

PEKING REVIEW

46

November 15, 1974

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報

**Chairman Mao Meets Prime
Minister Williams**

**China's Views on Solving
World Food Problem**

***China Develops Science and Technology
Independently and Self-Reliantly***

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CONTENTS

THE WEEK	3
Chairman Mao Meets Prime Minister Williams	
Chairman Robaya Arrives in Peking	
Leading Cadres Take Part in Physical Labour	
ARTICLES AND DOCUMENTS	
At Banquet Welcoming Prime Minister Williams:	
Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien's Speech (Excerpts)	5
Prime Minister Williams' Speech (Excerpts)	6
Press Communique on the Visit to the People's Republic of China by Dr. Eric Williams, Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs of Trinidad and Tobago (November 11, 1974)	8
At U.N. World Food Conference: China's Views on Solving World Food Problem	9
China Develops Science and Technology Independently and Self-Reliantly	13
Han Fei — An Outstanding Exponent of Pre-Chin Dynasty Legalist Ideas — the Workers' Theoretical Group of the Peking Trade Union Council and the Chinese Language and Literature Department of Peking Teachers' University	15
ROUND THE WORLD	20
India: Anti-Hunger Struggle	
Enemy-Held Area in Cambodia: Food Seizures	
"Nuova Unità" (Italy): Soviet Revisionists' Plunder of East European Countries	
Capitalist World: Many Big Banks Go Bankrupt	
ON THE HOME FRONT	22
Small Enterprises	
Medical and Health Work in a Mining Area	

Chairman Mao Meets Prime Minister Williams

CHAIRMAN Mao Tsetung met Dr. Eric Eustace Williams, Prime Minister of Trinidad and Tobago, and his party on the evening of November 6.

Chairman Mao extended a warm welcome to the distinguished guests who had made light of travelling thousands of miles from the Caribbean region to visit China. Members of the Prime Minister's party present at the meeting were Miss Erica Williams, daughter of the Prime Minister; Errol Mahabir, Minister of Industry and Commerce; F.O. Abdulah, Permanent Secretary of

the Ministry of External Affairs and Dr. Courtenay Bartholomew, specialist medical officer.

Chairman Mao shook hands and exchanged greetings with the distinguished guests. He then had a cordial and friendly conversation with Prime Minister Eric Eustace Williams and Minister Errol Mahabir.

Present at the meeting and the conversation were Chinese Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien, Vice-Foreign Minister Wang Hai-jung and Deputy Department Directors Tang Wen-sheng and Chang Han-chih of the Foreign Ministry.



Chairman Robaya Arrives In Peking

SALEM Robaya Ali, Chairman of the Presidential Council of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, and the Delegation of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen he is leading arrived in Peking by special plane on November 10. Among the official and accompanying members on the delegation were Chief of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Political Organization of National Front, Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Planning, Economy and Industry, the Public Works, Finance and Agriculture and Agrarian Reform, as well as leading members of the militia, press, education and mass organizations.

Among those welcoming the Yemeni guests at the airport were Chinese leaders Teng Hsiao-ping and Hua Kuo-feng, leading members of the departments concerned, as well as several thousand well-wishers in the capital.

The peoples of China and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen have always sympathized with and supported each other in the protracted struggle against imperialism and colonialism. Since Chairman Robaya's visit to China in 1970 the

friendship between the peoples of China and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen and the friendly relations and co-operation between the two countries have developed constantly. The Chinese people are very glad to welcome Chairman Robaya on his second visit.

Peking's main streets were decorated with red banners and coloured bunting the day he arrived. Huge streamers trailing from tall buildings read: "Warm welcome to the distinguished guests from the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen!" "Firmly support the people of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen in their struggle against imperialism and colonialism!" and "Firmly support the Arab people's just struggle!"

The Chinese leaders came forward to shake hands with Chairman Robaya and the other distinguished Yemeni guests when they alighted from the plane. In the name of Premier Chou En-lai, Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping extended a warm welcome to Chairman Robaya.

Premier Chou En-lai met and had a cordial and friendly conversation

with Chairman Robaya in a hospital on the afternoon of November 10.

Leading Cadres Take Part in Physical Labour

Leading members of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Regional Committee of the Chinese Communist Party have gone to the Huhehot railway station to take part in physical labour in line with Chairman Mao's teaching: "**Grasp revolution, promote production and other work and preparedness against war.**" Spurred on by their example, leading cadres in the Huhehot Railway Administrative Bureau and in the various leagues and cities along the railway line have also gone to railway transport units to participate in physical labour and help improve the work there. This is a fillip to the development of the excellent situation in both revolution and production in the Huhehot Railway Administrative Bureau.

Renmin Ribao on October 31 front-paged the news with an accompanying commentary "A Major Measure of Fundamental Importance" which spoke highly of this practice and asked Party committees at all levels to firmly carry out Chairman Mao's instruction: "**It is necessary to maintain the system of cadre participation in collective productive labour. The cadres of our Party and state are ordinary workers and not overlords sitting on the backs of the people. By taking part in collective productive labour, the cadres maintain extensive, constant and close ties with the working people. This is a major measure of fundamental importance for a socialist system; it helps to overcome bureaucracy and to prevent revisionism and dogmatism.**" The commentary called on Party organizations to adopt effective measures to keep up the system of cadres

(Continued on p. 23.)

Announcement

It has been agreed upon through consultations that the U.S. Secretary of State and Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, Dr. Henry A. Kissinger, will visit the People's Republic of China from November 25 to 29, 1974.



Rousing welcome for Chairman Robaya at Peking Airport.

Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien's Speech

(Excerpts)

WE are very glad that the Honourable Dr. Eric Williams, Prime Minister of Trinidad and Tobago, has come from afar to pay a state visit to our country at the invitation of Premier Chou En-lai, bringing to the Chinese people the sentiments of friendship of the people of Trinidad and Tobago. I am entrusted by Premier Chou En-lai to be the host at this evening's banquet. On behalf of the Chinese Government and people, I wish to express our warm welcome to Prime Minister Eric Williams and all the other distinguished guests from Trinidad and Tobago.

Since independence, the Government and people of Trinidad and Tobago have, under the leadership of Prime Minister Eric Williams, carried on persistent struggle and achieved continuous new successes in safeguarding national independence and state sovereignty, controlling national resources and developing the national economy. In international affairs, the Government of Trinidad and Tobago has pursued a policy of independence and non-alignment, supported the just struggles of Third World countries against imperialism and colonialism and in defence of national economic rights and interests, and made a positive contribution, in particular, to the cause of unity of the Caribbean countries against hegemonism. The Chinese people sincerely rejoice at the successes achieved by the fraternal people of Trinidad and Tobago and wish you continuous new victories on your road of advance.

At present, the international situation is developing in a direction favourable to the Third World and the people of all countries. The two superpowers, in an attempt to extricate themselves from their predicament at home and abroad, are intensifying their contention for spheres of influence and world hegemony. This is the cause of the world intranquillity today. Strategically, Europe is the focus of their contention, but at the same time they are contending fiercely with each other in many other parts of the world. Superpower hegemonism and power politics have greatly sharpened all the basic contradictions in the contemporary world and accelerated the awakening and growth of the Third World countries. In their struggles to safeguard national independence and state sovereignty and develop the national economy, the Third World countries have continuously won brilliant victories and demonstrated an incomparable might. The victorious struggle which the Arab countries have waged with oil as a weapon has blazed a new trail for the Third World countries in dealing with the superpowers. The Third World countries not only have stood up politically, but are now beginning to stand up economically. Their just struggles and those of the people of other countries

in the world, in co-ordination with one another, are pounding away at the old world order. The two superpowers are being bogged down in serious political and economic crises. They are more isolated than ever. More and more facts have proved that all views that overestimate the strength of the superpowers and underestimate the strength of the Third World and the people of all countries are completely groundless.

Latin America, including the Caribbean region, is an important force in our Third World. The situation there is also undergoing heartening changes. A number of newly emerging countries in the Caribbean region have successively declared independence and taken an active part in the ranks of the Third World's united struggle against hegemony. The Caribbean Community and Common Market and other Latin American regional organizations of economic co-operation as well as various raw material producers' organizations composed of Latin American and other Third World countries have been set up one after another and have steadily developed. The struggle in defence of 200-nautical-mile maritime rights initiated by Latin American countries has grown into a worldwide common struggle against superpower maritime hegemony. At present, the struggle of the great Latin American peoples against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism is developing in depth and breadth and converging with the struggle of the Afro-Asian peoples to become an irresistible revolutionary torrent. The Chinese Government and people resolutely support the Latin American countries and peoples in their just struggle of safeguarding national independence and state sovereignty and developing the national economy. We have always maintained that all countries, big or small, should be equal. We are firmly opposed to colonialism, neo-colonialism and the superpowers subjecting any country to their aggression, subversion, control, interference or bullying. We are convinced that, so long as they heighten their vigilance, unite with all forces that can be united with, and persist in struggle, the Latin American countries and peoples will certainly be able to overcome all obstacles on their road of advance and win still greater victories in their struggle against imperialism and hegemonism.

Although China and Trinidad and Tobago are separated by vast oceans, common historical experiences closely linked up our two peoples long ago. In the last century, indentured Chinese labourers, who were forcibly taken away and sold by Western colonialists, used to work and fight together with the people of Trinidad and Tobago and sowed the seeds of friendship between our two peoples. Since then, in the protracted

struggle against imperialism and colonialism, our two peoples have always sympathized with, supported and encouraged each other. At the 26th Session of the United Nations General Assembly in 1971, the representative of the Government of Trinidad and Tobago voted in support of restoring to China her legitimate rights in the United Nations. The Chinese Government and people highly appraise, and are deeply thankful for, this justice-upholding action of the Government and people of Trinidad and Tobago. In June this year,

diplomatic relations were formally established between China and Trinidad and Tobago, opening up broad prospects for the development of friendly relations and co-operation between our two countries. We are convinced that the Honourable Prime Minister Williams' current visit to our country will further increase our mutual understanding and carry the friendly relations and co-operation between China and Trinidad and Tobago and the friendship between our two peoples forward to a new stage.

Prime Minister Williams' Speech

(Excerpts)

I COME to you as the representative of one of a long chain of islands in the Caribbean. . . .

The particular Caribbean country which I represent, Trinidad and Tobago, has a population of one million people, who achieved their independence twelve years ago, in 1962. Thus, since many parts of the Caribbean are still under colonial rule, direct or indirect, open or disguised, the Caribbean territories, the first to be enslaved under modern colonialism, are among the last to be emancipated from it.

The Caribbean populations are among the most cosmopolitan and heterogeneous which would be found anywhere in the world. To the pitiful remnants of the indigenous Amerindians have been added Europeans from almost all countries in Western Europe and Americans from both North and South America. The Africans originally introduced to satisfy the demands of compulsory plantation labour have been supplemented by Indians and Pakistanis in large numbers in some territories, as well as by some Indonesians in Surinam. Arabs rub shoulders with Jews, and have been doing so from the earliest settlement of the territories.

Over the last century and a quarter a large number of Chinese have been introduced into some of the countries — the majority in Cuba, whilst significant minorities are to be found in Trinidad, Guyana and Surinam. This Chinese migration was part of a larger movement of Chinese workers under contract to the New World to replace the emancipated Africans or in some cases, to supplement the Africans, where, as in Cuba, continued large scale importation of African workers was no longer possible.

Thus, when I say to you that I am happy to be here with you in Peking and to accept your hospitality which I would hope we can soon reciprocate appropriately, I am not merely expressing the sentiments conventional to an occasion like this. I am also happy to be in a country which has contributed to our Caribbean population and if I may be allowed, Vice-Premier, to intersect a personal note, is that the country where the maternal grandfather of my daughter is one of the

oldest of Chinese immigrants in Trinidad, and a country which, through our Caribbean citizens of Chinese ancestry, has enhanced our development both positively and materially — in such professions as law and medicine, in business and industry, in the field of education, in sport, in art and culture, and most emphatically in administration and in the highest offices of state. Until his recent resignation the Governor General of Trinidad and Tobago, appointed by the Queen on my advice as Prime Minister, was a Chinese who has risen to the highest position in the public service.

This is perhaps one of the best manifestations of the equality of opportunity for all ethnic groups of which we often boast in the Caribbean, at least because it stands in such sharp contrast to the social realities in mixed societies in other parts of the world. Whatever may have been the fate of your compatriots in other parts of the world, including the New World in general, in Trinidad and Tobago, at least, there has been, and there is, no Chinatown. It would not be easy to estimate the number of our teen-age students of Chinese ancestry who have been able to proceed, solely on the objective criterion of merit, at the expense of the Government, to advanced university and professional training in various parts of the world; and if and when they return to their native home, they find no doors closed in their faces and no obstacle to the pursuit of their profession on equal terms with any other national, irrespective of race or colour or religion, in the service of the national community.

I hope you would allow me to add, in my purely personal capacity, as a student of the history of the entire Caribbean region, that, by this visit to China, I have completed my personal familiarity with all the major regions of the world whose peoples have contributed to the development of the Caribbean region of today.

Thus Trinidad and Tobago has this in common with China, that we are joint victims of European colonialism and have messed out of the same pot of injustice,

humiliation, servitude in one form or another, and racial prejudice and discrimination.

But Trinidad and Tobago — and in fact the Caribbean generally — has another bond in common with the People's Republic of China — we both have been making, and are making, common efforts in the field of decolonization, the control of our national destiny, and the struggle against apartheid and racism.

We have watched with interest the achievement of the People's Republic of China in the development of agriculture with adequate supplies of indigenously produced food, the development of indigenous industry and manufactures, with particular emphasis on the steel industry, and its current emergence as a major producer of oil in the contemporary world. All of these have enormous significance for us in Trinidad and Tobago.

With our one million people, we cannot possibly hope to emulate either the science or the technology or the organization which produced the nuclear capability of the People's Republic of China; that is to say, we cannot escape the reality of the fundamental divergence between a large country of the Third World like yours and a small country like ours. But historically the product of an economic regime in which a substantial proportion of our basic food supply has been imported from outside, thus leaving us vulnerable to the vagaries and inconsistencies and inflation, I repeat, and inflation of the world market, in our current efforts to achieve economic independence, we have much to be inspired by and to learn from the success of the green revolution of the People's Republic of China.

Historically also we have been the victims of a deliberately imposed colonial policy of subjecting colonial territories to an exclusive concentration on primary raw materials, whether agricultural or industrial, whilst we bought our processed food and manufactures from the imperialist country. Here again our current efforts to achieve economic independence can find much to emulate and much to adapt from the success in the manufacturing field of the People's Republic of China.

The so-called world energy crisis of the past twelve months has brought this home to us dramatically, especially in Trinidad and Tobago. If this world energy crisis means anything at all, it means emphatically this: whatever the complaints or the outcries of the so-called developed countries, the oil-producing developing countries are taking advantage of an unexpected opportunity to correct the historical imbalance between developed countries and developing countries, by greater national ownership of their oil resources and by conscious direction of these resources and the revenues generated by them for the development of large-scale indigenous industrialization, highly diversified, for the complete and total rehabilitation of their agricultural organization — in short, for the restructuring of the economies bequeathed to them by colonialism on its deathbed.

We in Trinidad and Tobago, about the smallest among the oil producers, constitute an integral part of this world movement. Our oil resources on land, always small, have been rapidly disappearing, but they are now being supplemented by important and potentially substantial off-shore discoveries of both oil and gas. At the same time we have, over the years, developed an important refinery capacity based on large imports of crude oil to supplement our small and dwindling indigenous land production. The immediate result has been not only that we have been spared the balance of payments problem which so many developing countries are encountering, but we also have the basis for developments in the petro-chemical field and in industries requiring substantial supplies of energy. All these developments are based on majority government participation in joint ventures with outside corporations who assist with the investment, entrepreneurial skill, technological expertise and marketing experience which we lack.

Implicit in all our efforts to restructure our economy and take greater control of our national destiny, is the determination to break through the narrow confines of the colonial trading pattern and to seek new trading partners. The People's Republic of China and the Government of Trinidad and Tobago (it will not be long before you will have to refer to us as the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago), are currently discussing the possibility of our supplying you with some of our surplus sugar. The People's Republic of China has made enormous strides in its own indigenous production of fertilizer. But with your gigantic needs in this field as you continuously expand your agricultural revolution, I ask you to remember that, within three years at most, we will have substantial supplies of fertilizer for export.

It is in this context that we hope to be able to discuss with you some areas of co-operation between our two countries. Such co-operation should be not only economic but also cultural. It is against this background that we were very happy to reach agreement with the People's Republic of China on the establishment of diplomatic relations. And it is against this background that our Cabinet decided, in our budget earlier this year, that Chinese must be included among the international languages which we will henceforth emphasize in view of our developing international relations.

In all of this, Trinidad and Tobago faces one overpowering handicap — the continued fragmentation of the Caribbean region involving both direct foreign control of large areas and the continuing psychological dependence produced by many centuries of colonial rule. Your own protracted struggle in China to achieve national unity and remove the vestiges of the foreign spheres of influence which made the China of the past century the football of rival imperialisms will perhaps allow you to view with sympathy the fragility of our efforts at economic integration and our almost pathetic

lack of a national identity — the unfortunate combination of the trinity of ethnic jealousies within each territory, the isolation of one territory from the others, and, worst of all, the insularity, both individual and collective, inevitably associated with island states and particularly small island states.

If I have given emphasis to our Caribbean relations, this is not to be construed as indifference to or subordination of other aspects of our international relations. Our Caribbean perspectives embrace the entire Caribbean region irrespective of historical background or national sovereignty. In our Latin American relations we have unequivocally stood for the incorporation of all countries, I repeat all countries, in the Western Hemisphere fraternity. We support fully

Latin America's insistence on national ownership of their resources and better terms of trade, with special emphasis on their policy on the law of the sea. We stand resolutely opposed to the perpetuation of colonialism in any shape or form, whether in Africa or elsewhere. We denounce unambiguously the pernicious practice of apartheid and the degradations associated with it. We maintain the closest relations with the oil-producing countries of the Third World, and most especially with our next door neighbour, Venezuela, and stand ready to support generally, what we have already put into practice in respect of our Caribbean colleagues, assistance by the oil-producing countries to their less fortunate brethren in the Third World.

PRESS COMMUNIQUE

On the Visit to the People's Republic of China by Dr. Eric Williams, Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs of Trinidad and Tobago

November 11, 1974

DR. Eric Williams, Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs of Trinidad and Tobago, paid a state visit to the People's Republic of China from November 5 to 11, 1974 at the invitation of Premier Chou En-lai of the State Council of the People's Republic of China. Accompanying Dr. Eric Williams on the visit were Miss Erica Williams, daughter of Dr. Williams, the Honourable Errol Mahabir, Minister of Industry and Commerce, Mr. F.O. Abdulah, Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of External Affairs, and others.

Chairman Mao Tsetung met Dr. Williams and held a cordial and friendly conversation with him.

Premier Chou En-lai met Dr. Williams in the hospital and had a cordial conversation with him. Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien and Dr. Williams exchanged views in a sincere and friendly atmosphere on further developing the friendly relations and co-operation between China and Trinidad and Tobago and on international questions of common concern.

Present at the talks from the Chinese delegation were Chiao Kuan-hua, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs, Chen Mu-hua, Vice-Minister of Economic Relations With Foreign Countries, Tang Ke, Vice-Minister of Fuel and Chemical Industries, Chen Shu-fu, Vice-Minister of Foreign Trade, and others.

Present at the talks from the delegation of Trinidad and Tobago were Errol Mahabir, Minister of Industry and Commerce, and F.O. Abdulah, Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of External Affairs.

Both delegations expressed the desire to continue to develop and strengthen the friendly relations and

co-operation between the two countries 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.

Both delegations shared the same view that the Third World countries should support, help and learn from one another. They agreed to develop economic (especially in agriculture), scientific, technological and cultural exchanges and co-operation between the two countries step by step on the basis of increased mutual understanding and in the light of their needs and possibilities. In this spirit, the two delegations specifically agreed that the Chinese Government would accept in 1975 three students sent by the Government of Trinidad and Tobago to learn Chinese and that the Government of Trinidad and Tobago would make available to the Government of China an appropriate number of places for Chinese students in its own Institute of International Relations in Trinidad.

It was further agreed by the two delegations that the Chinese Government would send a delegation led by Tang Ke, Vice-Minister of Fuel and Chemical Industries, on a friendly visit to Trinidad and Tobago in early 1975 so that the two countries may learn from each other and exchange experiences.

Both delegations agreed to pay special attention to the promotion of trade relations between the two countries, including the exchange of trade missions and exhibitions, based on the principles of equality, mutual benefit and interchange of needed goods.

Both delegations noted with satisfaction that Dr. Williams' current visit to the People's Republic of China was crowned with success and contributed positively to further developing the relations between China and Trinidad and Tobago and promoting friendship between the two peoples. They agreed that the development of friendly relations and co-operation between the two countries not only accords with the common desire and fundamental interests of the two peoples but serves the interests of the Third World's united struggle against colonialism, external domination and hegemony.

In order to achieve the above aims, the two delegations agreed to recommend to their respective governments that appropriate functional offices be established in each other's capital.

At U.N. World Food Conference

China's Views on Solving World Food Problem

The United Nations World Food Conference opened in Rome on November 5. Some 1,000 delegates from more than 120 countries, regions and international organizations attended. The Chinese delegation was headed by Hao Chung-shih, Vice-Minister of Agriculture and Forestry.

Hardest hit by the scourge of the world food problem caused by the imperialists and the superpowers, the Third World countries have the urgent demand to change this extremely unreasonable state of affairs. A world food conference was first proposed at the 4th Summit Conference of the Non-Aligned Countries in Algiers in September 1973. The conference now taking place was convened according to a resolution adopted last December by the U.N. General Assembly.

At the special session of the United Nations General Assembly on Raw Materials and Development last April, attention was drawn by the developing countries to the fact that the food problem is an important aspect in establishing a new international economic order. The Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order adopted at that session stipulated that efforts should be made to take full account of specific problems of developing countries in the international efforts connected with the food problem. At the current World Food Conference, the Third World countries will redouble their efforts and push forward still further their struggle against colonialism, imperialism and hegemonism and for the establishment of a new international economic order. Following is the speech

During their stay in China, Dr. Williams and his party visited industrial and educational institutions, a rural people's commune and places of historical interest in Peking, Shanghai and Canton. They were warmly welcomed and cordially received by the Chinese Government and people.

Prime Minister Williams extended on behalf of the Government of Trinidad and Tobago an invitation to the Government of the People's Republic of China to send a delegation at whatever level is considered appropriate on an official visit to Trinidad and Tobago at a mutually convenient time. The Government of the People's Republic of China accepted this invitation with pleasure.

(slightly abridged) by Hao Chung-shih, leader of the Chinese delegation, at the plenary session on November 7. — Ed.

ON the proposal of the 4th Summit Conference of Non-Aligned Countries and the decision of the 28th Session of the United Nations General Assembly, the World Food Conference is now being held. The Chinese delegation attending this conference is ready to join the representatives of other countries in making common efforts so that the conference may contribute positively to solving the current world food problem in which we are all concerned.

The Chinese delegation wishes to begin by solemnly stating here that the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia under the leadership of Prince Norodom Sihanouk is the sole legal government representing the Cambodian people. The Lon Nol clique, being a handful of scum of the Cambodian nation, has long been repudiated by the Cambodian people and can by no means represent them. The presence of the representatives of the Lon Nol clique at this conference is entirely illegal. Also, we wish to solemnly state that the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam is the genuine representative of the south Vietnamese people, is fully entitled to take part in the World Food Conference and should be represented at the conference. Unilateral representation of the Saigon administration at this conference is most unreasonable.

Now, we would like to state our views and opinions on the current world food problem and on the way of solving it.

At present, the international situation is excellent. The people of the world are striding forward amidst great turbulence. The Third World countries are increasingly awakening and growing stronger in their united struggle and are playing an ever greater role in international affairs. Inspired by the victory of the oil struggle waged by the Arab countries and people, the Third World countries' struggle to defend state sovereignty and national economic rights and interests and combat colonialism and imperialism, particularly big-power hegemonism, is breaking through numerous obstacles and surging forward. The 6th Special Session of the U.N. General Assembly on Raw Materials and Development held last April adopted the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order and the Programme of Action. This was a significant victory for the united struggle of the Third World countries. It marked a new stage in the struggle of the people of the world against colonialism, imperialism and particularly hegemonism, the stage of deepening this struggle by carrying it into the economic field. As we all know, food is the people's basic means of subsistence. The current world food problem is mainly an urgent problem of numerous developing countries. On the food problem, there has always been an acute struggle between colonialism, imperialism and particularly the superpowers, which practise plunder and control, and the developing countries, which fight against their plunder and control. This is an extremely important aspect of the present struggle against colonialism, imperialism and hegemonism as well as an important part of the serious struggle to smash the old international economic order and establish a new one. We consider this World Food Conference to be timely and necessary.

At present, many developing countries are short of foodgrains. We express our deep sympathy with these countries in their difficulties. The developing countries cover vast territories and abound in natural resources, and their people are industrious and valiant. They should have been able to have adequate food and clothing. Then why are they faced with these difficulties? Some people attribute this primarily to bad weather and natural disasters. Others attribute it primarily to the rising prices of fertilizers and so on and so forth. But all these are only superficial, partial and temporary factors, and do not constitute the fundamental cause. Historical facts and present-day life fully prove that the food problem confronting developing countries is mainly the result of plunder and control by colonialism, imperialism and the superpowers. As we all know, in the last centuries, colonialism and imperialism have subjected regions of Asia, Africa and Latin America to ruthless enslavement and plunder, forced on them a lop-sided single-product economy and the exchange of unequal values and extorted superprofits from them. As a result, the countries there have been unable to develop their national economy but have long remained poor and backward. Since World War II, one of the superpowers has been dumping large quantities of its "surplus" food into the developing countries. This has seriously damaged the food production and exports of

Asian, African and Latin American countries, turning some traditional food-exporting countries into food-importing ones and forcing more and more countries to live on food imports. Foodgrains, which are the principal means of subsistence of the hundreds of millions of people in the Third World, have actually been turned into imperialist-monopolized commodities and even a means of superpower speculation and profiteering or superpower interference and control of other countries. After many developing countries attained political independence, the superpowers still control in varying degrees the economic life-lines of some developing countries and continue to intensify their exploitation and plunder by adopting neo-colonialist methods. As a result, many developing countries are unable to accumulate funds for developing their agriculture and solve their food problem. Their difficulties become more serious when there is a crop failure or natural disasters.

Facts clearly show that it is colonialism, imperialism and the superpowers that have caused the present world food problem and that the developing countries are the victims. But the superpower which claims to be "the natural ally of the developing countries," when talking about the causes of the food problem, keeps silent about imperialist and superpower plunder and exploitation. It puts the blame entirely on the developing countries, thereby fully revealing its ugly features as social-imperialism. What is more absurd, when the plunder and exploitation of the people of the developing countries have aggravated to the extent of landing them in food difficulties, the superpowers still pick up the long-discredited Malthusian theory of population and assert that the developing countries' "food shortage is the result of over-population," and that the "rapid population growth is a millstone around the neck of the developing countries." This fallacy, which reverses right and wrong and puts the blame on the victim, is surely being spread with ulterior motives.

Of late, one superpower is spreading another absurdity, asserting that the food problem is caused by the increase in oil prices, and threatening to use grain as a means against the Third World. Chiming in with this, the other superpower describes the rise in oil prices as an important factor for the increase in food prices. Everyone with a little relevant knowledge knows that food prices had increased long before the rise in oil prices last year. This argument of the superpowers is entirely untenable. Their resort to such absurdity only shows that they are not reconciled to the just action taken by the oil-producing countries of the Third World to control their own oil production and pricing and break imperialist monopoly and domination. The superpowers are trying a thousand and one ways to riposte and make reprisal. It also shows up their real interest in the world food problem. We must sharpen our vigilance in this regard.

Once the root cause of the problem is made clear, it will not be difficult to find a correct way to solve it. In order to solve the world food problem, it is impera-

tive to change the extremely unreasonable state of affairs of plunder, monopoly and domination in the world today. True, the developing countries need to adopt necessary domestic measures to solve the food problem facing them. But as a primary prerequisite they should win and safeguard their political and economic independence and shake off colonialist and imperialist plunder and control, thus securing the conditions for developing their national economy and industrial and agricultural production. The food problem is not an isolated one. It is inseparable from the present struggle of the Third World to combat colonialism, imperialism and big-power hegemonism and to break down the old international economic order and establish a new one.

Whether a country can attain self-sufficiency in food is a big issue vital to its political and economic independence. To depend on food imports is no long-term policy. The developing countries have great potentials for developing agriculture and increasing food production. So long as a country works unremittingly in the light of its own specific features and conditions and advances along the road of independence and self-reliance, it is fully capable of solving its food problem. Quite a few developing countries have made relatively rapid progress in agricultural production and markedly increased their grain output, and some have already achieved basic self-sufficiency in food. This is a most convincing proof. It is also a powerful rebuff to the pessimistic view spread by imperialism, particularly the superpowers, in connection with the food problem. Of course, self-reliance by no means implies self-seclusion or refusal of foreign aid. We have always held that, on the basis of mutual respect for state sovereignty, equality and mutual benefit and exchange of needed goods, all countries can acquire the food they need through trade and make up for one another's economic and technological deficiencies through interchange so as to develop their national economy and food production. Economic co-operation and mutual aid among the developing countries, in particular, have broad prospects and are of important significance.

However, in discussing a solution to the food problem, one superpower keeps harping on such falsehoods as "detente" and the use of money to be saved from disarmament to solve the food problem, while keeping silent about the struggle against imperialist and superpower plunder and control or the efforts of developing national economy independently and self-reliantly. The same superpower lauds to the skies the agreements it concluded with the other superpower and vociferously advocates "detente." But it was after the reaching of a stack of agreements at the second talks between the two superpowers that the Middle East war broke out, and it was after the reaching of more agreements at their third talks that the Cyprus events occurred. The fact is that the two superpowers are fiercely contending with each other and wherever they contend there is no tranquillity. Every day they talk about "detente" but are actually creating tension; there is no "detente" at all. The "detente" advertised by the superpowers is

sheer deception and can in no way solve the food problem of developing countries. The assertion that money can be saved from disarmament to help developing countries solve their food problem is even more preposterous. Every year the superpowers talk about disarmament, but are actually engaged in arms expansion. They are stepping up their arms race and keep increasing their arms expenditures. The superpower that strongly advocates the use of money saved from disarmament to aid developing countries has never honoured its own words. Far from helping to solve the world food problem, the platitudes it is mouthing are designed to lead the conference astray and attain its own ulterior purposes.

China is a developing socialist country. From our experience we have become keenly aware of the importance of developing agricultural production and solving the food problem. As is well known, old China under the oppression of the three big mountains — imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism — was a poor and backward country suffering from a declining agriculture and grain insufficiency. In times of natural disasters, millions of people became destitute and displaced, and bodies of those starved to death littered the wilderness. While building socialism after the founding of New China, we encountered the imperialist economic blockade, and social-imperialism's perfidious attempt to strangle us by the neck. Under the leadership of Chairman Mao Tsetung and the Chinese Communist Party, the Chinese people dauntlessly stood their ground against all these difficulties and refused to yield. Putting up a determined struggle and working hard independently and self-reliantly, we have succeeded in building China into a socialist country with the beginnings of prosperity. In the rural areas, we carried out the land reform, eliminated the feudalist system, led the peasants on to the road of collectivization and established rural people's communes throughout the country. In developing the national economy, we have been implementing the general policy of taking agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor. In making national economic plans, we give agriculture first priority and at the same time actively develop industry so as to equip agriculture and the other economic branches with advanced technology and give full play to the role of industry as the leading factor. In agricultural production, we act on the principle of taking grain as the key link and ensuring an all-round development, i.e., make a rational arrangement of grain crops and economic crops as well as forestry, animal husbandry, side-line occupations and fishery, so as to meet the multiple needs of national construction and the people's livelihood. The people are the motive force in the making of history. Throughout the countryside we have launched the mass movement of "in agriculture, learn from Tachai" to give full play to the energy, wisdom and creativeness of the broad masses. We are earnestly carrying out the "Eight-Point Charter for Agriculture": soil improvement, use of fertilizer, irrigation, better seed strains, close planting, plant protection, better farm implements and field management, adopt-

ing scientific farming methods in a big way, and are engaged in farmland and irrigation building far and wide, thus wresting good harvests for years running. Now the basic food situation in China is that the state, the collective and the commune members all have some grain reserves. The living standard of the Chinese people is not yet high. A further rise in our standard of living calls for the continued efforts of our entire people. However, we have ensured the supply of the basic means of subsistence, stable food prices and adequate food for everyone. This is unprecedented in Chinese history. The facts in China have fully borne out the truth that **"revolution plus production can solve the problem of feeding the population,"** as set forth by Chairman Mao Tsetung.

China has also imported some foodgrains from the world market, but China does not rely on imports for feeding her population. The main purpose of our imports is to change some food varieties. In about three years from 1972 up to now, we have imported over two billion U.S. dollars' worth of grain, mainly wheat. In the same period, we have exported grain, mainly rice, valued at the same total amount. Therefore China's food imports and exports in the past three years strike a rough balance in value. We have never engaged in any speculation in food. Our rice exports are largely for supply and aid to Third World countries. Since international rice exports are limited in amount, the prices of rice would further rise, causing even greater difficulties to many rice consumer countries if China should stop exporting rice. China is a country with a large population, and what we have achieved now is only a preliminary solution of the problem of feeding the Chinese people. Our contribution to solving the world food problem is yet very small. It is our hope that, along with the development of our industry and agriculture, we shall be able gradually to change this state of affairs.

We consider that the world food problem is an important part of the current political and economic struggle, and that solution of the food problem must be closely linked with the Third World's struggle against colonialism, imperialism and big-power hegemonism and with the struggle to break down the old, unequal international economic order and establish a new international economic order.

We hold that, as food is man's basic means of subsistence, the people of all countries are entitled to an adequate food supply, and no country may use food as a means of interference, domination and plunder against other countries.

We hold that the developing countries, in order to solve their food problem, must adhere to the principles of independence and self-reliance, fully tap their potentials and strive for self-sufficiency in food in the light of their specific conditions, thus gradually changing the situation of relying on imported foodgrains to feed their people.

We hold that deep sympathy and concern should be given to those developing countries in acute food diffi-

culties, and that it is necessary to render them timely and effective aid in all forms. The developed countries should shoulder the main responsibility in this regard. The developing countries can support and aid one another on a voluntary basis. Any aid must be based on strict respect for the sovereignty of the recipient and must not be accompanied by any conditions or the extortion of any special privileges or excessive profits. It is impermissible in the name of food aid to exploit the recipient countries by usury, blackmail them or take advantage of their difficulties to press for debt service. We support all reasonable propositions and effective measures in this regard.

We support the reasonable demand of the developing countries for the transfer of agricultural technology from developed countries. Such transfer should be practical, effective, economical and convenient for use.

We hold that international trade should be based on the principles of equality, mutual benefit and the exchange of needed goods. We support the demand of the developing countries for food imports at fair and reasonable prices. We support their reasonable demand for improved trade terms, removal of the developed countries' tariff and non-tariff barriers, expansion of sales markets and the fixing of fair prices.

We hold that all countries, big or small, rich or poor, should be equal. We support the full right of the developing countries, which comprise the great majority of the world's population, to take part in all decision-making on food. Superpower monopoly and control are absolutely impermissible.

We hold that the sovereignty of all countries must be strictly respected and that no international food measures should be imposed on any country or interfere in its internal affairs. It is essential to respect the sovereignty of all countries over their natural resources and ensure that they can fully use their own resources, free from encroachment and plunder, so that they may solve the food problem and develop their national economy.

At present, the international situation is developing in a direction more and more favourable to the people of all countries and unfavourable to colonialism and imperialism, particularly the superpowers. As always, the Chinese people will stand together with the other Third World countries and all oppressed nations and peoples in a determined struggle to solve the present world food problem, establish a new international economic order and oppose colonialism, imperialism and big-power hegemonism. We fully believe that the Third World countries and people, who have won independence by relying on themselves and persisting in struggle, will certainly be able too, by relying on their own efforts, persevering in struggle and strengthening their unity and mutual aid, energetically to develop their national economy, develop agriculture, increase food production and gradually shake off the plunder and control practised by imperialists and the superpowers by means of food — thus solve the food problem through self-reliance.

China Develops Science and Technology Independently and Self-Reliantly

THE term "Win Honour" is often used to name China's new fruits of scientific research, such as the "Win Honour Steel," the "Win Honour Computer," etc. It is used because the Chinese people develop science and technology independently and with the initiative in their own hands and through self-reliance, so as to "win honour" for the socialist motherland and the Chinese people.

Search for Oil

The discovery of rich petroleum resources in China is also inseparable from the efforts to "win honours."

The imperialists and revisionists claimed for a long time that "China is oil-poor." Their "authorities" said that since the oilfields that had been discovered were mostly in marine strata, oilfields of industrial value were not to be found in China which consists mostly of continental strata. In the early 60s, the social-imperialists vainly attempted to strangle China by cutting off oil supplies, dreaming that China would bow to their baton. For some time, they indeed gloated over the sight of the big bags of coal gas attached to buses in Chinese cities.

To be at someone's beck and call and to rely on others for a living is not the disposition of the Chinese people nurtured by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. On the contrary, they are determined to march along the path charted by Chairman Mao of "maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands and relying on our own efforts."

The well-known oil worker Wang Chin-hsi said: "Nobody is going to convince us that oil is only under foreign soil and there are no rich oil deposits under a country as large as ours!" (In the 60s, Wang Chin-hsi led a drilling team to take part in the building of the Taching Oilfield. He was called an "Iron Man" for his staunchness and his spirit of hard struggle.) Neither the outstanding scientist Li Szu-kuang* nor the young geologists agreed with the imperialists' assertions. They said: "It's difficult to find oil. But there must be laws governing the formation and distribution of oil deposits. We'll rely on our own efforts and take our own path

to find it!" In the light of the special characteristics of China's geologic structure, Li Szu-kuang applied the method of geomechanics to study the law of crustal movement. He arrived at the conclusion that there were good conditions for oil formation and accumulation in the subsidence zone of the "Neocathaysian system." Based on this completely new theory, he sharply pointed out that it was metaphysical and too quick an inference to assert that "China is oil-poor."

Geological workers carried out large-scale geophysical prospecting over our country's vast areas in line with Li Szu-kuang's theory. Thousands of wells were drilled. A number of promising areas for petroleum exploration were located and abundant oil reserves initially verified thanks to extensive and large-scale exploration and prospecting. As a result, China has been proved to be rich in oil resources.

Searching for oil is by no means plain sailing. It was possible oil could be found in one area in the subsidence zone of the "Neocathaysian system." But no oil was found in the first years because some comrades were still under the influence of the allegation that "China is oil-poor"; they couldn't rid themselves of the foreign convention that "there is no oil around here." Some comrades became discouraged and surveys and prospecting were suspended completely in this area. Workers on surveying and prospecting teams, however, had confidence in their own geologic theory. They were determined to resume the exploitation. Their suggestion was warmly supported by Li Szu-kuang. After a year, a big oilfield was finally discovered in this area.

New oilfields have also been discovered one after another in other parts of China.

While oil is gushing up from pipes underneath the Pohai Bay area, it is absurd that TASS clings to the long-discredited allegation that "China is oil-poor," and until recently, it still quoted from a "famous" Soviet scientist asserting that "they are making a big fuss by claiming there is oil in the Pohai Bay" and so on and so forth.

Big Changes

In the past 100 years and more, the Chinese people were slighted by imperialists of all descriptions, who alleged that there was no science in China, that China couldn't do this or that.

* Li Szu-kuang was Member of the Ninth Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, Vice-Chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference and Vice-President of the Chinese Academy of Sciences. He was also Minister of Geology. He died in April 1971 at the age of 82.

It is true that science and technology were very backward in semi-colonial and semi-feudal old China. Take the science of metrology for instance. The graduated ruler, the *dou* (a Chinese unit for dry measure) and the steelyard used in the markets were the only measuring instruments left behind by the reactionary Kuomintang government in 1949 when China was liberated. There were no precision measuring instruments to speak of. There were big gaps in China's new-rising branches of science and technology. Scientists who had the will to win honour for the Chinese people had nowhere to turn to where they could play their part.

With the birth of New China, bright prospects were opened for the development of science and technology, and both have taken on a new look in the short span of 25 years. Apart from the research organizations under the Chinese Academy of Sciences, agricultural and industrial departments, provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions have set up and expanded special scientific research institutes and trained many professional research workers. Even in a single province today the number of such institutes and personnel is several times that of the whole country before liberation.

Despite blockades by imperialists and social-imperialists, the Chinese people have mastered many new scientific and technological techniques, such as atomic energy, jet propulsion, radio electronics, computing technology, automatic control and lasers, by maintaining independence and through self-reliance.

Successful tests have been made of atomic and hydrogen bombs, guided missiles carrying nuclear weapons and man-made earth satellites. Facts eloquently speak for the fact that **only socialism can save China**. Led by Chairman Mao and the Communist Party, **the Chinese people have high aspirations, they have ability, and they will certainly catch up with and surpass advanced world levels in the not too distant future.**

Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line guides the Chinese people and scientific workers to **do away with all fetishes and superstitions and emancipate the mind** to take the path never trodden before and to scale the heights never reached before. High energy physicists have advanced the new theory of the "straton model" by applying Chairman Mao's philosophical thinking to the study of the internal structure of elementary particles. Guided by Chairman Mao's teaching: **"Chinese medicine and pharmacology are a great treasure-house, and efforts should be made to explore them and raise them to a higher level,"** medical workers have attained many new successes such as acupuncture anaesthesia. Young mathematician Chen Ching-jun made big advances in research on the conjecture of the German mathematician Goldbach 200 years ago that "every even integer greater than four

is a sum of two odd primes," and made a breakthrough in that branch of mathematics.

Engels pointed out 100 years ago: **"Life is the mode of existence of albuminous bodies,"** and **"the origin of life... must have been the result of chemical action."** Since then, however, cognizance of the phenomenon of life has never exceeded the level of anatomy. To probe the secret of life, a group of young scientific workers took up the heavy task of using chemical processes to make synthetic protein. They began their research on the synthesis of insulin in 1958. Those taking part were mostly graduates from universities after the founding of New China. The first difficulty they encountered was lack of amino acids which were indispensable for making insulin. Relying on their own efforts, they produced more than 10 kinds of amino acids by using indigenous equipment. In 1965, Chinese scientists produced the world's first synthetic crystalline bovine insulin, a biologically active protein. During the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, dozens of scientific workers (average age under 30) doing research in different branches of science and working in different organizations joined together and succeeded in determining the crystal structure of insulin by the X-ray diffraction method. After repeated experiments, they won complete success in determining the crystal structure of pig insulin at a resolution* of 1.8 angstroms (one angstrom is a hundred-millionth of a centimetre) within a comparatively short period, reaching the advanced world levels.

Work of the Masses

China's scientific and technological workers have undergone one after another profound socialist revolutions. Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line has gone deeper into their hearts through the criticism of the revisionist line of Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius. Eradicating the slavish comprador philosophy and the doctrine of trailing behind at a snail's pace, they no longer do research work behind closed doors. Under the leadership of the Communist Party, they integrate themselves with the worker-peasant-soldier masses and develop science and technology at a faster pace.

Our country now has a sizable contingent of scientific and technical workers which are composed mainly of workers, peasants and soldiers as well as professional researchers and cadres. Over 10 million people now take part in scientific experiments in the rural areas. There are experimental stations and groups in most rural people's communes and production brigades. Scientific farming has contributed remarkably to China's 12-years-in-a-row bumper harvests. In Tibet, where growing winter wheat was once regarded as an impossibility, the emancipated serfs have planted winter wheat on the "Roof of the World" that yields 10.5 tons per hectare over a small area. At present 80 per cent of

* Resolution is the minimum separation at which two objects can be distinguished.

the acreage of the nation's paddyfields is sown to improved paddy strains; over 70 per cent of the wheat sown is of improved strains. The first variety of short-stalk rice plant was developed by a peasant in Kwangtung Province. A peasant in Shantung Province discovered a way to raise peanut yields; Chekiang peasants created the method of transplanting rice seedlings with soil. . . .

Numerous inventions and innovations have been made by the worker-peasant-soldier masses. More than 140 articles written by them since 1973 have been published in scientific journals which once were contributed exclusively by the specialists. Scientific ex-

periments have become the undertaking of the broad masses of the Chinese people.

* * *

The development of China's science and technology had to start from the very poor base left over from the old society. In many fields, extremely hard and painstaking efforts over a considerable period of time are required to catch up with and surpass advanced world levels. We will continue to learn from the advanced experience of the people in other countries.

If science in ancient China made important contributions to world civilization, then looking to the future, socialist New China's contributions will undoubtedly be greater.

Han Fei — An Outstanding Exponent of Pre-Chin Dynasty Legalist Ideas

by the Workers' Theoretical Group of the Peking Trade Union Council and the Chinese Language and Literature Department of Peking Teachers' University

THE Spring and Autumn Period (770-476 B.C.) and the Warring States Period (475-221 B.C.) saw the transition of Chinese society from the slave system to the feudal system. With the former system collapsing from day to day under the force of stormy slave uprisings, the new emerging landlord class took advantage of this to seize political power. The situation terrified the slave-owning aristocrats who were seized with a panic.

Towards the end of the Warring States Period, the rising landlord class and the declining slave-owning class were locked in a still fiercer struggle through which the former sought to seize power and oppose restoration while the latter tried to snatch back power and bring about a restoration. Reflecting the struggle between the two classes in the sphere of ideology, the struggle between the Confucian and Legalist schools also reached a new high. It was in this historical period that Han Fei, chief exponent of Legalist ideas before the Chin Dynasty (221-207 B.C.), appeared on the scene.

I

Han Fei (c. 280-233 B.C.) came from an aristocratic slave-owning family in the State of Han (one of the ducal states in the Warring States Period in what now is the southeastern part of Shansi Province and central Honan Province). Both he and Li Ssu, prime minister

of Chin Shih Huang, founder of the first unified feudal dynasty in China's history, were disciples of Legalist Hsun Kuang*. Spurred on by the class struggle at that time and influenced by Hsun Kuang and the ideas of other Legalists before him, Han Fei, who had clearly seen the changing tide of the times, rebelled against the decadent slave-owning class. Taking the stand of the rising landlord class, he made it unmistakably known that he was for new-born things. Time and again he proposed reforms to the Prince of Han, but his proposals were not accepted. This being the case, he wrote articles to express his political views, a collection of which was later put out under the title *Han Fei Tzu*. This book comprehensively and systematically elucidated the pre-Chin Dynasty Legalist ideas and political views, while scathingly and forcefully criticizing those of the Confucian school. When Chin Shih Huang (on the throne from 246 to 207 B.C.) read Han Fei's articles, he joyfully said: "If I could meet the author of this book and make friends with him, I would die without any regrets!" From this remark it can be seen how well Han Fei's ideas fitted in with Chin Shih Huang's need to establish a unified feudal state under centralized power.

A representative of the new emerging landlord class' interests who went with the tide of history, Han

* See "Contention Between Hsun Kuang and Mencius Is a Two-Line Struggle" in *Peking Review*, No. 44, 1974.

Fei conscientiously summed up the theories and practical experience concerning reforms made in various states during the pre-Chin Dynasty period, on the basis of which he systematically set forth the Legalist theory and political programme for governing a state. He attached particular importance to the struggle between restoration and counter-restoration involved in the reforms in various states and earnestly drew on historical experience and lessons. A particularly bitter lesson was provided by the death of Shang Yang* (c. 390-338 B.C.) who was dismembered by having his limbs tied to chariots driven in different directions when the restorationist force of the slave-owning aristocrats launched furious counter-attacks against the rising landlord class which was in power in the State of Chin following the death of Duke Hsiao of Chin (on the throne from 361 to 338 B.C.). Han Fei held that without strengthening the dictatorship of the rising landlord class the political power which had been seized could not be consolidated. This idea was a very important factor in Chin Shih Huang's struggle to consolidate his feudal state under centralized power.

Chairman Mao has said: "So long as classes exist, there will be as many doctrines as there are classes, and even various groups in the same class may have their different doctrines." (*On New Democracy*.) Class struggle in the Warring States Period not only found expression in contention for political power but inevitably was reflected in the sphere of ideology. Personages from various political groups representing different classes and strata all mounted the stage of the superstructure and expressed their own political views. Hence the situation in which "a hundred schools of thought contend." The struggle between the Confucian and Legalist schools at that time was precisely one between the two major schools. They represented the different stands and viewpoints of the declining slave-owning class and the rising landlord class. In his tooth-and-nail struggle with the Confucian school, Han Fei summed up and developed the pre-Chin Dynasty Legalist ideas and theories and formulated a relatively comprehensive line for the rule of law, thereby becoming an outstanding exponent of the Legalist ideas during the Spring and Autumn and Warring States Periods.

II

Before Han Fei it had been Hsun Kuang who pioneered to set up an ideological system for the Legalist school. The former's ideas were a development based on the latter's ideological system.

Han Fei lived at a time when the struggle between the Confucian and Legalist schools became more and more acute in the sphere of ideology. Under such circumstances, without a relatively systematic theory, the Legalist school could not have defeated the Confucian school which represented the declining slave-owning

class, and the rising landlord class could not have seized political power. And even when such power had been seized, it could not have been consolidated. How to sum up and develop the ideas of Hsun Kuang and other Legalists before him and synthesize them into a comprehensive ideological system became a historical task of great importance which fell on Han Fei's shoulders.

With class struggle intensified, Hsun Kuang who earlier had been a Confucianist changed his stand and became a representative of the Legalist school. When the Confucianists vainly tried to use the idealist concept of the "mandate of heaven" to avert the doom of the slave system, Hsun Kuang came forward with his simple materialist idea in opposition to the "mandate of heaven." In his *On Heaven*, a treatise written in the spirit of going against the tide, he maintained that changes in nature had nothing to do with social politics. This was a fatal blow to the Confucian concept of the "mandate of heaven." He further pointed out: Changes in the elements were natural phenomena and not to be afraid of; man would surely conquer nature. It was indeed astounding for him to set forth such a materialist viewpoint more than 2,000 years ago. Basing himself on this understanding of Hsun Kuang's and in compliance with the rising landlord class' demand to seize political power from the hands of the slave-owning class, Han Fei advanced the idea that "it all depends on strength today." So long as the rising landlord class relied on its own strength to carry on struggle, he maintained, it would become rich and powerful, defeat the slave-owning class and succeed in seizing political power. Obviously this idea implied covering up the oppression and exploitation of the labouring people by the landlord class, because the latter only could become rich and powerful by oppressing and exploiting the peasants. Considering the prevailing situation, however, what Han Fei maintained was a forceful criticism of the fatalist theory spread by Confucius, Mencius and their like that "death and life are pre-ordained; wealth and honour come from heaven," and was a development of Hsun Kuang's idea that man would surely conquer nature. Han Fei's viewpoint thus became the theoretical basis for the rising landlord class' efforts to seize political power.

A common feature of the ideas of the Legalists was their conviction that the history of society always moves forward, they laid more stress on the present than on the past and advocated reforms. In refuting the Confucian school's fallacy that "adopting the ancient ways commits no mistakes, following the rites ensures no heretic deviations," Shang Yang advocated that running a state did not necessarily mean following the same method, that is to say, the ancient ways must not necessarily be followed so long as what was done was beneficial to the rising landlord class. He also maintained that it might not be wrong to do things not according to the ancient ways and it might not be right to do things according to the rites. All this was a criticism of the Confucian precepts of "putting faith in and taking a liking to everything ancient" and "restraining

* See "On Shang Yang" in *Peking Review*, No. 34, 1974.

ing oneself and returning to the rites." In refuting Mencius' retrogressive idea of "learning from the ancient kings," Hsun Kuang called for "learning from the contemporary kings," which in fact represented progress. Though their ideas served as the theoretical basis for actual reforms at that time, both Shang Yang and Hsun Kuang failed to produce sufficient arguments to support these ideas when they were being propagated.

Proceeding from the viewpoint of the evolution of history and the utilitarianism of the rising landlord class, Han Fei explained the historical facts about the struggle between man and nature and between human beings. He stood firmly for "not counting on learning from the ancient ways" and "toppling the conventional rules and regulations." In other words, he meant doing things in whatever way they were beneficial to the new emerging landlord class. As he saw it, history was advancing and contemporary times were more progressive than ancient times. Since times had changed, different methods had to be used to solve problems. All this meant more than "learning from the contemporary kings." Han Fei caustically satirized as blockheads those who stressed the past more than the present and followed the beaten track. He said: Working in the fields one day, somebody in the State of Sung saw a hare dash head-on against a tree stump and break its neck. He laid down his tool and stood by the tree stump waiting for more hares to dash themselves against it. But far from there being any more dead hares, he made himself a laughing stock. Using this story as an illustration, Han Fei clearly pointed out that those bent on ruling contemporary people with the politics of the ancient kings were one and the same with that fellow. His progressive conception of history mirrored the demands of the late Warring States Period's rising landlord class that dared to break down the old traditions and was eager to change reality. Han Fei's ideas marked a further development of those of the Legalists before him and of Hsun Kuang, and reflected that the strength of the rising landlord class in that period was greater than ever and its struggle to seize political power and oppose restoration and retrogression firmer.

Taking the stand of the rising landlord class, Han Fei also sharply criticized the slave-owning class' concept of morality. When Shang Yang who was making reforms in the State of Chin resorted to revolutionary violence and achieved successful results, one reactionary Confucian scholar named Chao Liang cursed him, saying: "He who relies on virtue will thrive and he who relies on force will perish." Having seen through the hypocritical and reactionary nature of the Confucian preachings, Shang Yang persisted in carrying out reforms, but he was unable to give the Confucianists a forceful theoretical rebuff. To counter Mencius' thesis that "man is good by nature," Hsun Kuang argued that "man is evil by nature." In spite of the fact that both contentions were based on the exploiting classes' interests

and devoid of any class analysis of human nature, Hsun Kuang's argument shook the Confucian concept of morality to its foundations.

On the basis of Hsun Kuang's argument, Han Fei further negated the slave-owning class' concept of morality and set forth that of the new emerging landlord class. Repudiating the Confucian ethics like "benevolence, righteousness, favour and love" lock, stock, and barrel, he said: All the talk about benevolence and righteousness, favour and love is tantamount to rewarding those who have no meritorious deeds and letting those who have committed crimes go scot-free. Who then will fight to the last on the battlefield and exert himself in production for the state? He held that the Confucian way could not be followed as regards what should be rewarded and what should be punished; otherwise, the rule of law could not be enforced. To support his view, he gave two examples. One was a young man in the State of Chu who informed on his father for stealing sheep. In fact, he should have been rewarded, but the Chu officials concerned did the opposite and convicted him on the grounds that he was not filial. This being the case, Han Fei said, nobody would bother to inform on criminals. The other example was a soldier in the State of Lu who deserted in all three battles he had fought in. When asked why he did so, he said he was afraid that if he died on the battlefield no one would support his old father at home. Hearing this, Confucius considered the soldier filial and obedient and recommended he be made an official. In Han Fei's opinion, such a way of doing things would deter people from fighting the enemy heroically. What then was the use of benevolence, righteousness and virtue? For no one would inform on any criminal or rise in resistance against any invading enemy. So Han Fei maintained that all the rubbish about benevolence, righteousness and virtue was unacceptable.

What moral standard did Han Fei advocate? It was working hard in production and performing military deeds. In short, it meant relying on "force." Needless to say, this openly expressed the utilitarianism of the landlord class, but on the other hand it constituted a forceful negation of all the "virtue" promoted by the slave-owning class at that time.

III

Having summed up the experience and lessons of the reforms carried out by the Legalists before him, Han Fei advanced a more comprehensive political programme.

First, he put forward the idea of centralized power — "Work is done in the various localities, but power lies with the central authorities; as the ruler wields power, the localities must act on his orders." This was a very important political slogan for consolidating the dictatorship of the rising landlord class. Han Fei held that without uprooting the ducal states system, the slave-owning aristocrats' political privileges could not

* See "Mencius — a Trumpeter for Restoring the Slave System" in *Peking Review*, No. 37, 1974.

be done away with and the dictatorship of the rising landlord class could not be consolidated.

With a view to giving full play to the dictatorship of the new emerging landlord class, Han Fei for the first time advanced the idea of the rule of law which combined "law, strategy and authority." To establish and consolidate the regime of the rising landlord class, it was necessary to replace the "rule of rites" of the slave-owning class with the rule of law of the rising landlord class and use the decrees aimed at establishing and consolidating the landlord class' regime to guarantee the exercise of centralized power. This was what Han Fei meant by "law." To achieve this, the ruler who held the reins of supreme power must also master "strategy," which meant tactics for engaging in political struggles, including the methods and measures of appointment and dismissal, examinations, rewards and punishment for officials at all levels. Only when the ruler mastered "strategy" could he make his subordinates do his bidding and prevent them from "engaging in conspiracy and seeking self-interest." But "law" and "strategy" alone were not enough, the ruler who held supreme power must have absolute power instead of transferring it to others. He must strengthen the authority of centralized power. This was what Han Fei called "authority." The combination of "law, strategy and authority," of course, contained the element of suppressing the labouring people, but under the circumstances at that time it helped more effectively to prevent the slave-owning aristocrats from fishing in troubled waters and carrying out disruptive activities and resulted in the timely and firm suppression of their restorationist actions.

This political idea of Han Fei's was based on summing up the experience and lessons of reforms carried out by his predecessors and suited the pressing demands of the new emerging landlord class to strengthen its dictatorship and prevent the slave-owners from making a come-back. This was a new development of the system of the rule of law which had become more systematic, more comprehensive and more vigorous.

To buttress the dictatorship of the rising landlord class, Han Fei also laid down an organizational line for reform. Reactionary Confucian scholars who did not till the land and enlist in the army but wagged their tongues everywhere on a full stomach, he held, should not be given important official posts. To avoid them forming cliques for their own selfish interests, seeking gain by trickery and chasing after high positions and handsome salaries, it was imperative to prevent agents of the slave-owning aristocrats in one disguise or another from sneaking into the rising landlord class' regime. Great care had to be taken in appointing officials and officers who were to hold the state power. Han Fei also made it a point that the prime minister must be promoted from among local officialdom and generals selected from army rank-and-file. All these were effective measures for thoroughly smashing the slave-owners' hereditary system and setting up the ruling institutions of the rising landlord class.

Han Fei also opposed giving out official appointments to those who talked nicely but actually were incompetent. Anyone who was low-bred but had the ability to make the state rich and the army strong, he held, should be installed in an important post; on the other hand, good-for-nothings who did not study and knew nothing should not be assigned to such posts no matter how high their reputation was and how glib they were. This organizational line was a concrete guarantee for carrying out the rising landlord class' political line in making reforms. When Shang Yang was making reforms, there were new organizational forms for local political power down to the grass-roots institutions, but he did not lay down a clear line for appointing officials, still less did he pay attention to placing officials at suitable posts from the grass-roots up to the top level. Han Fei outstripped Shang Yang in this respect, for he paid particular attention to naming candidates to be prime minister and generals. This was of great importance in consolidating the regime of the new emerging landlord class and forestalling restoration by the slave-owning class.

Second, Han Fei developed the Legalists' traditional policy of "farm production and military strength." Before him, Li Kuei (c. 455-395 B.C.) set great store by "farm production," while Wu Chi (?-381 B.C.) stressed the importance of "military strength." Later Shang Yang put equal emphasis on "farm production and military strength," which proved effective. Thus until the time of Han Fei much successful experience had been gained in carrying out this Legalist policy. Facts had proved that to consolidate the political power of the rising landlord class, it was essential to increase "farm production and military strength," i.e., to make the state rich and the armed forces strong.

Proceeding from the practical needs of the landlord class at that time, Han Fei firmly maintained that only by doing a good job of farm production could feudal ownership of land be firmly established and the political power of the rising landlord class consolidated. All his works were full of the spirit of "farming and war" which he stressed repeatedly. He made it clear that a state could become rich and powerful only by developing farm production, and the state as such had to rely on a strong army for defence. Inheriting and developing Shang Yang's ideas, Han Fei openly declared that "evil-doers" must be done away with so as to make the state rich and the armed forces strong. He denounced as "five worms" the Confucian scholars who deceived people by peddling the "way of ancient kings," politicians who depended on their oily tongues for their living and engaged in jobbery, roaming swordsmen and assassins who violated the state's injunctions, loafers who did not take part in production and serve in the army, and profiteers who lined their pockets by speculative activities. All "five worms" were social dregs dependent on the slave-owning aristocrats and were obstacles to the new emerging landlord class' efforts to consolidate political power and develop the economy. Han Fei thus developed the idea about "farm production and

military strength" of Li Kuei, Wu Chi and Shang Yang to a new high and formulated an important policy for Chin Shih Huang to unify China and consolidate the political power of the rising landlord class.

Third, Han Fei elaborated on Shang Yang's and Hsun Kuang's views and stood for a revolutionary dictatorship of the rising landlord class over the slave-owning aristocrats in the sphere of ideology.

Just as Chairman Mao has pointed out: "To overthrow a political power, it is always necessary first of all to create public opinion, to do work in the ideological sphere. This is true for the revolutionary class as well as for the counter-revolutionary class." (Quoted from "Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" — Adopted on August 8, 1966.) In a bid to subvert the rising landlord class' regime, the Confucianists who were representatives of the restorationist force of the slave-owning aristocrats spared no effort to spread the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, play up the back-to-the-old and retrogressive idea that the present was not as good as the past and restore the long outdated slave-owners' dictatorship. Having drawn on the experience and lessons of the Legalists before him, Han Fei realized that if the new emerging landlord class did not do battle in the ideological sphere, the political power in its hands could not be consolidated and the danger of losing it existed at any time. So while criticizing all kinds of ideas unfavourable to the rising landlord class' dictatorship, he made vigorous efforts to castigate the reactionary ideas of the Confucian school. Meanwhile, he called for replacing "following the words of ancient kings" as advocated by the slave-owning aristocrats with "taking laws as teaching material" and replacing the "private education" given by the Confucianists with "appointing officials as teachers." All this actually meant using the rising landlord class' policies, decrees, ideology and culture to triumph over the slave-owning aristocrats' rules, regulations, ideology and culture.

In sum, ideologically and politically speaking, Han Fei fairly systematically summed up the theory and practice of the Legalists who had lived before the Chin Dynasty and in a fairly deep-going way criticized the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, in the course of which a more comprehensive ideological system and line of the Legalist school took shape. If the rising landlord class' political theory had been considered rather simple before Han Fei's time, then it had become more comprehensive and precise after he had revamped and developed it. Basically, it was in line with Han Fei's political theory and ideas that Chin Shih Huang in 221 B.C., with the help of Li Ssu and others, unified the whole of China and founded a feudal autocratic state under centralized power.

IV

The late Warring States Period was when the times and the trend of historical development called for total destruction of the independent ducal states, which

The Rule of Rites and the Rule of Law

"The rule of rites" was the political idea of the Confucian school and meant rule according to the rites of Chou, the essence of which was upholding the slave-owning class' dictatorship. Starting from Confucius, the Confucianists stood for this rule, namely, absolute observance of the system of a hierarchy as well as the rites and ceremonies under the slave system of the Western Chou Dynasty (1066?-771 B.C.), strict distinction between the social position of the slave-owners and slaves, and maintaining the ranks and titles of the slave-owning aristocrats at all levels without going beyond them.

Diametrically opposed to what the Confucian school advocated, "the rule of law" was the political idea of the Legalist school which meant rule by using published laws and decrees reflecting the interests of the new emerging landlord class. Its essence was replacing the slave-owning class' dictatorship with the rising landlord class' dictatorship. The Legalists opposed the slave-owning class' hereditary prerogatives and its system of hierarchy and setting up ducal states. They advocated attacking the slave-owning class' political force with violence and establishing and consolidating a feudal state with centralized power.

favoured the slave-owning class' attempt at restoration, and for the establishment of a unified feudal state under centralized power. Han Fei's ideas were precisely a product of that era.

Having summed up and developed the experience of his predecessors, Han Fei who lived in the thick of the restoration and counter-restoration struggle between the two classes was more sober-minded than the earlier Legalists in perceiving the importance of strengthening the new emerging landlord class' dictatorship and enforcing rule under centralized power. This was an important reason for his being able to put forward a more comprehensive Legalist political programme than that of his predecessors. The situation in which "a hundred schools of thought contend" had come into being long before Han Fei's time. And the Legalist school gradually worked out its own new ideological system in the course of its theoretical struggle against the Confucian school. This was another important reason why Han Fei was able to set forth a more comprehensive Legalist ideological line than that of his predecessors.

Since Han Fei's ideas represented the ideology of the landlord class which was then on the rise, they were

(Continued on p. 21.)

ROUND THE WORLD

INDIA

Anti-Hunger Struggle

People throughout India are intensifying their fight against famine and for existence as India's food shortage grows more acute and current harvests prove much smaller than expected.

India's former Food Minister C. Subramanian recently revealed that the autumn foodgrain harvest amounted to only 60 million tons as against the government's target figure of 69 million tons. With the spring harvest of 36 million tons, this year's foodgrain production totals some 96 million tons, 18 million tons short of the annual minimum requirement of 114 million tons estimated by Indian departments concerned. Moreover, the Indian Government's foodgrain procurements reached only some 50 per cent of its planned figures for last winter and spring. This has extremely aggravated the food problem, already a serious one for India.

It is reported that since August and September famine has hit 11 states containing about 80 per cent of India's population. Peasants have fled their homes in large numbers. Some 20 million of West Bengal's 50 million people are in the grip of famine. Of Gujarat State's 18,000 villages, 10,000 are suffering from the worst famine in the last 75 years. Assam State's 4 million people are destitute, and more than 3,000 have died of starvation.

While famine stalks the countryside, the ration of price-controlled grain has been cut again and again in cities and towns. At the same time, the price of rice has been constantly increasing. The per capita ration in Kerala State was cut in half from 160 to 80 grams a day. In some cities in Uttar Pradesh, the ration is only one kilogramme a month. In some places the price of rice has gone up to four rupees a kilogramme.

India has had continuous critical food crises for the last ten years. Ignoring the people's hunger and misery, the Indian Government has redoubled its efforts to pursue a policy of external expansion and its military budget has become five times as big as 11 years ago.

The Indian people's anti-hunger struggles have gained momentum. Over 100,000 people in Calcutta held a demonstration on October 19. In Bharatpur County, Rajasthan State, more than 1,000 students replied to police suppression by smashing the offices of the local administration and fighting police attacks. They demanded that the government supply grain. The people in many places were forced to seize foodgrain from government and landlord stores in defiance of suppression and arrests. In Bijnor and Shahjahanpur, Uttar Pradesh State, nine seizures occurred during one week in late September. Such actions by organized peasants have taken place again and again in Kharagpur and Midnapur in West Bengal State.

ENEMY-HELD AREA IN CAMBODIA

Food Seizures

Prices have risen sharply in Phnom Penh and other areas under the occupation of the traitorous Lon Nol clique since it adopted "new economic measures" in mid-September. The price of one kilogramme of rice has gone up from 250 riel to 420, aggravating the already serious shortage. This, coupled with the big profits made by the traitors out of the large quantities of rice they have hoarded, has aroused indignation among Phnom Penh's inhabitants, including a number of puppet officers and soldiers. Seizures of rice have occurred continuously in the recent days.

Phnom Penh's inhabitants attacked a rice warehouse in Phsa Tauch on October 1 and made off with a truck-

load of rice which had just arrived. A group of puppet soldiers in the city joined inhabitants in taking away all the rice in a truck on October 11. Inhabitants of Battambang and Neak Leung and other places and puppet soldiers recently also swooped down on rice warehouses built there by the traitors. On October 22, a number of workers and inhabitants raided a rice warehouse of the puppet authorities in Phnom Penh. They smashed the door of the warehouse to pieces and divided up all the rice. On the same day some residents, pedlars and puppet soldiers attacked a rice warehouse in the western section of the "New Department Store" in Phnom Penh and shared out rice stored there by the traitors.

"NUOVA UNITA" (ITALY)

Soviet Revisionists' Plunder of East European Countries

An article in the latest issue of *Nuova Unità*, organ of the Communist Party of Italy (M-L), exposed Soviet social-imperialists' plunder of East European countries.

The article cited Hungary to show the social-imperialists' ruthless economic plunder in East European countries. It stated that Hungary had to close down many coal mines and drop a plan to find oilfield and natural gas in the 1960s so as to provide a large sum of money for construction of an oil pipeline for the Soviet Union. As a result, Hungary has to import from the Soviet Union 90 per cent of its crude oil, 98 per cent of its gasoline, 92 per cent of its machine oil, 96 per cent of its iron ore and 90 per cent of its pig iron.

"The Soviet Union sells crude oil to the countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance at prices 90-200 per cent higher than it charges capitalist countries in the West," the article stressed. "The profits social-imperialism has reaped and is reaping from its 'fraternal' countries are much higher than those of the oil companies and what

U.S. imperialism gets from its 'allies,'" the article added.

It said that the Brezhnev clique "is increasingly engaged in frenzied arms expansion and war preparation in order to continue plundering the CMEA countries and extend such plunder to more and more countries." It added: "Social-imperialism is pursuing the bourgeois policy of 'guns instead of butter.'" "But to the Soviet people this means a continuous rise in commodity prices, shortages of daily necessities and a worsening of their living conditions," the article concluded.

CAPITALIST WORLD

Many Big Banks Go Bankrupt

A number of big banks in the United States and Western Europe have gone bankrupt or suffered losses in the last few months. This is a reflection in the financial field of the capitalist world's unstable money markets and worsening economic situation.

With assets of 5,000 million dollars and the 20th biggest commercial

bank in the United States, the New York Franklin National Bank announced in May that it was not paying dividends due to losses. All through the summer the bank had to live on loans from the Federal Reserve Bank, and was finally declared insolvent on October 8. This is the biggest bank failure in U.S. history.

In the latter part of June, the Herstatt Bank of Cologne, one of the biggest private banks in the Federal Republic of Germany, was declared bankrupt. The bank, with total assets of 2,000 million marks, had incurred a loss of 1,200 million marks in foreign exchange trading. In August, three smaller banks in the country, including Bass and Herz, also went bankrupt. Some banks in Italy also have suffered the same fate.

Lloyds Bank, one of the biggest in Britain, the Bank of Brussels in Belgium and the Union Bank of Switzerland have incurred losses in foreign exchange markets.

The President of the Board of the U.S. Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation said at a press conference

on October 9 that about 180 banks in the United States were on its list of banks in varying degrees of financial trouble. Several Swiss banks are in difficulty.

Commenting on bank bankruptcies in capitalist countries, AFP said: Monetary experts generally consider that "this series of incidents is the consequence of the currency floating system."

To "check" the inflation which has worsened in the past years, the governments of many capitalist countries have artificially reduced the volume of money in circulation and tightened credit. This has brought about an unprecedented rise in interest rates and a serious shortage of funds, putting many small and medium-sized banks and even big banks in a predicament.

Many monopoly enterprises have to beg for loans from banks because of shrinking production, the worsening economic situation, slumping stock prices and sluggish stock markets in every major capitalist country this year. This increased burden has left in dire straits the banks which were already hard pressed for funds.

(Continued from p. 19.)

indeed full of vitality and played a revolutionary role at the time. That is why they became a spiritual weapon in the hands of progressive thinkers in the landlord class throughout the long years of feudal society in China. We must fully affirm this. But due to the limitations of the times and of the class he belonged to, Han Fei was not in a position to understand this truth: With the end of primitive society, the history of human society is one of class struggle and the masses of the people are the motive force propelling history forward.

Chairman Mao has said: "The people, and the people alone, are the motive force in the making of world history." (On Coalition Government.) In the prolonged and intense class struggle in ancient times, the slave uprisings shook the slave-owning society to its roots and made it possible for the feudal system to replace it. Under such circumstances, the new emerging landlord class, out of its own interests, went with the tide of historical development and played a progressive role. Han Fei, as an ideological representative of this class, advanced his theory which was progressive at the time. However, it must be noted that he after all was a thinker for the exploiting class. His ideas, on the one hand, represented the progressive force and constituted a criticism

of Confucian ideas — the ideology of the decadent slave-owning class; on the other hand, they contained the element of disdain and slandering the labouring people. His conception of history was an idealist one.

With the deepening of the struggle to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, we have come to understand that Confucius' thinking represented the traditional ideas of the reactionary dichards in China's history and that all the decadent forces in history that worked for restoration and retrogression advocated worshipping the Confucian school and opposing the Legalist school, as did the chieftains of the opportunist lines within our Party. To oppose and prevent revisionism, it is imperative to thoroughly criticize the reactionary trend of thought of worshipping the Confucian school and opposing the Legalist school. We must use the Marxist stand, viewpoint and method to study some works of the Legalist school, make a deep-going and wide-ranging criticism of the ideas of the Confucian school and gain a clear understanding of the struggle between the Confucian and Legalist schools in history. This will help us get a profound understanding of the law governing class struggle and the struggle between the two lines and clearly see the ultra-Rightist nature of Lin Piao's counter-revolutionary revisionist line.

ON THE HOME FRONT

Small Enterprises

SMALL enterprises in various parts of China are flourishing. Nearly 1,000 small nitrogenous fertilizer plants, set up by the end of 1973, produced 54 per cent of China's total output of synthetic ammonia last year. A number of new plants are scheduled to be completed at the end of this year. Small cement works have been increasing their output by an average of more than 3 million tons each year since 1970. Some 2,800 small cement works have been built in 80 per cent of China's counties, and their output accounts for more than half the country's total. The aggregate generating capacity of the 50,000 small hydroelectric power stations scattered throughout the vast countryside has surpassed the entire capacity taken over in 1949 when New China was founded. Small iron and steel works have sprung up, particularly since 1966 when the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution started. Last year, their total steel output was three times that of 1966, and their iron output increased fourfold.

These small enterprises and the big and medium-sized modern enterprises built with state investments are complementary to one another; together they constitute the firm socialist industrial base of present-day China.

Early in the spring of 1957, referring to China's economic construction, Chairman Mao pointed out: **"We must build up a number of large-scale modern enterprises step by step to form the mainstay of our industry, without which we shall not be able to turn our country into a strong modern industrial power within the coming decades. But the majority of our enterprises should not be built on such a scale; we should set up more small and medium enterprises."**

While providing investment for building a large number of big and medium-sized modern enterprises, the state mobilized the people's government at all levels and the people's communes to develop small industries by their own efforts—this is the essence of the policy of "walking on two legs" carried out by China in industrial construction. As proved by the experience of the past 25 years since the founding of New China, this policy has greatly accelerated the progress of industrialization.

Construction of big modern enterprises involves a large investment, concentrated resources, modern communication facilities, fairly complex equipment and technology and a long building period. Therefore they can be undertaken only by the state. Compared with big enterprises, small

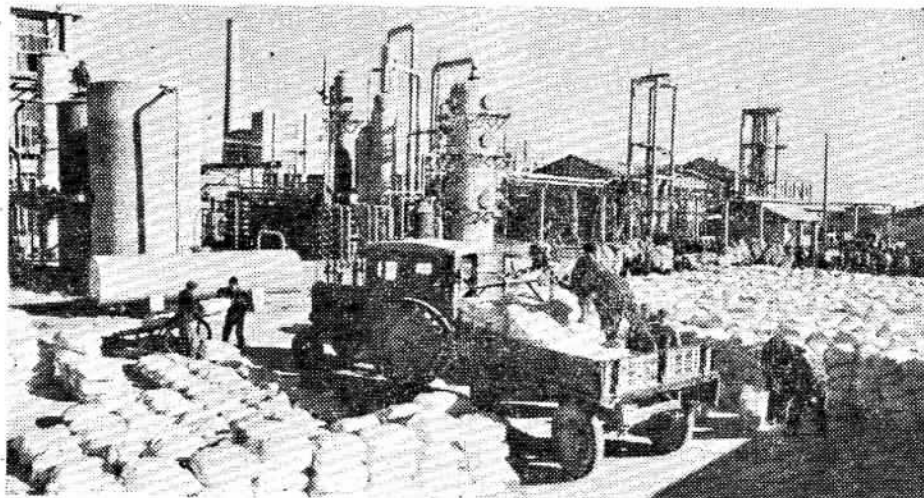
ones require a much smaller investment, simpler equipment and less time to build. They can be set up by provinces, municipalities, administrative regions and counties, or even by people's communes and neighbourhoods. In general, the numerous small enterprises completed so far started with an investment somewhere between tens of thousands of yuan and several hundred thousand yuan each, and took only a few months to a year to build.

Small plants can also turn out advanced products. In Changchow, a city near Shanghai, a small plant formerly producing copper mesh made an integrated circuit computer capable of doing 120,000 operations per second. This achievement is only one of the many examples.

Over the years, some of the small enterprises have expanded into medium-sized modern enterprises and some have become industrial centres of considerable magnitude.

The simultaneous development of large, medium-sized and small enterprises is an important guarantee for implementing the principle of **"maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands and relying on our own efforts."** Right after the founding of New China, the imperialist countries imposed an economic blockade. Later, social-imperialism made an attempt to strangle our economy. Under these circumstances, it was necessary for China to mobilize the local government at all levels and the people of the whole country to use all possible means to speed up industrial expansion. This is how the Chinese people smashed the blockade and sabotage by imperialism and social-imperialism and went on to win tremendous achievements in industrial construction.

Developing small enterprises on a wide scale has helped to rationalize the distribution of industry in China geographically. Formerly China's industry was concentrated mainly in the big coastal cities. Today all provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions have heavy and light industries, including basic and processing industries, which to a certain



A chemical fertilizer plant in Wuchung County, Ningsia Hui Autonomous Region.

extent can meet local needs for developing industry, aiding agriculture and supplying consumer goods.

Small enterprises including machinery plants, chemical fertilizer plants, cement works, iron and steel mills and coal pits have been established in more than half of China's counties, while those counties with less favourable conditions have built one to four such small enterprises. In the Tibet Autonomous Region, which was still under serfdom 15 years ago, there are now around 200 different kinds of industrial enterprises.

Medical and Health Work In a Mining Area

MEDICAL and health work has been steadily improved in the area under the Shihtsuishan No. 2 Mining Administration of the Ningsia Hui Autonomous Region in north-west China.

The mining administration now has two hospitals and the collieries under it have their own clinics, with a total of 440 beds and one medical worker for every 30 miners.

Most clinics in the mining area are equipped with X-ray machines, universal operating tables, autoclaves,

shadowless lamps, and microscopes. The hospitals use ultrasonic techniques and can perform brain, chest and abdominal surgery as well as ear, nose and throat operations.

According to state labour insurance regulations, the mining administration pays all medical expenses for its workers and staff members. There is a special department in charge of the work of looking after the workers' health. Miners and staff members get free health check-ups, treatment, medicine, operations and other hospital services. They only pay a small registration fee and inpatients pay for their meals. The administration pays 50 per cent of the medical expenses of the workers' family members.

The medical and health departments in the mining area make continuous efforts to improve working conditions and to prevent and cure occupational diseases. Co-operating with the miners, health workers have devised a method for preventing dust in the pits by injecting water into the coal seams. This method has helped to keep the density of coal dust at the work-face well below the limit prescribed by the state. Health workers regularly go down into the

pits and call at the miners' homes to check on health and sanitation conditions and to take early measures for treatment and prevention of disease.

The mining administration's Party committee pays a great deal of attention to the training of medical workers. It sponsors full-time courses and spare-time classes for doctors and nurses to study Marxism-Leninism and receive advanced medical training. Dozens of medical workers were sent for advanced studies in hospitals in Peking, Tientsin, Shanghai, Sian and other big cities. In addition, the mining administration has over the past few years trained more than 200 medical workers locally.

Improved health work and better health conditions have raised attendance and labour productivity considerably. The mining administration has overfulfilled its state output quotas for coal four years running. Its production capacity last year was 9.2 times that of 1965, the year before the Great Cultural Revolution began. The mining area, which was opened up in 1958, is now one of China's major producers of high-quality coking coal and anthracite.

(Continued from p. 4.)

(except those who are old, weak, ill or disabled) participating in collective productive labour.

Recently, leading members of many central ministries, such as the Ministry of Metallurgical Industry and the Ministry of Communications, and responsible comrades in the Party committees of more than 20 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions like Peking, Shanghai, Hopei, Liaoning, Yunnan, Sinkiang and Kwangsi, have also gone with cadres from government offices to factories, mines and transport departments to labour alongside the rank-and-filers and help improve their work. United with the masses of workers and staff members, they have given a strong impetus to the development of the excellent situation in revolution and production.

While taking part in physical labour, cadres and workers together

studied the instructions of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee and criticized Lin Piao and Confucius. During work breaks, the leading comrades chatted with the workers, held forums to solicit workers' opinions, made investigations and solved problems arising in revolution and production.

This practice on the part of the leading cadres has added to the workers and staff members' enthusiasm for socialism. Lately, many factories, mines and other enterprises in various places have set new records in production, and news of fresh victories in revolution and production continues to pour in.

News Briefs

• Tung Pi-wu, Acting Chairman of the People's Republic of China, sent a message on November 5 to Habib Bourguiba sincerely congratulating

him on his re-election as President of the Republic of Tunisia.

• A protocol on the 15th Session of the Committee for Scientific and Technical Co-operation Between the People's Republic of China and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea was signed in Peking on November 6. Hua Kuo-feng, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, attended the signing ceremony.

• Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping on November 10 met all the members of the France-China Goodwill Delegation led by Robert Galley, French Minister of Equipment, and Madame Bernadette Chirac, wife of the French Prime Minister.

• Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien met the Ugandan Friendship Trade Delegation led by Ugandan Minister of Commerce and Industry E.L. Athiyo on November 10.

Scientific Periodicals From China

Scientia Sinica (in Chinese)	bi-monthly
Scientia Sinica (foreign edition, articles mainly in English)	bi-monthly
Chinese Medical Journal (in Chinese)	monthly
Chinese Medical Journal (in English)	bi-monthly

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Periodicals in Chinese with table of contents in English

Kexue Tongbao (Scientia)	monthly
Huaxue Tongbao (Chemistry)	bi-monthly
Kaogu (Archaeology)	bi-monthly
Wen Wu (Cultural Relics)	monthly

* * *

Periodicals in Chinese

Kexue Shiyan (Scientific Experiments)	monthly
Dili Zhishi (Geographical Knowledge)	bi-monthly
Wu Li (Physics)	bi-monthly
Shuxue De Shijian Yu Renshi (Mathematical Practice and Knowledge)	quarterly

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Periodicals in Chinese (with abstracts of main articles
and table of contents in English)

Scientia Geologica Sinica	quarterly
Acta Geophysica Sinica	quarterly
Acta Zoologica Sinica	quarterly
Acta Microbiologica Sinica	quarterly
Acta Archaeologica Sinica	twice yearly
Acta Astronomica Sinica	twice yearly
Vertebrata Palasiatica	quarterly
Acta Botanica Sinica	quarterly
Acta Phytotaxonomica Sinica	quarterly
Acta Entomologica Sinica	quarterly
Acta Genetica Sinica	quarterly
Acta Mathematica Sinica	quarterly
Acta Physica Sinica	bi-monthly
Architectural Journal	quarterly

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