

PEKING REVIEW

20

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北
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周
報

**Chairman Mao Meets
Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew**

**Be Fighters in Criticizing the
Bourgeoisie**

— Commemorating the 10th anniversary of
Chairman Mao's May 7 Directive

3rd Asian Table Tennis Championships

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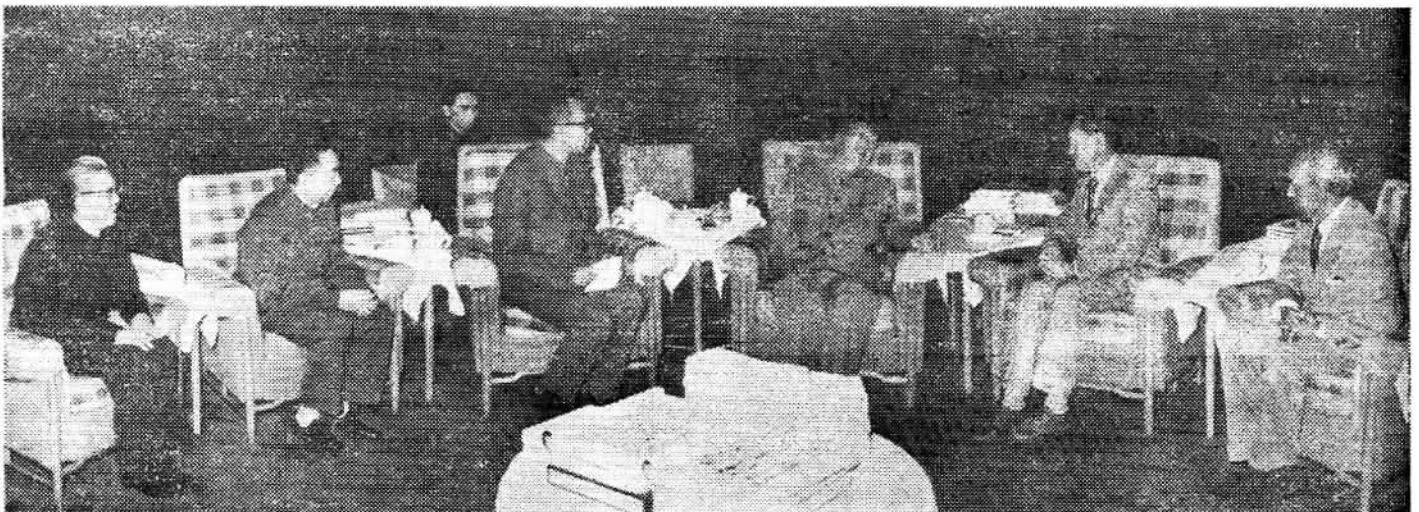
Chairman Mao Meets Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew

CHAIRMAN Mao Tsetung on the afternoon of May 12 met Lee Kuan Yew, Prime Minister of the Republic of Singapore, and other distinguished guests from Singapore.

The other distinguished guests from Singapore present on the occasion were Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew's wife Kwa Geok Choo, their daughter Lee Wei Ling, Minister for Foreign Affairs S. Rajaratnam and Minister for Finance Hon Sui Sen.

At the meeting, Chairman Mao happily shook hands with all the distinguished guests present and extended a welcome to them; then he had a friendly conversation with Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew and Foreign Minister S. Rajaratnam.

Premier of the State Council Hua Kuo-feng and Minister of Foreign Affairs Chiao Kuan-hua were present at the meeting.



Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew in China

AT the invitation of the Chinese Government, Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew of the Republic of Singapore arrived in Peking by special plane on May 10 at the head of a goodwill mission for a two-week visit to China.

The distinguished guests from Singapore were warmly welcomed at the airport by Premier Hua Kuo-feng,

Foreign Minister Chiao Kuan-hua, Minister of Foreign Trade Li Chiang as well as several thousand people in the Chinese capital. A grand welcoming ceremony was held at the airport.

On the following day, Premier Hua Kuo-feng held talks with Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew. In the evening, the Chinese Premier gave a grand banquet in the Great Hall of the Peo-

ple in honour of the delegation. It was attended by Vice-Chairman Li Su-wen of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, Singaporean newsmen accompanying the Prime Minister on his visit and the visiting Singapore Table Tennis Delegation also attended the banquet on invitation. Both Premier Hua Kuo-feng and Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew spoke at the banquet. (For excerpts of their speeches see pp. 7 and 8.)



Premier Hua Kuo-feng and Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew hold talks.

The people of China and Singapore have a profound traditional friendship. They have always shown sympathy for and supported each other in their struggle against imperialism and colonialism and to safeguard national independence and state sovereignty. In recent years, friendly contacts between the two countries have increased steadily. The current visit by Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew at the head of a delegation will

be conducive to promoting the friendship between the two peoples and to further developing the relations between both countries.

British Foreign Secretary Visits China

Anthony Crosland, Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs of Britain, Mrs.

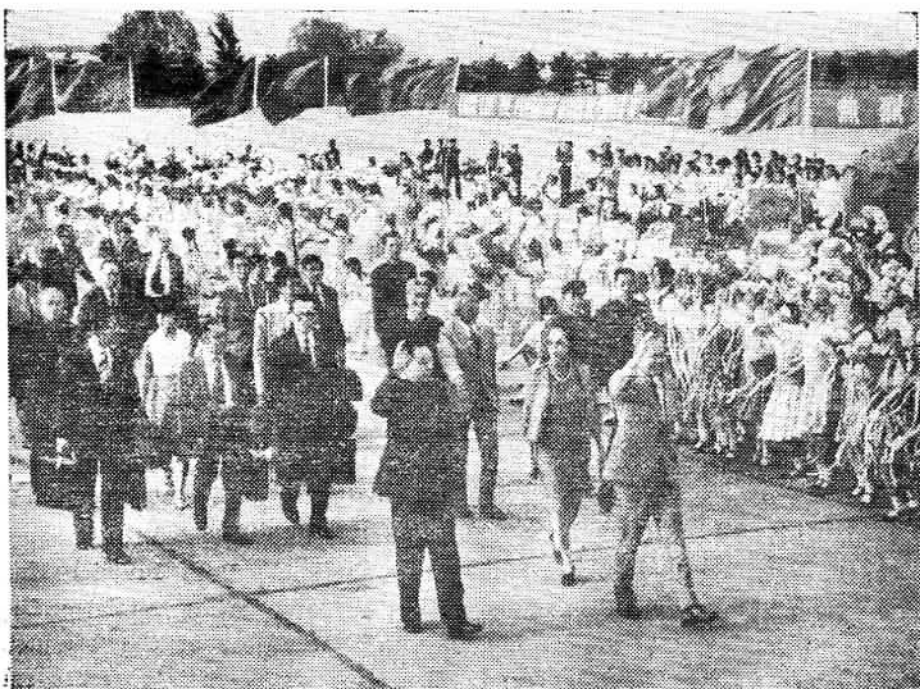
Crosland, and his party paid a friendly visit to China from May 3 to 9.

Premier Hua Kuo-feng on May 6 met with Foreign Secretary and Mrs. Crosland in Peking. He had a friendly conversation with the Secretary and some members of his party. Earlier, Foreign Minister Chiao Kuan-hua held talks with Foreign Secretary Crosland.

Foreign Minister Chiao gave a banquet on May 4 in honour of the British guests.

Foreign Minister Chiao said in his speech at the banquet: The Chinese and British peoples have always been friendly to each other, and they both have a glorious tradition of upholding national dignity and defying tyranny. During World War II, the Chinese and British people waged common resistance against fascist aggression.

He said: "More than 30 years have passed since the war. However, stern realities tell us that the rivalry between the two superpowers all over the world, particularly in Europe which is the focus of their rivalry, is becoming more and more intense, and the danger of war is growing. How can it be said that there is 'lasting peace' or 'an irreversible process of detente'? It is precisely the superpower which is most zealous in preaching peace that is going all out for expansion both on land and sea, stirring up trouble everywhere and fishing in muddled waters. But its truculence and brutality cannot cover up its essential weakness as a paper tiger, and its expansion and offensive necessarily bear the seed of defeat. We are pleased to note that personages of West European countries are giving serious thought to the current situation in Europe and internationally and that more and more people have become soberly aware of the true colours of hegemonism and the direction of its main spear-



Distinguished guests from Singapore receiving a rousing welcome at Peking Airport.

55th Anniversary of Founding of the Romanian Communist Party Greeted

The Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party

Dear Comrades:

On the occasion of the 55th anniversary of the founding of the Romanian Communist Party, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China extends the warmest fraternal congratulations to the Romanian Communist Party and the Romanian people on behalf of the Communist Party of China and the Chinese people.

The founding of the Romanian Communist Party is an event of major significance in the history of the Romanian people. From then on, the revolutionary struggle of the Romanian people has entered a new stage. Under the leadership of the Romanian Communist Party and with a glorious revolutionary tradition, the Romanian people waged a protracted, heroic struggle and successfully staged the anti-fascist and anti-imperialist armed uprising, overthrew the military-fascist dictatorship and the landlord and bourgeois system and founded socialist Romania.

Since liberation the industrious and valiant Romanian people, under the leadership of the Romanian Communist Party and maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in their own hands, have worked hard and steadily achieved major successes in the cause of

socialist construction and in the struggle to defend national independence and state sovereignty.

The Romanian Communist Party is resolutely opposed to imperialism and hegemonism and actively supports the revolutionary struggle of the people of all countries of the world, making its own contributions to the cause of revolution of the revolutionary people in the world.

At present, the fraternal Romanian people are united closely around the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party headed by Comrade Ceausescu and are striving with boundless enthusiasm to carry out all the fighting tasks set by the 11th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party. We wish you new and ever greater victories.

The revolutionary friendship and militant solidarity between the Parties and peoples of China and Romania are based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. We are deeply convinced that our friendship and relations of friendly co-operation will be further consolidated and developed in the common struggle hereafter.

**The Central Committee
of the Communist Party of China**

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head. A dam is breached where it is most vulnerable and where the main current of a flood drives. There is an old Chinese saying: Preparedness averts while appeasement abets peril. The appetite of an aggressor can never be sated. Also, it is dangerous to rest hopes on fanciful hypotheses. Useful lessons in this regard are provided us by the history of World War II."

"It is the dictate of history for the West European people to unite in the face of hegemonic threats. Their demand for strength through unity

and for safeguarding their own security is daily growing," he added. He reaffirmed the Chinese people's consistent support for the West European cause of unity against hegemonism. He said: "In 1973 Britain officially joined the West European Common Market. Last year you decided by a referendum to stay in the European Community. This is of great significance to West European unity and also in the interest of the British people." He pointed out: "The road to West European unity will not be all smooth, particularly

since there are superpower divisive tactics, obstruction and sabotage. But we believe the difficulties in the process of getting united can be overcome provided that there is a clear common objective, that policies and actions are mainly based on the strength of the West European countries themselves and that concerted efforts are made by relying on the increasingly awakening West European peoples."

Foreign Minister Chiao said: "China belongs to the third world and is a developing socialist country. Our

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policy is to 'dig tunnels deep, store grain everywhere, and never seek hegemony.' Strategically we base ourselves on fighting and do not entertain any illusions. We are resolved to build China into a powerful socialist country independently and self-reliantly, and we are ready to cooperate in a common effort against hegemonism with all countries subjected to superpower threat."

Dwelling on the great struggle now under way in China to repulse the Right deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts, he said: "Through this struggle, Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line will surely go deeper into the hearts of the people, China's socialist revolution and socialist construction will surely develop more vigorously and the revolutionary line in foreign affairs laid down for us by Chairman Mao will surely continue to be implemented still better."

On the Sino-British relations, Foreign Minister Chiao said: "There are broad prospects for the growth of Sino-British relations so long as our two countries make joint efforts on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence."

Secretary of State Crosland said that his visit was the first to China by a member of the present British Cabinet and the talks he held with the Chinese side were frank and friendly. He added: "On many subjects I am sure that we shall agree. On all subjects I am confident that we shall increase our mutual understanding and respect for the other's position." "Our two countries are on opposite sides of the globe. Our traditions and social and political systems are very different but we are linked by our common involvement in the great issues of an increasingly interdependent world," he said.

He continued: "We share a determination to defend ourselves from

threats to our independence. We both have close relations with a wide range of countries around the globe."

The Secretary said: "We live in a changing world." "In Western Europe we are now joined with our community partners in an association so close that it could scarcely have been dreamt of 30 years ago."

He continued: "A fundamental element in my government's policies is our commitment to Europe. Last year's referendum result decisively confirmed our historic decision. Our future lies with the European Community. That community is still developing and the member states are not always in complete agreement on future development. This is only natural. But we are all committed to mutual co-operation inside the community and to developing the community's political role in the world outside. The nations of Europe are too small to stand alone, but together they represent a formidable political and economic force in international affairs." "We are equally dedicated to the maintenance of the integrity and security of Western Europe. For 30 years we and all other British Governments have recognized that Britain's security depends on NATO; and we continue to give the highest priority to the maintenance of our contribution to that alliance. We are often urged to be more vigilant." "We have no illusions about the dangers which threaten us. We shall keep up our guard," he added.

He stated: "The solution of the complex political and economic problems of the modern world has increasingly to be sought in a multi-lateral context. But we must continue to work together bilaterally too. The relations between our two countries are much closer than they were, say, 10 years ago. My purpose in coming to Peking is to promote that process further."

British Foreign Secretary Crosland on May 6 gave a return banquet. He said at the banquet: "I have much enjoyed my talks with Foreign Minister Chiao Kuan-hua, both on international and bilateral issues. I found them friendly, frank and constructive. We are in agreement on many points. I believe that we have laid the foundations for increasing co-operation between our two countries in the future."

He added: "I was also very pleased to have the opportunity to call on Premier Hua Kuo-feng and found my conversation with him very interesting and rewarding. I also much welcomed the chance to have discussions with the Minister of Foreign Trade, and I hope that they will lead to increased economic and commercial co-operation to the mutual benefit of the peoples of both our countries."

He stated: "I am looking forward to continued consultations both between ourselves and between officials. In this way we shall increase our co-operation and mutual understanding to the benefit both of our own peoples and of the world."

Foreign Minister Chiao Kuan-hua said in his speech: Our two sides had an extensive and free exchange of views on international issues of interest to both countries and bilateral relations. It is naturally impossible for our two countries to hold identical views on all questions, but through these friendly talks and contacts we have gained a deeper understanding of each other's position and views and a clearer appreciation of the common points between our two sides. In this turbulent world, it is no doubt beneficial for China and Britain to exchange views on major international issues. The current visit of Mr. Crosland to China is a new contribution to developing the relations between our two countries.

Premier Hua Kuo-feng's Speech

(Excerpts)

WE are very glad that the goodwill delegation led by His Excellency Lee Kuan Yew, Prime Minister of the Republic of Singapore, has come upon invitation to visit China, bringing to the Chinese people the profound friendship of the people of Singapore. On behalf of the Chinese Government and people, I wish to express our warm welcome to Prime Minister and Mrs. Lee Kuan Yew and the other distinguished guests from Singapore and take this opportunity to extend our cordial greetings to the people of Singapore.

Singapore is a young country in Southeast Asia. Her industrious and valiant people, working hard in a pioneering spirit, developed the country and waged a protracted and heroic struggle against colonial rule. Since the independence of the Republic of Singapore, they have carried on an unremitting effort to safeguard national independence and state sovereignty. In international affairs, Singapore opposes hegemonism and power politics, stands for peace and neutrality of Southeast Asia, actively develops relations with other third world countries, and has contributed positively to promoting economic exchanges and trade among nations. We sincerely wish the people of Singapore greater achievements on their road of advance.

At present, the international situation is developing in a direction most favourable to the people of all countries but unfavourable to imperialism and hegemonism. The third world countries and peoples, strengthening their unity and supporting each other, have scored one victory after another in the struggle against imperialism and hegemonism and are playing an ever greater role in international affairs. The superpowers are finding it more and more difficult to muddle along. Their intensified global rivalry for spheres of influence and world hegemony is the cause of world intranquillity. But no matter how desperately they may struggle, they will not escape their ultimate doom. The people are the masters of history. The future of the world belongs to them, and it is very bright.

An excellent situation has emerged in Southeast Asia with the historic victories of the peoples of the Indochinese countries. The struggle of the peoples in Southeast Asian countries to safeguard independence

and sovereignty and combat big-power hegemonism has continued to develop vigorously. The relations between these countries and other third world countries have witnessed a heartening growth and reinforcement. After the defeat of one superpower in Southeast Asia, the other superpower is trying to take the chance to squeeze in, to carry out infiltration and expansion there. But as facts have proved, where this superpower reaches its claws, the people there will better perceive its expansionist features. It has been strongly condemned by the peoples of the Southeast Asian countries for its scheming activities in this area. We are pleased to note that more and more countries in Southeast Asia have clearly stated their opposition to the practice of hegemony by any country in any part of the world. This is a farsighted stand which conforms to the interests of the people of all countries. The First ASEAN Summit Conference held not long ago reaffirmed its positive proposal for the establishment of a zone of peace and neutrality in Southeast Asia and achieved significant results in strengthening regional economic co-operation. We feel sure that so long as the peoples of the Southeast Asian countries uphold independence and strengthen their unity, they will steadily win new victories in the struggle against imperialism and hegemonism.

China is a developing socialist country belonging to the third world. The Chinese Government and people have always maintained that all countries, big and small, should be equal. We are firmly opposed to big nations bullying small ones and strong nations bullying weak ones. We hold that the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence should guide relations between nations and that each people have the right to decide as they wish the social system of their own country. No country has the right to carry out aggression, subversion, control, interference or bullying against other countries. China will never be a superpower, now or in the future. We will unswervingly stand by all oppressed people and oppressed nations of the world and fight together with them against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism.

The struggle initiated and led by Chairman Mao personally to repulse the Right deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts has already won great victories. Marching victoriously along Chairman Mao's

proletarian revolutionary line and in high spirits, the Chinese people are launching a new upsurge of in-depth criticism of Teng Hsiao-ping to repulse the Right deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts and are persisting in grasping revolution and promoting production and other work and preparedness against war. The situation in China is getting better and better. The victory of the current struggle will no doubt greatly raise our people's revolutionary awareness, further consolidate our dictatorship of the proletariat and promote our socialist construction, making China stronger and more prosperous. The people of all nationalities in our country are determined to unite and carry this great struggle through to the end.

There is a profound traditional friendship between the peoples of China and Singapore. Sharing a similar historical experience, our two peoples have always sympathized with and supported each other in the struggle against imperialism and colonialism. Our friendship has made new progress in recent years. Our friendly contacts, cultural exchanges and economic and trade relations have steadily increased. The current visit to China by the goodwill delegation led by Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew personally provides an opportunity for a direct exchange of views between leaders of our two countries on matters of common interest. This will certainly help enhance the mutual understanding and friendly relations between our two countries.

Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew's Speech

(Excerpts)

ON behalf of the members of my delegation and myself, may I thank you and the Government of the People's Republic of China for the warm and friendly reception we received from the moment we arrived in China.

Since the visit of my colleague, Mr. Rajaratnam, in March last year, a steady flow of cultural, sports, trade and industrial missions has led to better understanding. A wide cross-section of people from Singapore has visited China. These visits have left Singaporeans deeply impressed by her many achievements. A once weak and divided China was treated with disdain by the industrialized powers. In less than three decades, China has been transformed by the efforts of her own people into a strong and unified nation which commands the respect of all.

I hope the Government of the People's Republic of China has now a better perception of the Republic of Singapore. History brought together Chinese, Malays and Indians in Singapore. All are proud of their own heritage. Sharing a common experience, we are developing a distinctive way of life. By geography, our future will be more closely interlinked with those of our neighbours in Southeast Asia.

A new phase has begun for Southeast Asia, after the great changes that have taken place in the last few years. Together with our neighbours, we are seeking to establish peaceful and stable conditions under these vastly changed circumstances. Singapore is associated

with four other countries in Southeast Asia for economic and political co-operation in ASEAN to bring about orderly progress. The solidarity of ASEAN countries will increase our ability to avoid external pressure or manipulation. China has expressed her support for ASEAN. I hope others, inside and outside the region, will also understand the objectives of ASEAN and support it.

For hundreds of years, China has had contacts with peoples of Southeast Asia. These contacts are now being re-established in a vastly changed world. Communications are instantaneous and transportation of persons and goods rapid, reliable and regular. The ease and speed at which my colleagues and I have travelled from Singapore to Peking is a reminder, if any is needed, that of the big countries, China is the one nearest to Southeast Asia. Indeed, she is a part of Asia, and her policies will be a major factor in the evolving situation in Southeast Asia.

I hope after this visit, our relations will grow and broaden. On many international issues at the United Nations, we have found ourselves in agreement with you. However, it is to be expected that there will be differences of views in some areas because of national interests or ideology. These need not prevent us from improving our cultural, trade and other relations. For my colleagues and I have come bringing with us the goodwill and good wishes of our people for the people of China.

CHAIRMAN MAO'S MAY 7 DIRECTIVE

CHAIRMAN MAO on May 7, 1966 issued an important directive which reads in part as follows:

The People's Liberation Army should be a great school. In this school, our army should study politics and military affairs, raise its educational level, and also engage in agriculture and side-occupations and run small or medium-sized factories to make products for its own needs or for exchange with the state against equal values. Our army should also do mass work and participate in the socialist education movement in the factories and the villages. When the socialist education movement is over, it will always find mass work to do so as to be always at one with the masses. Also our army should always be ready to participate in the struggles to criticize and repudiate the bourgeoisie in the cultural revolution. . . .

While mainly engaging in industrial activity, workers should also study military affairs and politics and raise their educational level. They, too, should carry out the socialist education movement and criticize and repudiate the bourgeoisie. Where conditions permit, they should also engage in agriculture and side-occupations, just as people do in the Taching Oilfield.

While mainly engaging in agricultural production (including forestry, animal husbandry, side-occupations and fisheries), the peasants in the communes should at the same time study military affairs and politics and raise their educational level. When conditions permit, they should collectively run some small factories. They also should criticize and repudiate the bourgeoisie.

The same holds good for the students too. While their main task is to study, they should also learn other things, that is to say, they should not only learn book knowledge, they should also learn industrial production, agricultural production and military affairs. They also should criticize and repudiate the bourgeoisie. The length of schooling should be shortened, education should be revolutionized, and the domination of our schools and colleges by bourgeois intellectuals should not be tolerated any longer.

Where conditions permit, those working in commerce, the service trades and Party and government organizations should do the same.

Be Fighters in Criticizing the Bourgeoisie

—Commemorating the 10th anniversary of Chairman Mao's May 7 Directive

by Fang Hai

IT is now ten years since our great leader Chairman Mao issued his May 7 Directive. These are ten years in which the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has won great victories, the socialist revolution has developed in depth, socialist new things have grown in strength and socialist construction has advanced in giant strides. Today when we are waging the struggle to concentrate our criticisms on Teng Hsiao-ping's counter-revolutionary revisionist line and beat back the Right deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts, an in-depth study of Chairman Mao's May 7 Directive certainly will greatly heighten our consciousness in taking the May 7 road and in restricting bourgeois right and criticizing the bourgeoisie, the bourgeoisie inside the Party in particular, and inspire us to keep advancing along the long road of struggle for the realization of communism.

A Powerful Ideological Weapon for Combating and Preventing Revisionism

The May 7 Directive is an important component part of Chairman Mao's theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and a powerful ideological weapon for combating and preventing revisionism. Its basic spirit is to criticize revisionism and the bourgeoisie, restrict bourgeois right, reduce the differences between industry and agriculture, between town and country and between mental and manual labour and train a new generation of people with both communist consciousness and an all-round development. The road pointed out by this directive is the road we must follow in persisting in the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and effecting a gradual transition to communism. In the past decade, armymen and civilians in their hundreds of millions throughout the country, guided by this brilliant directive, have made great achievements in triumphantly carrying out the socialist revolution and in the struggle to criticize the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-ping. The mass movement for studying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought by the people of the whole country in the course of struggle has been deepening step by step and Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line has gone deeper into the people's hearts. Revisionism and the bourgeoisie are under fire

everywhere—in the factories, people's communes, P.L.A. units, schools, shops and government offices. The worker-peasant-soldier theoretical contingents are growing and maturing in the struggle to criticize revisionism and the bourgeoisie. Production bases patterned after the Taching Oilfield and characterized by the integration of industry and agriculture and town and country are being set up in places where conditions permit. Fairly big advances have been made in commune- or brigade-run enterprises in many areas. While mainly engaging in industrial and agricultural production, the workers and poor and lower-middle peasants also study military affairs and politics and raise their educational level; and they now take part in the struggle-criticism-transformation in the superstructure. Thanks to the revolution in education, the students also learn other things while their main task is to study, and with the system of learning industrial production, agricultural production and military affairs widely set up, they make class struggle a major subject, closely combine theory with practice and work hard to turn the schools into an instrument of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Enthusiastically applying to settle in the countryside and frontier regions, tens of millions of educated young people are determined to take the road of integrating themselves with the workers and peasants. Vast numbers of revolutionary cadres have persisted in doing collective productive labour and taken turns to study anew in the May 7 cadre schools, thereby forging closer ties between themselves and the masses and promoting the revolutionization of their own thinking. While shouldering the tasks of a fighting team, the People's Liberation Army has successfully fulfilled the mission of "three supports and two militaries" (i.e. support the broad masses of the Left, support industry, support agriculture, military control, political and military training), in addition to setting up many farms and small and medium-sized factories, helping the people with their productive labour and taking part in socialist construction. It has thus played a bigger rôle as the strong pillar of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The militia in urban and rural areas, especially the worker-militia, has taken an active part in class struggle in society and demonstrated the great might of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In his May 7 Directive, Chairman Mao has explicitly pointed out: Workers, peasants, P.L.A. com-

manders and fighters and students as well as those working in commerce, the service trades and Party and government organizations should all study politics and military affairs and raise their educational level and also criticize and repudiate the bourgeoisie. While mainly engaging in their own work, they should also learn and do other things. Here the most important thing of all is to **criticize and repudiate the bourgeoisie**. Marxism holds that the principal contradiction throughout the historical period of socialism is the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. This is the motive force propelling the development of socialist society. Persisting in taking class struggle as the key link means to criticize the bourgeoisie without a letup. If the proletariat is to defeat the bourgeoisie, it is not enough to carry out the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production alone; it is imperative to persist in exercising all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in all spheres, including the superstructure and the economic base, and in all stages of development of the revolution, keep criticizing the bourgeoisie, criticize and restrict bourgeois right, persevere in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and struggle to create conditions in which it will be impossible for the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes to exist or for a new generation of them to arise. If the proletariat should fail to criticize and struggle against the bourgeoisie, socialism would not only be unable to advance a single step, but would surely go backward, and there would be the danger of capitalist restoration. This is the objective law of class struggle and is independent of man's will. It is precisely on this extremely important question of criticizing the bourgeoisie that the May 7 Directive has charted the course for the triumphant advance of the cause of socialist revolution.

Stress on Criticizing Capitalist-Roaders in the Party

We must be aware that it would not be plain sailing for us to criticize the bourgeoisie and take the May 7 road in accordance with Chairman Mao's directive. General representatives of the bourgeoisie like Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-ping are bound to come forward and try to reverse the orientation in criticizing the bourgeoisie. Chairman Mao has pointed out in his May 7 Directive that it is necessary to **"always be ready to participate in the struggles to criticize and repudiate the bourgeoisie in the cultural revolution."** But shortly after the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution had started, Liu Shao-chi did all he could to resist the revolutionary masses' criticism of those Party persons in power taking the capitalist road. When the Great Cultural Revolution had won great victories, Lin Piao vainly attempted to smuggle his fallacy that the main task was to develop production into the political report to be delivered at the Ninth Party Congress and babbled that in China there was "no revisionism whatsoever." His aim was to nullify the proletariat's fighting task of criticizing revisionism and the bourgeoisie. The arch unrepentant capitalist-roader in the Party Teng Hsiao-ping who clung to the counter-

revolutionary revisionist line of Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao impatiently dished up his revisionist programme of "taking the three directives as the key link" shortly after he had taken up work again, and he demagogically said that "everything for the four modernizations" (i.e., the modernization of agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology) was in the "overall interest" of the whole Party, the whole army and the people of the whole country. They opposed taking class struggle as the key link and criticizing the bourgeoisie in order to protect the bourgeoisie both inside and outside the Party and launch wild attacks on the proletariat.

Chairman Mao has recently pointed out incisively: **"What is the Great Cultural Revolution for? To wage class struggle. Liu Shao-chi advocated the theory of the dying out of class struggle, but he himself never ceased to wage class struggle. He wanted to protect his bunch of renegades and sworn followers. Lin Piao wanted to overthrow the proletariat and attempted a coup. Did class struggle die out?"** In trumpeting the theory of the dying out of class struggle, Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-ping all aimed at putting an end to the class struggle waged by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie while stepping up the class struggle waged by the bourgeoisie against the proletariat, so that they could practise revisionism and restore capitalism with ease. The revolutionary people throughout the country will never allow their criminal schemes to succeed.

Chairman Mao has also pointed out recently: **"You are making the socialist revolution, and yet don't know where the bourgeoisie is. It is right in the Communist Party — those in power taking the capitalist road. The capitalist-roaders are still on the capitalist road."** In studying this Marxist-Leninist scientific thesis of Chairman Mao's, we have come to understand that in criticizing the bourgeoisie the main target is the bourgeoisie inside the Party, or the capitalist-roaders in the Party. At present, we must make it a point to deepen the criticism of the arch unrepentant capitalist-roader in the Party Teng Hsiao-ping and his counter-revolutionary revisionist line. Anyone failing to understand this cannot claim to have a real understanding of the dictatorship of the proletariat and will not be able to persist in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Capitalist-roaders in the Party are the bourgeoisie inside the Party in the period of socialist revolution. Their revisionist programme and line and their reactionary words and deeds are a concentrated reflection of the hopes of restoration by the old and new bourgeoisie both inside and outside the Party and all class enemies. Since members of the bourgeoisie inside the Party don the cloak of Communists and wave "red flags" to oppose the red flag, they are all the more deceptive and dangerous. Wielding that part of power they have usurped for capitalist restoration they play a role difficult for the landlord and capitalist classes in society to play today. In whipping up the Right deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts and

radically attacking the proletariat with a programme and in an organized and planned way, Teng Hsiao-ping wanted to reverse the correct appraisal of the Great Cultural Revolution, settle accounts with it and bring about an all-round capitalist restoration. The counter-revolutionary incident that took place at Tien An Men Square not long ago has proved more clearly than ever that there is really a bourgeoisie inside the Party. Teng Hsiao-ping was the general representative and the general behind-the-scenes boss of the bourgeoisie both inside and outside the Party and the unreformed landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists.

Personally initiated and led by Chairman Mao, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius and the current deepening great struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-ping and repulse the Right deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts are all socialist revolutionary movements to criticize the bourgeoisie and life-and-death struggles between the two antagonistic classes, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. We must know clearly that the capitalist-roaders in the Party are the main target of the socialist revolution, and we must carry through to the end the struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-ping and beat back the Right deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts and seize still greater victories.

Be Promoters of Restricting Bourgeois Right

Bourgeois right still existing in socialist society is the soil giving rise to capitalism and the bourgeoisie. The important measures laid down by Chairman Mao in his May 7 Directive are all fundamental measures for restricting and criticizing bourgeois right. Speaking of the socialist system in 1974, Chairman Mao pointed out: **"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."** He added: **"Our country at present practises a commodity system, the wage system is unequal, too, as in the eight-grade wage scale, and so forth. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat such things can only be restricted. Therefore, if people like Lin Piao come to power, it will be quite easy for them to rig up the capitalist system."** This important instruction of Chairman Mao's has pointed out in a penetrating way the necessity and importance of criticizing and restricting bourgeois right for combating and preventing revisionism and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is a sharp ideological weapon for us to persist in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and continually criticize the bourgeoisie.

Marxism tells us that **"the social division of labour is the basis of the entire process of the development of commodity economy and of capitalism."** (Lenin: *The Development of Capitalism in Russia*.) Since social-

ist society is established on the foundations of the old society and it is not something that has dropped from the skies, the old social division of labour has not been eliminated and the three major differences still exist. If capitalism is to be demolished root and branch after the establishment of the socialist system, efforts have to be made to create conditions for gradually narrowing and finally eliminating the differences between industry and agriculture, between town and country and between mental and manual labour arising from the system of private ownership. We can gradually bring this task to fruition if we act upon Chairman Mao's May 7 Directive and make unremitting efforts generation after generation.

The capitalist-roaders in the Party, however, opposed with might and main the May 7 Directive and maliciously attacked the numerous socialist new things created by the revolutionary people for restricting bourgeois right and narrowing the three major differences. During the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, large numbers of educated youths determined to do away with bourgeois right have settled in the countryside and taken the road of integrating themselves with the workers and peasants. Lin Piao, however, venomously attacked this as "reform through forced labour in a disguised form." Teng Hsiao-ping and unrepentant capitalist-roaders in the educational circles also lashed out against the students who learn industrial production, agricultural production and military affairs in accordance with the May 7 Directive, saying that they "do not read books" and that "a crisis has appeared in education." They flagrantly opposed the educated young people settling in the countryside and called for selecting middle school students excelling in learning to further their studies in universities and colleges immediately after graduation. Their criminal aim was to inveigle some youths who are shackled by the ideology of bourgeois right into divorcing themselves from the workers and peasants and from productive labour, thereby turning themselves into bourgeois intellectual aristocrats and becoming their flunkies for restoring capitalism. Teng Hsiao-ping opposed the working class playing the leading role in the struggle-criticism-transformation in the superstructure; he also opposed open-door scientific research and worker participation in the management of enterprises and attacked the revolution in literature and art and in health work, all for the purpose of enlarging bourgeois right and expanding the three major differences so as to facilitate capitalist restoration. All these facts show that the capitalist-roaders in the Party are faithful defenders of bourgeois right. In socialist society, an important aspect of the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and between Marxism and revisionism finds expression in restricting or enlarging bourgeois right. To criticize the bourgeoisie, therefore, we must criticize bourgeois right and be promoters in restricting it.

Practice by the revolutionary cadres and masses in implementing the May 7 Directive over the past ten years shows that to take the May 7 road and criticize

the bourgeoisie, we must make a clean break with the traditional system of private ownership and the traditional ideas of private ownership. This is a fierce struggle between the proletarian world outlook and the bourgeois world outlook and a profound socialist revolution on the ideological front. It is bound to meet with resistance and sabotage by the capitalist-roaders in the Party and impinge on everyone's world outlook. In the course of socialist revolution, everyone needs to remould his ideology, otherwise some people will turn bad. In the profound socialist revolution, if a revolutionary's world outlook has not been thoroughly remoulded, he cannot consciously implement the May 7 Directive and he cannot be a fighter in criticizing the bourgeoisie; instead he may become a stumbling block in such criticism and may even stand in direct opposition to the socialist revolution. To consciously implement the May 7 Directive, we must transform our own subjective world while taking the initiative in actively criticizing the bourgeoisie. So that our thinking will conform to the needs of the ever deepening socialist revolution, we must read and study conscientiously and have a good grasp of Marxism; we must earnestly study in particular the series of important instructions by Chairman Mao and, by linking theory with practice,

gain a deep understanding of the law of class struggle in the socialist period and see clearly the political and ideological root cause and economic basis for engendering the bourgeoisie inside the Party. We must, in the course of the struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-ping and beat back the Right deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts, further enhance our consciousness of class struggle and the two-line struggle and of continuing the revolution and strive to temper ourselves into conscious fighters in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

"The epoch of world communism will be reached when all mankind voluntarily and consciously changes itself and the world." (Mao Tsetung: *On Practice*.) Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, let us advance valiantly along the bright road charted by the May 7 Directive, continually criticize revisionism and the bourgeoisie, restrict bourgeois right, reduce the three major differences, carry the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat through to the end and dedicate our lives to the realization of the great ideal of communism!

(Translation of an article published in "Renmin Ribao" on May 7, Subheads are ours.)

Teng Hsiao-ping and the Counter-Revolutionary Incident at Tien An Men Square

by Liang Hsiao

THE counter-revolutionary riot at the world-famous Tien An Men Square was staged by a handful of class enemies in a vain attempt to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and bring about an all-round restoration of capitalism in China. This was Teng Hsiao-ping's fond dream as well as his objective in whipping up with all his might the Right deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts last year. It also was the class essence of Teng Hsiao-ping's counter-revolutionary revisionist line.

This counter-revolutionary political incident was neither accidental nor isolated; it was premeditated and engineered in a planned and organized way. It was a glaring manifestation of the current sharp struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines, and it fully exposed the devilish counter-revolutionary features of the bourgeoisie inside the Party. Its occurrence was an inevitable result of the Right deviationist wind stirred up by Teng Hsiao-ping and of his all-out efforts in pushing the revisionist line. It was a desperate struggle put up by the decadent and declining bourgeoisie.

Lenin pointed out: **"Not a single class in history has achieved power without producing its political leaders,**

its prominent representatives able to organize a movement and lead it." (*The Urgent Tasks of Our Movement*.) It is precisely because of this that representatives of the bourgeoisie invariably level their attack at the leaders of the proletariat. Long before the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, Teng Hsiao-ping, parroting Khrushchov in using the pretext of so-called "opposing the personality cult," put the leaders and the masses in antagonistic positions. Furthermore, clamouring for "stepping down, quitting the office," he frenziedly directed the spearhead of attack at our great leader Chairman Mao. When he was criticized during the Great Cultural Revolution, he vowed he would "mend his ways and turn over a new leaf" and would "never reverse the verdict." But once he again assumed a portion of power, he spared no effort to muster other capitalist-roaders and rig up a restorationist force in opposition to the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao.

The handful of counter-revolutionaries were well aware that Teng Hsiao-ping spearheaded his attack at our great leader Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee headed by him. Acting in close collusion

with Teng Hsiao-ping, they viciously slandered the leaders of the proletarian revolution and the revolutionary masses. Common reactionary class interests and hopes for a counter-revolutionary restoration had banded these counter-revolutionaries and Teng Hsiao-ping together.

What merits attention is that, while madly opposing Chairman Mao, the handful of class enemies worked overtime to sing the praises of Teng Hsiao-ping. They turned the general representative of the bourgeoisie Teng Hsiao-ping's wish to usurp the Party leadership and seize the state power into actual attempts at restoration.

"To overthrow a political power, it is always necessary first of all to create public opinion, to do work in the ideological sphere. This is true for the revolutionary class as well as for the counter-revolutionary class." The counter-revolutionary political incident at Tien An Men Square was perpetrated after preparing public opinion for a long time. Unable to control themselves any longer, some old and new bourgeois elements, reactionary men of letters in the service of the bourgeoisie and desperadoes who sensed their approaching doom in face of the might of proletarian revolution spread political rumours everywhere last July, August and September, vilifying and splitting the Party Central Committee, and vehemently created counter-revolutionary public opinion. The general manager of this counter-revolutionary rumour-mongering company was none other than Teng Hsiao-ping, the arch unrepentant capitalist-roader in the Party. He not only fabricated reactionary political rumours himself, but instigated others to write sinister articles opposing the Party and socialism. While engaging in rumour-mongering, sniping at people by way of innuendoes and flagrantly splitting the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, he blew his own trumpet and decked himself out as a "saviour" and, at the same time, lauded to the skies other capitalist-roaders who refused to mend their ways. Meanwhile, the bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party also wantonly attacked the leading comrades on the Party Central Committee who uphold Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and extolled Teng Hsiao-ping and his counter-revolutionary revisionist line. All this fully laid bare the ugly features of Teng Hsiao-ping, the chief representative of the bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party, as a counter-revolutionary conspirator.

Having the premonition of the impending doom of the unrepentant capitalist-roader in the Party Teng Hsiao-ping who was their general behind-the-scenes boss, the handful of class enemies staked their all and blatantly spread counter-revolutionary political rumours, made counter-revolutionary speeches, posted counter-revolutionary poems, distributed counter-revolutionary leaflets and staged a counter-revolutionary riot in broad daylight.

Teng Hsiao-ping and the handful of class enemies belong to the declining reactionary classes. Since truth was not on their side when they advocated restoration

and retrogression, they had to rely on rumours and sophistry to deceive the people and befuddle their minds so as to fish in troubled waters and achieve their ulterior motives. But, confronted by the powerful revolutionary public opinion, counter-revolutionary opinions of all descriptions are bound to fall flat.

The counter-revolutionary political incident at Tien An Men Square has its deep class origin and social basis. Since the landlords and capitalists in society have become so notorious, the bourgeoisie and all class enemies pin their hope for restoration on unrepentant capitalist-roaders in the Party like Teng Hsiao-ping. People like him have become the protagonists of the bourgeoisie and the main force in subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat and restoring capitalism. That is why the handful of class enemies attempted to cast Teng Hsiao-ping in the role of Nagy, the ringleader of the counter-revolutionary coup in Hungary. The counter-revolutionary political incident at Tien An Men Square was a fierce class struggle mounted by the bourgeoisie both inside and outside the Party represented by Teng Hsiao-ping to oppose the proletariat and socialism and resist the counterattack on the Right deviationist wind. During the incident, some reactionary scholars wrote counter-revolutionary poems, openly making complaints on behalf of the capitalist-roaders. This only serves to bring to light the fact that this counter-revolutionary political incident was closely connected with the bourgeoisie in the Party.

Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the bourgeoisie represented by Teng Hsiao-ping has already become a moribund force, like the sun setting beyond the western hills. At a time when the great struggle against the Right deviationist wind has scored one victory after another, the bourgeoisie, like a cornered beast putting up a desperate struggle, openly engineered the counter-revolutionary political incident at Tien An Men Square, vainly resorting to counter-revolutionary violence to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and establish the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. But this was merely a death-bed struggle. It could only batter its head against the iron wall of the proletariat and meet an ignominious end.

The counter-revolutionary incident has educated the people by negative example, enabling them to realize more clearly the truth that **"the rise to power of revisionism means the rise to power of the bourgeoisie."** Revisionism is the main danger at present. The incident also has further proved that **"reversing correct verdicts goes against the will of the people,"** that all counter-revolutions are short-lived and that the broad masses of the people and revolutionary cadres are determined to continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. We must closely follow our great leader Chairman Mao's strategic plan, hold high the banner of combating and preventing revisionism and concentrate our criticisms on the reactionary crimes of Teng Hsiao-ping and his revisionist line.

(Abridged translation of an article published in "Renmin Ribao," April 28.)

The 3rd Asian Table Tennis Championships

SUCCESS crowned the 3rd Asian Table Tennis Championships (A.T.T.C.), held in Pyongyang from April 25 to May 7.

For the first time the heroic land of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (D.P.R.K.) played host to more than 300 table tennis friends from over 30 countries and regions in Asia. During 13 days of intense competitions, the players had extensive friendly contacts and saw for themselves the prosperity and great achievements of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

Full Programme of Competitions

The championships proceeded in two stages with the team events taking place during April 26-30. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea took the women's team championship while China came first in the men's team contest.

The runner-up in the men's team event was Japan followed by the D.P.R.K., Indonesia, Viet Nam, Malaysia, India and Hongkong.

The runner-up in the women's team event was China followed by Japan, Indonesia, Viet Nam, Thailand, Singapore and Chongryon (Korean residents in Japan).

The seven individual events started on May 3 and ended on May 7. The D.P.R.K. players Pak Yong Sun and Kim Chang Ae, and Chang Won Hyong won the women's doubles and the boys' singles respectively. The two Japanese pairs Mitsuru Kohno and Tetusuo Inoue, and Tetusuo Inoue and Mitsuko Shimanoto carried off the titles for the men's doubles and the mixed doubles events. The Chinese players Liang Ko-liang, Chang Li and Chang Ya-nan placed first in the men's singles, women's singles and girls' singles respectively.

The championships showed that popularization of the game has given great impetus to Asian table tennis, raising its level and quickening its development, and this has narrowed the difference in the level of play between the various teams. Evenly matched, some of

the quarter-finalists in the team events put up very exciting performances in hard-fought matches when they met. In the women's team event, for example, the D.P.R.K. team was fully extended by Japan before it won 3:2. Similarly, Viet Nam bested Indonesia by a similar score. Laos did well too, this time reaching 11th place as against 15th and 20th at the 2nd and 1st A.T.T.C. The women's teams of Pakistan and Thailand also showed rapid progress. In the men's team championship, India, Viet Nam and Indonesia each had their wins and losses when they played each other. The Indian men's team fielded some strong attacking players. At the last championships, no Indian pair finished among the top eight in the men's doubles event, but in Pyongyang India placed third in this event. Iraq, Syria, Malaysia and Nepal were among some of the teams that did themselves proud by showing the greatest progress.

The number of junior players at the Pyongyang championships was 60, twice as many as the number at the previous championships. These young players had something in common: a strong sense of attack and a game based on offense. Some teams such as Singapore, Indonesia and Hongkong fielded junior players in the team events so that the youngsters could meet strong



Players from many countries join with Pyongyang citizens at Kim Il Sung Square to celebrate May Day.

players, gain more experience and improve their game faster.

The 3rd A.T.T.C. was impressive not only because players displayed good form but also because they were given plenty of chances to learn from each other. In the course of competition, when some coaches found players of the opposing team at a loss to return spin shots, they would go over to the side and pass on tips, quite sincerely, to their opponents as how to deal with them.

The team from Palestine did not arrive in Pyongyang until the afternoon of the second day of competitions, but its adversaries did not claim a win by default. They patiently waited till the Palestinian players were ready. There were many hard-fought matches during the championships, and when the heat of battle was over coaches and players of both sides would warmly shake hands, congratulate each other and express the desire of learning from each other. In some cases, special discussions were organized after the contest to analyse each other's good points and shortcomings. The purpose was to benefit each other's skill and make common progress. All these were expressions of the new sportsmanship in international sports. They showed that the idea of "friendship being more important than wins or losses" has become accepted by more and more people.

Flowers of Friendship Bloom

Asian table tennis friends came from all parts of the continent to Pyongyang with the wish to promote friendship. The flowers of friendship blossomed gloriously everywhere like the azaleas on the land of Korea in the practice rooms, competition hall, the lounges, the players' living quarters, the newly built hotel, and in the wide boulevards and streets of the capital.

On May 1, the players joined the people of Pyongyang in celebrating International Labour Day at Rungrado Islet on the River Taedong. Korean artists presented a programme of songs, dances, music and acrobatics to entertain the visitors. On May 2, the participants in the 3rd A.T.T.C. were guests of the Socialist Working Youth League of Korea at a get-together at picturesque Moranbong Hill Youth Park. There, groups of Korean children invited their guests to make merry with them in dancing. The songs and dances were imbued with warm feelings of unity and friendship among the Asian people.

It was a magnificent get-together, made all the more unforgettable by demonstrations of profound friendship. Despite the barrier of difference in languages, hosts and guests were able to express their sentiments of "promoting friendship" in a variety of ways. Indeed,



Chinese and Korean players at a get-together in a park.

friendship was in the air everywhere in Pyongyang. The word appeared in slogans and posters, on badges, balloons and bunting.

Memorable Hospitality of the Hosts

The excellent organization of the 3rd A.T.T.C. by the host country, the D.P.R.K., and its cordial hospitality left a deep impression on table tennis friends from all participating countries. In the course of preparing for the championships, President Kim Il Sung gave instructions on a number of occasions to the effect that the work to receive Korea's foreign friends must be done well and that the championships should provide an opportunity to enhance friendship among the Asian people and athletes. This the Korean people and sports circles did most earnestly to meet their great leader's wishes.

Kang Ryang Uk and other Party and state leaders of Korea were present at the opening ceremony at which tens of thousands of children and youth in Pyongyang performed a mass callisthenics display. On April 24, the capital staged a rally to give a warm welcome to the delegations from various countries and regions taking part in the championships. Kang Ryang Uk, Pak Sung Chul and other Korean Party and state leaders took part in the closing ceremony.

The warm hospitality of the host country deeply moved the delegations from various parts of Asia. At the close of the championships, the Third Asian Table Tennis Union Congress adopted a communique which said: "The participants in the congress all extended warm thanks to the great leader of the Korean people President Kim Il Sung for his deep concern for the successful holding of the 3rd Asian Table Tennis Championships, wished him good health and a long life." The participants highly appreciated the tremendous shining successes achieved by the heroic

Korean people under the wise leadership of President Kim Il Sung. The communique also said that the participants "expressed firm support to and solidarity with the Korean people in their struggle for the independent and peaceful reunification of the country."

A.T.T.U.'s Development

The 3rd A.T.T.U. has given maximum proof of the great vitality of the Asian Table Tennis Union (A.T.T.U.). The founding of this new international sports organization was a pioneering undertaking. With a history of only four years since its First Congress in Peking in 1972 followed by its Second Congress in Nagoya in 1974, it has strictly lived up to the principles laid down in the A.T.T.U. Constitution, namely, equality and mutual respect among union members, big or small, and democratic consultation. This organization has the support and best wishes of the Asian people, and its membership has increased from 16 at the time of its birth to the present 31. During the Pyongyang

championships, the A.T.T.U. approved the applications for membership of the table tennis associations of Cyprus, Bangladesh and Saudi Arabia.

As pointed out in the communique issued by the Third A.T.T.U. Congress, "the situation of the Asian table tennis circles, like that of Asia as a whole, is encouraging." Since the founding of the A.T.T.U., the revolutionary torrent of the Asian people's unity against hegemony is surging forward and the struggle against the two superpowers, particularly the superpower with socialism as its label, is developing rapidly and vigorously. The Asian people are continuously advancing in struggle.

The grand Pyongyang championships has concluded and people are eagerly looking forward to the 4th Asian Table Tennis Championships to be held in Kuala Lumpur, capital of Malaysia, in 1978. There is no doubt that Asian sports and the unity of the people will be further enhanced and the flowers of friendship of Asian table tennis circles will blossom in still greater glory.

New-Type Economic Co-operation Among Third World Countries

A NEW-TYPE relationship of international economic co-operation is taking shape among third world countries. They are striving, on the basis of equality and mutual benefit, to make common progress by supporting and closely co-operating with each other to overcome difficulties in economic development in order to shake off dependence on the imperialists and hegemomists.

There is no fundamental conflict of interests among developing countries, which all belong to the third world. As victims of prolonged exploitation, plunder and control by colonialism, imperialism and hegemonism in the past, these countries have a weak economic foundation and poor conditions for development. In the face of numerous difficulties and unfavourable circumstances, many developing countries are exerting themselves to develop their national economies by relying on their own resources and at the same time by supporting and helping each other in the light of actual needs and possibilities. They have achieved encouraging results.

Multiform Co-operation

Economic co-operation among the developing countries takes a number of forms. The first to appear was

the establishment of organizations of raw material exporting countries. By co-ordinating foreign trade policies and plans and combating manipulation of the world market by international monopoly capital, these organizations have been striving for and safeguarding fair export prices for raw materials. There are now more than 20 such organizations with a total of 75 member countries. Eleven were set up between 1970 and 1975.

The organizations of raw material exporting countries have promoted considerable development of trade, economic, and scientific and technological co-operation among third world countries. The forms of co-operation have been steadily consolidated and improved along with the widening of the sphere of co-operation. In the field of trade co-operation, developing countries have signed among themselves long-term trade agreements, reduced or abolished tariffs, improved the customs system, and provided conveniences for handling imports and exports. Some of them have established free trade zones, common markets or economic communities. All this has given a fresh impetus to trade among themselves. The Latin American countries for a long time relied on North America and Europe as markets for their exports. Regional trade in 1961 accounted for only 6 per cent of their total volume of

exports, but by 1974 it increased to more than 20 per cent. Trade between member states of the Central African Customs and Economic Union more than quadrupled between 1965 and 1972.

Co-operation in construction of projects has grown from short-term units on an item-by-item basis to long-term multiple projects, from mutual support in funds and technology to joint prospecting, exploitation, processing and transport and even the establishment of joint companies, by a number of countries. According to incomplete data, there are now 13 organizations for co-operation in the form of common markets, economic communities and regional integration, with a total of more than 50 member countries scattered over Asia, Africa and Latin America, forming an international economic force to be reckoned with.

An Important Role

Such economic co-operation, described by the developing countries as "collective self-reliance," has strengthened the third world in the fight against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism. The organizations of raw material exporting countries have played an important role in the struggle to oppose manipulation of markets by international monopoly capital, combat the latter's practice of exchange at unequal values, obtain favourable positions for the developing countries in international trade, and defend national resources. The Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries has successfully seized back the right to control the prices of oil exports, smashed the protracted, unbridled plunder of oil resources and control of oil prices by international oil monopoly capital, and ensured the oil income of the member states. By cutting back on the production and export of copper, the Intergovernmental Council of Copper Exporting Countries has stabilized the export price. By adopting such measures as increasing the export surtax on transnational corporations, establishing buffer stocks and introducing export quotas, the organizations of banana, natural rubber and coffee exporting countries have also achieved good results in defending their natural resources and ensuring export revenues.

Bilateral, multilateral and regional economic co-operation is undergoing further development. Joint transport and industrial projects are being carried out smoothly by the United Arab Shipping Company, the Gulf International Bank and the Gulf Industrial Consultative Organization, which have been set up by Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates and four other Middle East countries. The Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries has reached agreement on the establishment of an Arab oil investment company to help member states and other third world countries set up their oil industry. A coffee company formed by Mexico, Venezuela, El Salvador and Costa Rica, through joint activities, has improved the situation in both pro-

duction and export. A multinational shipping company established by 17 Caribbean nations to oppose control by monopoly organizations has greatly reduced freight charges for these countries. The Organization of Senegal Riparian States, the Commission of the Basin of Chad Lake, and the consultative committee formed by Niger and four other West African countries are preparing to develop agriculture jointly to achieve self-sufficiency in grain throughout these areas.

It is worth noting that economic co-operation among the developing countries is steadily expanding. For instance, the recent Conference of Arab-African Foreign Ministers held in Dakar adopted the Draft Declaration and Action Programme on Arab-African Co-operation. It decided that the more than 50 nations in the two regions would expand, strengthen and consolidate their co-operation in trade, mining, industry, agriculture, forestry, fishery, animal husbandry, power and water resources, communication and transport as well as postal and telecommunication services. The recent summit conference of Iran, Pakistan and Turkey on regional co-operation for development also decided to expand the sphere of their co-operation.

A Blow to Superpowers

The emergence and growth of the new relationship of economic co-operation among the third world countries is undoubtedly a powerful deterrent and blow to imperialism, particularly the superpowers' economic hegemonism, and constitutes an important advance towards smashing the old international economic order and establishing a new one. This is the reason why the third world countries, treasuring this new-type relationship of co-operation, are striving to enhance its role, while the superpowers refuse to take their defeat lying down and are racking their brains to sabotage it. The United States obstinately defends the old order, obstructs the establishment of a new order, and tries to disintegrate the organizations for co-operation. The Soviet Union, which pretends to "support" and "sympathize" with a new order, is more insidious, sinister and unscrupulous. It vilifies economic co-operation among the third world countries as "regionalism," "economism" and "reflecting the interests of blocs." It tries to intimidate the organizations into following a policy of "non-discrimination, equal rights and mutual benefit," in other words, an "open door" policy, which would play into its hands.

Nevertheless, the new relationship of co-operation is in conformity with the interests of the third world countries aspiring to develop their economy. It has thus won widespread and resolute support, forming an irresistible trend. This new thing in international economic relations has great vitality and bright prospects. Smashing all trammels in its way, it will advance towards further victories and eventually vanquish the evil old international economic order.

Environment and Development

by Chu Ko-ping

THE question of environment and development is of common concern to various countries in the world. The numerous developing countries are speeding up the development of their national economies and, in the course of such development, are protecting and improving the environment so that economic development and environmental protection can be co-ordinated with each other. This is a question of special concern to the developing countries and their people.

The question of environmental pollution and its damages has cropped up in many areas of the world. Pollution has become a scourge of society in some countries with highly developed economies. What is the root cause of environmental pollution and damage? The main social cause of environmental pollution and its damages lies in the fact that, as a result of the development of capitalism into imperialism, the monopoly capitalist groups, in their quest for big profits, are unscrupulously plundering the natural resources and disposing of harmful substances at will, thereby polluting and poisoning the environment. The developing countries also face certain questions concerning the environmental pollution and damage. But their environmental question is different in nature from that in the developed countries. Over a long period in the past, the colonialists and imperialists dominated the Asian, African and Latin American regions by various means, controlling their economic lifelines, carrying out savage plunder and ruthless exploitation, and engaging in indiscriminate development and utilization of natural resources, thereby wreaking serious havoc on their national economies and natural environment. This is the root cause of the poverty and backwardness of the developing countries and of the damage to their environment. In the face of superpower hegemonism, this state of affairs has become even more serious in these regions.

Now some people still regard economic development as the root cause of environmental pollution, while others consider poverty its root cause. All these views represent an attempt to evade the essence of the matter and seek the causes of the problem from superficial phenomenon, thus making it impossible to reach a correct conclusion in conformity with objective reality, and leading to pessimism about the future of human environment.

Economic development and environmental protection are interrelated and promote each other. The

former gives rise to the environmental problem and the latter constitutes an important condition for developing the economy; economic development increases the capability to protect the environment, and environmental improvement in turn promotes economic development. This is the interdependent relationship between the two.

At present, the developing countries have a pressing need to develop their national economies, gradually build up a modern industry and modern agriculture and achieve economic independence so as to consolidate their political independence. This is the urgent task of the developing countries in freeing themselves from imperialist, colonialist, neo-colonialist and big-power hegemonist control and plunder; it is also a basic guarantee for the protection and improvement of the environment. In the absence of political independence and economic development, how can the environment be effectively protected and improved? Economic development will bring with it the problem of environmental pollution which, however, can be solved only in the course of development, not by calling a halt to development or slowing down its pace. We hold that in the struggle against nature, man has constantly to sum up experience and go on discovering, inventing, creating and advancing. With social progress and scientific and technological development, the problem of environmental pollution can be prevented and solved in the course of development so long as we proceed from the interests of the people and adopt effective measures to this end.

China is a developing socialist country. We have in the course of advance also come across the problem of economic development causing environmental pollution. The main cause of pollution is the problem left over from the old China. It takes some time to transform the lopsided economy in the old society. So far we are still short of adequate experience and knowledge of environmental protection work, which is a new problem for us. Chairman Mao has taught us that we should proceed in all cases from the interests of the people. Economic development is in the interests of the people and so is environmental protection. The development and protection are in harmony with each other. We are constantly summing up experience and striving to reduce and eliminate pollution while developing the economy so as to create good living and working conditions for the working people.

In developing the economy, we should make an overall planning and arrangement when handling the relations between industry and agriculture, between town and country, between production and livelihood, between economic development and environmental protection, so that they will advance in co-ordination with each other. This is an important measure for preventing industrial pollution.

As to the development and utilization of natural resources, we should also make an all-round planning to ensure multiple benefits, pay attention to immediate and long-term effects, take into consideration the accruing gains and the possible effect on the ecological conditions. Our practice in the building of water conservancy projects over the years has proved that by making an overall planning and striving to ensure multiple benefits in flood-control, power-generation, irrigation, navigation and cultivation of aquatics, we can make the best use of water resources and at the same time reduce and avoid damage to the environment.

Geographical distribution of industries should be put on a rational basis, with greater stress put on small cities and towns. The small cities and towns have characteristics favouring the environmental protection such as the integration of cities with the countryside, of workers with peasants, facilitating production and conveniencing daily life. Meanwhile, the difficulties which often arise in big cities can be averted in small cities and towns: difficulties in housing, communications and transport, supplies of agricultural and sideline products and other public welfare facilities. This is also beneficial to environmental improvement.

To prevent industrial wastes from contaminating the environment, we put anti-pollution measures into practice simultaneously with the designing, construction and commission of the projects in our industrial construction. Such practice has proved effective. In so doing, we can ponder over the ways and means, before the construction work starts, of getting rid of the harmful substances as best we can in the course of production, or adopt purifying measures against any possible damage which might accrue from these harmful substances. This may cost more money when a project is under construction, but the cost will be much smaller than the price which has to be paid for keeping the pollution under control after it has occurred, and the results have proved much better.

Will the environmental protection and improvement affect development and slow down its pace? This depends on what policies are adopted. Our country regards the multiple-purpose use of resources as an important policy for economic development. Thanks to the development of modern industrial technology, the natural resources discovered and used by mankind are increasing daily. Discharge of industrial wastes at will will contaminate the environment. Multiple-purpose utilization of industrial wastes makes it possible to turn many harmful things to good account and make useless things useful. This will help to open up new sources of

raw materials for industry, expand social production, increase social wealth and promote the development of production.

Agriculture is the foundation for the development of the national economies of the developing countries. Without the development of agriculture, industrial development cannot go very far. Protection and improvement of the environment is of particular importance to promoting the development of agriculture.

Agricultural production, including food crops, forestry, livestock breeding, side occupations and fishery, depends to a large extent on natural conditions. There is a certain limit to the development of agriculture under certain natural conditions, that is, it will be hampered by natural conditions. However, through its own hard work, mankind can change the existing natural conditions and strive to master the natural law governing the reproduction of living things, and create still greater productive forces. On the question of the natural conditions for agriculture, the naturalist point of view is wrong, and the ideas of pessimism and inertia are boundless. In the old China, as a result of the long years of oppression and plunder by the imperialists and their lackeys, rural natural environment was seriously damaged, agricultural production was ruined because large tracts of land turned alkaline or became deserts. One-third of the cultivated land were red soils or alkaline, sand-stony and cold-swampy fields and lands susceptible to drought and waterlogging. Some lands became barren. Since the founding of New China, our Government has given the first place to agriculture in developing the national economy. By extensive mobilization of the masses, relying on our efforts and transforming our country in an indomitable spirit as displayed by the legendary Foolish Old Man who removed the mountains, it has worked with great will to transform the natural conditions for production. After more than two decades of hard work, we have improved over one half of the alkaline land in north China, reclaimed, utilized and improved over 120 million *mu* of red soil which is sometimes called "red deserts," and brought one-fifth of the land subject to erosion under preliminary control. With the planting of shelter belts over large areas and the improvement of water conservancy conditions in the desert regions in northwest and north China, more and more oases have emerged. The improvement of natural conditions for agriculture has enabled China to reap good harvests for 14 years running, with the broad masses of the people enjoying a happy life. Certain people assert that speedy development of agriculture would reduce the fertility of soil and bring about an ecological crisis. The fact that China has improved the natural conditions for agriculture and reaped good harvests in succession shows that mankind can transform nature and create a more suitable environment. So long as the creative power of the people is brought into full play and necessary measures are taken, the fertility of soil will not be destroyed; instead, poor soil can be turned into fertile soil and produce more food grains.

ON THE HOME FRONT

Industry Supports Agriculture

A SALIENT feature of China's industrial development in the period of the 4th Five-Year Plan (1971-1975) was the big growth in the production of farm machinery, chemical fertilizer, electric power for agricultural use and other materials for expanding agriculture.

Since the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution began, industrial departments have taken positive measures to make supporting agriculture their paramount task. Over the last five years, more funds, equipment and raw materials were allocated to those branches of industry geared to serving agricultural production than any previous years. The amount of steel used for making farm machinery and building water conservancy projects in 1975 was 3.5 times that of 1970.

The state has established a number of large and medium-sized industrial enterprises according to plan while the various localities have built numerous small ones to provide agriculture with modern equipment and techniques. In addition to 28 large and medium-sized chemical fertilizer plants set up over the past five years, 700 small ones, each with an annual capacity ranging from 10,000 to

30,000 tons of synthetic ammonia, were also built. A chemical fertilizer industry has been established in all the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions. Annual national output of chemical fertilizer was 2.5 times that of five years ago.

Between 1971-75, production of irrigation and drainage equipment and tractors and walking-tractors was up 3.3-fold and 8-fold respectively. Big growth was also registered in the output of internal combustion engines, combine harvesters, machines for processing farm and sideline products, plant-protection equipment and machinery for use in forestry, animal husbandry, sideline occupations and fishery.

The development of those industries in support of farm production has promoted the expansion of local industry as a whole. In the past five years, the Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous Region in south China has built up such basic industries as iron and steel, coal and power. Its output of tractors and walking-tractors which was 1,900 in 1970 had increased to more than 10,000 by the end of 1975. Production of internal combustion engines quadrupled and output of chemical fertilizer was more than 2.5 times greater. Hunan, south of the

Yangtze River, is another province that has rapidly developed its local industry in close connection with the tasks of supporting agriculture. In keeping with the distribution of resources and with agricultural needs, this province has built in recent years more than 80 nitrogenous and 30 phosphate fertilizer plants, over 40 medium and small iron and steel plants, 180 small cement plants and 150 small coal mines. In addition, many people's communes and production brigades have set up numerous small ones. The development of these industries in support of agriculture has been one of the factors behind the good harvests in Hunan.

The orientation in mechanizing agriculture in China is to produce a wide range of farm machinery suited to local conditions and different farming systems in various places. At present, 96 per cent of the counties and many people's communes have factories for making and repairing farm machinery. In 1975, China produced more than 1,800 kinds of farm machines, including walking-tractors for terraced land and horticultural work, special wheel and crawler tractors for irrigated and non-irrigated fields, tractor-mounted attachments for north China's row-crop farming and for south China's paddy-fields as well as large and medium-sized attachments for deep ploughing, ditching and other work in farmland capital construction.

Large quantities of cement and diesel engines are required in building irrigation projects and doing farmland capital construction on a large scale in the current mass movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture, and the demand has been met in no small way by the small and medium-sized factories established all over the country. The 2,800-odd small cement plants put up in 80 per cent of the counties since 1970 utilize locally available resources to manufacture cement for local consumption.

In recent years, large numbers of power-operated wells have been sunk in the north China plain to use ground water for irrigation. This has brought in its wake a marked increase in the production of diesel engines.



Members of a county farm tool research institute in Hunan Province training tractor drivers for the communes.

In Hopei Province alone, 13 diesel engine plants were built in the past five years with a production capacity nearly 100 times that of 1965, the year before the start of the Cultural Revolution. The province now boasts half a million power-operated wells for fighting drought.

Women Hold Up Half The Sky

WOMEN hold up half the sky" is a popular saying among the Chinese people in praise of the role played by the women of New China in socialist revolution and construction.

At the Taching Oilfield, a major base of China's oil industry, 25 per cent of its workers and staff members are women, among whom over 1,900 hold leading posts at various levels. There are 127 specialized teams or groups consisting entirely of skilled women workers. In making their contributions to socialist construction, they are writing a new page in the history of China's oil industry. Within six months after it was formed, the women's drilling team sank 10 high-quality oil and water wells. They took only seven days and four hours to drill a 1,200-metre-deep oil well, setting a new national record for Chinese women drillers. For this, the team has been cited an advanced collective at the Taching Oilfield.

The average age of members of the women's oil-extraction team formed five years ago is 21. The dozens of oil and water wells maintained by the team show a record of stable and high output and always top production quotas. The total amount of crude oil extracted by the team in the five years more than quadrupled that produced in 42 years in old China. This won for it the honoured title of "model team."

Like the women at the Taching Oilfield, women on other fronts are all working hard to speed up socialist revolution and construction. Apart from those engaging in light industrial production, many of them have also mastered production techniques in the prime movers, machinery, metallurgical, coal and national defence industries as well as in forest-

ry and communications and transport. In the air force of the People's Liberation Army, there are women pilots and women ground crews. The "March 8" women's crew on the Peking-Harbin express train has covered 555,000 kilometres without a hitch and on schedule in the three years since its formation.

With an average age of only 18, girls of the fishing team of the Talai Lake Fish Farm in northeast China hauled 546,000 kilogrammes of fish in the ice-bound lake in one year. This is a record for Chinese women in ice-fishing and shows the magnificent spirit of the labouring women in New China.

During the Great Cultural Revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, women, together with their male colleagues, have criticized the reactionary Confucian idea that "men are superior to women" left over by the old society. In the rural areas, most of the women who can work take part in farm work and have made contributions to bringing in good harvests. Since last winter, several tens of millions of women have taken part in capital construction on the farmland. Women of the Tachai Production Brigade, the national pace-setter in agriculture in Hsiyang County of Shansi Province, have played a very important role in agricultural production. In Hopei Province's rural areas, there are more than 42,400 women's scientific experimentation groups and over 120,000 women's cotton-growing groups.

China's women also play an important part in such fields of the superstructure as culture, education, health work, science and technology. A woman technician of a laboratory at the Taching Oilfield has succeeded in developing two new kinds of high-viscosity fracturing fluid as substi-



Women fliers.

tutes for crude oil. This has brought an annual production increase of two million tons of crude oil. The Tibetan woman mountaineer Phanthog, deputy leader of the Chinese Mountaineering Expedition, ascended to the top of the Qomolangma Feng—the world's highest peak—in May last year. She is the first woman in the world to have reached the summit from the north slope, which shows Chinese women's heroic spirit of daring to scale any heights.

The movement to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat saw the vigorous development of the mass movement of women studying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. Of the 250,000 people in Peking's theoretical contingent, 115,000 are women, accounting for 46 per cent of the total.

Directing their spearhead against Teng Hsiao-ping, the arch unrepentant capitalist-roader in the Party, women in China are now actively taking part in the struggle to beat back the Right deviationist attempt to negate the achievements of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and are making contributions to the struggle to combat and prevent revisionism and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat.

ROUND THE WORLD

ROMANIA

Comrade Ceausescu Exposes Sham Marxist-Leninists

Nicolae Ceausescu, General Secretary of the Romanian Communist Party and President of Romania, on April 26 made a speech at the opening session of the National Congress of the General Trade Union Confederation of Romania, strongly condemning the reactionary forces for their attempt to stop the powerful revolutionary process of the contemporary world and exposing sham Marxist-Leninists for denying the principle of national independence and sovereignty.

Nicolae Ceausescu said: At present, some people are unleashing a fierce offensive against the free and independent development of the peoples. The reactionary forces evidently show concern about and fear of the deep-going and renewing process of the world today, the progress of the peoples building a new society, and the new-type international relations which promote the relations among nations. They see with alarm at the irreversible collapse of the colonial system and the abolition of age-old deprivation and oppression of other nations.

He said: The reactionary forces, in their attempt to stop the enormous revolutionary process of the contemporary world, direct their main attack at the policy of national independence and sovereignty of the peoples. To this end, they are trying to advertise the thesis according to which the nation and national independence are outdated social categories no longer corresponding to the present stage of historical development, and the world has entered an era of supernational companies and various transnational organisms. Philosophically and theoretically a vast activity is being carried out to convince the people that they should give up independence and sovereignty or at least should give up a major part of them, leaving their fate and future

in the hands of transnational organisms which in fact represent a new form of the policy of domination and oppression. In fact the demobilization of the peoples is aimed at perpetuating the policy of interference and exploitation of the national riches of other states, arresting the influence and development of socialism and diminishing the role of the newly independent states in the contemporary life. All these attempts at demobilizing, misleading and even intimidating the peoples are doomed to failure.

He pointed out: We cannot overlook the fact that lately, some people who call themselves Marxist-Leninists underestimated and even negated the role of the nation, the principles of national independence and sovereignty. Some philosophers and theorists try to demonstrate that the nation has concluded its historical mission and has no longer any perspective in socialism, that the policy of defending national independence is a violation of Marxism-Leninism, a shift towards the position of bourgeois nationalism. They maintain that the defence of national independence, the affirmation of independent states are manifestations incompatible with revolutionary internationalism, with the spirit of solidarity in the struggle against domination and for social progress. Evidently these arguments are completely wrong, and in complete contradiction with reality, with the generally valid principles and truths, and with the all-conquering concept of dialectical materialism and historical materialism, with Marxism-Leninism.

Ceausescu pointed out that the history and life testify day by day to the old Marxist truth that no nation can be free if it oppresses other nations or does not recognize their right to independence. The strength of proletarian internationalism and international solidarity depends on the very force of the working class in each country, on the authority and confidence this class and its revolu-

tionary party enjoy among their own people, not on the disregard and betrayal of the national interests. We consider that the people of all countries — irrespective of the size of their territories, economic and military potentials and social systems — should actively participate on an equal footing in the settlement of international problems.

"OCTOBRE" (SWITZERLAND)

Soviet-Advocated "Economic Co-operation" Is a Danger

"The Soviet Union wants to subdue West European countries through the expedient of 'economic co-operation,'" said an article in the latest issue of the monthly *Octobre*, organ of the Communist Party of Switzerland (Marxist-Leninist).

The article pointed out that Europe is the focus of the rivalry between the Soviet Union and the United States. The Soviet Union, while exerting strong military pressure on West European countries, has tried, under cover of "detente," to make use of the weak points of some of these countries in the political, economic and other fields "to split and weaken Europe, oust the United States and place under its own control one European country after another."

The article added: "The Soviet policy of expansion and aggression against Europe has many aspects and its frantic effort to establish economic co-operation with Western Europe is one of them."

The article noted that militarization of the Soviet economy is the root cause of its profound crisis, drastically undermining the country's ability to satisfy its people's needs for consumer goods and food. Under the circumstances, the Soviet Union asserts that "according to the 'Helsinki spirit,' the West should promote detente and disarm itself and therefore should provide the cereals, consumer goods and industrial equipment which the Soviet Union lacks; at the same time the

West should understand that it is in need of Soviet raw materials," the article continued.

It pointed out that taking advantage of the crisis gripping the West European countries' export industries, the Soviet Union has tried to make these countries closely dependent on it. "The more the Soviet Union can make West European industry depend on the orders it places under long-term trade agreements, the more it can increase economic and political pressure on top of its massive military pressure on West European countries."

The article also stated that Soviet supply of raw materials to Western Europe will play an important part in carrying out its expansionist design. The more the Soviet Union serves as the supplier of energy to Western Europe, the better it can assume a position of control over Western Europe strategically.

It stressed that Soviet-advocated "economic co-operation" is a danger to all West European countries, because the Soviet Union will use the widening of economic ties between the West European countries and the Soviet Union to achieve its imperialist aims, particularly the establishment of its hegemony in Europe.

The establishment of such "economic co-operation" with the Soviet Union, the article concluded, "will be an indirect support for its frenzied military buildup."

UNITED STATES

Kissinger's African Tour

During his African tour from April 24 to May 2, U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger visited Kenya, Tanzania, Zambia, Zaire, Liberia and Senegal.

It was the first time in the last six years that a U.S. Secretary of State

had visited African countries south of Sahara. It took place, as people have noticed, against a background of Soviet menacing offensive against southern Africa after its armed intervention in Angola, and at a time when the Zimbabwean people and the people in southern Africa as a whole were winning one victory after another in their struggle for national liberation. African public opinion pointed out that the trip was an indication that Washington was trying to mend its fences in face of the Soviet offensive on that continent.

At a news conference in Washington on the eve of his trip, Kissinger denounced Soviet actions in Angola as "a very dangerous development." He hoped that the superpowers should exercise restraint in Africa. He declared: "They [the Soviets] would have to act to live up to these principles of not interfering with military force and/or large-scale military equipment in internal African problems," adding that the "Cuban troops should be withdrawn from Africa." When in Africa he again expressed opposition to the pursuance of "hegemonial aspirations" or "bloc policies," etc. by any other country; but he made no mention of the question of Cuban troop withdrawal. When asked at a press conference in Kinshasa what the United States would do in case of Russian military intervention in southern Africa, he evaded the question.

In Zambia, the U.S. Secretary of State made a long speech at a luncheon given by President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia. He supported the idea that "the majority becomes the ruling power in Rhodesia" through "peaceful change" (meaning negotiation) and said that he would "urge South Africa" "to announce a definite timetable acceptable to the world community for the achievement of self-determination" in Namibia. He also urged South Africa to end the "institutionalized" apartheid.

During the visit, Kissinger also expressed Washington's readiness to help Mozambique and other neighbouring countries having closed their borders with Rhodesia to alleviate their economic difficulties and to increase "aid" to other African countries.

Support for Africans' "majority rule" and "economic progress" were the two elements of the U.S. "African policy" which Kissinger declared at Nairobi Airport the moment he had set foot on African soil. The Secretary himself acknowledged that the U.S. policy of "peaceful settlement" was in the interest of the whites as well. The aim of this U.S. policy towards Africa, as was pointed out by the *Washington Post*, was to meet the "Soviet (and Cuban) penetration" and to "steal the Russians' thunder." The West German paper *Bayern-Kurier* held that the United States showed its "impotence" by only flinging "empty threats" at Soviet intervention.

Moscow's propaganda machine had given a broadside to Kissinger's visit to Africa. *Pravda* charged certain groups in the United States with attempting to exert pressure on a number of African countries and have them refuse the "friendly assistance" from a "socialist country" (which is social-imperialist aggression and expansion put in an euphemistic way).

The Soviet-U.S. contention for hegemony in Africa is clear to the public in Africa and many other countries in the world. The awakening African people want neither U.S. nor Soviet intervention in Africa. They are fully capable of achieving independence and liberation for the whole continent by their own strength. Sudanese President Gaafar Mohamed Nimeri in a recent statement warned against a possible spread of intervention from some quarters outside Africa, like the one in Angola, to the whole of Africa. He stood for ruling out superpower rivalry.