

PEKING REVIEW

13

March 28, 1975

北
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周
報

**Five Years of Triumphant Advance
Of the Cambodian People**

**Uphold the Theoretical Weapon
Of Proletarian Dictatorship**

Smith Regime's Racist Atrocity

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Romanian Leaders Greeted

Chairman Chu Teh and Premier Chou En-lai on March 23 sent a message to Comrades Nicolae Ceausescu, Manea Manescu and Nicolae Giosan, extending the warmest congratulations on their re-election as President of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Prime Minister of the Government and Chairman of the Grand National Assembly respectively.

The message said: "We are deeply convinced that the fraternal revolutionary friendship and militant solidarity between China and Romania in their socialist construction and in the struggle against imperialism and hegemonism will be further consolidated and developed.

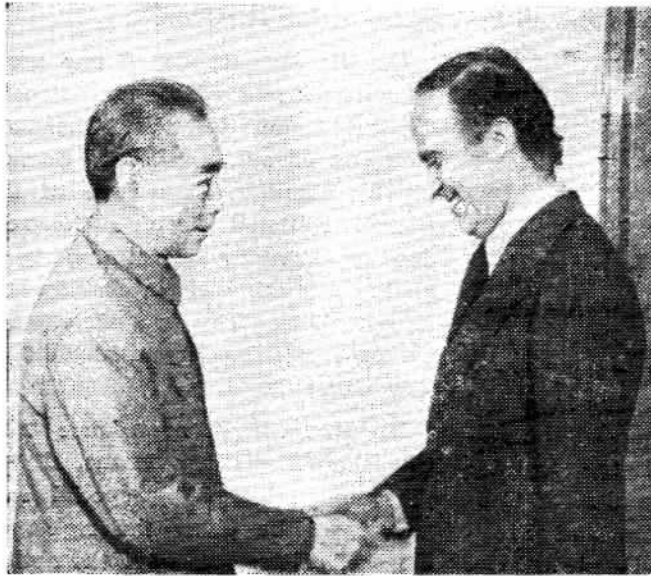
"May the Socialist Republic of Romania enjoy prosperity!

"May you achieve new success in your work!"

Moroccan Minister of State For Foreign Affairs Visits China

Dr. Ahmed Laraki, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Morocco, and Mme. Laraki and the Moroccan Delegation he led came to China on March 15 for a visit.

Premier Chou En-lai met in a hospital on March 17 with Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Laraki and Zine El Abidine Sebti, Director of Economic Affairs and Co-operation of



Premier Chou En-lai meets Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Dr. Ahmed Laraki.

the Ministry of State for Foreign Affairs, who accompanied him to China.

Chinese Foreign Minister Chiao Kuan-hua gave a banquet on the evening of March 15 to welcome the Moroccan Delegation.

Speaking at the banquet, Foreign Minister Chiao said: China and Morocco are both developing countries, belonging to the third world. We consistently hold that to further consolidate and develop the friendly relations and co-operation between China and Morocco on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence is not only in accord with the interests of the two countries but conducive to the third world's com-

mon cause of unity against imperialism.

In his speech, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Laraki said that a true sentiment of friendship exists between Morocco and China.

Speaking of the current world situation, he said: We hope that the Mediterranean — "this cradle of civilization" — will be free from conflicts and the appetites of foreign powers. He pointed out that the glorious struggle waged by the Palestinian people under the banner of their own liberation organization was and still is very courageous and merits admiration. He also denounced Israel's actions of continued aggression against the Arab countries.

Several talks took place between Chinese Foreign Minister Chiao and Moroccan Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Laraki.

Sports and trade agreements and a medical protocol were signed in Peking between the Chinese and Moroccan Governments on March 19.

Premier Chou Meets Anura Bandaranaike

Premier Chou En-lai on March 17 met in a hospital with Anura Bandaranaike, son of Prime Minister Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike of Sri Lanka and leader of the Sri Lanka Delegation.



Premier Chou En-lai meets Anura Bandaranaike.

Anura Bandaranaike presented Premier Chou with a letter from Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike.

During the delegation's stay in Peking, Foreign Minister Chiao Kuan-hua met with Anura Bandaranaike, and Vice-Foreign Minister Han Nien-lung feted the delegation.

Chinese Party and State Leaders Receive Personnel Released by Special Amnesty

Chinese Party and state leaders Yeh Chien-ying, Hua Kuo-feng and Wu Teh, Vice-Chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference Shen Yen-ping and President of the Supreme People's Court Chiang Hua on the afternoon of March 23 received all the personnel recently released by special amnesty.

The personnel recently released by special amnesty who were received included Huang Wei, Li Chiu-szu, Chuang Tsun-fu, Sung Ching-hsuan, Wang Hsien, Wang Hsu-yi, Chen Shih-chang, Wang Ping-yueh, Liu Chen-hsiang, Wen Chiang, Hu Ching-an, Wen Wen-hsiu, Shen Tse, Chou Kai-cheng, Li Chin-hsuan, Tsai Hsing-san, Chen Yuan-hsiang, Li Tzu-liang, Liu Teh-pu, Kuo Chieh-chien, Wu Chih-fen, Liu Chien-shih, Chen Yen-mao, Li Shen-yen, Yin Chung-yueh, Lo Chou-neng, Li Chieh-li, Kung Shih-ying, Wang Hsueh-chen, Chang Kuang-han, Tang Lien, Li Kuan-yi, Hu Yun-hung, Shang Chuan-tao, Hu Meng-hua, Chen Hsu-tung, Chou Yang-hao, Pao Chih-hung, Cheng Hsi-lin, Tuan Ke-wen, Yueh Chu-yuan, Ho Chung-hsiao, Hsieh Tai-sheng, Huang Kang-yung, Chang Wei-han, Shen Yun-tsun, Chiu Shen-chun, Chang Wen (Chang Kuo-tung), Wang Tsung-hsien, Liu Kuei-nan, Shao Ping, Hu Tao, Wu Ju-cheng, Hsien Ta-chi, Li Han-yuan, Kuo Jo-lin and Oyunbilig (Chao Cheng-pi). Huang Wei's wife Tsai Jo-shu and daughter Huang Min-nan, Li Chiu-szu's wife Sung Ching-lan and son Li Wen-hua,

and Liu Chen-hsiang's son Liu Pei-hsien were also received.

Vice-Chairman Yeh Chien-ying spoke at the reception.

On the instructions of our great leader Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, Vice-Chairman Yeh pointed out, the Second Session of the Standing Committee of the Fourth National People's Congress decided to grant a special amnesty to all the war criminals in custody and release them. This is a victory for Chairman Mao's policy of remoulding war criminals.

He stressed: In accordance with Chairman Mao's instructions, all the personnel released by special amnesty will be given the rights of citizens. Those who have the ability to work will be given suitable jobs; those who are ill will enjoy free medical care; those who are unable to work will be provided for by the state; those who wish to return to Taiwan will be provided with adequate fare and conveniences; and those who wish to come back after going there will be welcomed by the government all the same.

Referring to the current situation at home and abroad, Yeh Chien-ying said that the personnel released by special amnesty can visit factories, villages and schools around Peking and see for themselves the excellent situation on the industrial and agricultural fronts, the revolutionary enthusiasm and tremendous strength of the worker and peasant masses, and in particular the tremendous changes in the mental outlook of the masses of the people who have gone through the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius. He said: You well know what it was like in the old society. Recalling the past and looking at the present, you can make a comparison between the two societies and the two systems.

In a word of encouragement to the released personnel, Vice-Chairman Yeh Chien-ying said: It is fine that you have all made progress to vary-

ing extents through study and physical labour. From now on you should continue making big efforts to study and remould your world outlook, and follow Chairman Mao and the Communist Party along the socialist road and do something good for the people and the motherland.

Vice-Chairman Yeh added: Under the wise leadership of Chairman Mao, the people of our country have in a short span of 20 years and more built a poor and backward country into a socialist state with the beginnings of prosperity. In another 20 years and more, we will certainly be able to build our country into a powerful modern socialist one before the end of this century. All of you should join the people of the whole country in striving to achieve this splendid goal.

Speaking at the reception, Huang Wei, Wen Chiang and Tsai Hsing-san expressed gratitude to Chairman Mao and the Communist Party for the education and reform they had received and to the Party and state leaders for the reception. They said: In the past, we defended the heinous old system, wildly opposed the Communist Party and the people and dragged China into a hopeless position, thus committing towering crimes. Now, released by special amnesty, we have been given a new lease of life and the rights of citizens, and appropriate arrangements have been made for us. This is possible only in socialist China under the leadership of Chairman Mao and the Communist Party. It is a brilliant illustration of our great leader Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and policies. We will never forget the kindness of the Communist Party. We are determined to exert ourselves to study works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and Chairman Mao's works, conscientiously remould our world outlook and resolutely take the road of socialism, which is the only road for us to take, and contribute our efforts to the socialist construction and unification of our motherland.

Also present on the occasion were leading members of the departments concerned and personages from various circles.

The reception was followed by a banquet.

Preparatory Meetings for Trade Union, Youth League And Women's Congresses

Under the care and guidance of our great leader Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, the preparatory groups for the Ninth All-China Trade Union Congress, the Tenth Congress of the Communist Youth League of China, and the Fourth National Women's Congress held their first meetings in Peking from February 26 to March 20.

Leading comrades of the Party Central Committee received and spoke to participants.

The meetings discussed questions of drafting work reports for the trade union, Communist Youth League and women's congresses, and revising the constitutions of the three organizations. Decisions were reached on the apportioning of the delegates to the congresses and methods for their selection.

The meetings were guided by Chairman Mao's important instruction on the question of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat from beginning to end. Comrades participating in the meetings studied the instruction conscientiously and had lively discussions. They gained a deeper understanding that to be clear about the theoretical question of the proletariat exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie is of great current significance and far-reaching historical significance. It is significant to the firm implementation of the basic line of the Party for the entire historical period of socialism. It is significant to a successful struggle to combat and guard against revisionism, to the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat,

prevention of a capitalist restoration and perseverance in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is significant to strengthening the building up of the trade union, the Communist Youth League and the Women's Federation organizationally.

Comrades at the meetings discussed the excellent current situation at home and abroad and summed up the experience of the workers, youth and women's movements in China.

The meetings decided to convene the national trade union, Communist Youth League and women's congresses and set up their national leading bodies after due preparations.

The meetings called on cadres of the trade union, Communist Youth League and women's organizations at various levels to take the lead in studying well Chairman Mao's latest instruction on the question of theory, promoting stability and unity, resisting erosion by bourgeois ideology, giving positive support to those outstanding people who do well in theoretical study and summing up their good experience. The meetings also called on workers, Communist Youth League members, Red Guards, young people and women to study thoroughly the theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat, criticize capitalism and revisionism, broaden, deepen and persevere in the movement to criticize Lin Biao and Confucius, go all out for socialism, promote revolutionary unity, **grasp revolution, promote production and other work and preparedness against war**, bring about a new upsurge of the national economy, and greet the convocation of the national trade union, Communist Youth League and women's congresses by achieving good results.

Korean Rodong Sinmun Delegation in Peking

A delegation of the Korean newspaper *Rodong Sinmun* led by Li Yong Ik, Member of the Central

Committee of the Korean Workers' Party and Editor-in-Chief of the paper, arrived in Peking on March 14 for a friendly visit to China.

On March 19, Comrade Yao Wen-yuan, Member of the Political Bureau of the C.P.C. Central Committee, met all the comrades in the delegation.

On the evening of March 14, *Renmin Ribao* gave a banquet to welcome the Korean comrades-in-arms, which was attended by Keng Piao, Member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Head of the C.P.C. International Liaison Department, leading members of Peking press circles and the departments concerned of the Foreign Ministry.

Speaking at the function, Comrade Lu Ying, a leading member of *Renmin Ribao*, warmly praised the Korean people for their tremendous successes under the wise leadership of the Korean Workers' Party headed by their great leader President Kim Il Sung in their struggle against foreign aggressors and in their socialist revolution and construction.

Comrade Lu Ying pointed out that the people of China and Korea are close comrades-in-arms and brothers who share weal and woe and fight shoulder to shoulder, and that the Chinese people and journalists set great store by the friendship and unity sealed in blood between the people of the two countries.

In his speech, Comrade Li Yong Ik said that the Korean people are now striving to scale ahead of time all the heights set in the Six-Year Plan so as to greet the 30th anniversary of the founding of the Korean Workers' Party with grand celebrations befitting the victor. He said: Realizing the independent and peaceful reunification of the fatherland is still the greatest national task facing the Korean people. The entire Korean people, in both the south and the north, are carrying on their determined struggle to accomplish this task.

Fifth Anniversary of the Founding of N.U.F.C. and P.A.F.N.L.C. Celebrated

MARCH 23 was the glorious day of the fifth anniversary of the founding of the National United Front of Cambodia and the People's Armed Forces of National Liberation of Cambodia. Filled with revolutionary sentiments, the Chinese people extended the warmest congratulations and highest respects to the N.U.F.C., the Cambodian armed forces and the Cambodian people.

Chu Teh, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, and Premier Chou En-lai, sent a message on the eve of the anniversary to Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State and N.U.F.C. Chairman, and Samdech Penn Nouth, Chairman of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the N.U.F.C. and Prime Minister of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia, extending the warmest congratulations.

The message said:

"N.U.F.C. has covered a glorious course of five years since its birth amidst the flames of the anti-imperialist struggle. In this period, the heroic Cambodian people and P.A.F.N.L.C., rallying around N.U.F.C. with Head of State Samdech Norodom Sihanouk as its chairman, have adhered to a correct revolutionary line and brought about an excellent situation by fighting with dauntless militancy. Thus they have added an epic chapter to the annals of Cambodia's struggle for independence and national liberation and made a valuable contribution to the struggle of all oppressed nations and people for emancipation.

"At present, the situation in Cambodia is most heartening. The mighty offensive of the P.A.F.N.L.C. in this dry season has severely battered the traitorous clique in Phnom Penh, and reduced it to utter despair. No U.S. imperialist panacea can save the traitorous Lon Nol clique from its doom. The valiant Cambodian people, united as one and persisting in a sustained fight, will thoroughly crush the traitorous Lon Nol clique and win complete victory in their just struggle for national salvation.

"The Chinese and Cambodian peoples are close comrades-in-arms and brothers. We have always regarded it as our bounden internationalist duty to support the just struggle of the Cambodian people. The Chinese Government and people will, as always, firmly support the Cambodian people in carrying their just struggle for national salvation through to the end.

"Final victory surely belongs to the heroic people of Cambodia!"

On the evening of March 22, Toch Kham Docun, Ambassador of the Kingdom of Cambodia to China, and his wife held a grand reception attended by Samdech Sihanouk and Madame Sihanouk, Samdech Penn Nouth and Madame Penn Nouth. Vice-Premiers Teng Hsiao-ping and Chi Teng-kuei, Vice-Chairman of the N.P.C. Standing Committee Li Ching-chuan and Foreign Minister Chiao Kuan-hua were among the guests invited.

Ambassador Toch Kham Docun, Foreign Minister Chiao Kuan-hua and Samdech Sihanouk made speeches at the reception, which was permeated with an atmosphere of friendship between the Chinese and Cambodian people. (For excerpts of the speech by Samdech Sihanouk see p. 7.)

In his speech, Foreign Minister Chiao Kuan-hua, on behalf of the Chinese Government and people, extended the warmest festive congratulations to N.U.F.C., R.G.N.U.C. and P.A.F.N.L.C. and the heroic Cambodian people.

He said: Five years ago the Cambodian people were roused to a high tide of struggle against imperialism and for national salvation by the subversion and aggression of U.S. imperialism and its running dogs, and N.U.F.C. and P.A.F.N.L.C. were born in glory amidst the flames of this struggle. Over the past five years, the heroic Cambodian people and P.A.F.N.L.C. have adhered to a correct line, given full play to the unparalleled might of people's war and brought about an excellent situation by fighting with dauntless militancy. Forging a unity extensively embracing people of all strata in Cambodia, N.U.F.C. with Head of State Samdech Norodom Sihanouk as its chairman has advanced triumphantly on all fronts of the just struggle for national salvation. For the liberation of the Cambodian nation, the P.A.F.N.L.C. has fought bravely and grown in strength in fighting. The Liberated Zone has been consolidated and expanded daily. The R.G.N.U.C. enjoys growing international prestige and has friends all over the world. By their valiant struggle, the Cambodian people have made a valuable contribution to, and set a brilliant example for, the anti-imperialist struggle of the oppressed nations and people of the whole world.

The Chinese Foreign Minister continued: "The situation in Cambodia is undergoing a most inspiring change. We warmly hail the Cambodian people's brilliant victories and wish you new and greater victories!"

He said: "Now, it is clear to the people of the whole world that the total collapse of the traitorous Lon Nol clique is not far off. Although the U.S. Government is still seeking ways to brace and bolster that clique, the most it can do is play for a time the role of 'chief of transportation corps.' Countries want independence, nations want liberation, and the people want revolution — this is the irresistible historical trend of today. We are firmly convinced that the heroic Cambodian people will win, and the traitorous Lon Nol clique will be defeated!"

Foreign Minister Chiao Kuan-hua said in conclusion: "The Chinese and Cambodian peoples are close comrades-in-arms and brothers. It is our bounden internationalist duty resolutely to support the Cambodian people in their just struggle. Following Chairman Mao's teachings, the Chinese people pledge to give you strong backing and always unite together, fight together and win victory together with you."

In his speech, Ambassador Toch Kham Doeun recalled the fighting course traversed by the Cambodian armymen and people over the past five years. He said: These five years have been those of the most sparkling victories of the Cambodian people. Since the beginning of this year, the P.A.F.N.L.C. have launched powerful dry season's offensives which won decisive victories. Everybody agrees that the end of the Phnom Penh traitors is ineluctable and near.

The Ambassador said: "The war in Cambodia will end and genuine peace will be restored after the cessation of all intervention by the U.S. Government. Cambodian affairs will be settled by the R.G.N.U.C. in conformity with the decisions of the Second National Congress."

On March 23, *Renmin Ribao* published an editorial to greet the occasion.

The editorial said: "Five years ago, the U.S. aggressors instigated the traitorous Lon Nol clique to launch a reactionary coup d'état and flagrantly invaded Cambodia. At the critical juncture when the fate of

their country was at stake, the Cambodian people rallied round the N.U.F.C. with Samdech Norodom Sihanouk as chairman and, with dauntless revolutionary spirit, began a sublime and heroic just war for national salvation, thus adding a new chapter to the annals of their revolution.

"The past five years have seen the Cambodian people united as one and advancing triumphantly. They were years of heroic fighting and resounding victories for the Cambodian patriotic armed forces. In this period, the brave Cambodian people adhered to the correct line of independence, self-reliance and people's war, and have brought about today's excellent situation by fighting."

"In his statement of May 20, 1970, Chairman Mao pointed out, 'A weak nation can defeat a strong, a small nation can defeat a big. The people of a small country can certainly defeat aggression by a big country, if only they dare to rise in struggle, dare to take up arms and grasp in their own hands the destiny of their country.' The Cambodian people's struggle has given full proof of this law of history. It is a spectacular event for Cambodia, a country with a population of only several millions, to dare to look down upon this colossus which is U.S. imperialism, rise in resistance, persist in its fight and grow from weak to strong, and advance from victory to victory. Uniting closely and fighting side by side with the people of other Indochinese countries, the Cambodian people have in the past five years dealt telling blows to the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys. By their great struggle the Cambodian people have given enormous encouragement and powerful support to the world's people in their just struggle against imperialism and hegemonism and set a splendid example for all oppressed people and oppressed nations in their struggle against outside aggression and for independence and liberation."

In conclusion, the editorial pledged: "The Chinese people will, as in the past, resolutely support the Cambodian people's just struggle till complete victory."

Samdech Sihanouk's Speech

(Excerpts)

SAMDECH Sihanouk reaffirmed that the National United Front and the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia were opposed to negotiations, compromises or forming a coalition government with the traitorous Phom Penh regime.

Speaking at a reception given by Cambodian Ambassador to China Toch Kham Doeun in celebration of the fifth anniversary of the founding of the N.U.F.C. and the P.A.F.N.L.C., he said:

"We are and will always be firmly, totally and irrevocably opposed to these, because:

"First, the national independence which we defend in the name of the Cambodian people is not negotiable with any person.

"Second, the patriots shall never negotiate or associate with the traitors, especially not on a governmental level.

"The patriots shall never accept a compromise with imperialism and neo-colonialism, who are patrons of these traitors.

"Third, R.G.N.U.C. is and remains the sole legal government of Cambodia as a whole. There is not, nor

will there ever be, a question of R.G.N.U.C. divesting itself of its legitimacy so as to dissolve itself in a 'coalition government,' a poisoned dish cooked up by imperialist-neo-colonialist devils to serve the needs of their ignoble cause."

Samdech Sihanouk said: "According to latest news received from Phnom Penh, the U.S. imperialists had possibly succeeded in persuading Lon Nol to leave Phnom Penh shortly to permit the new cabinet of traitor Long Boret, the titled lackey of John Gunther Dean, to enter into talks with the Red Khmers and invite the Red Khmers to hold power in Phnom Penh within the framework of the charlatan 'constitution' of the so-called 'republic of Khmer.'"

"The new cabinet of Long Boret comprises mainly the fascist traitors Hang Thun Hak, Pan Sothi and Sak Sutsakhan. In the name of the National United Front, the Royal Government of National Union and the People's Armed Forces of National Liberation of Cambodia, I reject resolutely, totally and definitely this new, despicable manoeuvre of U.S. imperialism, and I solemnly declare that the ultra-reactionary traitors and arch corrupt men Long Boret, Hang Thun Hak, Pan Sothi and Sak Sutsakhan and their contemptible and false 'republic' are being condemned by the people of Cambodia.

"The day will come when the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia with Samdech Penn Nouth as Prime Minister and Mr. Khieu Samphan as Deputy Prime Minister will be installed in Phnom Penh, but not at the invitation of these traitors and this anti-national and anti-popular 'republic.'"

"From January 1, 1975 until today," Samdech Sihanouk said, "our young but very heroic and glorious P.A.F.N.L.C. won on the terrific battlefield of Cambodia a series of strategic victories, both grand and decisive, that have thrown U.S. imperialism into utter confusion and unprecedented despair and that will in the coming weeks precipitate the final and irreversible collapse of the traitorous regime in Phnom Penh and the U.S. neo-colonialist system established on three per cent of our national territory."

"After five years of the sublime exploits of our people, but also of indescribable suffering, unheard-of difficulties and apocalyptic destruction, all due to U.S. imperialism and its valets in the Lon Nol-Lon Non bandit gang, we are at last near the end of the long and dark tunnel from which we can already see before us the sunshine of victory, and consequently of freedom and peace," he said.

Samdech Sihanouk said: "I ask your permission to present to you certain aspects of what the Americans call the 'Cambodian problem.' To speak the truth, there is no Cambodian problem. There is in Cambodia only a problem created, with an intolerable injustice, by the U.S.A. without whose incessant intervention and interference the so-called 'Khmer republic' would never have seen day-light and, still less, caused so much

misery and catastrophe to our nation, our people and our country."

"The American President Gerald Ford asserts that without all-out support of the U.S.A., the 'Khmer republic' will immediately die. And this President begs the U.S. Congress not to 'abandon Cambodia' — sic! The use, in the mouth of the chief of 'the most powerful state in the world and of all times,' of the word 'abandon,' and also the verb 'lose' — 'abandon Cambodia' and 'lose Cambodia' — implies that the 'Khmer republic' is a possession of the U.S.A., a colony of the U.S.A. and not at all an independent and non-aligned state. For, if it were otherwise, the U.S.A. would have neither posed to itself the question of its 'abandonment' nor spoken of 'the loss of Cambodia!'"

"The war in Cambodia is not a civil war. It is a war between the U.S. imperialist aggressor and the Cambodian people subjected to aggression.

"Today, there is something much more serious, for what U.S. President Gerald Ford said on March 17, 1975 at a press conference at South Bend, Indiana, constitutes, willy-nilly, the enunciation of a 'doctrine' that is extremely dangerous, even for other countries that are far away or on the opposite side of the globe to America, under which in the name of the so-called 'security' the U.S. can henceforth enjoy the right of invading, militarily occupying, politically and economically colonizing any country no matter where it is situated."

He pointed out: "Since March 18, 1970, the United States of America has denied and still denies the Cambodian people the right to choose freely a regime in conformity with their aspirations.

"That government never ceases telling the whole world that it has the duty to oppose seizure of power in Cambodia by force and by rebellion."

"Now, in our country, 'who' seized power in Phnom Penh by force and rebellion? That could not be Norodom Sihanouk or the Cambodian people, who continue up to the present to consider Sihanouk as the sole legal Head of State of Cambodia. That could only be the Lon Nol clique," he said.

"In more than 90 per cent of our country," Samdech Sihanouk said, "there is an authentically national and people's government. There is above all political as well as economic national independence. By contrast, there is in Phnom Penh only a gang of bandits who are servile mercenaries of U.S. imperialism. This gang lives on American rice."

He concluded: "All the countries and people in the world, who have always supported us, can have confidence in us. Our people are fully conscious of the formidable stake of their struggle which must not only secure the salvation of their motherland but also contribute, perhaps in a decisive way, to the triumph of the heroic and tenacious struggle of other fraternal peoples and countries who are still victims of imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, Zionism and racism."

Leading Cadres Must Take The Lead and Study Well

OUR great leader Chairman Mao's important instruction on the question of theory has aroused the keen attention of the whole Party, the whole army and the people of the whole country. A vigorous movement to study the Marxist theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat is surging up throughout the country.

In his instruction on the question of theory, Chairman Mao deals with both the economic base and the superstructure, points out that the soil engendering new bourgeois elements still exists in China, and once again admonishes the entire Party against the rise of revisionism. This is a major question of theory as well as one of practice. Chairman Mao's instruction, which further advances the fundamental question of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, is of momentous current significance and far-reaching historical significance. Party committees at all levels should take the study of Chairman Mao's important instruction as their foremost task. Leading cadres, particularly the Party's senior cadres, must take the lead and study well.

For more than the past two decades, while leading us in the struggle to combat revisionism, prevent a capitalist restoration and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, Chairman Mao has repeatedly emphasized that the Party's senior cadres should conscientiously study Marxism. Particularly during the tenth struggle between the two lines in the Party, Chairman Mao gave instructions on reading and study on many occasions. Chairman Mao demanded of all Members of the Party Central Committee and senior and middle ranking Party cadres that they **"should all conscientiously read and study according to their different levels and have a good grasp of Marxism."** During an inspection tour, Chairman Mao pointed out in his talks to responsible comrades along the route: **"The Lushan meeting drew attention to the need to read Marxist-Leninist classics. I hope you will do more reading henceforward."** In a more recent instruction, Chairman Mao again pointed out: **"If people like Lin Piao come to power, it will be quite easy for them to rig up the capitalist system. That is why we should do more reading of Marxist-Leninist works."** Our leading comrades at all levels must bear Chairman Mao's teachings in mind, get a clear idea of the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat, firmly implement the Party's basic line and give still better leadership to the masses in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Marxist theory and the practice of the dictatorship of the proletariat tell us that socialist society is one that emerges from the womb of capitalist society. In this considerably long historical period, moribund capitalism and nascent communism are locked in struggle. Failure to get this question clear on the theoretical plane leads to blindness to the protracted and complex nature of class struggle and the struggle between the two lines in the Party, to the fact that capitalist factors in town and country will still grow under the conditions of socialism, and to the fact that the portion of bourgeois right that still exists in socialist society will yet engender new bourgeois elements. And this makes it impossible to persevere in continuing revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat in either the economic base or the superstructure.

All revisionists invariably sow confusion on the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat to deceive those who do no reading or theoretical study. Because of their inability to distinguish clearly on a theoretical level, some of our comrades in leading positions even regard capitalist things as socialist and revisionist slogans as Marxist. There were lessons like this in both the ninth and tenth two-line struggles in the Party. We must read and study conscientiously and try our best to get a clear and thorough grasp of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat so as not to be duped and misled in the class struggle and two-line struggle to come.

To get a clear idea of the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat requires real effort. We should study Chairman Mao's important instruction on the question of theory over and over again and do conscientious reading in the light of this instruction. We should study well the selected expositions from Marx, Engels and Lenin on the dictatorship of the proletariat and read as much as possible the principal works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and by Chairman Mao on the subject. And it is necessary to do some reading on political economy and acquire some knowledge of the history of social development to be clear about such questions as commodities, money and distribution according to work in a socialist society. Many instances show that it is essential to have a deep understanding of Chairman Mao's instructions and know exactly what he means. We should not think we have grasped the point after studying them once or twice, nor should we study by fits and starts, but should keep up a persistent effort

from year to year. Those who "admit study as something important in words, treat it as secondary in deeds and brush it aside at busy times" must resolutely change their attitude. During the 1959 struggle against the Peng Teh-huai anti-Party clique, Chairman Mao pointed out: "At present, the main danger lies in empiricism." Facts for more than the past decade show that empiricism is the handmaiden of revisionism. People who err in empiricism take theory lightly, belittle the importance of adhering to Chairman Mao's correct line and mistake their partial experience for universal truth. As their practice is affected by much blindness, they are very apt to follow the revisionist line. We must follow Chairman Mao's teachings and exert ourselves to study Marxist theory in order to raise the level of our political awareness and lessen our blindness.

We should develop the revolutionary style of study that integrates theory with practice. In our study, we should pay attention to linking it with the actual conditions in the Chinese revolution and the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat and not get entangled in trivialities. We should research the social basis that engenders anti-Party cliques like Lin Piao's in the light of the history of the two-line struggles in the Party, especially the history of the tenth two-line struggle. We should study the current conditions in the struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines, criticize the revisionist line, criticize capitalist tendencies and criticize the idea of

bourgeois right. We should make a systematic and thorough investigation and study of the changes in the political, ideological and economic fields of the past two decades and more. We should study questions of policy, including economic policies. We should link the study with our own thinking and consciously remould our world outlook, get rid of the bourgeois style, combat capitalist corrosion, forge close links with the masses, become one with them and carry forward the Party's glorious tradition of hard struggle.

The masses are showing high enthusiasm for the study and great determination to persevere in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Leading cadres must march in the van and provide effective leadership for Party members and the masses in the study and make a point of summing up the advanced experience in this respect. Through the study, we should further deepen the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, enhance stability and unity throughout the country and win fresh victories in grasping revolution, promoting production and other work and preparedness against war.

Leading comrades at all levels! Let us take the lead and study well the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, be models in restricting bourgeois right and be vanguard fighters in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat!

("Renmin Ribao" editorial, March 21)

Uphold the Theoretical Weapon of Proletarian Dictatorship

— Commemorating the centenary of the writing of "Critique of the Gotha Programme"

by Lu Ming

IT is exactly a century this year since the great teacher Marx wrote in 1875 his brilliant work *Critique of the Gotha Programme* in his tit-for-tat struggle against Lassalle's opportunism. In the period of some 15 years between completion of this work in 1875 and its first publication in 1891, there were serious struggles against opportunists. Applying in this work the most thorough, complete and comprehensive theory of development which is richest in content, that is, materialist dialectics, Marx examined the question of the imminent collapse of capitalism and the question of the future development of communism, expounded the differences between the lower and higher stages of communist society and unfolded the splendid prospects of the higher stage of

communist society. Marx emphatically pointed out that in the transformation from capitalist society to communist society there must be a political transition period in which the state can be nothing but the dictatorship of the proletariat. For a century this programmatic work of scientific communism has always led and inspired the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat and hundreds of millions of people all over the world.

Earth-shaking changes have taken place throughout the world in the last 100 years. Forty-two years after the *Critique of the Gotha Programme* was written, the Russian proletariat, under the leadership of the great

Lenin, won victory in the October Socialist Revolution through armed uprising and ushered in the new era of proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat in the world. Thirty-two years after the October Revolution, the Chinese people, under the leadership of our great leader Chairman Mao and after protracted revolutionary war, overthrew the reactionary rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, founded the People's Republic of China and established the dictatorship of the proletariat in China. Today the revolutionary struggles of the proletariat and the oppressed nations and people throughout the world are surging forward, shaking the entire moribund capitalist world and continuously winning new victories. Although the revolutionary road is tortuous and capitalism has been restored in the Soviet Union, the homeland of the October Revolution, because the Khrushchov and Brezhnev renegade clique has usurped supreme power in the Party and state, this is but a brief interlude in the whole course of historical development. **The world is progressing, the future is bright and no one can change this general trend of history.** (Mao Tsetung: *On the Chungking Negotiations*.) More than once the practice of the international communist movement in the last 100 years has proved that the theories of proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat expounded in the *Critique of the Gotha Programme* are irrefutable truths. Having gone through the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, we have gained a deeper understanding of this point after restudying this work in the light of reality.

Brilliant Record of Struggle Against Opportunism

In the history of the international communist movement, the *Critique of the Gotha Programme* is a brilliant record of the struggle waged by Marxism against revisionism. In the 1870s the centre of the international workers' movement moved from France to Germany and the German workers' movement was developing vigorously. After the struggle against Lassalleism and directly educated and helped by Marx and Engels, the German proletariat at that time founded its independent political party — the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party or the Eisenachers. Although the programme of this party did not completely discard the influence of Lassalle's opportunism, it kept, generally speaking, the spirit required in the general rules of the First International and basically followed Marx's revolutionary line. It was therefore supported by a growing number of workers. The Lassalleans, who were opposed to the Eisenachers and had once been very powerful, carried out an opportunist line and went all the way to meet the needs of the landlord and capitalist classes; they therefore steadily lost the support of the masses and ended up in extreme isolation. Under these circumstances the Lassalleans in 1874 reversed their previous stand of refusing to become allied with the

Eisenachers and eagerly sought a merger with them in a vain attempt to save their own tottering status.

Faced with this situation, Marx and Engels who always set great store by the solidarity and unity in the German workers' movement considered that there could be an alliance, but they repeatedly warned the leaders of the Eisenachers that there should be no bargaining about principles on the question of organizational unity. In a letter in March 1875 to August Bebel, Engels specially emphasized that there should be absolutely no concession to the Lassalleans in the theoretical sphere, which is of decisive importance for the programme, and that **"the first condition of union was that they should cease to be sectarians, Lassalleans."** But Liebknecht and others who were passionately seeking the merger ignored the advice of Marx and Engels and went their own way. They sacrificed principles and joined the Lassalleans in concocting a draft programme which deviated from the theories of the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat and was permeated with Lassalle's opportunist viewpoints. This draft was known as the Gotha Programme when it was later adopted at the congress that united the two groups. To express his attitude in principle towards this programme and prevent it from exerting a bad influence on the international workers' movement, Marx severely criticized the draft programme, article by article and sentence by sentence, before the unity congress and wrote *Marginal Notes to the Programme of the German Workers' Party*, that is, the *Critique of the Gotha Programme*.

Gotha Programme's Essential Parts — Liquidating Proletarian Revolution and Proletarian Dictatorship

Marx pointed out that the Gotha Programme was a **"thoroughly objectionable programme that demoralizes the Party."** Its essential parts were the acceptance of the Lassalleans' view of realizing socialism by relying on "state aid" and liquidation of proletarian revolution, as well as the acceptance of the Lassalleans' stand of founding a "free state" through efforts to win universal suffrage and liquidation of the proletarian dictatorship.

The Gotha Programme came out soon after the Paris Commune revolution in 1871. At that time Marx and Engels already had summed up the experience of the Paris Commune and put forward to the proletariat the world over the task of smashing and breaking the existing state machinery of the bourgeoisie and establishing proletarian state power after the Paris Commune. However, ignoring this important experience, Liebknecht and others even retreated to Lassalleism by **"accepting all the essential Lassallean economic phrases and demands"** and Lassalle's nonsensical opinions. **"The Eisenachers actually became Lassalleans,"** at least according to the programme.

The Lassalleans were pseudo-socialists and essentially bourgeois socialists. They intended, under the pre-

text of reorganizing society, to preserve the foundations of existing society and hence the society. (Engels: *Principles of Communism*.) This is clearly revealed by Lassalle's dogmas stuffed into the Gotha Programme.

From the very beginning the programme avoided mentioning ownership of the means of production and babbled about labour being the source of all wealth. This was one of Lassalle's dogmas. Marx pointed out: Labour is not the source of all wealth and nature is just as much the source of wealth as labour. This is because the production of material wealth not only needs human labour but also subjects and instruments of labour. The popular saying that "labour creates the world" precisely takes these conditions as its prerequisite. Labour does not have supernatural creative power. Only in so far as a worker "from the beginning behaves towards nature, the primary source of all instruments and subjects of labour, as an owner" can he create wealth. In capitalist society, why must the workers sell their labour power to the capitalists and become the latter's wage-slaves? This is precisely because the means of production are in the hands of the capitalists and the working class has nothing but its own labour power. The programme engaged in empty talk about "labour," but avoided mentioning a point of basic importance — to whom did the means of production belong — and thereby covered up the relations of exploitation under capitalism and the root cause of exploitation and oppression suffered by the proletariat. Such a fallacy is out-and-out bourgeois stuff. After Khrushchov and Brezhnev came to power, socialist ownership by the whole people in the Soviet Union has degenerated into ownership by the bureaucrat-monopoly capitalist class. Picking up Lassalle's long bankrupt fallacy, Brezhnev and his like also shout that "labour is the source of wealth" and demand that the Soviet people "work, work and work again." Their aim is nothing but to cover up the fact of capitalist restoration and the relations of capitalist exploitation, so as to squeeze more profits from the workers. This straw, however, cannot save the capitalist system and the Soviet revisionist renegade clique from their fate of destruction.

One "outrageous step backwards" in the Gotha Programme was to impose Lassalle's "iron law of wages" on the German party and attribute the fight against capitalism to the "abolition of the wage system together with the iron law of wages." The so-called "iron law of wages" is garbage Lassalle picked up from the bourgeois economists and all it says is that wages can only remain at the lowest level of living needed by the workers to maintain their existence and propagate offspring. If wages remain higher than this level for a long time and the workers' living is improved, this will stimulate population growth and supply will exceed demand in the labour market. Consequently, wages will be forced to fall to the original level. That is to say, the poverty of the working class is determined by the natural law of population growth and any revolution waged by the working class cannot help improve this state of affairs.

This kind of bourgeois theory has been thoroughly refuted in Marx's *Capital*. The root cause of the exploitation and enslavement of the working class, Marx pointed out, is the wage-labour system based on capitalist private ownership. The working class can extricate itself from poverty and enslavement only through violent revolution and thorough abolition of the wage-labour system. Once the wage-labour system is abolished, its law will naturally cease to exist. Precisely as Marx pointed out: "If I abolish wage labour, then naturally I abolish its laws also, whether they are of 'iron or sponge.'" However, the draft programme evaded mention of the abolition of the wage-labour system but went round and round this so-called "iron law." This is tantamount to asking the working class to give up revolution and wait for "state aid" to realize the Lassalle-type of socialism. The "iron law of wages" is based on the notorious Malthusian theory of population. With this reactionary viewpoint as the basis, one can only reach the conclusion of abolishing all revolutions. The reason is that "if this theory is correct, then again I cannot abolish the law even if I abolish wage labour a hundred times over, because the law then governs not only the system of wage labour but every social system."

The Gotha Programme also trumpeted so-called "fair distribution," "equal right," "undiminished proceeds of labour" and other Lassalle's dogmas, and repeated the theory that "distribution decides production" in bourgeois economics. Marxism holds that the mode of distribution is decided by the mode of production. Only by abolishing capitalist private ownership can the capitalist relations of distribution be changed. The elimination of the private ownership of the means of production "can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions." (*Manifesto of the Communist Party*.) Lenin stressed that the bourgeois state "cannot be superseded by the proletarian state (the dictatorship of the proletariat) through the process of 'withering away,' but, as a general rule, only through a violent revolution." (*The State and Revolution*.) Chairman Mao has summed up this basic principle in a simple formula, "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun." (*Problems of War and Strategy*.) Historical experience has proved that this is a truth and the only road for the proletariat to gain liberation. From Lassalle's "state aid" to "peaceful transition" advocated by old and new revisionists, they all betray this principle. Their fallacies are nothing but spiritual weapons for upholding the capitalist system and opposing proletarian revolution.

Striving for a "free state," as the Gotha Programme called for, is the political programme of Lassalle's opportunism. Marxism considers that the state is the product of the irreconcilability of class antagonisms and the instrument by which one class oppresses another. After seizing political power, the proletariat will establish a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which aims not at bringing about "freedom" above classes but

suppressing the resistance of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes. Flaunting the banner of "free state," Lassalle and his followers put forward a series of such bourgeois democratic demands as striving for universal suffrage. Their aim was to uphold the combined dictatorship of the big landlord and big capitalist classes.

Socialism Can Be Nothing but the Revolutionary Dictatorship of the Proletariat

In criticizing the reactionary essence of Lassalle's "free state," Marx also pointed out: **"Between capitalist and communist society lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into the other. There corresponds to this also a political transition period in which the state can be nothing but the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat."** This scientific conclusion by Marx was an important development of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat after the publication of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*.

From capitalist to communist society there must be a period of revolutionary transformation, and this is decided by the special features and historical tasks of the proletarian revolution. This revolution is the most deep-going and thorough revolution in human history and is fundamentally different from previous revolutions. For instance, the bourgeois revolution involves the replacement of one private ownership by another and of one kind of relations of exploitation by another, and capitalist relations of production may emerge within feudal society and develop over a long period of time. But this is not the case with the proletarian revolution, for socialist relations of production cannot possibly emerge within capitalist society. Only after the proletariat has seized political power through violent revolution can it establish socialist ownership of the means of production. Moreover, after the basic completion of the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production, it is still necessary to carry out continuously a thorough socialist revolution on the economic front and particularly on the political and ideological fronts. Therefore, the seizure of political power by the proletariat is only the beginning of the socialist revolution.

Socialist society is the elementary stage of communist society and it just **"emerges from capitalist society; which is thus in every respect, economically, morally and intellectually, still stamped with the birth marks of the old society from whose womb it emerges."** To eliminate these birth marks of the old society and move to the higher stage of communism needs a considerably long historical period. In socialist society the means of production have been transformed from the private property of individuals into common property. To this extent bourgeois right has disappeared. But it still exists in other aspects. For example, the principle of to each according to his work **"is still — in principle — bourgeois right."** Here, everyone who contributes the

same amount of social labour may get back the same amount of social products. But because individual labour power may be strong or weak and the number of children one has varies, therefore the degree of well-being differs from person to person. This difference constitutes an inequality. At the same time, the differences left behind from the old society between workers and peasants, between town and country and between mental and manual labour still exist. The exploiting-class ideology and the old force of habit still cannot be eliminated at one swoop. During this period of revolutionary transformation, not only do the overthrown exploiting classes attempt a restoration and the spontaneous forces of the petty bourgeoisie may engender new bourgeois elements, but as a result of the influence and corruption by the bourgeoisie and the petty-bourgeois spontaneous forces, degenerates and new bourgeois elements — agents of the bourgeoisie — may also emerge from within the ranks of the working class and among personnel of Party and state organs. Chairman Mao recently pointed out: **"Lenin said that 'small production engenders capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously, and on a mass scale.' They are also engendered among a part of the working class and of the Party membership. Both within the ranks of the proletariat and among the personnel of state and other organs there are people who take to the bourgeois style of life."** As long as imperialism and social-imperialism exist in the world, the activities of domestic reactionaries always echo the activities of the international reactionaries to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat. All this shows that in the whole period of socialism, the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is protracted, tortuous and at times very sharp. In order to smash the resistance of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, prevent capitalist restoration, eliminate classes, restrict bourgeois right and finally eliminate it after a considerably long period of time and realize communism, there must be a transition period politically in which the dictatorship of the proletariat has to be consistently upheld. Marx pointed out: **"This Socialism is the declaration of the permanence of the revolution, the class dictatorship of the proletariat as the necessary transit point to the abolition of class distinctions generally, to the abolition of all the relations of production on which they rest, to the abolition of all the social relations that correspond to these relations of production, to the revolutionizing of all the ideas that result from these social relations."** (*The Class Struggles in France, 1848-1850*)

The theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat is the quintessence of Marxism. Throughout the historical period of socialism, upholding or opposing the proletarian dictatorship is the touchstone for testing genuine or false Marxism. Lenin pointed out that the recognition of class struggle alone is insufficient and only he is a Marxist who extends the recognition of the class struggle to the recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is also insufficient to recognize alone the **overthrow of bourgeois rule, the expropriation of the**

expropriators and the necessity of the dictatorship of the proletariat. **"The essence of Marx's teaching on the state has been mastered only by those who understand that the dictatorship of a single class is necessary not only for every class society in general, not only for the proletariat which has overthrown the bourgeoisie, but also for the entire historical period which separates capitalism from 'classless society,' from Communism."** (Lenin: *The State and Revolution*.) The Gotha Programme said nothing about the dictatorship of the proletariat, but called for striving to build a "free state" by legal means. This fully reveals its essence of opportunism. Inheriting Lassalle's mantle, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique concocted the fallacy of the "state of the whole people," shouting that "the dictatorship of the proletariat is no longer necessary before the withering away of the state." This precisely proves that they are the sworn enemies of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In the struggle against modern revisionism and against opportunism in the Party, our great leader Chairman Mao has comprehensively summed up both the positive and negative historical experience in the international communist movement and developed the Marxist theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Chairman Mao has profoundly analysed the law of struggle between the two classes and between the two roads after the basic completion of the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production, put forward the great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and formulated the Party's basic line in the whole historical period of socialism. Chairman Mao clearly pointed out: **"Socialist society covers a considerably long historical period. In the historical period of socialism, there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, and there is the danger of capitalist restoration. We must recognize the protracted and complex nature of this struggle. We must heighten our vigilance. We must conduct socialist education. We must correctly understand and handle class contradictions and class struggle, distinguish the contradictions between ourselves and the enemy from those among the people and handle them correctly. Otherwise a socialist country like ours will turn into its opposite and degenerate, and a capitalist restoration will take place. From now on we must remind ourselves of this every year, every month and every day so that we can retain a rather sober understanding of this problem and have a Marxist-Leninist line."** The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution personally initiated and led by Chairman Mao has further solved, in theory and practice, the most important current topic of how to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and prevent capitalist restoration under the conditions of socialism. The movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, which is now developing in a broad, deep-going and persevering way, is a political and ideological struggle in the superstructure in which the proletariat triumphs over the bourgeoisie and socialism over

capitalism. This movement also aims at consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing capitalist restoration and persevering in the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Recently, Chairman Mao again issued an important instruction on the question of theory. Chairman Mao pointed out: **"Why did Lenin speak of exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie? It is essential to get this question clear. Lack of clarity on this question will lead to revisionism. This should be made known to the whole nation."** He also pointed out at the same time: **"Our country at present practises a commodity system, the wage system is unequal, too, as in the eight-grade wage scale, and so forth. Such things have to be restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat. For these reasons if people like Lin Piao come to power, it will be quite easy for them to rig up the capitalist system."** This extremely important instruction of Chairman Mao's expounds in theory the historical tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat and profoundly analyses the social basis engendering the revisionist line. It is of great practical and far-reaching historical significance to us in further implementing the Party's basic line, consolidating and strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat, persisting in the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and doing a good job in the struggle of combating and preventing revisionism.

Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao were both renegades who had betrayed the dictatorship of the proletariat. They denied that the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and between socialism and capitalism is the principal contradiction in socialist society; they also denied that the proletariat must exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in the superstructure, including all spheres of culture, and that the dictatorship of the proletariat should impose necessary restrictions on the remaining part of bourgeois right. Lin Piao attempted to change fundamentally the Party's basic line and subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism, and following in the steps of Confucius, he dished up the reactionary programme of "restraining oneself and returning to the rites." By attacking Chin Shih Huang, the first emperor of the Chin Dynasty, he made venomous attacks on the dictatorship of the proletariat and clamoured for founding a "genuine socialist" state implementing a "benevolent policy." His so-called "genuine socialist" state was the same trash as the "free state" of Lassalle, ringleader of the old opportunism, and the "state of the whole people" of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique. What Lin Piao meant in fact was that he wanted the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists and his gang of new bourgeois elements to come to power so that he could found a fascist Lin dynasty.

The focus of contention between the Marxist line and Lassalle's opportunist line in the German party was whether to uphold the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat or to liquidate them.

Our struggle against the two anti-Party cliques of Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao also was waged around the question of adhering to or opposing the Party's basic line and consolidating or subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat. This kind of struggle will still continue in the future. Therefore, it is a long-term task to earnestly study the basic Marxist theories on class struggle, proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. All opportunists are accustomed to creating confusion in theory. In his demagogic pamphlets, Lassalle mixed the correct things he got from Marx with his own incorrect things so as to confuse people. Swindlers like Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao also used the same trick. Our sight is insufficient to distinguish between true and false, so we must have the aid of the microscope and telescope of Marxism. An important reason leading Liebknecht to commit mistakes on matters of principle was that "he has always been confused theoretically" and was unable to draw a clear line of demarcation between Marxism and Lassalle's opportunism. This lesson merits our serious consideration. Theory is the

basis of line. "There can be no strong socialist party without a revolutionary theory." (Lenin: *Our Programme*.) To be a conscious proletarian revolutionary, one must earnestly study works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and by Chairman Mao, master the Marxist stand, viewpoint and method, and combine study with criticism and temper oneself and raise one's political level in the struggle of criticizing the bourgeoisie and revisionism. Chairman Mao recently called on us to "do more reading of Marxist-Leninist works." We must follow Chairman Mao's instruction, conscientiously study the principal works on the dictatorship of the proletariat by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and by Chairman Mao, raise our consciousness of class struggle and the two-line struggle and of continuing the revolution, more conscientiously implement the Party's basic line, do a good job in the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius and strive to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat and consolidate and develop the socialist economic base.

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Superpowers

Sabre-Rattling Behind the "Detente" Smokescreen

FOLLOWING the Soviet Union's recent military manoeuvres in the central part of its European territory, the paper *Krasnaya Zvezda* declared that the participating armed forces had showed skills in field action and gained the necessary experience in practice.

By no means an isolated action, the Soviet exercise is a measure for its all-round plan to step up preparations for war in Europe.

Soviet Offensive Military Power in Europe

The Soviet Union has always made Europe a key area of its military deployment and has for a long period of time put more than three-fourths of its military strength and most of its new-type weapons on the western front. It has further beefed up its offensive military strength in Europe in recent years.

Last year the Soviet Union, it was reported, increased its armed forces by tens of thousands in the forward area in Central Europe and energetically re-equipped troops there with new arms. Large numbers of tanks and artillery pieces in particular were shipped to the area, while supplanted arms remained stockpiled there. The Soviet air force in Europe also was newly equipped with planes of greater offensive capabilities.

These military deployments have posed an increasing menace to other European countries, the Balkans in particular.

On the north and south flanks of Europe, the Soviet revisionists also have stepped up their expansionist manoeuvres for the purpose of an outflanking movement. Forty-five per cent of the Soviet naval vessels, and 60 per cent of its submarines have been concentrated in North European waters. The forward area for Soviet naval movement has been pushed to the line stretching from Greenland to Iceland and the Faroe Islands. The Soviet Union is actively plotting to seize vital strategic points and passages in Northern Europe.

In January, Sweden revealed that the Warsaw Pact was steadily increasing its capability of fast shipment of massive armed forces in the Arctic and Baltic areas. Last month, Denmark drew attention to the Warsaw Pact's large-scale military exercises near the Danish border. Soviet military aircraft and vessels approached Denmark's territorial air and sea on at least ten occasions from late February to early March.

In the south, the Soviet navy has a standing fleet which always consists of some 50 to 60 vessels in the Mediterranean. The Soviet revisionist hand is visible in the disturbances in the East and West Mediterranean. Soviet revisionism is working hard to sow dis-

cord and make trouble in an East Mediterranean island country, trying to contend with the other superpower for domination of this vital strategic base. In its fierce rivalry with that superpower for domination over a country on the Atlantic coast which gives easy access to the Mediterranean Sea, it is also plotting to seize bases in the name of "fishing" or "refuelling" ports.

U.S. Overseas Forces Redeployed

Since the Soviet Union has steadily reinforced its military strength in Europe, the United States has redeployed its forces abroad in the last few years. At present, three-fifths of its overseas armed forces are stationed in Europe. The U.S. Army Secretary announced last month that the United States will continue to increase its combat forces in Europe in the next few years. In 1977 these forces will rise to 71 per cent of the total U.S. forces in the region as against 59 per cent in 1972 and 62 per cent at present. One of the two brigades to be added to the U.S. combat forces in the next two years will be sent to the Federal Republic of Germany this month. The United States recently also held a series of military exercises in Europe. Just as Soviet warships frequently made a show of force in the waters south of the United States, two U.S. military vessels sailed on March 9 from the Mediterranean to the Black Sea to conduct military exercises.

Brezhnev recently made a big fanfare once again about the effort to "lay down solid foundations of

peace and good neighbourly co-operation on European soil for a long historical period," bragging of "the beginning of a new, truly peaceful and constructive epoch in the life of Europe." However, as the gunfire rumbles in large-scale Soviet military exercises, is there a shadow of "a new peaceful epoch in Europe"? Not in the least. On the contrary, what one sees behind the veil of "detente" put up by Brezhnev is the sabre-rattling in the fierce Soviet-U.S. scramble in Europe. In this respect, his U.S. opponent is more blunt. U.S. Defence Secretary Schlesinger said: "We must remember that the prize is Western Europe. If Western Europe were to fall under Soviet power, it would be an unmitigated disaster to the United States." In his February defence report, the Defence Secretary declared that "a powerful assault force" on the part of the Soviet Union "stands poised near the heart of Western Europe." Therefore, "the emphasis of our (conventional forces) planning has shifted toward Europe" and "most of our forces already are or soon will be oriented toward a war in Europe," he stressed.

The intensified arms expansion and war preparations by the superpowers are awakening the European people. They have smelt the strong gunpowder from the "detente" smokescreen spread by the Soviet Union. People see more and more clearly that the contention between the two superpowers is daily increasing the danger of a new war in Europe. This is the stark reality facing Europe today.

(A commentary by Hsinhua Correspondent)

Smith Regime

Racist Atrocity

THE Rhodesian racist regime's savage murder of Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) leader Chitepo on March 18 is another crime against the Zimbabwe people by the reactionary Smith regime which is backed by imperialism. Greatly indignant, the Chinese people strongly condemn this atrocity.

At a time when the situation in all Africa and the world is becoming increasingly favourable to the southern African people's liberation struggle, Rhodesia's Smith and South Africa's Vorster have been chanting "peace psalms" and energetically pushing their so-called "conciliation" plan in recent months, as if they really wanted to lay down their butcher knives and immediately turn into Buddhas. The arrest of Sithole, another ZANU leader, and murder of Chitepo, however, have fully laid bare their "conciliation" fraud and exposed their brutal executioner's features. Their actual

aim was, under the signboard of "conciliation," to get the Zimbabwe people and the ZANU which perseveres in armed struggle to lay down their weapons and stop fighting so as to perpetuate the reactionary rule of a handful of white racists.

The despicable murder of a ZANU leader by the Rhodesian racist regime in no way indicates its strength, but on the contrary shows its weakness. The reactionaries invariably try to wipe out the revolution by massacre. Facts, however, show the exact opposite. When one fighter falls, millions of others stand up. The Smith authorities' criminal acts can only arouse stronger hatred by the people of Zimbabwe and all southern Africa for imperialism, colonialism and racism and add fuels to the raging flames of the national-liberation struggle.

Through their experience in struggle, the Zimbabwe people have come to realize that the enemy will not

withdraw from the historical stage of his own accord, and that armed struggle is the fundamental way to achieve national independence and liberation. As the *Zimbabwe News* pointed out: "People's freedom cannot be won at the negotiation table, but can be realized only by overthrowing the oppressors and their system through violent struggle." The revolutionary people must learn to use the revolutionary dual tactics to deal with the counter-revolutionary dual tactics. Negotiations must also be based on fighting. Before the enemy lays down his arms, one must hold fast to one's gun,

for only in this way can one defeat the enemy and win victory in struggle.

The Chinese people will, as always, firmly support the Zimbabwe people's just struggle. We are convinced that so long as the Zimbabwe people, supported by the African countries and people, close ranks, heighten their vigilance and persist in struggle, they will certainly win complete victory in their national-liberation struggle.

(*"Renmin Ribao" Commentator, March 22*)

United Nations

Economic and Social Commission for Asia And Pacific Holds 31st Session

THE United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (formerly known as the United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East) held its 31st session from February 26 to March 7 in New Delhi.

A declaration and some resolutions were adopted at the March 6 meeting.

The declaration expressed concern at the pace of development of the developing countries, and in particular, their lagging agricultural production, low levels of industrial growth, a deterioration in terms of trade and balance of payments problems, rising import costs, etc. These problems are caused or aggravated by colonial domination and neo-colonialism in all its forms, it stressed.

The declaration reaffirmed "the ardent wish of the peoples of the region to continue to develop their national economies in accordance with the principles of independence and self-reliance and to promote international co-operation on the basis of equality and mutual benefit."

It recognized "the imperative need for intensifying regional co-operation in all sectors of economic and social activities with the objective of promoting increasing self-reliance individually and jointly among developing countries of the region."

In his speech at the session, Chinese delegate Ma Mu-ming noted that since the Sixth Special Session of the U.N. General Assembly in 1974, the developing countries in the Asian-Pacific region have made progress in developing their national economies through self-reliance.

"We cannot but note, however," he pointed out, "that the situation is complicated, the struggle acute and

the road rough. The two superpowers are contending for world hegemony with growing intensity. They are stepping up their rivalry in all parts of the world, including the Asian-Pacific region and the Indian Ocean. This is the cause of intranquillity in the world today. The danger of a new world war is increasing. The people of all countries must enhance their vigilance and get prepared. The superpower that claims to be 'socialist' talks about detente, peace, disarmament and security everywhere, and most vociferously at that. But in fact it is this superpower that is most energetically expanding its armaments and preparing for war, carrying out aggression and expansion, threatening the security of other countries, creating tensions and contending hard with the other superpower for hegemony in the Asian-Pacific region. In vigorously peddling its so-called 'Asian collective security system,' it is in fact aiming to further its contention with the other superpower and establish its own hegemony and sphere of influence in the Asian-Pacific region, thus realizing its wild ambition of invading, controlling and enslaving the countries in this region. But it will not be able with these tactics to deceive the people of the Asian and Pacific countries, who have discerning eyes. No matter how hard it may use threats and blandishments and cry itself hoarse in selling its ware, it still finds little response. Its scheme is bound to fall through."

Ma Mu-ming said: "The implementation of the Declaration and the Programme of Action adopted at the Sixth Special Session of the U.N. General Assembly is being opposed and resisted by the two superpowers. Meanwhile, some countries are faced with a worsening economic crisis. Some of them, the superpowers in particular, are trying by every means to shift their crisis on to the developing countries. In the past year, food supplies have been short on the world market with grain

prices sharply on the rise; the gap between the prices of raw materials and primary products exported by developing countries and the prices of manufactured goods exported by developed countries has continued to widen. All this has aggravated the economic difficulties of the developing countries. In this respect, the developing countries in Asia and the Pacific face grave problems.

Soviet Social-Imperialism

Record of a Plunderer

FLAUNTING the signboard of "socialism" and fabricating the myth that Soviet revisionism is the "natural ally" of the third world, the Soviet revisionist ruling clique has in recent years styled itself the saviour of the oppressed people and nations. Innumerable facts, however, demonstrate that Brezhnev and his cronies not only enslave and plunder the third world countries and people but also bully and exploit a number of the second world nations. Soviet revisionism has become one of the two biggest international exploiters today.

In the Soviet Union where all-round capitalist restoration has taken place, the law of imperialism governs the acts of the Soviet revisionist ruling clique. Soviet social-imperialism is frantically pushing new colonialism and great power hegemonism in the vast third world today.

In the name of "selfless aid" and "mutually beneficial economic co-operation," Moscow engages in large-scale capital exports, controls the economic lifeline of the third world countries, sells them outdated machines and equipment, and plunders their raw materials in order to rake in super profits.

According to incomplete statistics, from 1954 to 1972, the Soviet Union's total capital exports to the third world exceeded 13,000 million U.S. dollars, enabling it to squeeze itself into some 1,000 industrial enterprises and other undertakings. Through capital exports, it has gained control over key industrial sectors in a number of developing countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America and dumped on the third world countries unsaleable goods. From 1955 to 1973 it sold over 16,000 million U.S. dollars worth of industrial products to the third world at high prices and reaped super profits to the tune of thousands of millions of dollars. Through capital exports, it has looted more than 19,000 million dollars worth of primary products from the third world. Of

Obviously, a new challenge before them is how to curb the unscrupulous attempt of the countries that try to shift on to others their own economic crisis. All this shows convincingly that, in order to change this state of affairs, the developing countries must get united, put up a struggle, develop their national economy and achieve political and economic independence."

these, raw sugar accounted for nearly 3,600 million U.S. dollars; cotton, 2,600 million; natural rubber, 2,400 million; coffee, cocoa and tea, 1,600 million; ores, 750 million.

Another way Brezhnev and his gang push neo-colonialist plunder is by making direct investments to set up as many as possible "joint-stock enterprises" and "joint companies" in the third world countries, which are imitations of U.S. "trans-national companies." Enterprises jointly run by the Soviet Union and the developing countries cover many key economic sectors such as the mining and processing industries, trade and transport. In certain countries, these enterprises are "joint-stock companies" in name only. The shares of the host countries actually are Soviet loans. This means the Soviet Union contributes money, while the other countries provide labour power. Through these enterprises the Soviet Union has reaped colossal profits, plundered cheap labour power and resources and at the same time dumped Soviet-made industrial products.

Exchange of unequal values is still another major means by which the Soviet social-imperialists exploit the countries and people of the third world. They make fabulous profits by using international market prices based on unequal trade terms; they exploit the third world people through such methods as providing "aid" and "co-operation," pressing for debt repayments, selling industrial products at high monopolist prices and buying foodstuffs and agricultural and mineral raw materials at low prices. According to incomplete data, in the 17 years beginning 1955, the Soviet exploitation of the third world through unequal trade terms came to 11,300 million U.S. dollars, bringing serious damage to the developing countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Intoxicated by the lust for profits, the Soviet revisionists are shameless international speculators. They

have become even more unbridled in this regard in recent years, making big profits by reselling goods bought from other countries. Taking advantage of the oil shortage in the West not long ago, they bought oil from Arab countries at low prices and resold it at high prices. They even act in bad faith for the sake of profits. According to an agreement, they sold a certain amount of cement to an African country but arbitrarily scrapped the agreement by selling the cement to private merchants at high prices after it had been shipped to the country.

Lenin pointed out: "The characteristic feature of imperialism is precisely that it strives to annex not only agrarian territories, but even most highly industrialized regions." The European region which belongs to the second world is a strategic focus of contention between the two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States, and an important target that the Soviet Union tries its utmost to control and invade.

The Kremlin-controlled "Council for Mutual Economic Assistance" is a Soviet revisionist tool for pushing neo-colonialism. Making use of their economic monopoly position in this so-called "community," the Soviet revisionists export huge amounts of capital to "C.M.E.A." members through "assistance," loans and direct investments. Capital exports from the Soviet Union to "C.M.E.A." members in the form of economic "assistance" from 1954 to early 1974 exceeded 10,000 million U.S. dollars. They bragged about participation in the construction of over 1,300 big enterprises and other projects. Just as Lenin pointed out: "The interests pursued in exporting capital also give an impetus to the conquest of colonies, for in the colonial market it is easier to employ monopoly methods (and sometimes they are the only methods that can be employed) to eliminate competition, to make sure of contracts, to secure the necessary 'connections,' etc." By controlling heavy industry production and monopolizing the important industrial raw material supplies of some "C.M.E.A." members, the Soviet revisionists have thrust aside their competitors and cornered the market for their industrial products.

From 1955 to 1973, the Soviet Union exported to Bulgaria, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia and Poland finished industrial products valued at more than 35,000 million U.S. dollars (among which the value of machines and equipment exceeded 15,000 million dollars) and made nearly 8,400 million dollars in huge profits.

In foreign trade, the Soviet Union exploits these countries ruthlessly. Manipulating prices, controlling exports and imports and selling dear and buying cheap

through so-called "long-term trade agreements" are among the methods used for the purpose. It is estimated that the losses suffered by the above-mentioned five countries as a result of unequal trade terms from 1955 to 1973 amounted to 19,000 million dollars. Among them the G.D.R., No. 1 Soviet trade partner, suffered the heaviest exploitations, with the loss reaching 6,400 million dollars.

The Soviet Union took out over 9,000 million dollars worth of primary products from Bulgaria, Hungary and Poland in 1955-73. Besides controlling nearly all uranium exploitation in Czechoslovakia, Hungary, the G.D.R. and Bulgaria, it wantonly robbed these countries of their rare metals and important strategic raw materials. Over 90 per cent of Czechoslovakia's uranium production, 94 per cent of Bulgaria's barite exports and 49 per cent of its lead, and 43 per cent of Poland's zinc exports went to the Soviet Union.

The Soviet revisionists have all along cast covetous eyes on Western Europe, trying their utmost to infiltrate and get control of it. In an attempt to defeat them one by one, they resort to blandishments to sow discord between Western Europe and the United States and among Common Market countries. Under the signboard of "all-Europe economic co-operation," they broaden their trade with Western Europe so as to realize expansion there. Capitalizing on the West European countries' thirst for oil and other raw materials, the Soviet revisionists in recent years resold oil to them at high prices so as to extort profit. For instance, the price of the oil the Soviet revisionists sold to the Federal Republic of Germany and Finland, which have always been customers of Soviet oil, has been increased many folds in recent years. As a result, these countries suffered enormous losses annually. The Soviet revisionists have also used oil, natural gas and other resources as bait to entice energy-hungry Western Europe into greater dependence on the Soviet Union so as to carry out infiltration there when the opportunity occurs. Besides, they have tried to increase their influence in the West European market and strengthen their position by such means as setting up "joint-stock companies" or a bank network in that area in partnership with certain West European firms.

The economic plunder and exploitation carried out by the Soviet revisionists everywhere have torn to pieces the fig-leaf in the form of the much-vaunted "mutual benefit" in trade and "co-operation" and revealed their true features as social-imperialists. This has enabled more and more countries and people to realize that the Soviet Union, like the United States, is the biggest international exploiter today.

ROUND THE WORLD

ARAB COUNTRIES

Ninth Petroleum Congress

The Ninth Arab Petroleum Congress met in Dubai from March 10 to 16. A resolution adopted at the congress "fully supports all the principles included in the Solemn Declaration adopted by the heads of states and kings of OPEC countries" at the first OPEC summit and considers them "as a part of the fundamental principles advocated by the Sixth U.N. Special Session."

Speaking at the closing session, Maneh Said al-Oteiba, Minister of Petroleum and Mineral Resources of the United Arab Emirates, said that the Ninth Arab Petroleum Congress had been successful. He stressed that Arab oil should play an important part in developing the national economy in the Arab region and help strengthen co-operation between the Arab countries and other countries of the third world. "The United Arab Emirates are of the view that there should be some effective means of co-operation and co-ordination among countries in the third world," he said.

The resolution adopted says: "The congress reaffirms the rights of Arab states to use oil as a defensive weapon in the fateful battle for the liberation of the occupied Arab territories and the restoration of the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people."

It says: "The congress is convinced that the Arab states should dominate their national resources and use them for the development of their national economy and prosperity of their nation. the congress declares its support to all steps to consolidate their national direct domination of the oil resources."

It says: "The congress studied the so-called energy crisis and the attempts to hold the oil-exporting countries responsible for it. The congress denounces such attempts and declares that the so-called energy crisis is merely one of the aspects of overall economic crisis plaguing the

Western industrial countries. The policy of these countries is responsible for this crisis."

The resolution calls on the Arab countries to take all possible measures to maintain the purchasing power of their oil funds and protect them against any currency devaluation. It also calls for a reform of the international monetary system and more say in policy-making.

It calls on the Arab countries to pay more attention to training their own technical personnel and co-ordinating their efforts in scientific research in the oil industry. It urges them to take all possible measures to protect their natural gas resources and utilize the gas to develop their petro-chemical industry.

It says that to fully control their petroleum resources, the Arab countries should take all possible measures to step up their domination of oil refining and transportation.

The resolution appreciates the increasing contributions by the Arab oil-producing countries to the development of the economy of the third world.

LATIN AMERICA AND CARIBBEAN

Unity and Co-operation Strengthened

The Conference on Financing Development in Latin America and the Caribbean was held in Mexico City from March 3 to 7.

It was attended by delegates from 22 countries of Latin America and the Caribbean and from some financing institutions in this and other regions of the world.

Speaking at the opening ceremony, Mexican Vice-Secretary of the Ministry of the Treasury and Public Credit Mario Ramon Beteta Monsalve called on the whole continent to unite to deal with the capitalist world's economic crisis.

He stressed: "As a matter of fact, this crisis offers us an opportunity to study ways to jointly deal with the industrialized countries, so that the final solutions will take into account

the aspirations and interests of Latin America." He called for strengthened inter-national co-operation in the region and for promoting the establishment of multi-national companies of this region. He also urged efforts to realize the political aspirations of Latin America for an independent economy and social development.

At the conference, Secretary-General of the Andean Development Corporation Adolfo Linares pointed out that it is a serious problem for Latin American countries to be in debt externally, especially in view of the high interest rates to be paid. He accused the United States of opposing Latin American development and integration and impeding the developing countries' efforts to increase exports and attain economic equilibrium.

Venezuelan delegates made it clear at the conference that their government is prepared to provide 3,000 million U.S. dollars for the development programmes of Latin American countries.

Gustavo Romero Kolbeck, General Director of the Mexico National Financing Corporation, told the closing meeting that the Latin American countries should follow their own road towards economic growth and should not servilely imitate what is being done by others. Latin America is firmly determined to safeguard its own interests, he stressed.

The conference was crowned with an unanimous agreement on the establishment of a financing fund for regional development—an instrument to provide funds for the creation and operation of new regional enterprises. Agreements were also reached to set up Latin American-Caribbean multi-national firms, to introduce measures to reinforce through unity the financing institutions in the region, and to diversify overseas financing resources.

YUGOSLAVIA

President Tito on World Situation

In a speech at the Council of Federation, Yugoslav President Tito dwelt on the present tense world situation.

He said: "The world situation is again becoming tense and tension over the focuses of crisis is rising."

"The armaments race, especially between the great powers, is continuing, and huge stockpiles of weapons are being built in some regions."

"In the Near East, Israel is still pushing its policy of aggression, and it is being encouraged by the warlike statements on possible military action against Arab petroleum-producing countries," he added.

He said: "The situation in Cyprus and the whole Mediterranean gives no reason for comfort either," and "in Viet Nam and Cambodia foreign intervention has not ceased, as if the Paris agreement did not exist. Large quantities of war materials are being shipped to the bankrupt Saigon and Phnom Penh regimes."

"In spite of the opposition and protests of the countries in the Indian Ocean and the Arab-Persian Gulf, foreign fleets in these areas are increasing and foreign bases are being strengthened," he noted.

"At the Algiers conference, the non-aligned countries pointed to the untenable system of inequitable international economic relations and advocated the right of developing countries to the sovereign use of their natural resources. The special session of the U.N. General Assembly adopted the principles of a new, more equitable world economic order," President Tito recalled.

"Of late," he continued, "we have also heard disturbing threats about a possible approach to the settlement of these problems by force." Furthermore, "certain theories trying to justify interference in the affairs of sovereign states are being invented."

President Tito said that the non-aligned countries have encountered daily-increasing pressure from imperialism and reaction which are also trying to influence Yugoslavia in various ways and through pressure and intimidation. "Naturally, opposition to all such manoeuvres will be as successful as the extent to which the strongest unity and co-operation is secured of the non-aligned countries and all other peace-loving forces," he stressed.

DENMARK

Military Threat From Soviet Union

Soviet social-imperialism's military threat to Denmark was exposed in the March 9 issue of *Berlingske Tidende*.

The newspaper's report said aircraft and warships of the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact Organization have continuously stepped up activities closer and closer to Danish territorial waters and air, and now even often at Denmark's "gate."

An investigation by the paper revealed that Soviet and Warsaw pact countries' aircraft and warships had appeared in the vicinity of Denmark's territorial air and waters on several occasions between February 20 and March 3. On February 20, 21 and 28, giant Soviet bombers flew from the eastern part to the western part of the Baltic Sea before returning to Soviet territory. Soviet warships' sea activities were still more numerous. On February 25, an up-to-date Soviet minesweeper and a workshop ship sailed through Denmark's Storebaelt (great belt) Strait, anchored in Aalaek Bay for 24 hours, and again steamed to Skagerrak Strait. A few days later, a Soviet spy ship and a satellite tracking vessel passed through Oeresund Strait. On March 3, a Soviet submarine "camped" north of Oeresund Strait. During the period of the paper's investigation, a Soviet cruiser patrolled a strait in the southern part of Denmark and a Soviet spy ship anchored in Kiel Bay.

CAPITALIST COUNTRIES

Unceasing Struggles by Workers

In a situation of deepening economic crisis, the working people in some capitalist countries have been striking unceasingly in protest against the monopoly capitalists' efforts to shift the burden of crisis on to them and for higher wages and job guarantees. This was a demonstration of the strength of the labouring people fighting in unity.

Italy. Some one million workers in the transport system, car factories and shipyards went on a 4-hour nationwide strike on March 4 demand-

ing higher wages and better working conditions. On the same day, workers and employees of the Italian state-owned telephone company held a similar strike to press for a new contract.

Britain. More than 9,000 dockers in London began a strike on February 27. At a March 3 mass meeting, they voted to continue their walkout to protest the mounting threat of unemployment for dock workers.

Switzerland. Workers demonstrated in some 30 cities in early March to protest dismissals, unemployment and the decline in purchasing power and to stress job and income guarantees. It was the country's first nationwide demonstration by workers in 20 years.

Carrying placards inscribed with slogans such as "Stop layoffs!" some 3,000 workers from various parts of the country demonstrated in downtown Berne on March 1. This was followed by a rally in Federal Square at which some speakers exposed the monopolists' efforts to shift the burden of the economic crisis on to the workers.

Earlier, at a rally held by 2,000 Swiss and foreign workers in Geneva, speakers urged that all workers, regardless of nationality, should close ranks to take united action.

Federal Republic of Germany. According to a Federal Labour Office announcement, unemployment reached 1,183,500 in February, an increase of more than 563,000 compared with a year earlier. The unemployment rate stood at 5.2 per cent, while the semi-unemployed rose to the unprecedented high of 956,000.

A series of protest struggles against rising unemployment has been carried out by the working masses since January.

The struggle continued to develop in March. The workers of a factory of the Demag monopoly group in Kalletal-Kalldorf and 18,000 workers of the Audi Automobile Works in Neckarsulm affiliated to the Volkswagen Automobile Plant held spontaneous strikes, meetings and demonstrations in protest against the capitalists' attempt to close down factories so as to shift the burden of crisis on to the workers.

ON THE HOME FRONT

Peasants' Spare-Time Colleges

THE poor and lower-middle peasants in the suburbs of Shanghai are overjoyed to see one of their long-cherished hopes realized: under the impetus of the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, nine people's communes have set up spare-time colleges to train students in their own service.

Their wish was never realized before the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution because of the disruption by Liu Shao-chi and his gang who regarded running universities in the countryside as "irregular." Under the sway of the Liu Shao-chi revisionist line in education, agricultural colleges were located in big cities and taught students in a way that was divorced from proletarian politics, from workers and peasants and from productive labour. Students such colleges turned out were not the ones the peasants needed, for they had neither practical knowledge nor the willingness to go to the countryside and take part in agricultural production.

The Great Cultural Revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius have brought about a big advance in mass spare-time education in Shanghai's suburbs. In response to the gratifying situation in which political evening-schools have mushroomed in all production brigades and teams, and commune members are studying politics, culture and technology with great zest, spare-time colleges came into being in the nine communes last November.

Such spare-time institutions of higher learning enrol students from among local commune members and school graduates who have settled in the countryside as well as grass-roots cadres. The faculties consist of poor and lower-middle peasants with rich experience from practice, workers of commune-run plants and farm machinery stations and cadres of local Party committees. The course,

lasting around a year, offers evening classes two or three times a week.

With the Party's basic line as the key link in pedagogical work, these colleges organize students to study works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and by Chairman Mao and criticize the Lin Piao counter-revolutionary revisionist line and the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. The students make it a point to put education in the service of proletarian politics and combine it with productive labour. Agriculture is the main subject, but other courses such as political theory, agro-technology, agro-mechanics and electro-technics as well as writing are included. Most of the teaching materials, which can be easily mastered and used effectively, are compiled by the colleges themselves in the light of local condition.

As the poor and lower-middle peasants see it, running peasants' spare-time colleges in the countryside is of important significance in consolidating and developing the results of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.



Women workers on a commune fishing boat in Liaoning Province, northeast China.

tion. It means a great deal not only in narrowing the gap between workers and peasants, cities and rural areas and between mental and manual labour, but also in accelerating the pace of building a socialist new countryside.

Working Women on Various Fronts

CHINESE working women who were at the bottom of society before 1949, the year of liberation, today enjoy equal rights with men politically, economically and socially and in the family. They play an active role on different fronts of our country's socialist revolution and construction.

The First Session of the Fourth National People's Congress in mid-January was attended by more than 600 women Deputies from all fields, who accounted for over 22 per cent of the total number of Deputies. Forty-two of the 144 Deputies elected to the N.P.C. Standing Committee were women. One woman was appointed Vice-Premier of the State Council and three were elected Vice-Chairmen of the N.P.C. Standing Committee. Women also hold leading posts in local Party and government organizations at different levels. And 37.9 per cent of the cadres in the Peking municipality are women. There are more than 10,000 women cadres of Tibetan and other minority nationalities in the Tibetan Autonomous Region at present.

Rapid industrial advances and the establishment of the rural people's communes have provided China's women with full employment opportunities. Practically all jobs, with the exception of those detrimental to their health, are open to them without discrimination. In 1952 women office and factory workers in the whole country numbered only



With men pilots, women pilots in a Chinese P.L.A. air force division criticize the fallacy that "men are superior and women are inferior" advocated by Confucius and Lin Piao.

in Peking alone, excluding those working in the workshops run by neighbourhood committees. Most able-bodied women in the countryside are engaged in agricultural production and they have played an important part in achieving China's higher yields of grain and conducting scientific experiment in the rural areas.

Women display initiative, wisdom and talent in their work as well as a staunch revolutionary will to break down conventional ideas. A "March 8" team of 15 young women under the Peking Power Supply and Substation Company works on power lines. Casting off the old idea that women are unfit for work on transmission lines high above the ground, these young women took on the job and have done it remarkably well. Women meteorologists in Tibet brave storms and blizzards at a weather station several thousand metres above sea level to study weather changes. Group after group of women pilots in New China are growing up full of vigour. Among the jobs these women pilots have accomplished are rescue missions in disaster areas, seeding clouds for making rain, and aerial surveying.

Since the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius started last year, women have paid particular attention to criticizing the fallacy that "men are superior and women are inferior"

trumpeted by Confucius and Lin Piao as well as other conventional ideas that have shackled women for several thousand years, so as to free themselves from old ideas and build up confidence in their own strength. They have come to understand that, given the proper opportunities, they can certainly put into practice Chairman Mao's teaching: "Times have changed, and today men and women are equal. Whatever men comrades can accomplish, women comrades can too."

Doctor-Patient Relationship

FOR the last four years 300 patients in all stages of convalescence have been receiving regular visits and treatment at home from doctors of the Peking Friendship Hospital.

For example, Li Chiu-ming, a shop assistant over 50 years old became paralysed following a cerebral hemorrhage in November 1973. After two months' hospitalization his condition took a turn for the better, but he still needed an extended period of medical care during his convalescence. For the convenience of the patient, the hospital agreed to help him complete his recovery at home, and arranged for a doctor to call once a week, or even twice if necessary, to note changes in his condition, make check-ups and leave

necessary instructions or prescriptions. Such medical visits are covered by the free medical care received by workers, soldiers and cadres; all that is needed is for a member of the family to take the doctor's prescription to the hospital and bring back the medicine. At present Li's wife is giving him daily massages to help restore the function of his limbs.

Head of the neurology department, 59-year-old Dr. Wang Chih-yuan said: "We have a common cause — socialist construction; that's why we must serve the people wholeheartedly and look upon the patients as our comrades. In our country the relationship between doctor and patient will never again be like it was before liberation when money decided everything. We are comrades-in-arms in a common struggle against disease." "With this understanding we medical workers are doing lots of things which formerly would have been considered not in the line of duty."

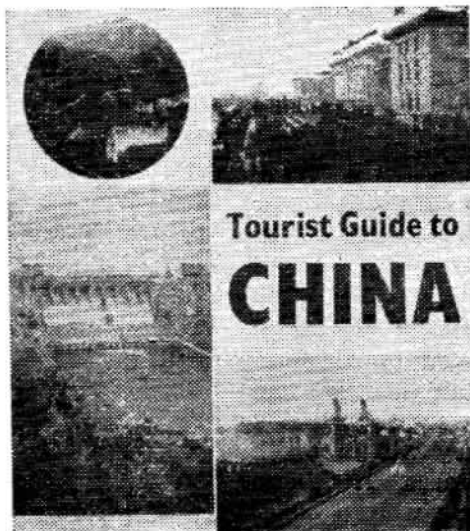
The nine-year-old son of a Harbin worker in northeast China was in hospital for more than two years suffering from a fractured pelvis with an external urethral damage. The nurses in the ward not only looked after his physical condition but asked some adult patients whose cases were not serious to help him with his studies. His lessons lasted two hours a day on the average and there was somebody to correct his exercises too. When he returned to school he was able to keep up with his lessons.

Following is an instance which happened recently in Shanghai. Dr. Hsu of the city psychoneurological hospital cured a peasant from the northern part of Kiangsu Province who had been seriously ill for many years. After leaving hospital the patient returned to the clinic for a check-up, bringing with him a packet of local products for Dr. Hsu to show his gratitude. After a three-day search the doctor found this patient and persuaded him to keep the gift, saying: "I have only done what a doctor should do. I must try even harder to be a good servant of the people."

Tourist Guide to CHINA

(Picture album with English text)

This album contains photographs of 30 cities and places such as Peking, Tientsin, Shanghai, Kwangchow, Shenyang and Wuhan, well-known places in the Chinese revolution like Shaoshan, Yen-an, the Chingkang Mountains, and nationally famous locales in socialist construction such as Tachai, Shashihyu and the Red Flag Canal in Linhsien County. The album reflects not only the tremendous achievements in construction in these places but also the vast changes in the urban and rural areas. Photographs of famous scenic spots, cultural relics and archaeological finds are also included.



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