

PEKING REVIEW

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April 4, 1975

北
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報

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Over the Bourgeoisie**

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At UNIDO Lima Conference**

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Prime Minister Nouria Arrives In Peking

HEDI Nouria, Prime Minister of the Republic of Tunisia, and Madame Nouria arrived in Peking on April 1 for an official visit to China at the invitation of Premier Chou En-lai.

The distinguished Tunisian guests were welcomed at the airport by Chinese leaders Chang Chun-chiao, Ni Chih-fu, Li Ching-chuan and several thousand people in the capital.

On behalf of Premier Chou En-lai, Vice-Premier Chang Chun-chiao extended a warm welcome to Prime Minister and Madame Hedi Nouria.

That day Peking was permeated with a warm atmosphere of friendship between the people of China and Tunisia. Colourful bunting fluttered along Peking's main thoroughfare. Streamers which trailed down from tall buildings bore the slogans: "Firmly support the Tunisian people in their struggle to defend national

independence and state sovereignty!" "Firmly support the just struggle of the Arab and Palestinian people!" "Long live the friendship between the people of China and Tunisia!" "Long live the great unity of the people of the third world!" and "Long live the great unity of the people throughout the world!"

A grand welcome ceremony was held at the airport. In their holiday best, the well-wishers waved bouquets and shouted slogans of welcome. Children danced to gay music to warmly welcome the distinguished Tunisian guests from the southern coast of the Mediterranean.

Vice-Premier Chen Yung-kuei Visits Mexico

Chen Yung-kuei, Vice-Premier of the State Council, and his party left Peking on March 27 for a friendly visit to Mexico. On their arrival in

Mexico City, they were warmly welcomed at the airport by Emilio Oscar Rabasa, Mexican Foreign Secretary and personal representative of Mexican President Luis Echeverria, and Mrs. Rabasa as well as over 1,000 people. Singing and dancing in colourful national costume, the people held up placards reading: "Welcome!" In rhythm, they chanted "Mexico-China."

In a written statement at the airport, Vice-Premier Chen Yung-kuei said: "China and Mexico are both third world countries, friendly to each other. There is a time-honoured tradition of amity between our two peoples. We have come at the kind invitation of the Mexican Government primarily to learn from the fraternal Mexican people."

President and Mrs. Luis Echeverria gave a banquet on March 28 in honour of the Chinese Vice-Premier and his party.

The President stressed in his speech at the banquet that the Mexican and Chinese peoples had experienced similar suffering and had waged a long struggle against aggression by imperialist powers and for national independence. He pointed out: "Eager to find similarities and bring about mutual approachment, we went to China two years ago with a big delegation. Since then, we have sent several Mexican groups in search of technology, above all technology in the rural sphere which suits our economic dimensions. We can see and learn. We are particularly interested in this because in the leading groups of our country, we have long got a prejudice in favour of imitating the development model of industrialized society which is beset with political, economic and moral crises. China is a renovated, youthful and optimistic country which has much to teach countries of the third world."

Vice-Premier Chen Yung-kuei said in his speech: "In recent years, under the leadership of President



Prime Minister and Madame Nouria were warmly welcomed at the airport by Chinese leaders Chang Chun-chiao, Ni Chih-fu, Li Ching-chuan and several thousand people in the capital.

Echeverria, the Mexican Government and people have persistently defended their national independence and state sovereignty and are developing their national economy, scoring gratifying achievements in these respects. In international affairs, the Mexican Government has pursued an independent foreign policy, opposing the superpowers' efforts to divide spheres of influence, bully small countries and push expansionism, and has made positive contributions to strengthening unity among third world countries. The Charter of the Economic Rights and Duties of States, formulated at the initiative of President Echeverria, reflects the just call of the third world countries against imperialist plunder and exploitation and for a change in the old unjustifiable international economic order. The Chinese Government and people firmly support the just struggle of the Mexican Government and people, and wish you from the bottom of our hearts continuing new successes on your road of advance."

Vice-Premier Chen stressed: "Since the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and Mexico, and in particular since President and Mrs. Echeverria's visit to China, the friendly relations and co-operation between the two countries have been developing more rapidly under new historical conditions. We have not only supported each other politically, but have also learnt from and helped each other in the economic field. The relations of our two countries, based on the five principles of mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence, conform to the common aspirations and interests of our two peoples and encompass broad prospects. We are fully convinced that, with common efforts by both sides, the flower of

friendship between our two peoples is bound to bear copious fruits."

Goodwill Delegation of the N.C.P.C. of Laos in China

Chu Teh and Yao Lien-wei, Chairman and Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, met and had a cordial and friendly conversation on March 29 with all members of the Goodwill Delegation of the National Coalition Political Council of Laos. The delegation was led by Tiao Sisoumang Sisaleumsak, Vice-President of the N.C.P.C. of Laos, with Sanan Souththichak, Member of the N.C.P.C. and Head of its Representation Office in Vientiane City, as deputy leader.

The Standing Committee of the National People's Congress gave a banquet that evening to welcome the delegation.

In his toast at the banquet, Vice-Chairman Yao Lien-wei said: With their glorious tradition of fighting against imperialism and colonialism, the Lao people have waged dauntless struggles to achieve national independence, peace and neutrality. The signing in 1973 of the Agreement on Restoring Peace and Achieving National Concord in Laos, and the founding of the Provisional National Union Government and the National Coalition Political Council of Laos and the promulgation of the "18-Point Political Programme" in 1974 are a series of major victories won by the people of Laos. They have provided powerful proof that a country's affairs should only be run by the people of that country themselves and that, free from foreign intervention, the people of various countries are fully capable of running their own affairs well. He expressed the firm conviction that, so long as they persist in struggle and unity, the Lao people will surely build Laos into a peaceful, independent, neutral,

democratic, unified and prosperous state.

Speaking of the friendly relations between the two countries, Vice-Chairman Yao said that following Chairman Mao's teachings, the Chinese people will, as always, firmly support the Lao people in their just struggles.

In his toast, delegation leader Tiao Sisoumang Sisaleumsak warmly praised the long-standing friendship between the people of Laos and China.

Speaking of the situation in Laos, the delegation leader said: Despite difficulties, implementation of the Vientiane agreement and its protocol over the last two years had been fruitful and in steady progress. Since their inception, the Provisional National Union Government and the National Coalition Political Council of Laos have done much work with outstanding success. They have promulgated the "18-Point Political Programme" aimed at safeguarding the peace, independence, neutrality, democracy, unification and prosperity of Laos, and the situation at home has remained one of tranquillity, peace and national concord. In the diplomatic field, the Kingdom of Laos has enjoyed rising prestige in the international arena.

The delegation arrived in Peking on March 28.

Physical Culture Workers and Athletes of Taiwan Province Invited to National Games

On March 27, Tsai Hsiao, leading member of the preparatory office for the sports delegation of Taiwan Province to the Third National Games, cabled a message to leading members of Taiwan Province sports organizations, inviting physical culture workers and athletes there to Peking

(Continued on p. 11.)

On Exercising All-Round Dictatorship Over the Bourgeoisie

by Chang Chun-chiao

THE question of the dictatorship of the proletariat has long been the focus of the struggle between Marxism and revisionism. Lenin said: **"Only he is a Marxist who extends the recognition of the class struggle to the recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat."** And it is for the very purpose of enabling us to go in for Marxism and not revisionism in both theory and practice that Chairman Mao calls on our whole nation to get a clear idea of the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Our country finds itself at an important period of historical development. After more than two decades of socialist revolution and socialist construction, particularly after the liquidation of the bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-chi and of Lin Biao in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, our dictatorship of the proletariat is more consolidated than ever, and our socialist cause is thriving. Full of militancy, the people of the whole country are determined to build China into a powerful socialist country before the end of the century. In the course of this effort and in the entire historical period of socialism, whether we can persevere in the dictatorship of the proletariat through to the end is a cardinal question that affects the future of our country's development. Current class struggle, too, makes it necessary for us to get clear on the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Chairman Mao says: **"Lack of clarity on this question will lead to revisionism."** It won't do if only a few people grasp the point; **"this should be made known to the whole nation."** Success in this study has a current and far-reaching significance that can never be overestimated.

As early as in 1920, Lenin, basing himself on practical experience in leading the Great October

Socialist Revolution and directing the first state of proletarian dictatorship, sharply pointed out, **"The dictatorship of the proletariat is a most determined and most ruthless war waged by the new class against a more powerful enemy, the bourgeoisie, whose resistance is increased tenfold by its overthrow (even if only in one country), and whose power lies not only in the strength of international capital, in the strength and durability of the international connections of the bourgeoisie, but also in the force of habit, in the strength of small production. For, unfortunately, small production is still very, very widespread in the world, and small production engenders capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously, and on a mass scale. For all these reasons the dictatorship of the proletariat is essential."** Lenin pointed out that the dictatorship of the proletariat is a persistent struggle — bloody and bloodless, violent and peaceful, military and economic, educational and administrative — against the forces and traditions of the old society, that it is an all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie. Lenin time and again stressed that it is impossible to triumph over the bourgeoisie without exercising a protracted, all-round dictatorship over it. These words of Lenin's, especially those he underscored, have been proved by practice in subsequent years. Sure enough, the new bourgeois have been engendered in one batch after another, and their representative is none other than the Khrushchov-Brezhnev renegade clique. These people generally have a good class background; almost all of them have been brought up under the red flag; they have joined the Communist Party organizationally, received college training and become so-called red experts. But they are new poisonous weeds engendered by the old soil of

capitalism. They have betrayed their own class, usurped Party and state power, restored capitalism, become chiefs of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie over the proletariat, and accomplished what Hitler had tried but failed to accomplish. At no time should we forget this historical experience in which "the satellites went up to the sky while the red flag fell to the ground," especially at a time when we are determined to build a powerful country.

We must be soberly aware that there is still the danger for China to turn revisionist. This is not only because imperialism and social-imperialism always set their minds on aggression and subversion against us, and the old landlords and capitalists, unreconciled to their defeat, are still there, but also because new bourgeois elements are, as Lenin put it, **being engendered** daily and hourly. Some comrades argue that Lenin was referring to the situation before co-operation. This is obviously incorrect. Lenin's remarks are not out of date. These comrades may look up Chairman Mao's *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People* published in 1957. There Chairman Mao presents the concrete analysis that, after basic victory in the socialist transformation of the system of ownership, which includes the achievement of co-operation, there still exist in China classes, class contradictions and class struggle, and there still exist harmony as well as contradiction between the relations of production and the productive forces and between the superstructure and the economic base. **Having summed up** the new experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat after Lenin, Chairman Mao answered in a systematic way various questions arising after the change in the system of ownership, set forth the tasks and policies of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and laid the theoretical basis of the Party's basic line and of continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Practice in the past 18 years, particularly in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, has proved that the theory, line and policies advanced by Chairman Mao are entirely correct.

Chairman Mao pointed out recently: "In a word, China is a socialist country. Before liberation she was much the same as a capitalist country. Even now she practises an eight-grade wage system, distribution according to work and exchange through money, and in all this differs very little from the old society. What is different is that the system of ownership has been changed." In order to gain a deeper understanding of Chairman Mao's instruction, let us take a look at the changes in the system of ownership in China and the

proportions of the various economic sectors in China's industry, agriculture and commerce in 1973.

First, industry. Industry under ownership by the whole people accounted for 97 per cent of the fixed assets of industry as a whole, 63 per cent of the industrial population, and 86 per cent of the value of total industrial output. Industry under collective ownership accounted for 3 per cent of the fixed assets, 36.2 per cent of the industrial population, and 14 per cent of the total output value. Besides these, individual handicraftsmen made up 0.8 per cent of the industrial population.

Next, agriculture. Among the agricultural means of production, about 90 per cent of the farmland and of the irrigation-drainage machinery and about 80 per cent of the tractors and draught animals were under collective ownership. Those under ownership by the whole people made up a very small proportion. Hence, over 90 per cent of the nation's grain and various industrial crops came from the collective economy. The state farms accounted for only a small proportion. Apart from these, there still remained the small plots farmed by commune members for their personal needs and limited household side-line production.

Then commerce. State commerce accounted for 92.5 per cent of the total volume of retail sales, commercial enterprises under collective ownership for 7.3 per cent, and individual pedlars for 0.2 per cent. Apart from these, there still remained a sizable amount of trade conducted at rural fairs.

The above figures show that socialist ownership by the whole people and socialist collective ownership by working people have indeed won great victory in China. The dominant position of ownership by the whole people has been very much enhanced and there have also been some changes in the economy of the people's commune as regards the proportions of ownership at the three levels — the commune, the production brigade and the production team. On Shanghai's outskirts, for example, income at the commune level in proportion to total income rose from 28.1 per cent in 1973 to 30.5 per cent in 1974, that of the brigades rose from 15.2 per cent to 17.2 per cent, while that of the teams dropped from 56.7 per cent to 52.3 per cent. The people's commune has demonstrated ever more clearly its superiority of being larger in size and having a higher degree of public ownership. In so far as we have, step by step in the past 25 years, eliminated ownership by imperialism, bureaucrat-capitalism and feudalism, transformed ownership by national capitalism and by the individual labourer and replaced these five kinds of private ownership with the

two kinds of socialist public ownership, we can proudly declare that the system of ownership in China has changed, that the proletariat and other working people in China have in the main freed themselves from the shackles of private ownership, and that China's socialist economic base has been gradually consolidated and developed. The Constitution adopted by the Fourth National People's Congress clearly records these great victories of ours.

However, we must see that the issue has not been entirely settled with respect to the system of ownership. We often say that the issue of the system of ownership "has in the main been settled"; this means that it has not been settled entirely, neither has bourgeois right been totally abolished in the realm of the system of ownership. Statistics cited above show that private ownership still exists in part of industry, agriculture as well as commerce, that socialist public ownership does not consist purely of ownership by the whole people but includes two kinds of ownership, and that ownership by the whole people is as yet rather weak in agriculture, the foundation of the national economy. The non-existence of bourgeois right in the realm of the system of ownership in a socialist society, as conceived by Marx and Lenin, implies the conversion of all the means of production into the common property of the whole society. Clearly we have not yet advanced to that stage. Neither in theory nor in practice should we overlook the very arduous tasks that lie ahead of the dictatorship of the proletariat in this respect.

Moreover, we must see that both ownership by the whole people and collective ownership involve the question of leadership, that is, the question of ownership by which class, not just in name but in reality.

Speaking at the First Plenary Session of the Ninth Central Committee of the Party on April 28, 1969, Chairman Mao said: "It seems that it won't do not to carry out the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, for our foundation is not solid. Judging from my observations, I am afraid that in a fairly large majority of factories — I don't mean all or the overwhelming majority of them — leadership was not in the hands of genuine Marxists and the masses of workers. Not that there were no good people among those in charge of the factories. There were. There were good people among the secretaries, deputy secretaries and members of Party committees and among Party branch secretaries. But they were following that line of Liu Shao-chi — simply resorting to material incentives, putting profit in command and, instead of promoting proletarian politics, handing out bonuses, and so forth." "But there were

indeed bad people in the factories." "This showed that the revolution remained unfinished." Chairman Mao's remarks not only explain the necessity of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution but enable us to see more clearly that on the problem of the system of ownership, as on all other problems, we should pay attention not only to its form but also to its actual content. It is perfectly correct for people to attach importance to the decisive role of the system of ownership in the relations of production. But it is incorrect to attach no importance to whether the issue of the system of ownership has been resolved in form or in reality, to the reaction exerted on the system of ownership by the two other aspects of the relations of production — the relations between men and the form of distribution — and to the reaction exerted on the economic base by the superstructure; these two aspects and the superstructure may play a decisive role under given conditions. Politics is the concentrated expression of economics. The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line, and the control of leadership in the hands of one class or another, decide which class owns a factory in reality. Comrades may recall how an enterprise owned by bureaucrat capital or national capital was turned into a socialist enterprise. Didn't we do the job by sending there a representative for military control or a state representative to transform it according to the Party's line and policies? Historically, every major change in the system of ownership, be it the replacement of slave system by feudal system or of feudalism by capitalism, was invariably preceded by the seizure of political power which was then used to change the system of ownership on a big scale and consolidate and develop the new system of ownership. This is even more so with socialist public ownership which cannot be brought forth under the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Bureaucrat capital, which controlled 80 per cent of the industry in old China, could be transformed and placed under ownership by the whole people only after the People's Liberation Army had defeated Chiang Kai-shek. Likewise, a capitalist restoration is inevitably preceded by the seizure of leadership and a change in the line and policies of the Party. Wasn't this the way Khrushchov and Brezhnev changed the system of ownership in the Soviet Union? Wasn't this the way Liu Shao-chi and Lin Biao changed the nature of a number of our factories and other enterprises to varying degrees?

Also, we must see that what we practise today is a commodity system. Chairman Mao says: "Our country at present practises a commodity system, the wage system is unequal, too, as in the eight-grade wage scale, and so forth. These can only be restricted under

the dictatorship of the proletariat. So if people like Lin Piao come to power, it will be quite easy for them to rig up the capitalist system." This state of affairs which Chairman Mao pinpointed cannot be changed in a short period. Take for instance the rural people's communes on the outskirts of Shanghai where the economy at the commune and production brigade levels has developed at a rather fast pace. The commune accounts for 34.2 per cent of the fixed assets owned at all three levels, the brigade accounts for only 15.1 per cent while the production team still accounts for 50.7 per cent. Therefore, considering the economic conditions in the commune alone, it will take a fairly long time to effect the transition from the team to the brigade and then to the commune functioning as the basic accounting unit. Even when the commune is made the basic accounting unit, it will still remain under collective ownership. Thus within a short period no basic change will take place in the situation in which there are both ownership by the whole people and collective ownership. So long as these two kinds of ownership still exist, commodity production, exchange through money and distribution according to work are inevitable. Since **"these can only be restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat,"** the growth of capitalist factors in town and country and the emergence of new bourgeois elements are likewise inevitable. If these are not restricted, capitalism and the bourgeoisie will grow faster. Therefore, on no account should we relax our vigilance just because we have won great victory in the transformation of the system of ownership and carried out a Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. We must realize that our economic base is not yet solid and that bourgeois right, which has not yet been abolished entirely in the system of ownership, is still prevalent to a serious extent in the relations between men and holds a dominant position in distribution. In the various spheres of the superstructure, some aspects are in fact still controlled by the bourgeoisie which is predominant there; some are being transformed but the results are not yet consolidated, and old ideas and the old force of habit are trying obstinately to hold back the growth of socialist new things. New bourgeois elements are engendered, group after group, in the wake of the development of capitalist factors in town and country. The class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the class struggle between the different political forces, and the class struggle in the ideological field between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie will continue to be long and tortuous and at times will even become very acute. Even when all the landlords and capitalists of the old generation have died, such class struggles will by no means come to a

stop, and a bourgeois restoration may still occur if people like Lin Piao come to power. In his speech *The Situation and Our Policy After the Victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan*, Chairman Mao said that in 1936 near the site of the Party Central Committee in Pao-an there was a fortified village held by a handful of armed counter-revolutionaries who obstinately refused to surrender until the Red Army stormed into it to settle the problem. This story has a universal significance, for it tells us: **"Everything reactionary is the same; if you don't hit it, it won't fall. This is also like sweeping the floor; as a rule, where the broom does not reach, the dust never vanishes of itself."** Today there are still many "fortified villages" held by the bourgeoisie; when one is destroyed, another will spring up, and even when all but one have been destroyed, this last one will not vanish of itself if the iron broom of the dictatorship of the proletariat does not reach there. What Lenin said is entirely correct: **"For all these reasons the dictatorship of the proletariat is essential."**

Historical experience shows us that whether the proletariat can triumph over the bourgeoisie and whether China will turn revisionist hinges on whether we can persevere in exercising all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in all spheres and at all stages of development in the revolution. What is all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie? The most succinct generalization is found in a passage from a letter Marx wrote in 1852 to J. Weydemeyer, which we are all studying. Marx said: **"No credit is due to me for discovering the existence of classes in modern society, nor yet the struggle between them. Long before me bourgeois historians had described the historical development of this class struggle and bourgeois economists the economic anatomy of the classes. What I did that was new was to prove: 1) that the existence of classes is only bound up with particular historical phases in the development of production, 2) that the class struggle necessarily leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat, 3) that this dictatorship itself only constitutes the transition to the abolition of all classes and to a classless society."** In this remarkable observation, Lenin said, Marx succeeded in expressing with striking clarity the chief and radical difference between his theory on the state and that of the bourgeoisie, and the essence of his teaching on the state. Here it should be noted that Marx divided the sentence on the dictatorship of the proletariat into three points, which are nevertheless interrelated and cannot be cut apart. It is impermissible to accept only one of the three points while rejecting the other two. For the

sentence gives perfect expression to the entire process of the inception, development and withering away of the dictatorship of the proletariat and covers the whole task of the dictatorship of the proletariat and its actual content. In *The Class Struggles in France, 1848-1850*, Marx deals in more specific terms with this dictatorship of the proletariat as the necessary transit point to the abolition of all **class distinctions**, 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. Here Marx says "all," and in all four places! Not a part, nor a greater part, nor even the greatest part, but all! This is nothing surprising, for only by emancipating all mankind can the proletariat achieve its own final emancipation. The only way to attain this goal is to exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie and carry the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat through to the end, until the above-mentioned four "alls" are abolished on the earth so that it will be impossible for the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes to exist or for new ones to arise, and we must not call a halt along the path of **transition**. In our view, only those who have such an understanding can grasp the essence of Marx's teaching on the state. Comrades, please think it over: If the point is not to be grasped this way, if Marxism is to be limited, curtailed and distorted in theory and practice, if the dictatorship of the proletariat is to be turned into an empty phrase, or all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie rendered incomplete and exercised only in some but not all spheres, or only at some stages (for instance, before the transformation of the system of ownership) but not at all stages, or in other words, if the "fortified villages" of the bourgeoisie are not all destroyed but some are left to allow the bourgeoisie to expand its ranks again, doesn't that mean to prepare the conditions for a bourgeois restoration? Doesn't it mean to turn the dictatorship of the proletariat into something that protects the bourgeoisie, particularly the newly engendered bourgeoisie? All workers, all poor and lower-middle peasants and all other working people who refuse to suffer once again, all Communists who dedicate their lives to the struggle for communism, and all comrades who do not want China to turn revisionist, must firmly bear in mind this basic principle of Marxism: It is imperative to exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie, and it is absolutely impermissible to give it up half-way. There are undeniably some comrades among us who have joined the Communist Party organizationally

but not ideologically. In their world outlook they have not yet stepped out of the confines of small production and of the bourgeoisie. They do approve of the dictatorship of the proletariat at certain stages and in certain spheres and are pleased with certain victories of the proletariat, because these will bring them some gains; once they have secured their gains, they feel it's time to settle down and feather their cosy nests. As for exercising all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie, as for following up the first step on the 10,000-li long march, sorry, let others do the job; here is my stop and I must get off the bus. We would like to offer a piece of advice to these comrades: It's dangerous to stop half-way! The bourgeoisie is beckoning to you. Catch up with the ranks and continue the advance!

Historical experience also shows us that, as the dictatorship of the proletariat wins one victory after another, the bourgeoisie may pretend on the surface to accept this dictatorship while in reality it continues to work for the restoration of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. This is exactly what Khrushchov and Brezhnev have done. They changed neither the name of "Soviet," nor the name of the party of Lenin, nor the name of "socialist republic," but accepting these names and using them as a cover, deprived the dictatorship of the proletariat of its actual content and turned it into a dictatorship of the monopoly capitalist class against the Soviet, the party of Lenin and the socialist republics. In open betrayal of Marxism, they put forward the revisionist programme of "the state of the whole people" and "the party of the entire people." However, they flaunt the flag of the dictatorship of the proletariat to suppress the masses of the Soviet people who rise against their fascist dictatorship. Similar cases have occurred in China. Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao did not limit themselves to spreading the theory of the dying out of class struggle; they, too, flaunted the flag of the dictatorship of the proletariat when they suppressed the revolution. Didn't Lin Piao preach his four "never forgets"? One of these was "never forget the dictatorship of the proletariat." Indeed there was something he "never forgot," only the words "to overthrow" should be inserted here to make it "never forget to overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat," or on the confession of his gang, "wave Chairman Mao's banner to strike at Chairman Mao's forces." At times they acted "in submission" to the proletariat and even pretended to be more revolutionary than anyone else, raising "Left" slogans to create confusion and carry out sabotage, but they constantly waged a tit-for-tat struggle against the proletariat. You

wanted to carry out socialist transformation? They said the new democratic order had to be consolidated. You wanted to organize co-operatives and communes? They said it was too early to do that. When you said literature and art should be revolutionized, they said it would do no harm to put on some ghost plays. You wanted to restrict bourgeois right? They said it was a very good thing indeed and should be extended. They are past masters at defending old things and, like a swarm of flies, hum all day long over the "birth marks" and "defects" of the old society as referred to by Marx. Taking advantage of the inexperience of young people, they are particularly keen to peddle among the youth the idea that material incentive, like odd-odour bean curd, smells awful but tastes good. And they always wave the banner of socialism while committing these acts of disgrace. Don't some bad eggs engaged in speculation, graft and theft say that they are going in for socialist co-operation? Don't some abettors who poison the minds of young people wave the banner of "care and love for the successors to the cause of communism"? We must study their tactics and sum up our experience so as to exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in a more effective way.

"Are you out to stir up a wind of 'communization'?" To fabricate rumours by posing such a question is a tactic which some persons have recently resorted to. To this we can answer explicitly: The wind of "communization" as stirred up by Liu Shao-chi and Chen Po-ta shall never be allowed to rise again. We have always held that, instead of having too big a supply of commodities, our country does not yet have a great abundance of them. So long as the communes cannot yet offer much to be "communized" with production brigades and teams, and enterprises under ownership by the whole people cannot offer a great abundance of products for distribution according to need among our 800 million people, we will have to continue with commodity production, exchange through money and distribution according to work. We have taken and will continue to take proper measures to curb the harm caused by these things. The dictatorship of the proletariat is a dictatorship by the masses. We are confident that under the leadership of the Party, the broad masses have the strength and the ability to fight against the bourgeoisie and finally vanquish it. Old China was a country submerged in a vast sea of small production. Conducting socialist education among several hundred million peasants is always a serious problem and requires the endeavour

of several generations. But the poor and lower-middle peasants form the majority among the several hundred million peasants, and they know from practice that the one and only bright path for them is to follow the Communist Party and advance along the socialist road. Our Party has relied upon them to unite with the middle peasants for a step-by-step advance from mutual-aid teams to the elementary and advanced agricultural producers' co-operatives and then to the people's communes, and we can surely lead them onward.

We would rather call comrades' attention to the fact that it is another kind of wind which is blowing — the "bourgeois" wind. This is the bourgeois style of life Chairman Mao has pointed out, an evil wind stirred up by those "parts" of the people who have degenerated into bourgeois elements. The "bourgeois" wind blowing from among those Communists, particularly leading cadres, who belong to these "parts," does the greatest harm to us. Poisoned by this evil wind, some people are permeated with bourgeois ideas; they scramble for fame and gain and feel proud instead of ashamed of this. Some have reached the point of looking at everything as a commodity, including themselves. They join the Communist Party and do some work for the proletariat merely for the sake of upgrading themselves as commodities and asking the proletariat for higher prices. Those who are Communists in name but new bourgeois elements in reality manifest the features of the decadent and moribund bourgeoisie as a whole. Historically, when the slave-owning, landlord and capitalist classes were in the ascendancy, they did some good turns for mankind. The new bourgeois elements today act in diametrical opposition to their forefathers. They are nothing but a "new" heap of garbage and can only be destructive to mankind. Among those who spread the rumour about a wind of "communization" being stirred up, some are new bourgeois elements who have taken public property into their private possession and fear that the people would "communize" it again; others are people who want to seize the opportunity to grab some gains. These people have a better nose than many of our comrades. Some of our comrades say that study is a flexible task, whereas those people have sensed by instinct that the current study is an inflexible task for both classes, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. They may indeed stir up some wind of "communization" or take over one of our slogans deliberately to confuse the two different types of contradictions and create some trouble. This merits our attention.

Under the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, the mighty proletarian revolutionary contingents formed by the masses in their hundreds of millions in China are striding forward. With 25 years of practical experience in the dictatorship of the proletariat and the international experience since the Paris Commune, and as long as the few hundred Members of our Party Central Committee and the several thousand senior cadres take the lead and join the vast numbers of cadres and masses of people in reading and studying assiduously, conducting investigation and study and summing up experience, we can certainly translate Chairman Mao's call into reality, get a clear idea of the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and ensure the trium-

phant advance of our country along the course charted by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. **"The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win."** This infinitely bright future will surely continue to inspire growing numbers of awakened workers and other working people and their vanguard, the Communists, to keep to the Party's basic line and persevere in exercising all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie and carry the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat through to the end! The fall of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes and the victory of communism are inevitable, certain and independent of man's will.

(A translation of an article in "Hongqi,"
No. 4, 1975)

(Continued from p. 4.)

and participate in the Third National Games.

The message says:

"The Third National Games of the People's Republic of China is scheduled to take place between September 7 and 27 in Peking, the capital of our great motherland. It will be a grand festival of unity and friendship for the people of all nationalities and physical culture circles throughout China.

"On behalf of the preparatory office for the sports delegation of Taiwan Province, I hereby invite physical culture workers and athletes in Taiwan Province to join those of Taiwan Province origin residing on the mainland of the motherland, in Hong Kong and Macao and overseas in forming the sports delegation of Taiwan Province to the Third National Games. We warmly welcome you leading members to the games at the head of the physical culture workers and athletes from Taiwan Province.

"Let us work together to enhance the unity of the physical culture

workers and athletes of Taiwan Province and those of the fraternal provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions and the unity of the compatriots in Taiwan and the rest of the Chinese people."

The preparatory office for the sports delegation of Taiwan Province to the Third National Games of the People's Republic of China has been set up in Peking and has begun its work. The leading member of the preparatory office is Comrade Tsai Hsiao, a compatriot of Taiwan Province origin and Member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and member of the preparatory committee for China's Third National Games.

Theatrical Festival Continues

The theatrical festival sponsored by the Ministry of Culture continues in Peking.

Performances by troupes from Sinkiang, Shensi, Heilungkiang and Szechuan which started in February have ended, and troupes from Kwangtung, Hupeh, Honan, Yunnan, Kirin and Kansu are now performing.

The performances by the troupes of these six provinces include revolutionary model theatrical works adapted to the form of *chuyi* (ballad singing and story telling) and to local operas such as *yuehchu*, *hanchu*, *yuchu*, *chichu*, *lungchu*, *taichu* and *tienchu*. Adaptation of the model theatrical works which were born in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has promoted the reform of local operas and the ideological revolutionization of theatrical workers.

The troupes will also put on programmes created in recent years with themes on the Cultural Revolution, socialist revolution and construction, and revolutionary history. Besides music, singing, dancing and *chuyi*, these performances are in Peking opera, modern play and local operas.

With these theatrical pieces performed while the whole nation is studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the festival will contribute to promoting revolution in art and literature in various places and making art and literature better serve the task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Road to Victory

CHINA'S agriculture has made big progress in the 25 years since liberation. Grain output has increased 140 per cent and cotton 470 per cent, ensuring a population of nearly 800 million their basic needs in food and clothing. From their own experience, the hundreds of millions of peasants have come to know that, for a poor and backward country like old China to become rich and prosperous, the socialist road is not only the necessary road but also the road to sure victory.

"Revolution Can Change Everything"

Before liberation, China's agricultural production was very backward and the peasants lived in dire poverty because of the oppression and plunder by the reactionary ruling classes and the destruction from natural calamities. Since liberation, socialist revolution has taken on the responsibility of transforming the situation in the countryside which was on a weak economic basis. From the very beginning, many reactionary prophets claimed that this revolution would fizzle out. When the U.S. imperialists helped Chiang Kai-shek oppose the Chinese revolution by giving him guns and money but met with disastrous defeat, the former U.S. Secretary of State Acheson fancied that the revolution would fail of itself. He deemed China's big population

"an unbearable pressure," and no government could succeed in solving China's economic problems. Thus, revolution or no revolution, China had no way out at all but to live by begging alms from the imperialists. At home, when the poor and lower-middle peasants led by Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee embarked on the road of agricultural co-operation to change the backward farming situation, Liu Shao-chi stepped out to smear it as "erroneous, dangerous and Utopian thinking in socializing agriculture." At that time, all class enemies and those people full of bourgeois ideas predicted that the face of China's countryside would never change.

A quarter of a century has passed. History has testified to the fact that we are living better and better by not relying on the imperialists. And facts have proved the truth that "revolution can change everything." (Mao Tsetung: *The Bankruptcy of the Idealist Conception of History*.)

In north Kiangsu Province, Hsinghua County and a dozen other counties are in a basin-like area, and the lowest place in Hsinghua is only one and a half metres above sea level. The basin was at the mercy of floods and waterlogging before liberation. A sea of water in the basin meant no yields that year, and even in a good year large tracts of land were inundated. Many peasants could do nothing but wander to the southern part of the province, begging for a living. That no change had come about in this area in the past made lots of people lose faith in its future.

Tsao An-tse, a peasant in the Liutung Production Brigade in Hsinghua County, decided to leave the place as he thought Liutung could not be changed, just like a brick would always sink to the bottom when dropped into the water. When he left, he threw one of the bricks of his house into the water and said to his neighbours that he would return when the brick floated. Later he did return, in 1965, although the brick still did not float. He has since built a house with nine rooms and decided never to leave again. Why? Because Liutung has changed, Hsinghua has changed. The one-time basin has changed. The canals that have been built crisscross the basin, dykes pro-

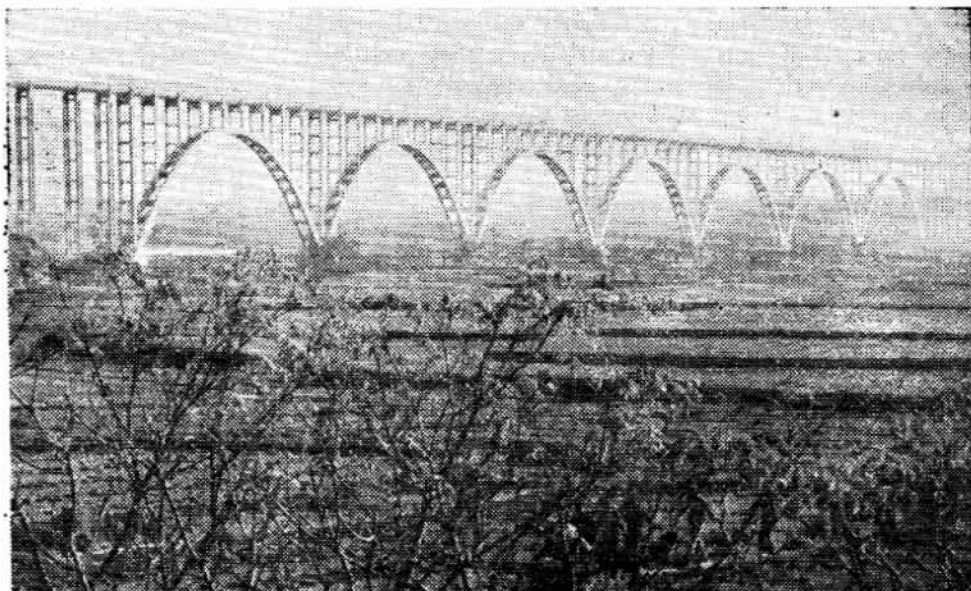


Members of a people's commune in northern Kiangsu Province, once a disaster-ridden area, selling their surplus grain to the state.

protecting the fields from floods stand there like city walls, and the place is dotted with power-operated pumping stations. All this guarantees that floods can be kept off, extra rain water can be drained and fields can be irrigated in dry spells. Once inundated fields on which two or three crops are now raised a year give high and stable yields. Take Hsinghua County at the bottom of the basin for instance. Total grain output in 1949 was 135,000 tons. This rose to 357,000 tons in 1965, the year prior to the Great Cultural Revolution, and reached 665,000 tons in 1973. That year, the county handed in and sold to the state 215,000 tons of grain. The great socialist revolution has changed everything in Tsao An-tse's native land, and his old belief that heaven decides everything has also changed.

The eastern part of Honan Province was known over the centuries as where the Yellow River could wreak havoc at will. Whenever people thought of it, a scene of undulating saline sand dunes and throngs of beggars appeared. That disaster-ridden place also has changed. The old course of the Yellow River in Lankao County today is covered with belts of *Paulownia*, apple orchards and grape vines. The peasants say people used to curse the sand dunes and feared them. Now they like and want them because the people have the power to transform them. Once tree belts are planted on sand dunes, they yield profits. The Yellow River was a notoriously harmful river, cursed and feared by the people. The people now force it to make up for its past crimes, using its silt-laden water to cover large tracts of alkaline land. In the last few years, Lankao County silted 11,000 hectares of land. Thanks to this and other measures such as digging wells and channels, deep ploughing and scientific farming, this long-standing disaster-ridden area has turned out to be a place abundant in timber, fruit and cotton and has begun supplying the country with marketable grain.

In the last 25 years, China did not find favour in the eyes of heaven, nor did she ask for one single coin from the imperialists, yet many areas often hit by natural disasters in the past have changed their appearance and hope has come to those places once considered hopeless. China reaped another rich harvest last year, the 13th in a row since 1962, with grain production reaching a new high. Cotton yield and that of other industrial crops were also good. Although we still are not rich, the scene of misery in the old society when people died of starvation and poverty belongs to the past.



The long aqueduct of a newly built water-turbine pumping station in a county of Hunan Province.

What after all do we rely on to bring about such great changes? We rely on the leadership of Chairman Mao and the Communist Party, on the superiority of the socialist system.

Since the founding of New China, in accordance with Chairman Mao's teaching, the Party has led the poor and lower-middle peasants to carry out a series of revolutions in the countryside — from land reform to organizing mutual-aid teams and co-ops, and later establishing people's communes — guiding the scattered, backward small-peasant economy on to the broad and prosperous road of socialism. Socialism has not only organized hundreds of millions of peasants economically, but united them under one common revolutionary aim. This forms a force powerful enough to make earth-shaking changes. Now an ordinary production brigade of several hundred people dares to level a hill, dig through a mountain or dam a river to transform the conditions of production without modern equipment. Who can imagine these things in the past when people left everything to the "will of heaven" and could not see their future and their own strength?

Without socialism to organize the peasants, there will be people engaged in making money, while others will be on the verge of bankruptcy and still more will have to skimp in order to make both ends meet. Who will set their minds on transforming nature? And where will the strength to accomplish it come from?

Without socialism to organize the peasants and without arming the people with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, how can they fight against capitalist forces, against the old ideas, culture, customs and habits which have existed for thousands of years and against the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius? How can they rid themselves of these mental shackles forced on them by exploiting classes and become masters of nature and society? And how can they despise all kinds of difficulties to carry out such a great struggle?

Without socialism to organize the peasants and make an overall plan under Party leadership, how can people take both immediate, partial interests and long-term interests as well as those of the whole into consideration? And how can they be firmly resolved to transform mountains and tame rivers and bring about a fundamental change?

Without socialism to organize the peasants, how can the state use its limited economic strength to the best advantage? And how can education, medical and health work and scientific and technical knowledge be popularized in the countryside so as to ensure victory in the great struggle against nature?

Practice over the last quarter-century has made the poor and lower-middle peasants come to the deep understanding that without socialism, not only would there not have been such changes as have taken place in the countryside today, but millions of poor and lower-middle peasants would have gone bankrupt as a result of sharp class polarization. They say this is why "only socialism can save China." (Mao Tsetung: *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*.)

Irresistible Tide

Chairman Mao has said: "Socialism is something new. A severe struggle must be waged against the old ways before socialism can be brought about." (Editor's note to "They Insist on Taking the Road to Co-operation" in *Socialist Upsurge in China's Countryside*.) Those who have lost their "paradise" in New China and those who kneel before capitalism will always do their utmost to oppose socialist revolution in China's countryside. However, under the Party's correct leadership, socialism which has incomparable superiority and great vitality certainly cannot be defeated.

Ten mutual-aid teams in the old revolutionary base in the Taihang Mountains organized and set up ten agricultural co-ops in early 1951 on a trial basis. At that time, this new thing was only beginning to bud. In the eyes of Liu Shao-chi, it could be easily nipped in the bud. On a report on the organization of these ten co-ops he wrote the following comment: "Erroneous, dangerous and Utopian thinking in socializing agriculture." But what was the result? Supported by the peasants, not a single co-op of the ten collapsed. Instead, more poor and lower-middle peasants joined them. Within a year, a greater number of co-ops were formed in the locality.

In 1953 and 1955 when China's countryside was vigorously engaged in organizing co-ops, Liu Shao-chi twice slashed a large number of them under the pretext of "opposing rashness." Actually, many of the disbanded co-ops carried on as before with the support of the peasants. In the Hota area of Hsinghua County, Kiangsu Province, the peasants organized themselves into eight co-ops. Although seven were slashed in the statistical report, none was dissolved in reality. Hanshou County in Hunan announced the establishment of only six or seven co-ops, yet more than 20 others existed.

Why couldn't the agricultural co-ops be slashed? Where did the poor and lower-middle peasants' faith in victory of the socialist road come from? The answer was they had suffered from oppression and exploitation in the old society, had seen the beginnings of class polarization soon after the land reform and had experienced the superiority of mutual aid over farming on one's own. All these living facts made them understand that the socialist road charted by Chairman Mao was the only road for preventing class polarization after the land reform and the only road to get rid of poverty and to common prosperity. This road represented the fundamental interests of the poor and lower-middle peasants and the people of the whole country.

However, the struggle did not end then. In the period of 1959-61, China's national economy had temporary difficulties because the imperialists, revisionists and reactionaries put pressure on us and serious natural calamities took place in those years. Liu Shao-chi used the opportunity to spread the theory of "the dying out of class struggle" and to fan up the evil wind of "going it alone" in agriculture in an attempt to restore capitalism. For a time, such fallacies as the people's communes were "organized too early" and were "in a mess" and "fixing farm output quotas for individual households with each on its own" seemed to have gained the upper hand.

Whenever there were adverse winds and waves, there were heroes opposing them. The most outstanding example was Shansi's Tachai Production Brigade, the national pace-setter in agriculture. During the years of temporary economic difficulty, there were clamours for "going it alone." But the poor and lower-middle peasants of Tachai replied: We tried that for generations, in fact, for thousands of years in the past. Didn't we shed enough blood and tears because of it? In accordance with Chairman Mao's teaching, they firmly adhered to the socialist road, pitting themselves against Liu Shao-chi's revisionist line and the evil trend of capitalism. As a result, a more prosperous Tachai was born, which boosted the morale of the poor and lower-middle peasants all over the country and deflated the arrogance of the class enemies.

It was only too natural that a few people went astray during times of difficulty. However, the final outcome was that the poor and lower-middle peasants' hatred for the revisionist line and for capitalism was deepened. Lankao County's Chinchai Brigade tried the method of "fixing farm output quotas for individual households with each on its own" for two or three years, and the result was production almost completely flopped. In 1962, the brigade had to depend on the state to supply 300 tons of grain for food. Class polarization was rampant. Only a few of the brigade's 650 households became rich while over 95 per cent of the peasant families suffered from the capitalist way of farming. In the latter half of 1962, the Party organization from a higher level sent comrades to the brigade to solicit opinions on how to run the Chinchai Brigade well in

the years to come. The poor and lower-middle peasants who constituted the overwhelming majority requested that cadres who stood for socialism be put in the leadership. After these cadres took over power, they asked the peasants what to do first to change the face of Chinchai. Again the poor and lower-middle peasants spoke out. They demanded that all the land for which output quotas had been fixed on the basis of individual households be taken back by the collective. By sticking to the socialist road, grasping class struggle and launching a mass drive to transform saline and alkaline land on a large scale, the brigade later became one of the county's advanced units.

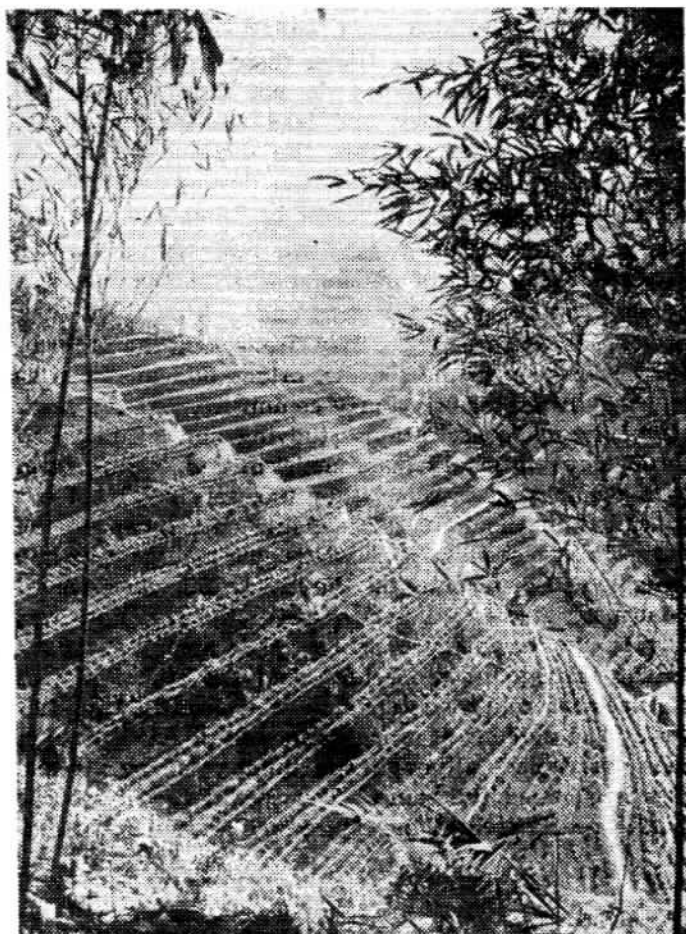
The evil wind of capitalist restoration in 1959-61 served as a teacher by negative example. People could see that wherever capitalist restoration was opposed and the socialist road adhered to, the natural conditions were quickly changed, the collective economy rapidly expanded, the peasants' contribution to the state grew fast and their living standards improved at a speedy rate. The situation was just the opposite anywhere the capitalist trend was not checked. The contrast enlightened the poor and lower-middle peasants and helped them to come to the common understanding that **"socialism is the only way out."** (Mao Tsetung: *On the Question of Agricultural Co-operation.*)

For more than the past 20 years, under the leadership of our great leader Chairman Mao, every time socialism triumphs in a big political struggle, the poor and lower-middle peasants are elated, a new upsurge in production and construction emerges and the socialist collective economy is further strengthened. The poor and lower-middle peasants have summed up this thought-provoking phenomenon as: **This means that the historical trend is irresistible.**

Swifter Pace as Revolution Deepens

The socialist collective economy has further displayed its power since the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution started. Following are some examples. Yushu County in Kirin Province nearly doubled its total output of grain and soya beans in 1973 as compared with 1965, the year preceding the Great Cultural Revolution. It handed in and sold 368,000 tons of grain and soya beans to the state in 1973. The total grain output of Huihsien County in Honan Province in 1965 was 95,000 tons. In 1973, it produced over 240,000 tons, a 152 per cent increase over 1965. Nanning Prefecture in the Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous Region produced 610,000 tons of grain in 1949. The figure was doubled 20 years later in 1969. In 1973, it reached 1,820,000 tons. This tempo of increase had rarely been seen before.

One of the important factors for these great victories is the strengthening of industrial support to agriculture. The most fundamental reason, however, is the fact that the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is a deep-going socialist revolution. Through the exposure of the two-line struggle within the Party and through revolutionary mass criticism, the revolution has spurred millions of people to summarize the practice



Former barren hills have been turned into a tea garden by a production brigade in Anhwei Province.

of China's socialist revolution in the past 25 years. It has enabled them to understand better the Party's basic line for the entire historical period of socialism and the truth that **the correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything.**

This is a leap forward in ideology.

Some persons in Hsiyang County, Shansi Province, thought that the transformation of the ownership of means of production had been basically completed, classes had been eliminated and the socialist revolution had succeeded; the only thing left was to raise production and speed up construction. This led to the anomalous situation that although Tachai is in that county, its advanced experience could not be popularized there. As a result of the two-line struggle in the Party being exposed in the Great Cultural Revolution, Hsiyang's cadres and masses received a profound education. Together with the masses, the cadres began summing up their experience and drawing lessons from the socialist revolution of the previous ten years and more, and scathingly criticized the counter-revolutionary revisionist line. This made them understand that after the transformation of the ownership of means of production, there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist

output and per-hectare yield last year hit all-time highs. Changes in Hsiyang County are a stimulus to the nationwide movement to learn from Tachai.

Some people used to grudgingly note the bad natural conditions when no big changes had taken place in their locality. Now they have changed their minds. "It's because of our old ideology," they say, "that our place remains the same as before. Any place can be changed quickly. It is the political line that decides and the leadership that counts."

Since the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution began, comments like these have often been heard. This shows that through that revolution, people in many places have faith in and the proper way of bringing about big and quick changes like those in Tachai and Hsiyang. Especially since the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, criticism of reactionary fallacies such as the theory that "everything is decided by heaven" and "the highest are the wise and the lowest are the stupid" advocated by Lin Piao and Confucius has further freed the people of the age-old mental shackles of old ideology. Their Marxist-Leninist level and their consciousness in the two-line struggle have been greatly raised. This adds to their initiative to achieve greater successes through struggle.

A bright future awaits us.

Severe Punishment for Nguyen Van Thieu Clique's Criminal Act of Sabotaging the Paris Agreement

THE heroic patriotic people and armed forces of south Viet Nam have recently launched valiant counter-attacks against the Nguyen Van Thieu clique for its criminal act of consistently sabotaging the Paris agreement and have won remarkable successes. The Chinese people warmly congratulate the fraternal south Vietnamese people and armed forces on their great victories.

Everyone knows that since the signing of the Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Viet Nam, the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam have consistently made untiring efforts for the strict implementation of the agreement and provisions of all protocols. On the contrary, with the ink on the Paris agreement hardly dry, the Thieu clique, backed by the United States, frantically clamoured for annexation of the liberated areas in a vain attempt to wipe out the revolutionary administration. For more than the last two years, it has flagrantly violated the ceasefire on hundreds of thousands of occasions and mounted tens of thousands of nibbling attacks and "pacification" operations against the liberated areas.

The clique not only refused to respond to a series of reasonable proposals for implementation of the Paris agreement put forward by the Provisional Revolutionary Government, but also arbitrarily discontinued the consultative conference in Paris between the two south Vietnamese parties and repeatedly sabotaged the normal functions of the joint military commission. There is irrefutable proof of the undeniable crime of sabotaging the Paris agreement by the Thieu clique. The valiant counter-attack against intruding Saigon puppet troops by the south Vietnamese people and their armed forces to safeguard the Paris agreement is both reasonable and completely justified. The Thieu clique made false counter-charges and shamelessly vilified the counter-attack against it as a so-called "trampling on the Paris agreement." This is the trick of a thief crying "stop thief."

The great victory of the south Vietnamese people and their armed forces has dealt a heavy blow to the Thieu clique. This puppet clique is in a panic, with political, economic and social crises growing sharper in areas temporarily under its control. Its situation has

New Victories Won by South Vietnamese Armed Forces and People

A communique issued on March 30 by the Command of the South Viet Nam People's Liberation Armed Forces announced that Da Nang, the second largest city in south Viet Nam, and all of Quang Nam Province had been completely liberated.

The communique said: On March 29, "our army and people have gained complete control of Da Nang city, annihilating and capturing large numbers of enemy troops with all their weapons. Hundreds of thousands of our compatriots who had been forced to retreat with the enemy firmly frustrated the vicious enemy scheme and returned to the city where they gave the liberation armed forces a rousing welcome. In response to the call of the revolution, tens of thousands of enemy soldiers, officers and government officials crossed over to the side of the people. The flag of the Provisional Revolutionary Government is now flying over the city."

The communique stated: "The bellicose United States and Nguyen Van Thieu clique are on the decline and seriously defeated, but they remain very stubborn and are committing fresh crimes against our compatriots. The fighting is still bitter and complex. However, our army and people are determined to advance in triumph, punish the stubborn and bellicose clique which is sabotaging peace and violating the Paris agreement, and win greater victories."

Since last January, the south Vietnamese people and their liberation armed forces have launched

a continuous uprising and offensive against the enemy, and up to March 28 had completely liberated 12 provinces, including the city of Hue, according to VNA.

The 12 provinces are:

— Phuoc Long Province, north of Saigon, liberated on January 6.

— Dar Lac Province, in the Central Highlands, liberated on March 12.

— Kon Tum Province, in the Central Highlands, liberated on March 17.

— Gia Lai Province, in the Central Highlands, liberated on March 18.

— Phu Bon Province, also in the Central Highlands, and Quang Tri, the northernmost province of south Viet Nam, both liberated on March 19.

— Binh Long Province, north of Saigon, liberated on March 20.

— Quang Ngai, a coastal province, and Quang Duc Province, northeast of Saigon, both liberated on March 24.

— The city of Hue and the whole of Thua Thien, another coastal province, liberated on March 26.

— Quang Nam, in central Viet Nam, liberated on March 27.

— Quang Da, a coastal province in central Viet Nam, liberated on March 28.

become more difficult and puppet troop morale has sunk to a new low. The disastrous defeat of the Thieu clique is entirely the inevitable result of its stubborn pursuance of a fascist, warlike and reactionary policy.

It should be pointed out that as a signatory to the Paris agreement, the United States not only should honour the agreement but also has the obligation to see to it that the Thieu clique strictly honours and scrupulously implements the agreement and the provisions of the protocols. To the contrary, however, it even has illegally shipped large quantities of arms to south Viet Nam in support of the wanton trampling on and sabotage of the agreement by the Thieu clique. Washington has declared more than once recently that it would provide additional military "aid" to the puppet Saigon administration to bolster it. More serious is the U.S. sending of its Army Chief of Staff Weyand to Saigon not long ago to plot on behalf of Thieu, and of war vessels to

waters near south Viet Nam and adjoining areas in recent days with a view to intimidating the south Vietnamese armed forces and people. Such schemes will never succeed.

The Chinese people have always given all-out support to the just struggle of the Vietnamese people. They consider the Saigon authorities' crime of violating the Paris agreement absolutely intolerable. They firmly support the just stand of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam as expounded in its March 21 statement. The Thieu clique will definitely end up with more disastrous defeats if it refuses to draw lessons from its failure, continues to sabotage the Paris agreement and provokes war.

(Excerpts of an article by "Renmin Ribao" Commentator, March 30)

Invincible Might of People's War

DEFYING brute force and fearing no hardship or sacrifice, the heroic Cambodian people and the People's Armed Forces of National Liberation of Cambodia have, by upholding the correct revolutionary line and persisting in protracted armed struggle, brought into play the might of people's war and grown in strength in the course of struggle. After five years of valiant fighting, they have grown from weak to strong, continuously scored splendid victories and brought about a new excellent situation.

Five years ago, U.S. imperialism instigated the Lon Nol clique to stage a reactionary coup d'etat, and then sent more than 100,000 U.S. aggressor troops and Saigon puppet troops to invade Cambodia on a massive scale. The Soviet revisionists also colluded with and backed the clique. For a time, it seemed that "the city might crumble under the mass of dark clouds" over Cambodia.

People's Armed Forces Grow From Small to Big

All reactionaries the world over always overestimate their own strength and underestimate the strength of the people. The more frantically U.S. imperialism and its lackeys commit aggression against and oppress the people, the stronger the people's revolutionary struggle and resistance. In the face of the harsh situation in which the fate of the nation was at stake, the Cambodian people, with a glorious tradition of struggle, rose up without flinching in a war of resistance and founded the people's armed forces on March 23, 1970. A surging great struggle against U.S. aggression and for national liberation has been waged ever since by the armed forces of a new type together with the people of the whole country united around the National United Front of Cambodia with Head of State Samdech Norodom Sihanouk as Chairman.

The Cambodian patriots and their armed forces demonstrated their invincible might in the first year of the war. Armed with crude weapons, they repeatedly smashed the invasion of U.S. aggressor troops and Saigon puppet troops and dealt a heavy blow to the arrogance of the Lon Nol clique. They wiped out puppet effectives in large numbers, liberated two-thirds of the territory and established solid revolutionary bases.

Learning warfare through warfare, the people's armed forces in the second and third years of the war defeated many counter-attacks and large-scale mopping-up operations by the Lon Nol clique as well as harassment by Saigon puppet troops. The enemy troops they put out of action averaged about 100,000 a year.

When the war entered its fourth year, the people's armed forces, grown stronger through fighting, annihilated more than 100,000 puppet troops and foiled the U.S. imperialist scheme of "forcing negotiations through bombing" in 1973. They resisted continuous wanton bombing for about 200 days by U.S. planes flying more than 35,000 sorties and finally compelled the United States to stop the bombing on August 15, 1973.

The liberation war went into its fifth year in March 1974. A tremendous change in the Cambodian situation was brought about by the people's armed forces' fierce offensive at the beginning of the fifth dry season. Far superior to the enemy in military quality long ago, they kept the initiative on the battlefields firmly in their hands. They have demolished or liberated over 100 important enemy strongholds around Phnom Penh in the last two months or so, cut all important communication lines there and taken control of an 80-kilometre section of the Mekong River, the Lon Nol clique's lifeline. They also have constantly shelled Pochentong Airport, the only air route for Phnom Penh, frequently forcing the United States to suspend its "emergency airlift" and putting the enemy in extreme difficulty.

Puppet Troops' Morale Sinks

Through war of annihilation, the number of enemy effectives wiped out far exceeded that of any previous dry season. In particular, they have wiped out entire units of enemy troops. In two months, they wiped out nearly 24,000 of the main forces of the Lon Nol puppet troops on the Phnom Penh and Mekong battlefield alone. These included dozens of enemy battalions completely wiped out and six brigades and two divisions wiped out in the main. A military sub-sector commander and three divisional commanders of the puppet troops were killed or wounded. The war of annihilation has so lowered the morale of the puppet troops that they have no will to fight. Incidents of desertion have occurred repeatedly, and often a whole company or even an entire battalion has surrendered en masse.

The patriotic armed forces and people of Cambodia are doing fine in battle. They have learnt to fight in co-ordination. With the main forces, regional forces and guerrillas fighting in concert, they have made it impossible for the enemy to take care of the whole front. While winning splendid victories on the main battlefields in the Phnom Penh area and on the banks of the Mekong in the last two months or so, the patriotic

armed forces and people mounted fierce attacks outside a number of provincial capitals temporarily under enemy control, resulting in the Lon Nol clique being unable to bring reinforcements from these places to help lift the siege of Phnom Penh. This has cut up enemy forces and inflicted one defeat after another on them. Pressing forward victoriously, the people's armed forces in two months alone destroyed or captured more than 720 enemy strongholds and liberated vast tracts of land, extending the liberated areas to 97 per cent of the total territory of the country. Phnom Penh and a number of other cities under temporary Lon Nol clique control have become isolated islands in an ocean of people's war.

Chairman Mao Tsetung pointed out in his famous work *On Protracted War*, "The richest source of power to wage war lies in the masses of the people." The brilliant victories won by the Cambodian people's armed forces are closely connected with all-out support from the people in the liberated areas who vied with each other in joining the army and supporting the front. They fought against harassment and sabotage by enemy agents and launched a vigorous production campaign, thus further consolidating the liberated areas. These areas are prospering; they have attained self-sufficiency in grain supply and have enough manpower and material resources, forming an impregnable wall of bronze.

People's war is an invincible force. The patriotic Cambodian armed forces and people are writing a song of victory through their battle exploits. They

have made an outstanding contribution to the oppressed nations and oppressed people all over the world, especially to the people of the third world, in their struggle against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism.

At death's door, the enemy is refusing to take his defeat lying down. The Lon Nol clique is trying to gain a respite and is resisting desperately. While backing it up with the "emergency airlift," the U.S. imperialists, together with the arch-traitor Lon Nol, have struck up the old tune about "peace" and "negotiation." Trimming their sails to the winds, the Soviet revisionists, who have ganged up with the Lon Nol clique to this day, recently set in motion their propaganda media all of a sudden to brazenly trumpet their "merits" of "consistent support" for the Cambodian people.

Just War Sure to Win

All this has alerted the Cambodian people. The solemn statement issued by the Second National Congress in the Cambodian liberated area recently reiterated the Cambodian people's firm stand of no retreat or compromise, overthrowing the Lon Nol clique and liberating the whole of Cambodia. This is the resounding reply by the Cambodian people to every kind of enemy.

A just people's war is sure to win. No enemy intrigue during his death-bed struggle can prevent the Cambodian people from braving the storms and winds and advancing triumphantly.

(A commentary by Hsinhua Correspondent)

Second UNIDO General Conference Concludes

PARTICIPATED in by representatives from 104 countries as well as observers from 30-odd international organizations, the two-week-long Second General Conference of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO) concluded on March 27 in Lima, the Peruvian capital. Chen Mu-hua, Head of the Chinese Delegation, spoke at the general debate on March 14 to expound China's stand (see *Peking Review*, No. 12).

The third world countries adhered to principle in their persistent and tit-for-tat struggle against the schemes and disruptive activities of the two superpowers. This led to the adoption by the conference of the Declaration and Plan of Action of Lima on Industrial Development and Co-operation based on a draft prepared by the "group of 77." There were 82 votes in favour, one against (the United States) and seven

abstentions (Britain, the Federal Republic of Germany, Japan, Israel, Belgium, Canada and Italy).

In the course of the debate, the two superpowers found themselves in a fix and were extremely isolated. At the last minute the Soviet delegate changed his tactics and reluctantly voted for the declaration.

Chiao Jo-yu, Deputy Head of the Chinese Delegation, who spoke at the closing session, warmly hailed the positive results achieved at the conference.

He said: "The Declaration and Plan of Action of Lima embodies the basic principles of the resolutions of the Sixth Special Session of the General Assembly, reflects the common aspirations and strong determination of the third world countries to combat colonialism, imperialism and hegemonism, defend their state sovereignty and economic rights and interests,

protect permanent sovereignty over their natural resources, develop their national industries and strive for economic liberation. The document expresses the urgent desire and strong will of the developing countries to terminate the old international economic order and set up a new one. It has set forth a series of correct propositions and important principles declaring that the developing countries should rely mainly on their own efforts and make external assistance subsidiary in developing national industries. The Chinese Delegation firmly supports the just demands and reasonable propositions of the numerous third world countries as embodied in the document."

He said: "The Declaration and Plan of Action of Lima is a result achieved by the third world countries through adhering to principle and carrying out persistent struggle. There have been interference and sabotage from two sides in the course of drafting the document. One superpower brazenly opposed the basic provisions concerning the need to fight against colonialism and imperialism, defend national economic rights and interests and strengthen producers' associations, etc. It went so far as to resort to the malicious tactics of threats and cajolery in a wild attempt to compel the developing countries to make concessions on matters of principle and to impose its unjustifiable demands on them. The other superpower is even more vicious and cunning. It has resorted to double-dealing tactics in a big way: while pretending to support the principles

of the declaration, it at bottom tried in every possible way to undermine them. It racked its brains to smuggle into the solemn document its deceptive theory of sham detente and sham disarmament in a vain attempt to lead the conference astray. Confronted with the united struggle of the third world countries, its despicable tricks went bankrupt one after another.

"At this conference, the delegates of the numerous developing countries, in defiance of brute force, have in good time seen through and frustrated the various superpower schemes of sabotage, and made the conference a success. This has once again demonstrated the might of the third world countries in their united struggle against hegemony. The superpowers have already landed themselves in a position of 'Flowers fall off, do what one may' as aptly described in a Chinese verse. Gone are the days when they could do whatever they pleased."

In conclusion, the Deputy Head of the Chinese Delegation pointed out: "In the world today, it is not the third world which is dependent on the superpowers; it is the superpowers which subsist on exploitation of the third world. The superpowers will not voluntarily abandon their vested interests and hegemonic position. They will continue to put up a desperate struggle. To implement the basic principles of the Declaration and Plan of Action of Lima, it is therefore imperative to fight persistently against any act of sabotage, overt or covert, by the imperialists, especially the superpowers."

Two Teachers by Negative Example At Lima Conference

THE Declaration and Plan of Action of Lima on Industrial Development and Co-operation adopted at the recent Second General Conference of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO) demonstrates the common aspiration and strong resolve of the third world countries to oppose colonialism, imperialism and hegemonism, safeguard state sovereignty and develop their national economies.

The conference owed its gratifying achievements to the vast number of third world countries which, upholding principle and fighting in unity, repeatedly saw through and frustrated the machinations by the two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States, to sabotage the conference.

Soviet social-imperialism, the self-styled "ally" of third world countries, has always used the trick of "sham support and real sabotage" against their stand and demands. At the UNIDO conference, this

dual tactics was applied even more patently, only to be exposed to a fuller extent. At the very outset, the delegates of the Soviet revisionists paid lip-service to supporting the draft Declaration and Plan of Action prepared by the "group of 77" as the basis for the formulation of the principal document of the conference. But at the same time, they racked their brains to have the sinister wares of fictitious "detente," "disarmament" and "peaceful coexistence" included in the document, in an effort to divert the developing countries from their main course of combating colonialism, imperialism and hegemonism, and to lead astray the conference which was intended to discuss the problem of industrialization of the developing countries. The Soviet delegation and its followers did everything they could to peddle such goods time and again at the sessions, big and small, in the first ten days of the conference. But every time they did so, they were strongly rebuffed by delegates of third world countries. Thus, far from achieving

their sinister ends, the Soviet revisionists only landed themselves in an extreme predicament.

But this superpower just would not let up. At two separate sessions held respectively by the Drafting Committee and the Chairmen's Committee, the Soviet delegates rehashed their wares in the form of a new absurd proposal that the five U.N. Security Council permanent members cut back their military spending by 10 per cent and use the savings thereof for assistance to developing countries. But this idea was equally rejected by the third world countries and Western developed countries. The delegate of Jamaica, in the name of the "group of 77," refuted this preposterous proposal. He said that the "group of 77" has never been so naive as to think that the question of disarmament is of any fundamental importance to the industrialization of the developing countries. Speaking on behalf of the Western developed countries, the Irish delegate pointed out that it would be unrealistic to think that the industrial development of the developing countries could be promoted with the money saved from manufacturing a few less bombs. It would only be wasting time to wait for such savings. The Chinese delegate bluntly denounced the preaching of disarmament by the Soviet Union as an utter fraud. He said: if the Soviet Union was so "generous," then one would like to ask its delegate how much its annual military expenditure was. The question so embarrassed the Soviet delegate that he was quite at a loss to answer. Through the debate, the third world countries came to realize that the false disarmament trumpeted by Soviet revisionism only serves to cover up its own arms expansion and war preparations in its contention with the other superpower for world hegemony, to screen its aggression, plunder and exploitation of the third world peoples, and to benumb the will of the countries and people of the third world to fight in unity against hegemony.

The stubborn opposition of Soviet revisionism in league with the other superpower to the conversion of UNIDO into a specialized agency aroused the indignation of the third world delegates.

Conversion of UNIDO into a specialized agency has long been a common aspiration of the developing countries which believe that only by such a change can UNIDO be freed from superpower manipulation and control and embark on the road of independence. At a meeting of the Second Committee, the Soviet delegate, while pledging "support" for the document and the stand of the "group of 77," concocted various excuses to oppose the reasonable proposition of the "group of 77" for establishing a specialized agency, alleging that UNIDO should "reinforce its powers" under the control of the United Nations General Assembly, and that if it were turned into a specialized agency, the United Nations Organization would be "divided" with the result that UNIDO would be reduced to a "second or third rate organization," and so on and so forth. This trick of "sham support and real sabotage" of the Soviet dele-

gate met with immediate denunciation and rebuttal from the Algerian, Jamaican, Peruvian, Moroccan, Philippine and many other third world delegates. After refuting the Soviet delegate's fallacy, the Philippine delegate said that the developing countries, after waiting ten long years for the conversion of UNIDO into a specialized agency, would wait no longer. In their sharp criticisms of the hypocrisy of the Soviet revisionists after the meeting, a number of third world delegates pointed out that this "is a big exposure of the Russians."

At the conference, the third world countries also waged a tit-for-tat struggle against interference and sabotage by the other superpower. In the course of drawing up the Declaration and Plan of Action, the U.S. delegate openly opposed the basic provisions of the document with regard to opposing colonialism, imperialism, foreign aggression and domination, defending state sovereignty, safeguarding national economic rights and interests, regulating and nationalizing trans-national corporations, and strengthening raw materials producers' associations. In a word, he opposed the basic principles of the document. He also resorted to intimidation, saying that the third world countries should refrain from "confrontation" with the superpowers and that the Declaration and Plan of Action of the conference should not be "negative" and "hostile" but should at least be "neutral." Otherwise, he alleged, it would be "looking backward." He even threatened a "showdown" with the third world countries and blustered that they would be made to pay for their stand.

The third world countries struggled bitterly against the United States. In the name of the "group of 77," the Jamaican delegate dealt this superpower's arrogance a heavy blow by voicing on many occasions the desire of the countries and people of the third world. He pointed out sharply in one speech that the U.S. delegate's speech was provocative and the "dirtiest thing met with" by the delegates of the third world countries. Speaking at the concluding meeting of the conference, the delegate of Zaire stressed in the name of the "group of 77," "we tell the other negotiating parties unambiguously that we will make no concessions on questions of principle. The 'group of 77' is united as one and we will never change our opinion."

Faced with the unity in struggle of the third world, the plot of the United States to sabotage the conference failed as ignominiously as that of Soviet social-imperialism.

The Lima conference has reflected once again the mighty power of the third world countries fighting in unity against hegemonism. It has also shown that the historic trend in which countries want independence, nations want liberation and the people want revolution is surging ahead irresistibly. By their ugly performance at the Lima conference, the two superpowers have only served once again as teachers by negative example.

(A commentary by Hsinhua Correspondent)

Third World Oil-Producing Countries' Inalienable Right

THE recent summit meeting of the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries in Algiers adopted the Solemn Declaration which resolutely refuted the fallacy used by the imperialists and superpowers to ascribe the economic crisis confronting the capitalist world to adjusted oil prices. The declaration reiterated the inalienable right of the oil-producing countries to the ownership, exploitation and pricing of their natural resources (see *Peking Review*, No. 11).

By taking back from the international oil monopolies the right to decide the oil post price (worked out as a reference for the oil-producing countries in levying taxes on the oil monopolies), the third world oil-producing countries have put an end to the history of imperialism's unrestrained plundering of low-priced Asian, African and Latin American oil. Imperialism and particularly the superpowers have viciously attacked the oil-producers' just action and exerted all kinds of pressure on them in order to force down once again prices and revert to their position of exploiting and plundering the oil-producing countries at will.

All the charges brought by imperialism against the third world oil-producing countries are groundless.

Change in the Unreasonable State of Affairs

The imperialists charge that the adjusted prices are "too high" and "unreasonable." The third world countries' reply is: Prices had been forced down too low in the past—if there was anything unreasonable, it was this. For long years, the international oil monopolies ruthlessly exploited the oil-producers by forcing down the post price which was reduced from 2.22 U.S. dollars per barrel in the 1940s to 1.88 in the 1950s and had been frozen at this low level for almost another decade beginning 1961. Former Iraqi Minister of Oil and Minerals Sadoon Hammadi revealed that repeated forcing down of post prices by international oil monopolies had brought a loss of 58,000 million U.S. dollars to the Gulf oil-producers in 1950-70. Even government officials and businessmen in capitalist countries have ad-

mitted that cheap oil had been a mainstay in the major capitalist countries' postwar economic rehabilitation and development.

This being the case, the third world oil-producers have correctly pointed out that to raise oil prices is to change "the unreasonable state of affairs of the past."

"Rise of Oil Prices Leads to Inflation" Refuted

The imperialists deliberately turn things upside down by imputing the capitalist world's inflation and economic crisis to the raising of oil prices by the third world oil-producers. This is absolutely preposterous.

It is common sense that capitalist world inflation and economic crisis are products of the capitalist system. After World War II and before 1973, there were several economic crises in the capitalist world, but the question of oil price increases did not exist at that time. Therefore, whether oil prices are raised or not, economic crises in the capitalist world will erupt periodically according to an inherent law there. Moreover, long before the adjustment of oil prices, inflation had occurred in a number of major capitalist countries. This was the result of the inflation policy pursued by these countries to avoid "economic recession" and stimulate the economy.

In actual fact, as pointed out by many oil-producing countries, it was the inflation and soaring prices of the capitalist countries that forced the oil-producers to raise oil prices, certainly not the other way round.

The third world oil-producers did not raise oil post prices by a large margin at the end of 1973 for no reason at all. In the 26 years between 1947 and 1973 prices for 28 basic commodities imported by the developing countries from the Western capitalist countries rose an average of more than 350 per cent; price hikes for a number of products badly needed by the third world countries were all the more startling. Wheat which was around 72 U.S. dollars per ton in 1973 had soared to 223 in March 1974. Chemical fertilizer in September

1973 was almost double compared with June 1972. In the last five years, steel prices had tripled, cement nearly quadrupled, and tractors doubled. Chemical products made from petroleum were nine times dearer. Pointing an accusing finger at these exchanges of unequal values, the Shah of Iran Pahlavi said: You get our oil practically for nothing and having made it into chemical products after processing, you again sell the oil products to us at a price 50 times what you have paid.

Oil Monopoly Capital Boosts Oil Prices to Make Staggering Profits

The profit-mad monopoly capitalists are, of course, not ignorant of these basic facts, and when they distort facts, they have their own ulterior motives.

In the course of the oil-producers' struggle, these capitalists actually took the opportunity to inflate oil prices and made staggering profits. It is reckoned that profits of 30 major U.S. and European oil companies in 1973 were 70.9 per cent more than in the previous year. Their profits rose further in 1974. For example, Exxon, the biggest U.S. monopoly oil company, amassed a profit of 3,140 million dollars — a 28.5 per cent increase over 1973 — at a time when its oil sales decreased by 11 per cent. The big oil merchants of Soviet state monopoly capitalism also made the best of the opportunity and reaped super profits.

Another thing to be noted is that heavy taxation by the Western consumer countries long accounts for a great part of oil marketing prices, as high as 70 per cent in some countries and more than 25 per cent in others. (For example, the percentage of government tax

in the retail gasoline price per gallon in the major capitalist countries on July 31, 1972 was: 68 per cent of 67.6 U.S. cents in Britain; 72.7 per cent of 81.7 cents in France; 55 per cent of 68.8 cents in Japan; 34 per cent of 41.9 cents in the United States.) Their income from the oil tax has all along far exceeded the revenue of the governments of the oil-producers.

"Rise of Oil Price Creates International Tension" Refuted

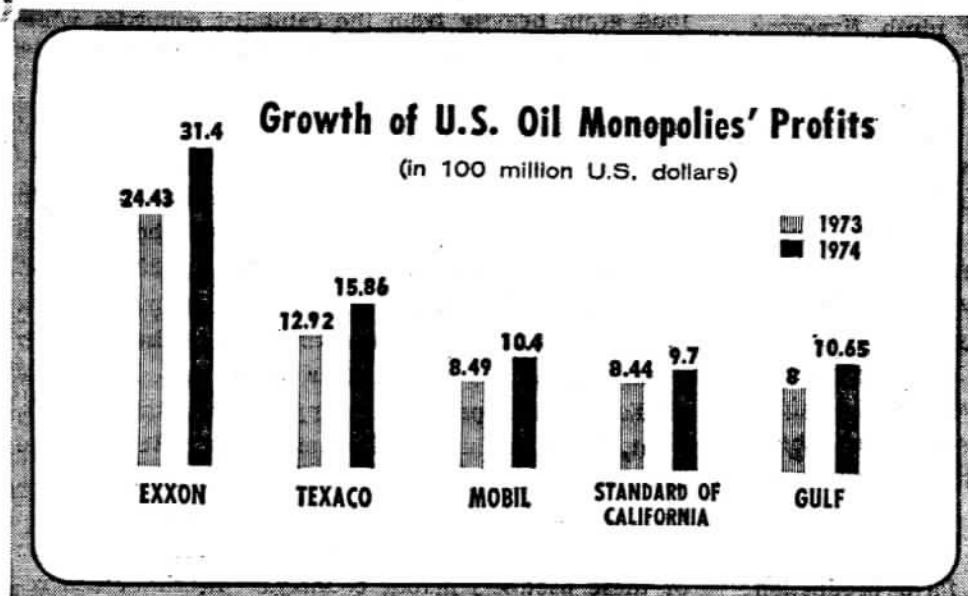
Especially absurd is the clamour by Soviet revisionism and U.S. imperialism that higher oil prices can only cause "the breakdown of world order and safety" and "make the international situation tense." But this is exactly what the two superpowers are guilty of.

The third world people are fully aware of the fact that the serious threat to the sovereignty and security of many countries in the world and the cause of international tension lie in the rivalry for world hegemony between the two superpowers — the United States and the Soviet Union — in their frantic arms race and war preparations, their stockpiling of so many nuclear weapons and missiles, and the ubiquitous presence of their aircraft and warships. The third world oil-producing countries have simply adjusted the extremely unfair oil prices and got back some of their legitimate rights. Yet U.S. imperialism is so furious that it resorts to open intimidation and even the threat of force. Obviously, it is the superpowers that should be held responsible for creating a "tense" situation. As to what they call "order," this in essence means maintaining the old international economic order under which raw materials and natural resources were subjected to their

monopoly and control and by which they can continue their relentless plunder and exploitation of the third world.

By their struggle, the third world countries have pronounced that such an "order" must go.

Adjusting the unfair oil prices is the inalienable right of the third world oil-producers. The third world countries will follow the road blazed by the oil struggle and carry through to the end the struggle to safeguard their rights over their raw materials and natural resources.



Brezhnev's Agricultural Policy: Ten Years of Failure

AS the whole world knows, the agricultural situation in the Soviet Union is growing increasingly serious and is a focus of the infighting among the men in the Kremlin. But Brezhnev all along has tried to cover it up in one way or another and even has shamelessly indulged in boasting. He recently gave instructions to the Soviet press to publish articles on the tenth anniversary of the plenary meeting of the central committee of the Soviet revisionist party held in March 1965 after his coming to power. Described in the Soviet press as a "turning point" in Soviet agriculture, the meeting was said to have ushered in a "new stage," while Brezhnev was commended for "having made an important personal contribution" to the development of agriculture.

These complimentary remarks in the Soviet press are quite interesting. Let us look into the kind of "turning point" in Soviet agriculture in the last decade and see what kind of "important personal contribution" Brezhnev has made to it.

Crops and Livestock Production Decline

In the said ten years, the output of food grains and some other principal agricultural products in the Soviet Union was most unstable, with reduced grain production in six of the years. This occurred three times in the first four years of the current ninth five-year plan. Grain production between 1971 and 1974 was 12.45 million tons below the original plan. Last year it was 27 million tons less than in 1973. According to officially published Soviet figures, the output of sugar beets (the main crop from which sugar is extracted), sunflower seeds (the main oil-bearing crop) and potatoes (which have a large consumer demand) in the first four years of the ninth five-year plan was on the average lower than the yearly average output during the eighth five-year plan. In 1973, the planned purchases of these three products as well as vegetables were not accomplished. In the following year, there again was a substantial decrease in the production of these crops.

The livestock production situation was even worse. A most backward branch of Soviet farm production

in the days under Khrushchov's rule, it has remained an agonizing problem since Brezhnev took office. In the last decade, the hog population had sharp declines on many occasions, a reduction of nine million head in the two years 1968-69 alone. In early 1973, it was 4.8 million less than in early 1972. Between 1965 and 1975, only three years saw a hog population reaching or slightly exceeding the 1963 level. In the said 11 years, the average annual hog population was 8.7 million head less than in 1963. The number of milch cows and sheep failed to show any increase in the last ten years and even registered steep falls in some of these years. In the first four years of the present five-year plan, meat, milk and wool production failed to reach the planned target. As admitted recently by V.I. Vashchenko, Chairman of the Planning and Budget Commission under the Soviet of the Union of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.: "Backwardness in the development of fodder bases, in raising livestock products and breeding has inhabited the expansion of animal products."

Large Food Grain Imports

Confronted with failures in food crops and the serious shortage of other farm products, Brezhnev is trying to extricate the country from the difficult position of a short supply on the market by buying food grain heavily from the capitalist countries while intensifying exploitation of the "fraternal" members of the so-called "community." In this regard, he has truly made an "important personal contribution" and ushered in a "new stage." In the last ten years, the Soviet Union altogether imported more than 70 million tons of food grains, 11 times that of the previous decade, with the 1973 imports reaching 23.9 million tons, a record high in its history. Apart from importing sugar from Cuba on a long-term basis, it also snaps up sugar in Brazil and other countries. It counts on Eastern Europe for the supply of vegetables, fruit, meat, dairy products and other things. According to the Soviet Minister of Trade, imports of vegetables, fruit and such tinned food from these countries "played a considerable role in the increasing volume of sales of these products in our country." Brezhnev has re-

peatedly boasted that "there will be a considerable increase in agricultural production" which will lead to steady expansion and improvement in the food supply to Soviet citizens and in the supply of industrial raw materials in the next few years. But the actual state of affairs long ago proved this to be nonsense.

Polarization in the Countryside

The reason for this serious situation in Soviet agriculture is that in the said decade Brezhnev went even farther than his predecessor Khrushchov in pursuing a revisionist agricultural line and policy.

Following the usurpation of power by the Khrushchov revisionist clique, the former collective and state farms degenerated while farm labourers were again reduced to hired slaves subjected to oppression and exploitation. After Brezhnev assumed power, the so-called Principles of Land Legislation was drawn up and The Model Regulations of an Agricultural Artel adopted in the 1930s was publicly abrogated to be replaced by a new one, thus affirming legislatively the capitalist relations of production that had been restored in agriculture earlier. The upshot was more acute polarization in the countryside, heavy exploitation and oppression of the working people whose enthusiasm for labour has sagged, and further serious destruction of the agricultural productive forces. When the peasants could no longer bear such exploitation and oppression, they started leaving the countryside en masse. As disclosed by the Soviet magazine *Zhurnalist*, the exodus from the rural areas averaged annually 1.5 million between 1959 and 1970 and went up to 2 million in recent years. At the plenary meeting of the central committee of the Soviet revisionist party in March 1965 and a number of meetings afterwards, Brezhnev and company time and again professed to "resolutely strengthen" "material and technological equipment" for agriculture and provide it with large quantities of machinery, chemical fertilizer and electric power, adding that this would "guarantee" the fulfilment of the programme for agricultural development and was the "way" to solve the agricultural problem. All these promises, however, have proved empty ones, because huge amounts of manpower and material resources have been used in arms expansion and war preparations since Brezhnev has been wilder than Khrushchov in pushing the social-imperialist policies of aggression and expansion. During the eighth five-year plan, the plans for supplying agriculture with such main equipment and materials as tractors, lorries and combine harvesters were not fulfilled. In the first four years of the current five-year plan, every year the planned supply of tractors for

agriculture failed; in the case of harvesters, the plan was never met except in 1971. According to official Soviet data, the existing agricultural machinery and equipment meet only one-third of the needs; power equipment, one-fifth to one-sixth; electric power for use in agriculture, one-third; and chemical fertilizer, 25 to 29 per cent.

Since the Brezhnev clique has energetically pushed in enterprises the capitalist principles of management under which profit comes before anything, the industrial firms are reluctant to produce farm machinery and their spare parts because they do not bring in big earnings. This is one of the important factors in the failure to fulfil the plans for supplying agriculture with material and technological equipment all these years. What is more, the small quantity of farm machinery produced by these firms is of very inferior quality as it all is poorly and hastily manufactured. The cost of upkeep and maintenance of some of the machinery even "surpassed their original cost several times"; for those whose life span is supposed to be eight or nine years, they actually fall into disuse in three or four years. It was revealed in the Soviet press that at present 61 to 65 per cent of the agricultural machinery now in use has been worn out and needs to be replaced; lack of spare parts has led to "extreme backwardness in the field of agricultural machinery repairs . . . in some major agricultural areas," and "in many areas 15 to 20 per cent of the farm machinery is inoperative."

Brezhnev has promised on many occasions after he climbed to power to carry out a "programme for extensive soil amelioration." But ten years have passed and capital construction in farmlands in the Soviet Union remains very backward. The acreage of land under cultivation continues to shrink while huge tracts of land either lie waste or are allowed to be seriously eroded by salinity, wind and sand. Construction of water conservancy projects proceeds at a snail's pace and as often as not lags behind schedule. Some water conservancy facilities have long been in disrepair and are no longer serviceable. The utilization of ameliorated land too is very low. The Soviet paper *Ekonomicheskaya Gazeta* disclosed that "in the non-blackearth zones, the Far East, the Polesie region in the Ukraine and many regions in Byelorussia, the work (in soil amelioration) is exceedingly backward." To date, irrigated land in the Soviet Union accounts for only about 5 per cent of land under cultivation, or only about 2 per cent of acreage sown to food crops. In farming, the means to fight natural calamities is inadequate; the promise to "minimize agriculture's dependence on nature" made by Brezhnev has also come to naught.

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Apprehension Along the Danube

DESPITE its apparent peace and tranquillity, Europe is seething in turmoil. As the multiple and complicated contradictions unroll in the march of events, people have come to realize that the atmosphere of "detente" that once prevailed in Europe is only a false, superficial phenomenon, whereas the stern reality of ever fiercer superpower rivalry there reveals the essence of the situation. This new awareness is also noticeable in this neutral state in Central Europe, Austria.

For more than the past year, as indicated by public statements and press comments there, more and more people have doubted or even repudiated such high-sounding terms as "detente," "disarmament" and "security," watched out for the danger posed by the two superpowers' stepped-up arms expansion and war preparations, and showed apprehension over Europe's possible involvement in a new war. They have begun to see the need for Austria to strengthen her national defence against any eventuality. The Danube flows on as ever, but such apprehension and watchfulness by people are mounting.

The Austrians are more sensitive to developments in Europe partly because their land forms part of the outpost of contention for the continent by the two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States. Vienna is the venue of the Central European troops reduction conference, intended to be a manifestation of "military detente" which has been vigorously advocated by one superpower as a supplement to the "political detente." But the 16-month-old negotiations have been deadlocked and the troop strength has not been cut by one soldier. On the contrary, one often reads in the Austrian press that in the past year and more the Soviet Union has time and again reinforced its troops and beefed up its military equipment in Eastern Europe.

The paper *Neue Freie Zeitung* pointed out with foreboding that the Soviet Union had increased its troops in an area close to Austria. It said that while the Soviet delegates to the conference on force reduction in Central Europe glibly talked about the need for world peace, "the Soviet army was showing its strength in a place less than two hours' drive from Vienna."

In February last year, the magazine *Profil* published a report, "Moscow's Plan for a March on Austria,"

revealing in detail a Soviet plan of operation against Austria and another country. The disclosure aroused serious concern.

Some other Austrian journals have been discussing the threat confronting Austria and the policy for coping with it. Speaking of Austria as a neutral state, *Die Wochenpresse* said that it is not enough for her "to have good intentions only," "for neutrality itself is not a guarantee of security." *Neue Kronen Zeitung* observed that political trouble in the world showed that "militarily, we Austrians are not living on a blissful island—we must certainly be prepared to defend ourselves in case of threat."

Since last year, government leaders have time and again emphasized the need to strengthen Austrian defence. In a speech at the Military Academy in Wiener Neustadt on September 22, President Rudolf Kirchschlaeger said that national defence founded on Austrian neutrality is the mainstay of the country. Defence Minister Karl Luetgendorf said in a speech that the plan for a possible attack on Austria "must be taken seriously" and that "in an emergency the (Austrian) Federal Army will resist and counter-attack immediately. This is a matter of course." General Bach, Commander of the Second Corps of the Federal Army, wrote in an article that "in keeping with her strategic position, Austria's national defence must be geared to handling the threat posed by latent aggressors who are greatly superior in both numbers and materiel."

There were several military exercises last year. One was in March in Steiermark State, another in September some 30 kilometres from the frontier in Lower Austria. Still another, the biggest since 1955, took place in November in three eastern states and the western state of Tirol, watched by President Kirchschlaeger in his capacity of General Commander-in-Chief of the Federal Army.

There is dwindling credence among people of various strata about "detente." One could feel this in their talks. The Russians, said one worker, are stretching their hands to grab when others are off their guard. An employee commented: "The Russians are shouting about 'detente' and 'security.' But if they are sincere, why don't they withdraw their troops from Czechoslovakia and other countries?" Another Austrian pointed out that the Austrian people regard the "friendship"

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ROUND THE WORLD

UNITED STATES

Kissinger's Middle East Tour Fails

Egyptian Foreign Minister Fahmy announced on March 22 that U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger's efforts to promote a second-stage disengagement between Egyptian and Israeli forces had come to an end and the U.S. "step-by-step settlement" had failed.

Earlier, the White House had announced the collapse of Kissinger's Middle East mission and that President Ford "regretted" it.

Kissinger began a new tour of the region on March 7 to press for the U.S. "step-by-step settlement" of the Middle East problem. Besides visiting Syria, Turkey, Jordan and Saudi Arabia, he shuttled between Egypt and Israel in an effort to achieve a second-stage disengagement. Egypt demanded Israel's withdrawal from the Mitla and Gidi Passes in the Sinai Peninsula and the return of the Abu Rudeis Oilfields, while Israel unreasonably insisted that in return Egypt should publicly announce an end to the state of belligerency.

At a March 22 press conference, Foreign Minister Fahmy said that Egypt had turned down all formulas suggested by Israel for termination of belligerency. Israel must withdraw from all Arab territories, he pointed out. "Another point which Egypt insisted on, officially and in written form throughout the talks, is that there can be no final peace unless the Palestinians obtain their national rights."

Both the U.S. and Soviet foreign ministers in their recent frequent visits to the Middle East did their utmost to put settlement of the Middle East problem into orbits of their own design.

Before and during Kissinger's tour, the Soviet Union more than once wrote to a number of Arab

countries and sent delegates there to peddle its formula. However, neither the "step-by-step settlement" the United States advocated nor the "Geneva conference" hawked by the Soviet revisionists is aimed at really settling the Middle East problem; instead, both are intended to impose the yoke of "no war, no peace" on the Arab people, the Palestinian people included, so as to enhance the two superpowers' position in contending for hegemony.

The failure of Kissinger's mission shows that any "mediation efforts" by the superpowers that connive at Israel's aggression and run counter to the Arab people's aspirations are bound to fail.

EGYPT

Sadat Denounces Soviet Attempt to Be Guardian

Speaking of Egyptian-Soviet relations in an interview with the chief editor of the Lebanese weekly *Al Hawadis*, Egyptian President Sadat denounced the Soviet attempt to be the master and political guardian of Egyptian affairs.

President Sadat said that before the October War he had had four talks with the Soviet leaders. In the course of events, he said, "I found that the Soviets gave our trust in them and the treaty between us a new meaning, that is, they became the master of our affairs. This was the most important reason why we made the decision to expel the Soviet experts in 1972. I wanted to tell the Soviets by the decision that we are our own masters and we don't want any trusteeship any more." "This was the situation between us. They attempted to remain as master of our affairs. I informed them that we had ended the trusteeship. This was the actual state of affairs," he added.

Referring to the Egyptian-Soviet treaty, he said: "One of the sides

violated its treaty obligation. I did not abrogate the treaty nor did I call off the port facilities, although I felt these facilities infringed on my country's independence." "What happened was, when the suspicion of Egypt being in ward was dispelled, they started to repeat the allegation that we would expel the Soviets from the area and other slanders." All these slanders and "the hue and cry we have heard and read from the mass media were aroused by the fact that Egypt wanted to be responsible for its own decision and be master of its own will no matter what was the desire and reaction of the two big powers." "We desire more than ever not to fall into a trap and become the game of big powers," he stressed.

Referring to the decision on diversifying arms sources, he said: "When we realized that all the countries around us had obtained arms to replace those lost in the October Middle East War and various sophisticated weapons, we made the decision on the variety of arms sources. We get weapon wherever we want to get it."

He added: "In the 14 months after the October War, the Soviets had not replenished our losses in arms. They had not provided us with the arms that should have been delivered in 1973 and 1974 in accordance with the agreements. Only in January, 14 months after the end of the October War, they sent us some arms. The agreements are an obligation, but they refuse to fulfil it."

Replying to another question on Egyptian-Soviet relations, he said that it is necessary to have relations "return to the principles, that is to say, we do not need anybody's guard, neither from the east, nor from the west. We are free in will and decision."

SOVIET UNION

New I.C.B.M. Tests

The Soviet Union carried out a new series of "firings of carrier rockets" in the Pacific from March 17 to 20.

A U.S. Defence Department spokesman confirmed on March 18 that a

Soviet I.C.B.M. had impacted in the Pacific 1,700 nautical miles south of Hawaii. He said it was "the first of a new series of Soviet missile tests." The missile was launched from Central Asia and "was one of the longest missile flights on record."

Amid the whoosh of missiles, the Soviet revisionists continue to beat the drums for "detente" and "disarmament." In a speech in Hungary on March 18 Brezhnev talked profusely about "limitation" and "reduction of armed forces and armaments of states," alleging that "the task of implementing 'military detente' in practice will come to the fore."

In fact, however, Soviet activities for arms expansion and preparations for aggressive war have not been "limited" in any way; nor have they ceased for a single day. Last year alone, the Soviet Union carried out five series of missile tests in the Pacific, and the number of Soviet underground nuclear tests was even greater. The Soviet revisionists preach "disarmament" daily, but in reality their armaments are expanding day by day.

SAIGON REGIME

Political and Economic Crises

As a result of the dictatorial and belligerent policy of the Nguyen Van Thieu clique, the worsening economic situation in the Saigon regime's areas is becoming critical and the social and political crises are growing more acute.

In the more than two years since the signing of the Paris agreement, the Thieu clique, with massive U.S. support, has flagrantly violated the ceasefire over 500,000 times, carrying out tens of thousands of nibbling raids and "pacification" operations against the liberated areas in an attempt to liquidate the revolutionary administration. Thus, the Saigon regime's military expenditures have greatly increased. They accounted for two-thirds of the total 1973 budget and rose to 87 per cent last

year. When the puppet "congress" discussed the 1975 budget at the end of last year, the regime's "ministry of national defence" demanded that military expenditures in 1975 double those of 1974. To cover the constantly rising financial deficit entailed by the huge military expenditures, the clique resorted to the unbridled issuance of paper money, aggravating the already serious inflation. The puppet currency has depreciated 17 times in the last two years or so.

Consequently, prices kept soaring; with those for almost all daily necessities in 1974 more than 100 per cent higher than in 1972. Rice went up by 176 per cent, sugar by 430 per cent and milk by 100 per cent.

The industrial and agricultural depression has been especially acute. Many factories stopped production because of soaring prices and raw material shortages. Statistics show that by last December, 60 per cent of the textile plants had closed down, production had been halted at 90 per cent of the glass plants and 50 per cent of the truck transport teams had ceased operating. Farm output has decreased year by year and several hundred thousand tons of rice had to be imported annually.

The labouring people under the reactionary rule of the Saigon regime have lived in growing poverty. Seventy per cent of the inhabitants in areas controlled by the Saigon regime are short of rice. Tens of thousands of people are begging on the streets. Western news agencies have revealed that the monthly wage of an ordinary functionary in the regime is less than the price of 100 kilogrammes of rice. Quite a number of people are compelled to take up 4 or 5 jobs and still can't maintain their families, while high-ranking Thieu clique officials and officers live extravagantly by squeezing the people.

In Saigon and other cities under the clique's control, theft, assassination and robbery occur frequently. More than half of the 300,000 drug addicts are below 18.

All reactionaries begin by doing harm to the people and end up with

their own destruction. The Thieu clique's perverse actions have been arousing fiercer and more extensive resistance from all strata of the people. Since early last July, rallies and demonstrations have been held in cities controlled by the Saigon regime to strongly denounce the Thieu clique and demand that Thieu step down.

Under a crossfire from the crises, the Thieu clique, with U.S. support, can never escape its inevitable doom, no matter how it struggles in desperation.

SURINAM

Independent Soon

Surinam Prime Minister Henk Arron and Dutch Prime Minister Joop den Uyl concluded in The Hague on March 20 a protocol on Surinam becoming independent in November 1975.

The Netherlands has taken on the obligation of passing, not later than October this year, a law on Surinam winning its independence from the Netherlands.

Surinam will become a republic after independence. This country, which covers over 142,000 square kilometres, lies on the northeast coast of the South American continent and has a population of 400,000. It was forced to become a colony by the Netherlands in 1816 and exercised "internal self-government" in 1954. Two years ago, the present government began negotiating with the Dutch authorities for independence for which the Surinamese have been carrying on a long and unrelenting struggle.

E.E.C.

New Unit of Account Established

The conference of the nine finance ministers of the European Economic Community held in Brussels on March 18 decided to establish a new "European unit of account."

The old E.E.C. "unit of account" was based on the comprehensive

account of 16 Western currencies including the U.S. dollar. With the deepening of the financial and monetary crisis in the capitalist world, the repeatedly devalued dollar's price has dropped time and again. The old unit can no longer cope with the situation. The new unit is based solely on the currencies of the nine E.E.C. member countries and calculated according to the fixed percentage of each of the nine currencies (for instance, the percentage of the mark of the Federal Republic of Germany is 27.3, the pound sterling 17.5, the French franc 19.5, etc.) and their daily exchange rates. The result is the U.S. dollar and other currencies of countries outside the E.E.C. are excluded, thereby reducing the influence of their exchange rate fluctuations on the new "unit of account."

According to a decision at the conference, this unit is now used mainly in the development fund stipulated in the Lome convention signed between the E.E.C. and 46 African, Caribbean and Pacific countries. Its application will be gradually extended to the budgets of the E.E.C., the

agricultural common market, etc. A E.E.C. Commission document pointed out that establishment and gradual application of this "unit of account" is to make it serve as "one of the means for clearing the way towards an economic and monetary union [of the nine countries]."

MIDDLE EAST

A Blow to U.S. Dollar

Kuwait, Qatar and Saudi Arabia have suspended dollar transactions and severed their currency links with the U.S. dollar to protect their national economic interests and prevent losses from falls in the dollar exchange value. Following Iran, Greece and other countries, this was announced separately by the three countries.

The Kuwait Government announced on March 17 it was severing its dinar links with the U.S. dollar and tying the former to the International Monetary Fund's Special Drawing Rights. (A unit of account established by the organization in 1969 to settle accounts between governments and serve as foreign exchange reserves.)

Qatar declared the severance of its currency link with the dollar on March 18. The Qatar Minister of Finance and Petroleum Sheikh Abdul Aziz bin Khalifa al-Thani told a newspaper that Qatar would tie its riyal to the IMF's Special Drawing Rights to protect the riyal against the adverse consequences of world monetary fluctuations.

The Saudi Arabian Government decided on March 14 to link its riyal to the IMF's Special Drawing Rights. In a statement, the government said that the move was aimed at "stabilizing the value of the riyal and sheltering it from undesirable fluctuations." The move was in fact an upward revaluation of the riyal by about 2.3 per cent in relation to the U.S. dollar.

The measures by Kuwait, Qatar and Saudi Arabia have dealt another blow to the dollar which is already quite feeble. According to Western news agency reports, exchange rates between the dollar and the currencies of other major capitalist countries on the West European foreign exchange markets recently dropped on a wide scale.

(Continued from p. 25.)

Blaming Other People

Brezhnev has never admitted his agricultural policy has been a flop, but instead always blames somebody else. He had Vladimir Matskevich who was then Minister of Agriculture sacked after the big 1972 reduction in agricultural yields. When the water conservancy work was taken to task by many sources for its slow progress, the Brezhnev clique made a decision in the name of the party's central committee to blame the Ministry of Melioration and Water Conservancy. Last but not least, he ascribed crop failures to "bad weather."

Under the circumstances in which agricultural output has gone down again and again, the quarrel inside the Soviet revisionist ruling clique over agricultural policy became more acute. Before and after the plenary meeting of the central committee of the Soviet revisionist party last December, work in agriculture, which is personally under Brezhnev who is supposed to have made "an important personal contribution" to it, came under fire. Last November, in a talk at

Kirghizia, Kosygin complained that backwardness in agriculture "has affected other economic sectors." At the meeting of the Supreme Soviet held after the December plenary meeting, Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Chairman of the State Planning Committee Nikolai Baibakov noted that "the lack of agricultural products" had affected the fulfillment of the plan for the consumer goods industries. Vashchenko, Chairman of the Planning and Budget Commission of the Soviet of the Union, criticized the "big shortcomings" in agricultural work. From late November, *Izvestia* started publishing articles on "lessons" in agriculture in 1974, pointing at the problems in agriculture, especially the saying "not a bad harvest despite bad weather."

Facts prove that the last ten years were a decade in which Brezhnev's agricultural policy went bankrupt. In this situation, it is not only ridiculous but pitiful that there should be such talk like "a turning point" and Brezhnev's "important personal contribution."

(A commentary by Hsinhua Correspondent)

ON THE HOME FRONT

New Homes for Inner Mongolian Herdsmen

OVER 70 per cent of the nomadic herdsmen in the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region are now settled in their new homes. Each village consists of several families, with each family living in new houses of two to four rooms.

Since they began to settle in groups in 1959, the herdsmen have not only speedily developed stock-breeding, but also promoted an all-round economic development by gradually making animal husbandry their main occupation and combining it with agriculture wherever local conditions permit. In the past, people could have travelled several days on the grasslands without seeing a tree. Now, green belts surround the villages. Apple and apricot trees are grown in some villages and vegetables in others.

Oil lamps were used for generations, but now the herdsmen have electricity not only for lighting but also for processing fodder and operating pumps and irrigating the pastures. Water lifting and grass cutting in many communes and production brigades are mechanized or semi-mechanized.

In some banners (counties) where the herdsmen have led a settled life for some time, schools have been set up in every production brigade. Some of these schools assign teachers to travel from village to village to conduct classes so that children in the first and second grades can get their schooling easily near home. Some production brigades also run night schools for the herdsmen to study political theory.

Herdsmen in the nomadic days carried wooden bowls and plates as their dining gear from place to place. These have been replaced by fine porcelains, enamelware and hardware. Herdsmen who have settled down can conveniently buy

daily necessities in the co-ops near the villages. Commercial workers deliver goods to every village in the busy farm season.

Arriving at a settled life step by step is the result of the efforts of the herdsmen in transforming the desert and building socialist new grasslands under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party. After the founding of the people's communes, the herdsmen started large-scale construction on the grasslands by relying on their collective strength. Power-operated wells were sunk in areas where water is scarce and reservoirs and ponds were built in areas with water resources. These water conservancy projects helped improve 9.333 million hectares of arid grassland. In the grass-poor areas, 6,660 hectares have been sown to fine strains of grass. In areas short of both water and grass, they built pastures by diverting water and planting trees and grass. All this has created conditions for the herdsmen to lead a settled life instead of roaming from place to place in search of water and grass.

Young Woman Cobbler

TU Pao-yung, a 23-year-old educated youth, has courageously broken with old traditional ideas and become a cobbler at her own request. She says all revolutionary work in our socialist country is to serve the people, and therefore any work is honourable.

In the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, the broad masses of people on various fronts throughout the country continuously use deeds to fight against old traditional ideas and against the centuries-old doctrines of Confucius and Mencius which look down on the labouring people. Many outstanding people and new things have appeared, Tu Pao-yung being one of them.

After graduating from junior middle school in 1971, she was sent to

work in a retail sales department of a Peking shoe factory. Most of the cobblers in the factory's repair shop at the time were old workers and only very few were young. The reason was that some people, influenced by hundreds of years' old traditional ideas, looked down on this type of work.

When the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius began last year, the question of successors to the shoe-repairing trade was sharply raised by workers. The Party branch in the factory organized everyone to discuss this question and called on young people to do shoe-repairing.

Tu Pao-yung thought that to be afraid of doing dirty and hard work was an expression of bourgeois world outlook. As a Communist Youth League member she should be determined to do whatever the Party and people want her to do. She would declare war against the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius and bourgeois traditional old ideas through action by becoming a cobbler. Together with several other young workers in the factory, she wrote a big-character poster asking to be assigned to the repair shop.

There were different views regarding Tu Pao-yung becoming a cobbler instead of a saleswoman. The masses of workers clapped their hands in approval, but there were also a few old relatives of hers who thought it a "pity" for her. Tu Pao-yung talked things over with them, explaining the source of old traditional ideas, criticizing such reactionary fallacies as "he who excels in learning can be an official" and "those who work with their minds govern, those who work with their hands are governed" trumpeted by Lin Piao, Confucius and Mencius. She said that all revolutionary work serves the people. The only difference is the division of labour and none should be graded high or low, noble or mean. The old traditional ideas divide work into many grades which reflect the hierarchic system of the decadent and moribund exploiting classes. Revolutionary youth ought to make a radical rupture with it.



Tu Pao-yung (second from left) learning from a veteran cobbler.

When she first learnt how to repair shoes, if she wasn't receiving an odd blow from the cobbler's hammer she would be pricked by the awl and her fingers blistered also. Experienced workers patiently taught her how to do everything, saying: "If you think this is hard and dirty work, you'll never establish in your mind the thought of serving the people wholeheartedly; if your hands don't become callous you'll never be able to learn the skill of serving the people."

When she saw some veteran workers escort blind customers across the road after they had fixed their shoes, she was much impressed. She made up her mind not only to learn skill from the old workers but their wholehearted service to the people as well.

Tramping through the streets and lanes to repair shoes for the masses is one of the new changes in the retail sales department. Some of the veteran workers told her how in pre-liberation days when they used to set up shoe-repairing stalls, the exploiting classes cursed them as "stinky

cobblers." Though cobblers in those days combed the lanes, rain or shine, they still couldn't keep body and soul together.

Today cobblers repair shoes in the streets in adherence to the principle of serving the people, an action welcomed by workers, peasants and soldiers. Tu Pao-yung has emancipated her

mind a little further. She regards going into the streets to do cobbling as an honourable task. The more she works the more enthusiastic she becomes, and she is praised again and again by the masses.

Last August, Tu Pao-yung was gloriously admitted into the Communist Party of China. She not only linked shoe-repairing with serving the people but also with the struggle by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie in the realm of the superstructure. People have commended her as a path-breaker in making a radical rupture with old traditional ideas.

Site of Ancient Palace Unearthed

THE foundation of a Shang Dynasty palace and a tomb containing skeletons of slaves buried alive with the dead have been unearthed at the site of city walls in the ancient city of Panlung in Huangpi County of central China's

Hupei Province, both dating back 3,400 to 3,500 years. This site and another of Shang walls discovered earlier in Chengchow, capital of Honan Province, contain remains of the two earliest cities found in China up until now. The excavation of the new site reveals that the culture of the Shang Dynasty had already spread to the valley of the Yangtze River and provides important scientific data for the study of the history of slave society in China.

The palace, of fairly large proportions, had obviously been an imposing structure, its rectangular-shaped foundation measuring 38.2 metres from east to west and 11 metres from north to south. Erected in a past age when many tools such as the axe and the chisel were still made of stone, it attests to the intelligence and wisdom of the Chinese labouring people.

Although the inner and outer wooden coffins in the tomb had disintegrated, their shape could still be discerned. The exterior of the outer wooden coffin is wrought with an exquisite animal-mask design and thunder-cloud decorations — China's earliest extant wood carvings. More than 60 funerary objects fashioned in bronze, jade and pottery were exhumed. The skeletons of three slaves killed as human sacrifices were also found in the tomb — another exposure of the slave-owners' crimes and a forceful repudiation of the so-called "benevolent government" preached by Confucius.

CORRECTION: The last line in the third column on page 22 in issue No. 13 should read "country numbered only 990,000; there are now over 700,000."

(Continued from p. 26.)

and "co-operation" trumpeted by Brezhnev and company as a deceitful "peace melody."

What will be the outcome of the intense rivalry between the two superpowers in Europe? According to a "public opinion poll" conducted by the Austrian Institute for Empiric Social Research, last year saw an

increase in the number of persons who believe that Austria will be involved in a war in the next few years. In 1973, 31 per cent of those queried did not believe this, but in 1974 the figure dropped to 17 per cent. As the *Arbeiter Zeitung* pointed out, the Austrians' apprehension about an eventual outbreak of war in Central Europe markedly increased last year.

(Hsinhua Correspondent)

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