Israel on troop disengagement was signed at the U.N. Office in Geneva on May 31. It was reached after U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger's fifth visit to the Middle East which lasted more than a month, particularly after his shuttle flights between both countries.

Kissinger's mission was beset with many difficulties, and on May 27 he said that he might return home without an agreement. Apart from showing the complicated character of the Middle East question, this reflects in essence the fierce contention between the two hegemonic powers, the United States and the Soviet Union, in that area.

Both superpowers have had a number of big trials of strength there since last October's Middle East war, with the United States taking the lead again and again. This was particularly so when Kissinger's four previous Middle East visits had succeeded in bringing about disengagement between Egyptian and Israeli troops and restoring long suspended Egyptian-U.S. diplomatic relations. As Reuter said, the United States "has blown a hole in web of Soviet ties with the Arab states."

Kissinger's fifth Middle East tour was made precisely on the basis of

such a U.S. "lead." Actually, he again bypassed Soviet revisionism this time in bringing about the Syrian-Israeli troop disengagement agreement.

Losing steadily in the previous trials of strength, the other superpower, the Soviet Union, had been excluded from a number of important talks. Its relations with Egypt have rapidly deteriorated and some of the positions it obtained in the Middle East are in danger of being taken over by the United States. Not reconciled to its defeat, Soviet revisionism, as soon as Kissinger set out on his most recent Middle East trip, sent its Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko to intercept him for talks in Geneva. On May 5, Gromyko rushed to Syria to try to exert influence on her. At Gromyko's request, talks were again held between himself and Kissinger in Nicosia, Cyprus on May 7. As Kissinger's visit drew to an end, Gromyko went to Syria again on May 27 "to remind U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger that Russia cannot be bypassed in the search for a settlement in the Middle East" (UPI).

To contend for Middle East spheres of influence, the two hegemonic powers, the United States and the Soviet Union, have offered their own bait to the countries concerned. Before Kissinger's visit, the United States pledged its readiness to provide Egypt with a loan of 250 million dollars and disclosed that it was prepared to supply Syria with economic "aid" after the disengagement of Syrian and Israeli troops.

Soviet revisionist social-imperialism acts in an even worse way. During the October war last year, it first tricked the Arabs into a ceasefire by lying and then forced through the ceasefire resolution in collusion with U.S. imperialism in the U.N. Security Council. Today, its pretentious assertion that it will "support" Syria in its fight at the Golan battle front is only a gesture in its contention with the United States for a say in the Middle East question. Both the United States and the

Soviet Union have recently proclaimed that Nixon and Brezhnev will visit the Middle East separately in the near future. This presages a sharpening of their rivalry.

At present, though an agreement on the disengagement of the Syrian and Israeli troops has been reached, the Israeli aggressor has not withdrawn from all the Arab territory seized in 1967 and the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people have not been restored. The fundamental Middle East question is still not settled. The root cause of the Middle East upheaval lies in the rivalry between the two hegemonic powers, and a so-called "just and lasting peace" is nothing but deceitful rubbish. In the new situation, fiercer rivalry is certain to rage between the two hegemonic powers which will put the Middle East in continued turmoil.

SAO TOME AND PRINCIPE ISLANDS Rejecting "Federation" With Portugal

Sao Tome and Principe Islands lie at the Gulf of Guinea in West Africa. For a long period of time the people of the islands have been oppressed by Portuguese colonialists who cruelly suppress any signs of dissatisfaction with their rule. For instance, in an insurrection which took place on Sao Tome Island in February 1953, more than one thousand Africans were killed by the colonialists and half of the island's population were arrested or missing.

The Political Bureau of the Liberation Movement of Sao Tome Island and Principe Island in a recent statement to the press rejected the proposal for "federation" put forward by the new Portuguese Government and demanded full independence.

The statement said that the new Portuguese Government dreamt of "setting up a federation of colonialists and those under their domination" between Portugal and its colonies. It pointed out that the objective of the struggle of the people in Portuguese colonies is not to set up a "federation" with Portugal. The people of Sao Tome and Principe Islands strive to become masters of

their own future at an early date. The Liberation Movement of Sao Tome Island and Principe Island, therefore, opposed any solution short of full independence for the people.

SURINAM

Determined to Achieve Independence

Following the Dutch Government's decision to open official negotiations with representatives of the Surinam Government at The Hague on May 1, Minister of Internal Affairs of Surinam ("Dutch" Guyana) Coen Coft recently declared that Surinam would become independent by the end of 1975 regardless of the results of the negotiations.

The Surinam Government has set up a 15-member special committee for independence and President of the Council of Ministers Henk Aaron has invited opposition leaders to discuss questions concerning independence, including formulation of the constitution of Surinam. Earlier, the President announced in parliament last February that Surinam was determined to become fully independent by the end of next year.

An area of 142,822 square kilometres with a population of 400,000, Surinam is on the northeastern coast of South American continent. It abounds in bauxite and timber, rice, sugarcane and fruit. It became a Dutch colony in 1667. Later, it twice fell into British hands. From 1816 it was again in the possession of the Netherlands, and since 1954 has been an autonomous partner in the Kingdom of the Netherlands. The Surinam people have long been fighting for independence. Not long ago, large numbers of young people in Paramaribo, the capital, demonstrated against colonial rule and for national independence.

ITALY

20 Million People Strike And Demonstrate

Impressive strikes, rallies and demonstrations by 20 million people throughout Italy took place May 29 in strong protest against a new fascist outrage.

At an anti-fascist rally in a downtown square in the northern Italian city of Brescia the day before, a bomb placed by the fascists exploded in the crowd, killing 6 people and injuring over 90. This bloody fascist outrage aroused the utmost anger among the entire Italian people.

Workers in all trades, peasants and employees went on a 4-hour nationwide general strike on May 29. Students also were on strike. Almost all factories, schools, shops and government offices from the Alps in the north to Sicily in the south were closed from 8 to 12 a.m.

In Rome there was a demonstration by 300,000 people carrying streamers and placards inscribed with "Down with fascism!" "The working masses, unite against fascism!" "Fascists—Murderers!" and other slogans. There also were massive anti-fascist demonstrations and rallies in dozens of cities, including Milan and Turin.

Earlier, 1.5 million building workers staged a nationwide 24-hour strike, protesting rising prices and demanding full employment, higher wages and social reforms.

On May 21 and 22, 1.7 million farm workers took part in a nationwide 48-hour strike to demand the renewal of contracts, higher wages and a new agricultural policy.

TOKYO

National Convention of Japan-China Friendship Association (Orthodox)

The Japan-China Friendship Association (Orthodox) held its 1974 national convention from May 25 to 27 in Tokyo.

Attending the convention on invitation were leading members of various circles concerned and representatives of the Communist Party of Japan (Left), the Japan Socialist Party, the Komei Party and the Democratic Socialist Party.

The main slogan at the convention was: "Carry out completely the Japan-China Joint Statement! Promote the conclusion of a Japan-China peace and friendship treaty!" At the

May 27 plenary session the convention discussed and passed the report on the association's work for 1973, the action policy for 1974, The Declaration of the Convention, A Letter to the Chinese People as well as other documents and resolutions. The convention elected new leading members of the association with Hisao Kuroda as chairman and Ekizo Akatsu and Hosei Yoshida as vice-chairmen.

The Declaration of the Convention pointed out: "Since the restoration of diplomatic relations between Japan and China in September 1972 in accordance with the joint statement, all forms of anti-China monsters and demons have come out to stage a death-bed struggle in an attempt to sabotage the conclusion of the aviation agreement but ended in failure. This shows that no one can check the surging torrent of Japan-China friendship."

The convention decided to unite in a broader way with the Japanese people to smash the schemes of the reactionary forces and strive to promote the signing of a peace and friendship treaty between Japan and China.

Speaking at the opening session, Chairman Hisao Kuroda pointed out: Big changes of historical importance have come about in international relations. Countries of the Third World, which have been subjected to exploitation and oppression for a long time by the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, are awakening politically with each passing day. They demand inde-

pendence and oppose other countries plundering their national resources, a demand they have begun to materialize.

Kuroda severely condemned the Soviet Union for pursuing imperialist policies. He said: On the one hand, the Soviet Union has rejected the just Japanese national demand — the return of the northern territories — and thus revealed its imperialist nature. On the other hand, it tries to drag Japan into its "Asian collective security system" so as to put Japan under its military control. "We will never allow this," said Kuroda, "we should strive more for the abolition of the Japan-U.S. 'security treaty.'" There must be a strenuous struggle against militarism and fascism, for the promotion of friendship between Japan and China, and for the conclusion of a Japan-China peace and friendship treaty, he noted.

"OCTOBER" (FINLAND)

Who Benefits From the "International Division of Labour"?

The article "Trade Policy of the Soviet Union — Mutual Benefit?" in the second issue (1974) of *October*, organ of the Marxist-Leninist Groups of Finland, exposes the Soviet revisionist clique's exploitation in the field of trade of the East European countries and the developing countries.

The article first analysed the question of who really reaps the benefits of the so-called "international division of labour" peddled by the Soviet revisionists. "This kind of 'system

of division of labour' means the dependency of small countries on the Soviet Union, thus enabling it to exert pressure on these countries," it noted.

The article pointed out that the trade of East European countries centres on the Soviet Union, whose share in the trade of some of them has been increasing steadily. Meanwhile, "the Soviet Union charges more for products it exports to Eastern Europe than for those it ships to Western Europe; and it imports commodities from Eastern Europe at prices considerably lower than those at which it imports commodities from Western Europe." It is obvious that the stronger trade partner determines the prices, as in the case among Western imperial countries, the article said.

Referring to the Soviet exploitation of developing countries, the article pointed out that Soviet "co-operation" with these countries provides more possibilities for wide use of the "international division of labour" for its own benefit. For example, the prices of coal, pig iron, sulphate cellulose, asbestos and other goods imported by Egypt from the Soviet Union are higher than those the Federal Republic of Germany paid for the same imports from the Soviet Union, and much higher than those paid by the German Democratic Republic. Trade with the Soviet Union accounts for more than one-third of Egypt's foreign trade, "the Soviet Union makes use of this to ensure full consideration of its own interests," the article stated.

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Common Market. All these measures and joint actions have played a positive role in safeguarding their resources, developing their national economies and curtailing the infiltration and expansion of international monopoly capital formed mainly of U.S. capital.

The Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order and the Programme of Action adopted at the Special Session of the U.N. General Assembly thanks to the joint efforts of representatives of the Third World countries fully reflect these countries' struggle against trans-national corpora-

tions. These two documents stipulate that every state has permanent sovereignty over its natural resources and all its internal economic activities, including the regulation and supervision of the activities of trans-national corporations.

An excellent situation is prevailing in the Asian, African and Latin American peoples' struggle against imperialism, colonialism and, especially, hegemonism. The Third World countries are sure to further strengthen their unity. Their struggle in the international economic field against superpower hegemonism, and against plunder and control is bound to develop further.

THIRD WORLD CHRONICLE

Tanzania

Thanks to positive measures taken by the Tanzanian Government to develop cotton production, output has gone up, with a steady improvement in quality. Besides meeting national needs, cotton has in recent years emerged as the country's second biggest agricultural export.

Before Tanzania's independence, the colonialists took in huge profits by buying up its cotton at a low price and selling back cotton cloth at a high price. After independence, the Tanzanian Government adopted a series of measures to change this situation. At present, it controls the purchase, ginning and export of cotton and has built its own cotton mills. Output in 1973 was 430,000 bales—more than 2.5 times the 160,000 bales in 1961. Annual output of cotton cloth reached 89.36 million square metres.

Zambia

Under colonial rule in the past, the ruthlessly-oppressed Zambian women had little opportunity to find work outside the home.

It was only after Zambia's independence that they began to take jobs, the number of employed increasing year by year. More women have gone to school also. In 1964 when Zambia declared its independence there were only a dozen or so girls' middle schools, with a total enrolment of 1,840. In 1973 in addition to girl students in co-educational middle schools, there were 10,985 studying in 25 girls' middle schools. In 1966 when Zambia University was founded, there were only 63 girl students, but by 1973 the number had jumped to 378. There are 85 girl graduates of Zambia University and all have been assigned to posts in various departments. One of them, the first woman doctor in her country, is working in Zambia's Central Hospital.

Nigeria

Nigeria has become one of the countries on the African continent

with a fairly well-developed road transport system thanks to the great attention paid to highway construction during the last 13 years since independence.

There are 59,000 miles of road, of which 11,300 are asphalt surfaced. Roads laid before independence by the colonialists mainly to facilitate their plunder of the country's industrial crops and mineral resources were of poor quality.

Sustained efforts have been made to overcome the state of isolation resulting from the absence of railway links between Nigeria and its neighbours—a legacy of colonial rule. In the last few years, with a view to strengthening African unity and promoting economic co-operation and normal trade relations, Nigeria has constructed an international highway connecting it with Chad, Cameroon and Dahomey. The trunk line of a modern road from Sokoto in Northwest Nigeria to the Niger Republic, formally opened to traffic last February, created still another link between Nigeria and its neighbours.

Senegal

Since independence in 1960, the Republic of Senegal in West Africa has achieved many successes in safeguarding national independence and developing its national economy and culture. In international affairs it pursues a policy of non-alignment, opposes imperialism, colonialism, racism and big-power hegemonism, stands for African unity and supports national-liberation movements in Asia and Africa; it has thus contributed to strengthening Third World peoples' cause of unity against imperialism.

Senegal is an agricultural country. Before its independence, colonialists in their drive for huge profits cornered the peasants into growing groundnuts on a large scale, making it impossible for the country to achieve self-sufficiency in food. After independence, the Senegalese Government paid great attention to increasing food production and diversifying crops in order gradually to change over from the single-product economy left behind by colonial rule. Giving priorities to the devel-

opment of agriculture, animal husbandry and fishery as "a solid base for national independence," it has in recent years taken steps on a nationwide scale to expand cultivated areas, popularize advanced techniques and improve management in order to increase production of food and industrial crops. In 1971-72 the increase in output of millet and sorghum, rice, and cotton over the previous year reached respectively 46 per cent, 12.7 per cent and 100 per cent.

In industry the Senegalese Government has since independence actively encouraged national capital investments by granting Senegalese-run enterprises preferential treatment. There are now more than 300 medium-sized and small enterprises for such industries as oil-pressing, sugar-refining, and manufacturing shoes, building-materials, textiles and food, to mention only a few. In 1972, 21.6 per cent of the country's gross national products was from industry. At present, the Senegalese Government and people are striving to fulfil the 4th Four-Year Plan to further develop the national economy.

Palestine

Chair, a play recently staged in Rabat, capital of Morocco, by the Palestinian "Fatah" Theatrical Troupe, reflects the Palestinian people's rejection of solutions designed to strangle their revolution and mirrors their firm resolve to persist in armed struggle. It was received with enthusiasm by Moroccan audiences and representatives from various countries attending the Young Arab Theatre Festival.

The troupe, by creatively basing script and presentation on the actual struggle, has done fairly well in making literature and art serve the Palestinian revolution. All 17 members, except the director, are guerrilla fighters from the fronts of armed struggle. At once artists and good fighters against the enemy, they assemble from their scattered bases only to give performances.

Since its formation in 1964, the troupe has staged four full-length plays which vividly depict the Palestinian people's desire to return

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ON THE HOME FRONT

New Revolutionary Symphonic Music

THE new revolutionary symphonic music, *Taking Tiger Mountain by Strategy*, composed by the Shanghai Philharmonic Society, has been presented in Shanghai, Peking and Kwangchow. Audiences highly appreciated it for its revolutionary dynamism, national characteristics and fine composition.

This is the second such music produced during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the first being *Shachiapang* by Peking's Central Philharmonic Society. Both are adapted from modern revolutionary Peking operas with the same titles.

The creative work on this new piece began in 1967. Shanghai musicians in the past played many foreign works which were alienated from living reality in socialist society. Inspired by the victories in the first year of the Great Cultural Revolution, they resolved to change their repertoire and bent their efforts to sing the praises of workers, peasants and soldiers, so as to better serve socialism and proletarian politics. With this in mind, they chose *Taking Tiger Mountain by Strategy*, one of the most popular modern revolutionary Peking operas, as the basis for creating the new symphonic music.

With people's war as its theme, the work depicts how a P.L.A. detachment wiped out remnant Kuomintang bandit troops in the mid-forties. It begins with a march prelude which brings out the P.L.A. men's victorious advance, followed by seven parts incorporating the Peking opera's main arias and melodies to reflect the labouring people's suffering under the misrule of the Kuomintang reactionaries, their wrath and resistance and the loyalty and heroism of the P.L.A. commanders and fighters. A choral passage in the epilogue representing the scene of forces joining in victory brings the work to a climax.

Gongs, drums, *huchin* (a kind of two-stringed violin), *pipa* (an instrument that is plucked), flutes and other Chinese musical instruments

are added to Western instruments in this symphonic music. There also are choruses, solos, duets and unaccompanied choruses. These make for a wide range of expressive forms and rich symphonic effects.

To achieve a high degree of artistic perfection and make the music better express the revolutionary political content, the musicians took pains to write every phrase as well as they could. Over the past six years and more, they have invited workers, peasants and soldiers to experimental performances and revised and improved the work according to their suggestions. The composers and singers also went to P.L.A. units to acquaint themselves with the life of the fighters and visited factories and people's communes. This helped deepen their understanding of and affection for the workers, peasants and soldiers and gave them greater enthusiasm for their work.

The creation of this new symphonic music owes much to the warm sup-



Yang Tsung, Alternate Member of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Chairman of the Hsien-feng People's Commune in Chiacha County of the Tibet Autonomous Region (centre), listens to a commune member talking.

port and assistance of the worker, peasant and soldier masses.

National Minority Women Cadres in Tibet

LARGE numbers of women cadres of minority nationalities have come to the fore in the Tibet Autonomous Region since the start of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Now there are about 10,000 such cadres.

Among them are two Members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, one, a full, the other, an alternate member. Some of these women cadres hold important posts in leading organs at various levels such as the autonomous region, special administrative region, county and district. Others are working in industrial, transport, geological, financial, trading, meteorological, cultural, educational, medical and health departments. They have become an important force in building a socialist new Tibet.

Before liberation, the labouring women in Tibet were brutally oppressed and they occupied the lowest rung in the system of feudal serfdom, working as serfs or slaves generation after generation. After the democratic reform in Tibet in 1959, the Chinese Communist Party implemented policies ensuring equality between all nationalities and between men and women. This emancipated the working women and made it possible for them to take part in socialist revolution and construction. A number of them have become leading cadres.

One of these outstanding women is Pa Sang, Secretary of the Party Committee of the Tibet Autonomous Region and vice-chairman of the region's revolutionary committee. She had been a slave of manorial lords for nine years in the old society. Those long, bitter years of

enslavement ended when the Party brought her emancipation and a new life. She joined the struggle against serfdom, her class consciousness rising rapidly. She was admitted into the Communist Party and later was sent to study at the Tibetan Institute for Nationalities. After graduation, Pa Sang was placed in charge of a county women's federation, and later worked as deputy county head. During the Great Cultural Revolution she was elected chairman of a county revolutionary committee, and last year at the Tenth Party Congress, she was elected a Member of the C.P.C. Central Committee.

Women cadres of the various minority nationalities temper themselves by taking part in class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment. This is how they have acquired proficiency as revolutionary cadres.

Another woman cadre, named Tzuchu, is secretary of a district Party committee. When she was working in a people's commune, she first investigated the situation carefully and led the masses in criticizing the revisionist line of Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao. This aroused the enthusiasm of the commune members for socialism, which in turn promoted the movement based on Chairman Mao's call, "In agriculture, learn from Tachai." As a result the commune made all-round progress. Last year, after she had spread this experience to other communes in the district, the whole area increased its grain output by a wide margin and became one of the advanced units in the county.

These national minority women cadres, all of whom came from the grass-roots level, maintain close links with the masses and take care never to lose the sterling qualities of the labouring people. Lanchen, a woman cadre of Tibetan nationality, has served as secretary of a district Party committee for more than two years. She has often travelled over rough country in bad weather to outlying communes and brigades to do physical labour, live and study together with the masses.

More Tropical Crops on Hainan Island

CONSCIENTIOUSLY implementing the principle of "taking grain as the key link and ensuring an all-round development," the people of various nationalities on Hainan have promoted the continual development of tropical industrial plants. Rubber trees are now being cultivated over wider acreage. Oil palm, coconut, cashew, betel-nut, pepper, coffee and citronella grass are among the tropical plants grown on the island. Outputs keep increasing.

Hainan Island, situated off the southern coast of our country, covers an area of 32,200 square kilometres. It is like spring there the whole year round. Tropical plants thrive on the fertile soil and plentiful rainfall. Before liberation, under the reactionary rule of the Kuomintang, the cultivation of rubber and other tropical plants went ahead very slowly. Since liberation, a number of state farms have been set up there. Local communes are also actively developing such crops while giving due attention to grain production. For a period, however, expansion was hampered and sabotaged by the

counter-revolutionary revisionist line pushed by Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao. The Great Cultural Revolution, followed by the movement to criticize Lin Piao and rectify the style of work, has wiped out the influence of the wrong line and promoted the development of production.

New rubber estates cultivated on the island in the last few years cover an acreage twice that before the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution began in 1966. Output of rubber sheets last year was nearly three times the 1965 figure, with distinct improvement in quality. Cashew nuts, pepper and other crops newly grown in the rural people's communes rose to double the output before the Cultural Revolution. Better cultivation of the oil-palm tree, called the "king of oil crops," has led to a general increase in fruit-bearing through such measures as loosening of soil, use of fertilizers, careful management and popularization of artificial pollination. In 1973 the island's output of palm oil was four times the 1965 figure.

Steps have been taken to develop local industries for processing the products of the island's tropical industrial crops. There are latex-refining factories right on the rubber plantations. The production and construction corps of the Kwangchow units of the Chinese People's Liberation Army has set up a number of factories with a comparatively high level of mechanization for processing rubber and the oil crops. The local communes and production brigades have also built factories, some mechanized and some semi-mechanized, for processing the products of the tropical crops.

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to their homeland and their determination to fight the Israeli aggressors.

Peru

Peru was South America's first country to produce and export oil, but after 1924 U.S. oil companies

came in, plundering and damaging its oil resources without restraint. From an exporter of oil, Peru turned into an importer. In 1968 the Peruvian Government took over U.S. international petroleum companies, revoked foreign oil concessions and formed the Peru National Oil Company for developing its own petroleum industry.

To date, the company has drilled 11 oil wells in the east forest areas and put them into operation. Besides supplying the refineries, crude oil produced in these areas is also exported to neighbouring Brazil at a rate of 5,000 barrels a day. At the same time, the company is making full use of all its equipment to boost production in the established oilfields of western Peru.

MAO TSETUNG

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