

PEKING REVIEW

29

July 19, 1974

北
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Virtue and Lin Piao's Revisionist Line**

**Soviet-U.S. Contention for Sea
Power**

***Emancipated Tibetan Serfs Will
Never Tolerate Restoration***

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Advance in the Storms

Eight years ago, on July 16, our great leader Chairman Mao had a good swim in the Yangtze River at Wuhan, central China. He said: "The Yangtze with its deep waters and swift currents helps to build up physical strength and will-power." The news was a great inspiration to the people throughout the country then taking an active part in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

An excellent situation prevails today in the deepening movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius. Armymen and civilians in Wuhan, Peking, Changsha and Nanning joined in mass swimming activities on July 16 to mark the occasion.

Early that morning, some 5,000 P.L.A. men and people in Wuhan flocked to the river banks which presented a magnificent scene—crowds of people in their holiday best, beautifully decorated boats and huge streamers hanging over the Yangtze River bridge.

When red signal flares rose into the sky, groups of Little Red Soldiers, workers, peasants, P.L.A. fighters, militiamen and women, Red Guards and athletes plunged into the river, churning through the waves. Among those crossing the river were over 700 women who reached the other side of the river together with the men comrades. Amidst a multitude of multi-coloured balloons, a contingent of some 600 Little Red Soldiers also swam the river, the eldest being 13, the youngest just turned 6.

In the capital, more than 90,000 workers, peasants and soldiers took part in swimming, diving and water polo exhibition contests and competitions. The biggest centre of aquatic activities was the Summer Palace where nearly 7,000 people swam across Kunming Lake. In the van was a contingent of swimmers carry-

ing giant placards with the slogans "Carry the struggle to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius through to the end!" and "Grasp revolution, promote production and other work and preparedness against war!" The youngsters' contingent was in the limelight. Cleaving through the water, some carried swords or red-tasselled spears and some wore straw hats with the four big, red Chinese characters "Go to the countryside" written on them.

Huang Shuai, a Red Guard who dares to go against the tide in the revolution in education, was foremost among the student-swimmers of the middle school affiliated to Peking University. Speaking after reaching the finish alongside her schoolmates, she said: "We must act upon Chairman Mao's teaching on enabling those who receive an education to develop morally, intellectually and physically, strive to keep fit, study hard and work well and unite with the teachers and schoolmates to deepen the struggle to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, so as to follow Chairman Mao in advancing from victory to victory in the great storms."

Changsha in central-south China saw the crossing of the 1,500-metre-wide Hsiangchiang River by some 10,000 workers, peasants, P.L.A. fighters, militiamen and women, students, government functionaries, and residents. Chutzuchou Primary School is where Chairman Mao visited 15 years ago when he had a good swim in the Hsiangchiang. With nine out of ten pupils there able to swim, 80 per cent can cross that river today. On the memorable day of July 16, some 180 Little Red Soldiers of this and other primary schools took part in the crossing and reached the destination with a firm will.

A similar crossing of the Yungchiang River by more than 3,000 armymen and people took place in

south China's Nanning the same day. It was in this river that Chairman Mao swam one winter.

Thirteenth Anniversary of China-Korea Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation And Mutual Assistance

Korean Ambassador to China Hyun Jun Keuk gave a banquet on July 11 to mark the 13th anniversary of the signing of the China-Korea Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation and Mutual Assistance.

Attending the banquet were Li Hsien-nien, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Vice-Premier of the State Council; Chen Hsi-lien, Member of the Political Bureau of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Commander of the Peking Units of the Chinese People's Liberation Army; and others.

The treaty signed in July 1961 by Comrades Kim Il Sung and Chou En-lai fully reflects the two peoples' basic interests and common aspirations and propels their long-standing friendly relations to a new stage.

Ambassador Hyun Jun Keuk and Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien spoke at the banquet which was filled with the comradeship of the Chinese and Korean peoples.

In his speech, the Ambassador warmly praised the revolutionary friendship and militant unity of the Korean and Chinese peoples. He pointed out: "The signing of the Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation and Mutual Assistance Between Korea and China is an important event which has developed to a new and higher stage the traditional friendship and the relations of co-operation between the two peoples cemented in blood in the flames of their revolutionary struggles against their common enemies."

The Ambassador continued: "Under the wise leadership of their great leader Comrade Mao Tsetung and the Chinese Communist Party, the fraternal Chinese people have made tremendous achievements in socialist revolution and construction by carrying out the fighting tasks set forth by the Tenth Party Congress. They have in particular launched the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius and are bringing about new changes in the political, economic, cultural and all other fields in the country."

He then gave an account of the vigorous struggle waged by the Korean people to achieve the independent and peaceful reunification of their country in accordance with the three principles and five-point programme put forward by their great leader President Kim Il Sung.

The Ambassador strongly demanded that U.S. imperialism stop its activities of obstructing Korean reunification. He vehemently denounced the south Korean authorities' criminal acts designed to perpetuate the division of the nation.

Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien paid warm tribute to the Korean people who, in line with the teachings of their great leader President Kim Il Sung, had won gratifying achievements in socialist revolution and socialist construction and tremendous victories in the struggle for the independent and peaceful reunification of the fatherland.

"Achieving the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea," Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien noted, "is the national aspiration of the entire Korean people." He denounced the south Korean authorities for going against the spirit and principles of the Joint Statement of North and South Korea published on July 4, 1972 and their criminal attempt to perpetuate splitting the Korean nation.

Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien said: "China and Korea are fraternal neighbours and our two peoples are close comrades-in-arms. The Chinese people have always stood unwaveringly by the Korean people in their struggle against foreign inter-

ference and for the independent and peaceful reunification of their fatherland. We firmly support the Korean people's just struggle to safeguard the North-South Joint Statement and their just demand that the United States stop its interference and completely withdraw its aggressor troops and all armament and equipment from south Korea. We are convinced that, under the wise leadership of President Kim Il Sung and the Korean Workers' Party, the Korean people will definitely be able to remove the obstacles and surmount the difficulties and win ultimate victory in the independent and peaceful reunification of their fatherland!" Chinese Charge d'Affaires ad interim Liu Chun-pei gave a banquet in Pyongyang on July 11 to mark the occasion.

Albanian Army Day Celebrated

Military Attache Qazim Kapisyzi of the Albanian Embassy in China gave a reception in Peking on July 10 warmly celebrating the 31st anniversary of the founding of the Albanian People's Army.

Among the guests were Hsu Hsiang-chien, Vice-Chairman of the Military Commission of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, and Chang Tsai-chien, Deputy Chief of the General Staff of the Chinese People's Liberation Army.

Albanian Ambassador to China Behar Shtylla and his wife, embassy officials as well as other Albanian comrades in Peking were present.

The reception was filled with a warm atmosphere of the revolutionary friendship and militant solidarity of the peoples and armies of China and Albania. Qazim Kapisyzi and Chang Tsai-chien spoke at the reception.

The Military Attache pointed out: All of the greatest victories achieved by our people, the liberation of our fatherland from the Nazi fascist yoke and the victories in the people's revolution, are linked with the name of the People's Army. The tremendous successes in all fields over the

last 30 years have been won by our people under the leadership of the Party headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha through tit-for-tat heroic struggles against imperialism, revisionism and reaction.

Paying warm tribute to the Chinese people, he said that they are victoriously carrying on the great movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius throughout the country on the basis of the historic victories won in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution initiated and led by Chairman Mao Tsetung. He emphasized the unbreakable friendship between the two peoples, Parties and armies of Albania and China.

Deputy Chief of the General Staff Chang Tsai-chien in his speech extended the warmest festival greetings to the Albanian people and the Albanian People's Army.

He warmly praised the Albanian People's Army as a heroic army that had traversed a glorious course and had won great victories. This new-type army of the people has grown much stronger than ever before, he said.

Chang Tsai-chien said: In the course of socialist revolution and construction and in the common struggle against imperialism, revisionism and reaction, the peoples and armies of China and Albania have cemented a deep revolutionary friendship. He pointed out: The Albanian Party, people and army have firmly supported our socialist revolution and socialist construction, our Great Cultural Revolution and the current deepening movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius. All these vividly embody the revolutionary friendship and militant solidarity between China and Albania. No force whatsoever can undermine the great friendship which was forged by Comrade Enver Hoxha and Chairman Mao and based on Marxism-Leninism and the principles of proletarian internationalism.

Tunisian Foreign Minister Habib Chatti Visits China

Minister of External Affairs of the Republic of Tunisia Habib Chatti,

Madame Chatti and their party arrived in Peking on July 12 for a friendship visit to China. The next day, Chinese Foreign Minister Chi Peng-fei gave a banquet in their honour.

Speaking at the banquet, the Chinese Foreign Minister first praised the Tunisian people for their achievements in safeguarding national independence and state sovereignty, developing the national economy and building up their country under the leadership of President Habib Bourguiba. He said: "The Tunisian Government pursues a foreign policy of non-alignment and opposes imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism. It supports the Palestinian and Arab peoples in their just struggle against Israeli Zionist aggression, supports the African national-liberation movements and has made contributions to the united struggle of the Third World countries and peoples against imperialism."

Referring to the present excellent international situation and the current situation in the Middle East, the Chinese Foreign Minister pointed out: "At present, the two superpowers are escalating their fierce rivalry in the Middle East. Each wants to overwhelm its opponent and is trying to sacrifice the interests of the Palestinian and Arab peoples and strangle their just struggle. In particular, the superpower styling itself a 'friend' of the Arab peoples has a more sinister intention and resorts to more base methods in bullying the Arab peoples and selling out their interests. However, the development of the situation in the Middle East is absolutely independent of the will of the two hegemonic powers. So long as the Israeli Zionists continue to occupy the Arab territories and the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people are not restored, the Arab and Palestinian peoples will surely carry on their struggle against aggression and hegemonism." He said that the Chinese Government and people will, as always, resolutely support the just struggle of the Arab and Palestinian peoples.

The Chinese Foreign Minister concluded his speech by saying: "Both

China and Tunisia belong to the Third World. The relations of friendly co-operation between our two countries are developing satisfactorily." He wished the Tunisian Minister and the other distinguished Tunisian guests success on their visit to China.

In his speech, Tunisian Minister Chatti recalled the time-honoured history of both countries. He said: "Though so far away from each other in distance and so unequal in their respective dimensions and populations, Tunisia and China nevertheless have many points in common and a similitude in destiny." He added: "Today there exists a will to approach each other because you and we are firmly attached to the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, particularly to the respect for the sovereignty and independence of all countries and to non-interference in their affairs."

Pointing out that last October's Middle East war demonstrated the irresistible determination of the Arab countries to recover their rights, the Tunisian Minister stated: "Tunisia is determined to aid and support the Palestinian people till final victory is won."

He continued: "In the Mediterranean, our efforts are aimed at freeing this sea from intolerable tension, from the increasing presence of foreign fleets and from rivalry between great powers. The Mediterranean should return to its primary vocation as a link and zone of peace and co-operation open to all on the basis of respect for the interests of the littoral countries and freedom from foreign interference."

"In Africa," he went on, "a light of hope is glittering where the relentless struggle against colonialism and racism in Angola, Mozambique, Rhodesia, Namibia and South Africa is going on thanks to the sacrifices of our brothers, the freedom fighters."

He added: "Tunisia, in solidarity with the liberation movements in Africa to which she has never ceased to render unreserved support, is following closely the evolution that is taking shape in this part of the continent."

On July 14, Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping met Minister Chatti and his wife and had a cordial and friendly conversation with them.

On the same day Foreign Minister Chi Peng-fei and Minister of External Affairs Chatti signed a protocol to the agreement on economic and technical co-operation between the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of the Republic of Tunisia which had been signed on August 27, 1972.

Chinese "Wushu" Delegation Visits U.S.A.

The Chinese *Wushu* (traditional Chinese martial arts) Delegation, with Kuo Lei as leader and Chang Shan and Wang Chia-tung as deputy leaders, arrived in the United States on June 21 for a friendly visit after concluding a trip to Mexico.

The delegation performed in Honolulu, San Francisco, New York and Washington. The members' excellent performances were warmly welcomed by thousands of spectators.

During its stay in Washington, U.S. President Richard Nixon, accompanied by U.S. Secretary of State Dr. Henry A. Kissinger, received the delegation in the Rose Garden of the White House on July 12.

Present on the occasion were Chief Huang Chen and Deputy Chief Han Hsu of the Liaison Office of China in the United States.

The U.S. President made a speech in which he said that the visit of the Chinese *Wushu* Delegation "is another of a series of visits between our two countries that began in the year 1972. What we think is important is that this is another demonstration of the basic friendship between the Chinese people and the American people." He asked the delegation to "convey to our friends in the People's Republic of China, our warm good wishes to Chairman Mao, to Premier Chou En-lai and all of our good friends we met in 1972." "Normalization of relations between our two countries continues to be a major goal of American foreign policy," he said.

Confucius' Benevolence, Righteousness and Virtue and Lin Piao's Revisionist Line

by Yen Feng

Lin Piao's preaching Confucius' benevolence, righteousness and virtue was an important content of his counter-revolutionary revisionist line of "restraining oneself and returning to the rites." A penetrating criticism of Lin Piao's fallacies in this respect, showing how he applied Confucius' reactionary and decadent ideas to serve his intrigues to usurp Party leadership and seize state power, can help us deepen our understanding of the ultra-Rightist nature of Lin Piao's revisionist line.

As early as the new-democratic revolution period, Chairman Mao pointed out: "We are not Duke Hsiang of Sung* and have no use for his asinine ethics." (*On Protracted War*.) When, under the dictatorship of the proletariat, class enemies use Confucius' code of benevolence, righteousness and virtue as their ideological weapon to restore capitalism, they inevitably do all they can to conceal its reactionary class nature and attach a Marxist label to it. This was exactly what Lin Piao did. In his sinister notes, this big Party tyrant and warlord who did not read books and newspapers and had no learning at all defined "virtue, benevolence and righteousness, loyalty and forbearance" advocated by Confucius as "criteria for handling human relations" and "historical materialism." He claimed that the Confucian precepts of "benevolence, courage and wisdom" meant "unity," "struggle" and "materialism" and clamoured for "using their essence." This was a complete anti-Marxist fallacy.

Morality Always Means Class Morality in Class Society

Marxism holds that morality or virtue is an expression of social ideology and a standard by which people's behaviour is adjusted. It is determined by the economic

base and in turn serves it. In class society, each class has its own morality because people have different concepts of good and evil and different moral principles based on their different social and economic positions. Eternal morality transcending classes just does not exist. As Engels said: "All moral theories have been hitherto the product, in the last analysis, of the economic conditions of society obtaining at the time. And as society has hitherto moved in class antagonisms, morality has always been class morality; it has either justified the domination and the interests of the ruling class, or, ever since the oppressed class became powerful enough, it has represented its indignation against this domination and the future interests of the oppressed." (*Anti-Duhring*.) And Lenin further pointed out: "We reject any morality based on extra-human and extra-class concepts. We say that this is deception, dupery, stultification of the workers and peasants in the interests of the landowners and capitalists." (*The Tasks of the Youth Leagues*.)

Lin Piao defined Confucius' benevolence, righteousness and virtue as conforming to "historical materialism" and "dialectics" and wanted to "use their essence." But which class' conception of morality is this?

According to Confucius, "benevolence" is the core of virtue or morality. It was mentioned in more than 100 places in the *Analects*, a book recording Confucius' words and deeds. What does benevolence mean? The political swindler Confucius unequivocally answered: "It means 'restraining oneself and returning to the rites.'" "Once self-restraint and return to the rites are achieved, all under heaven will submit to the benevolent ruler." In his eyes, the only criterion for being benevolent and moral was "returning to the rites," that is, preserving and restoring the slave system. Such precepts as loyalty, filial piety, chastity and righteousness were only concrete applications of "benevolence" in various kinds of relationships. With its definite class content, "loyalty" as preached by Confucius was intended to make people loyal to the slave-owners' political power, to the rulers of various states as well as to the King (son of Heaven) of the Chou Dynasty, chieftain of the slave-owning class. By "filial piety," Confucius wanted people to be absolutely obedient to patriarchal rule. They had to be slaves of the autocratic patriarchs at home and subservient subjects of the son of Heaven, the ruler of a state. "Righteousness" meant obedience to the order of the slave-owners' rule and opposition to

* Duke Hsiang ruled the State of Sung in the Spring and Autumn Period during the 7th century B.C. In 638 B.C., that state fought the powerful State of Chu. The Sung forces were already deployed in battle positions when the Chu troops were crossing a river. One of the Sung officers suggested that, since the Chu troops were numerically stronger, this was the right moment to attack. But the Duke said: "No, a gentleman should never attack anyone who is unprepared." When the Chu troops had crossed the river but had not yet completed their battle alignment, the officer again proposed an immediate attack. Again the Duke said: "No, a gentleman should never attack an army which has not yet completed its battle alignment." The Duke gave the order for attack only after the Chu troops were fully prepared. As a result, the Sung troops suffered a disastrous defeat and the Duke himself was wounded.

"insubordination and rebellion" detrimental to the interests of the slave-owning aristocracy. As regards "wisdom, benevolence and courage" trumpeted by Confucius, they were all in the service of his political aim of "returning to the rites."

As Confucius himself confessed, by advocating "wisdom, benevolence and courage," he intended to "cultivate oneself," "rule people" and "rule the states under heaven" so as to perpetuate the slave system. It can thus be seen that Confucius' entire moral code, with "benevolence" as the core, was the ideology of the declining exploiting class and was nothing but historical idealism. It was later taken over and refurbished by the decadent landlord class to become a spiritual weapon for defending its reactionary dictatorship and poisoning the minds of the labouring people and deceiving them. Imperialism and its lackeys have also repeatedly tried to sell this trash. Lin Piao's advocacy of the same only served to show that he stubbornly clung to the reactionary stand and worked for the **"dupery, stultification of the workers and peasants in the interests of the landowners and capitalists."**

Criminal Aim of Lin Piao's Spreading Confucian Morality

The fundamental difference between Marxism and revisionism is whether to recognize or not the dictatorship of the proletariat and the existence of classes and class struggle in the socialist period. In spreading the rotten-to-the-core Confucian ethics, Lin Piao intended to **"present all his political demands . . . from that [the standpoint] of an eternal and absolute moral principle"** in a vain attempt to obliterate and deny the existence of classes and class struggle in the period of socialism and oppose the Party's basic line and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Didn't Lin Piao fanatically laud Confucius' "virtue, benevolence and righteousness, loyalty and forbearance" as "criteria for handling human relations"? Didn't he talk hypocritically about **"governing the country in the way of superior men and honourable elders"** and treating all people with "benevolence and love" and according to the "principles of loyalty and forbearance"? The class distinctions between people, the sharp and complicated class struggle in the socialist period and the serious menace of capitalist restoration all disappeared in Lin Piao's reactionary sermons. As Engels said in exposing the Western bourgeois humanitarians of the 19th century: **"Leaving only the old cant: Love one another — fall into each other's arms regardless of distinctions of sex or estate — a universal orgy of reconciliation!"** (*Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy*.) Doing all he could to propagate "the old cant," the careerist Lin Piao whose dream was to overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat aimed at using the reactionary and hypocritical theory of class conciliation to oppose the proletarian theory of class struggle and create public opinion for a capitalist restoration. From his plan for an armed counter-revolutionary coup d'etat

entitled *Outline of Project "571"* we can see clearly why the Lin Piao anti-Party clique preached the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius and feverishly cursed Chin Shih Huang and the Legalists. It was solely to serve the clique's plot for a counter-revolutionary coup to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat, restore the fascist dictatorship of the landlord and comprador-capitalist classes and "politically liberate without exception" all renegades, special agents, landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists.

Morality, as a direct expression of the will of a given class, is always subordinated to the political line of that class. Historical experience tells us that the exploiting classes invariably try to use the old ethical principles to cover up their true diabolic and sinister features and the reactionary political line they pursue. We reject Confucius' preachings about morality because they reflected the interests of the exploiting classes and served the purpose of safeguarding and restoring the reactionary and declining slave system and all other reactionary and declining exploiting systems which were dying or had been overthrown. Since the counter-revolutionary activities carried out by Lin Piao and his lot were unpopular, they had to resort to deception and camouflage and employ the Confucian precepts of benevolence, righteousness and virtue in pushing their counter-revolutionary political line of "restraining oneself and returning to the rites." As Chairman Mao has pointed out, the imperialists and reactionaries, **"though they engaged in counter-revolutionary activities every day, had never told the truth in their statements or official documents but had filled or at least flavoured them with professions of humanity, justice and virtue."**

There was nothing new about the Confucian-Mencian benevolence, righteousness and virtue which Lin Piao peddled. It had been trumpeted by Wang Ming, Liu Shao-chi and other ringleaders of the opportunist lines in the Party. As far back as the period of the War of Resistance Against Japan, Chen Po-ta, a sworn follower of Lin Piao and a Kuomintang anti-Communist element, had tampered with Marxism in active co-ordination with the Kuomintang by proclaiming that "China's old ethical principles, such as 'loyalty, filial piety, chastity and righteousness,' 'propriety, righteousness, honesty and a sense of shame,' 'benevolence, love and peace'" "can become new virtues for today." Moreover, he did his utmost to chant "Don't do unto others what you don't want others to do unto you," alleging that by changing one Chinese word therein to make it read (in English) "Don't do unto others what they don't want to be done unto them," it would be possible to "transform the good virtues of feudal society into the highest virtue for humanity, and philosophically this is transforming idealism into materialism." This was sheer nonsense tantamount to advertising class and national capitulation. Between opposing classes in class society there is only what we call "Do unto others what you don't want others to do unto you" or

"Do unto others what they don't want to be done unto them," and there is no such thing as "Don't do unto others what you don't want others to do unto you." The Japanese imperialists who tried to subjugate China didn't "want" to be driven out, but we had to do unto them what they didn't "want." The Kuomintang reactionaries who tried to wipe out the Communist Party didn't "want" to let the liberated areas consolidate and expand and the people's armed forces grow in strength, but we were determined to do unto them what they didn't "want." If we had not done so, there would have been no new-democratic revolution led by the proletariat and no victory of the War of Resistance Against Japan. The same holds true conversely. Reactionaries in China and abroad have always tried by hook or by crook to do unto us what we don't "want." To ignore this is to ignore the entire historical experience of class struggle.

In a word, both "Don't do unto others what you don't want others to do unto you" and "Don't do unto others what they don't want to be done unto them" are essentially one and the same; they are lies concocted by the exploiting classes to deceive and fool the people. In fact, none of the reactionary ruling classes ever practised it, nor did they intend to.

Employing the opportunists' sleight of hand, Lin Piao "transformed" the morality reflecting the interests and needs of the slave-owning and feudal landlord classes in ancient times into one suited to the needs of the bourgeoisie and the imperialists, revisionists and reactionaries of the present day and decked it out in a Marxist cloak. Precisely because of this, Lin Piao and company showed their true colours as dyed-in-the-wool sham Marxists and out-and-out political swindlers.

Apart from deceiving and lulling the revolutionary people, Lin Piao had another purpose in peddling Confucius' reactionary moral code, and that was to coerce his tiny handful of sworn followers into carrying out his plot to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism. In Lin Piao's terminology, the word "loyalty" meant that his sworn followers had to follow his orders and commit such evil as betraying the Party and the country and endangering Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee and that they had to remain loyal to the Lin family "all their lives and from generation to generation." By "filial piety" he meant that his fascist diehards had to submit obsequiously to his counter-revolutionary will and act at his beck and call in accordance with the spirit that "one must respect one's parents and not disobey them" and that "it is filial piety to follow the orders of one's parents." By "benevolence" and "righteousness" he meant that his sworn followers should put their counter-revolutionary common interests above everything else, closely gang up and "succeed, or die to preserve virtue" if defeated, and so on and so forth. In a nutshell, he wanted to make Confucius' benevolence, righteousness, and virtue the counter-revolutionary discipline in his gang to unify the thinking and action of his sworn followers so that they would obey the command of the

bourgeois headquarters he headed and devote themselves to carrying out his schemes to restore capitalism.

However, history has never developed along the path the handful of reactionaries subjectively imagined. Under the wise leadership of our great leader Chairman Mao and the guidance of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country is as firm as a rock. Lin Piao and his sworn followers were panic-stricken and on tenterhooks all the time when they were hatching their counter-revolutionary plots. However much they counted on benevolence, righteousness and virtue, they just could not hide their innermost weakness and panic. Didn't Lin Piao want his sworn followers to "succeed, or die to preserve virtue"? But actually few of them died "to preserve virtue" after the counter-revolutionary coup d'état plan had blown up in their faces. Even Lin Piao himself did not "die to preserve virtue"; instead, he fled pell-mell to save his skin, trying to defect to Soviet revisionism, and met his doom in an air crash at Undur Khan in the People's Republic of Mongolia. This is proof of the total bankruptcy of so-called benevolence, righteousness and virtue.

Chairman Mao has said: **"To die for the people is weightier than Mount Tai, but to work for the fascists and die for the exploiters and oppressors is lighter than a feather."** (*Serve the People.*) Countless martyrs loyal to the Party, the people and the cause of communism heroically gave their lives for the revolution; this is weightier than Mount Tai. Lin Piao lost his life in his counter-revolutionary machinations: this is lighter than a feather. As for Lin Piao, that renegade and traitor who vainly tried to assassinate our great leader Chairman Mao, massacre the Chinese Communists and revolutionary people and capitulate to Soviet revisionism, to quote Marx when he denounced the executioners who suppressed the Paris Commune: **"History has already nailed to that eternal pillory from which all the prayers of their priests will not avail to redeem them."** (*The Civil War in France.*)

Echoing From Afar by Soviet Revisionist Renegade Clique

Just when the Lin Piao anti-Party clique was energetically advertising Confucian virtue, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique was echoing from afar in close co-ordination with it. Interpreting Confucius from the revisionist point of view, the Soviet revisionists lauded him and his reactionary ideas to the skies. They asserted that Confucius' moral principles were aimed at bringing up "gentlemen" who were "perfect men" "indifferent to food, wealth, comfort and material benefits" and "devoted all their life to noble ideas in the service of the people and in quest of truth"; therefore they represented "a combination of all the virtues." In the eyes of the Soviet revisionists who pass themselves off as Marxists, such "gentlemen" or "superior men"—reactionaries whom Confucius regarded as ideal figures for restoring the slave system—have become matchless "sages in modern times."

The Soviet revisionist renegade clique's vile tricks, however, can deceive neither the Marxists nor the masses. For it is all too clear that in extolling the Confucian moral conception and "gentlemen," the Soviet revisionist renegade clique's primary aim is to oppose China; at the same time it tries to present these "gentlemen" as models for the revisionists and to masquerade the privileged handful, including themselves, as "gentlemen" who appear to be men of integrity, so as to dupe the people the world over and maintain their fascist rule. In the Confucian lexicon, a "superior man" or "gentleman" is, in fact, a synonym for a reactionary ruler and stands in contrast to the "inferior man" or a slave. By eulogizing "gentlemen" and viciously cursing "inferior men," the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has revealed its true features as a band of renegades opposing the people and adamantly pushing revisionism, thus proving itself to be like the renegade Kautsky who was "a consummate hypocrite . . . in the art of prostituting Marxism," as Lenin denounced him in *The Collapse of the Second International*.

Tear Away the Veil of Supra-Class "Human Nature"

Running through the Confucian moral code is a sinister line—the declining slave-owning class' theory of human nature. To beguile and benumb the labouring people ideologically, the exploiting classes, while moralizing, often use supra-class "human nature" as a camouflage so as to palm off their morality as belonging to "the whole people" and cover up its true nature as the morality of the exploiting classes. Precisely because of this, the Confucian theory of human nature which represented the interests of the declining slave-

owning class has been used time and again up to now by the two exploiting classes that followed, the landlord and the capitalist classes, ever since they began to degenerate and go downhill. In criticizing the then German bourgeois thinkers, Marx and Engels pointed out that ". . . in moral philosophy, . . . the various heroes squabble about true morals. Feuerbach loves man for the sake of man, Saint Bruno loves him because he 'deserves' it, while Saint Sancho loves 'everyone.'" (*The German Ideology*.)

To push their revisionist lines, Lin Piao and the Soviet revisionist renegade clique of necessity had to peddle such rubbish as the theory of human nature. They tried to fabricate the myth that between antagonistic classes there exists a relationship of benevolence, righteousness and virtue characterized by the dictum "Don't do unto others what you don't want others to do unto you," "sentiments common to humanity" and feelings of "loyalty and forbearance" and "love of humanity"—qualities which these classes have in common. To prove that the Confucian precepts of benevolence, righteousness and virtue are in the same vein as the slogan of "humanitarianism" which they have so long propagated, the Soviet revisionists have time and again alleged that "the essence of benevolence (advocated by Confucius) lies in 'genuinely sympathizing' with others" and "regarding everyone as a human being." But in reality, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has never regarded the people in its own country and other parts of the world as "human beings." It imposes a fascist dictatorship at home and carries out aggression, expansion and subversion abroad. Its
(Continued on p. 20.)

Workers, Peasants and Soldiers Criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius

Emancipated Serfs Will Never Tolerate Restoration

by Sanlang Tungchou, a Tibetan P.L.A. fighter

MY native Tibet was a serf society based on manorial estates before liberation. The three manorial lords—the feudal government, the monasteries and the aristocrats—constituted only 5 per cent of Tibet's 1.2 million population but owned all the land and nearly all the cattle. The serfs, on the other hand, had no land and were forced to work for the serf-owners. My family suffered for generations from cruel oppression and exploitation by the serf-owners.

Tibet was peacefully liberated in 1951. In 1959, a handful of the most reactionary serf-owners headed by Dalai betrayed the motherland and engineered an armed rebellion to sabotage state unification and national unity. This was put down and democratic reform followed in its wake. Thanks to the leadership of Chairman

Mao and the Communist Party, we Tibetan people—beasts of burden for generations under serfdom—were liberated and set out on the socialist road on the basis of the democratic reform. Since then we have enjoyed a happy life. I want to indict the cruel serf system, expose the true nature of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius and criticize and repudiate Lin Piao's crimes in following Confucius to "restrain oneself and return to the rites" in an attempt to turn back the wheel of history.

When Confucius preached "restrain oneself and return to the rites," his purpose was to restore the slave system of the Western Chou Dynasty (c. 11th century-771 B.C.). An important part of his preachings was that people should observe the "rites" and submit to the

rule of the slave-owning aristocracy. This was an important means of maintaining the rule and privileges of the slave-owners. According to the slave system of the Western Chou Dynasty, people were divided into a number of classes: ruler or "son of heaven," princes and dukes, senior officials, *shih*, common people, servants and slaves. Similarly, different classes existed under serfdom in pre-liberation Tibet: roughly, from the living Buddhas, chieftains, lamas and manorial lords' stewards down to the serfs and slaves. The first four were so-called "superior men"; the last two were the "lower strata," that is, "rustics" or "inferior men" looked down upon by Confucius.

To maintain this difference, the serf-owners enforced a set of reactionary "rites" which stipulated that the upper strata should be respected and the lower strata should obey. For instance, a serf must kneel on the floor and bow low on entering or leaving a serf-owner's room. Whenever a serf met a serf-owner, he had to kowtow immediately and keep repeating "heavenly lord, heavenly lord." Serf-owners gave their serfs derogatory and insulting names. A cow-herd's name was preceded by the word "cow" and a swine-herd's name by the word "swine." Under serfdom, women-serfs' position was even lower. From birth they could be dealt with in any way their owners saw fit.

Confucius preached: "Don't look at things which do not conform to the rites, don't listen to things which do not conform to the rites, don't say things which do not conform to the rites and don't do things which do not conform to the rites." This was exactly how the serf-owners persecuted the serfs in Tibet before liberation. A serf looking at anything he was not supposed to was committing an "offence" against the serf-owner and would have his eyes gouged out. If a serf failed to

obey the serf-owner, his ears would be cut off. If a serf said anything "bad" about the serf-owner, his tongue would be cut off. If a serf took anything belonging to the serf-owner, his hands would be chopped off. Shaerhchia, a serf in the old society and now secretary of the Party committee of a people's commune in my home district, had his nose cut off when he was so racked by hunger that he ate the serf-owner's sacrificial offerings to his ancestors. When my father was eight years old, he and my uncle tried to escape from their owner, a cruel chieftain. My uncle was beaten to death and my father thrown into prison and badly flogged. Later, my mother tried to run away and had her leg slashed by the serf-owner. Such were the "rites" of serfdom, which were nothing but "rites" of cannibalism! And these were the "rites" Lin Piao, the faithful disciple of Confucius, tried to restore when he clamoured for "restraining oneself and returning to the rites." How could we tolerate this!

Chairman Mao has said: "Retgression eventually produces the reverse of what its promoters intend. There is no exception to this rule either in modern or in ancient times, in China or elsewhere." More than 2,000 years ago Confucius trumpeted "restrain oneself and return to the rites" in opposing social changes. But he ran into a wall everywhere. The handful of the most reactionary serf-owners headed by Dalai engineered a rebellion in an attempt to preserve for ever the dark and barbarous serf system, but they suffered ignominious defeat. Lin Piao, a faithful follower of Confucius, wanted to restore capitalism, but he ended up burying himself in the desert of Undur Khan in the People's Republic of Mongolia. The triumph of feudalism over slave society and socialism over capitalism is a historical trend, an inevitable law of social development independent of man's will.



Students at the Tibet Institute for Nationalities denounce the reactionary feudal serf system and Lin Piao's crime in clamouring for "restraining oneself and returning to the rites" in order to turn back the wheel of history.

The emancipated serfs in the Tibet Autonomous Region today have become the masters and have led a happy life since the overthrow of the reactionary serf-owners headed by Dalai. Especially since the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and rectify the style of work started, Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line has become more deeply rooted in the hearts of the people and the great unity between the various nationalities has been further strengthened. Production has also developed rapidly. Total grain output and the total number of cattle in Tibet last year doubled those of 1958, the year before the democratic reform.

Enormous changes have taken place in every Tibetan village. Take the people's commune I come

from. The commune Party committee has led the emancipated serfs to learn from the Tachai Brigade, the national pace-setter in agriculture in Shansi Province. As a result, per-acre yield of grain last year was more than double that of 1965, the year before the Great Cultural Revolution began. Every production brigade has built small hydroelectric power stations through self-reliance and bought tractors, threshers and crushers. As production increases, the commune members' living standard has steadily improved. Every family has electric lighting and is connected with a radio rediffusion system, some have bicycles and sewing machines. The last two years have seen our commune start a medical co-operative service, and "barefoot doctors" have been trained to treat the ex-serfs who were deprived of medical treatment for generations. Education has spread since the emancipated serfs took over the management

of the schools. Every production brigade now has a primary school and the people's commune has a secondary school. For generations, no one in my family knew how to read or write, but now my brother and two sisters are all in school.

We, the million emancipated serfs in Tibet, have thus leapt from serfdom into socialism. We will never forget what Chairman Mao and the Communist Party have done for us. Our elders, who were serfs or slaves before, often tell us young people: "There are two different worlds under two different systems. We must never go backward!" We Tibetan people will follow Chairman Mao's teachings and advance unswervingly along the socialist road. We will fight to the end against anyone who wants to restore the old order.

Visual Denunciation of Serf-Owners' Atrocities

AN exhibition of atrocities committed by the former Tibetan reactionary ruling class has been held in Lhasa, capital of the Tibet Autonomous Region, during the current movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius. It has attracted thousands of workers, peasants, army-men, government functionaries, students and residents of Tibetan, Han and other nationalities.

On display are thousands of articles, photographs and charts. Many emancipated serfs are on hand at the exhibition to pour out their grievances against the three manorial lords. This helps the visitors see more clearly the reactionary nature of Lin Piao's attempt to restore the old order by preaching the Confucian precept "restrain oneself and return to the rites."

Dalai, chieftain of the former serf-owners, extolled Confucius as a "teacher of government." After the overthrow of feudal serfdom in Tibet, he clamoured that it was essential to "exercise self-restraint for the auspicious cause of happiness." This shows that he was harping on the same tune as Lin Piao.

Visitors to the exhibition said that "the auspicious cause of happiness" undertaken by Dalai and his bunch was to restore the brutal reactionary serfdom that had existed before the democratic reform.

To maintain their savage rule over the one million serfs, the manorial lords promulgated a variety of reactionary laws, built up a huge Tibetan army and set up many prisons. Shown at the exhibition, the "Thirteen-Point Law" of the former local Tibetan government divided people into a number of classes and ranks. Those who dared to offend or rebel against the serf-owners were duly punished—some had their eyes gouged out, their tongues, feet or hands cut off, some were thrown down a precipice or drowned and killed in other ways.

On display around the "Law" are various instruments of torture and punishment used by the former reactionary local government, monasteries and manors.

They include shackles, handcuffs, cangues, iron cages in which "prisoners" were put and shown in public, and sharp hooks and knives for skinning people alive, gouging out eyes and cutting off limbs or noses. In glass cases are human skins, skulls and bones as well as hands that had been burnt in boiling fat.

Made of the cranial bones of 108 humans, a string of prayer beads Dalai once used is on show. From this visitors can see clearly that Dalai, chieftain of the Tibetan rebellious bandits, is an executioner like Lin Piao with honey on his lips and murder in his heart.

Also on display are vessels used by Dalai for sacrificial ceremonies, such as "horns" made of girls' leg bones and "small drums" covered with human skin. According to the confession of a Tibetan executioner, Dalai used 30 human heads and 80 portions of human blood and flesh every year as "sacrificial offerings" for his scripture-reading ceremonies. In 1948, on the eve of countrywide liberation, Dalai ordered the *langtzuhsia* (the former municipal government of Lhasa) to kill 21 serfs and slaves and used their hearts, livers, blood and flesh as "sacrificial offerings" when he held a religious service to curse the People's Liberation War, in a vain attempt to prevent the victorious advance of the Chinese People's Liberation Army.

One of the victims was Pupu, the 14-year-old son of Tzujen Yangtsung, an old woman living on Pachiao Street in Lhasa. Tzujen Yangtsung said: "Though he talks so much about 'benevolence and love,' Dalai is the devil incarnate. Lin Piao was daydreaming when he tried to put a devil like Dalai on our backs again!"

Items at the exhibition show how intensely the serfs and slaves hated the brutal rule of the manorial lords. From 1903 till the democratic reform in 1959, they staged nearly 100 uprisings.

It was, however, only under the leadership of the Communist Party and Chairman Mao that the one million serfs succeeded in emancipating themselves.

Tibetan Workers Refute Lin Piao's Slander Of the Cultural Revolution

IN the current movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, workers of various nationalities in the Tibet Autonomous Region have dwelt upon the big changes brought about by the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and penetratingly criticized the crimes of the Lin Piao anti-Party clique in its frantic attack on the Cultural Revolution and its futile efforts to restore capitalism.

With just a few backward handicraft shops, Tibet had no modern industry under the rule of feudal serf system. Since liberation, things have changed under the wise leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao. Tibetan workers who have gone through the democratic reform and who have been tempered in the Cultural Revolution have built up and vigorously expanded local industries. Tens of thousands of former serfs and slaves are now the region's first generation of industrial workers operating modern machines. Today there are several hundred small and medium-sized factories and mines in this autonomous region, and local industries include power, fuel, chemical, machine-building, mining, building, lumber, foodstuff, match, textile, paper-making, printing and tanning. Seventy per cent of these have been set up and enlarged in the Cultural Revolution. Total industrial output value last year was 3.8 times that of 1965, the year before the Cultural Revolution began. Output of coal, power, cement, farm machinery, building material and other major products has doubled or more than doubled. Tibet is now self-sufficient in timber, coal, matches, sulphuric acid, woollen fabrics, woollen yarn and blankets, leather and edible oil. Some products go to other provinces and municipalities.

Greatly encouraged by these changes, the Tibetan workers have said that this success stems from Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. The renegade and traitor Lin Piao's vicious attacks on the Cultural Revolution and on the remarkable achievements of socialist construction have filled them with wrath. In their revolutionary mass criticism, they have incisively pointed out that Lin Piao's reactionary fallacies only bared his counter-revolutionary features — his vain attempt to subvert the proletarian dictatorship and restore capitalism.

The region's electrical engineering plant is one of the new enterprises developed in the course of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Deputy secretary Chiangpa of the plant's general Party branch was

formerly a worker. He said: Our plant originally was a smithy as well as a carpenter's shop. Now in addition to maintenance and repair, we also manufacture, by relying on our own efforts, small generators and motors specially designed for pastoral areas and villages on the plateau. This has put an end to the situation in which Tibet was unable to build its electrical machinery, and it helps socialist construction in the farming and pastoral areas. Total output value of the plant in 1973 was more than seven times that of the previous year. Lin Piao cursed the Cultural Revolution in a vain attempt to restore capitalism. We should wage a tit-for-tat struggle to consolidate and develop the fruits of the Cultural Revolution and build socialism in a big way. We should carry through to the end the struggle to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius so as to further consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Rapid growth of the Tibetan working class is still another profound change brought to Tibet since the Cultural Revolution began. Whereas there were only 20,000 workers of Tibetan and other minority nationalities in 1965, there are now nearly 50,000. Over 5,000 of them have been admitted into the Communist Party.

Jentseng Chuchen, a Tibetan woman worker in the pre-fabricated concrete parts workshop of the Lhasa Cement Works, is a young cadre tempered in the course of the Cultural Revolution. Her father was killed in the old society by a manorial lord, and at seven she was separated from her mother with whom she had been forced to wander from place to place and never found her again. One of the first generation of Tibetan workers after the democratic reform, she was admitted into the Party in the Cultural Revolution and has been elected vice-chairman of the revolutionary committee of the cement works and vice-chairman of the region's trade union council. She said that the rapid growth and expansion of the Tibetan workers' ranks is the outcome of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line as well as a victory of the Cultural Revolution.

Since the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius started, the situation has been fine on Tibet's industrial front in both revolution and production. Industrial output in the first quarter of this year showed a 2.5-fold increase as compared with that of the corresponding period last year. Imbued with revolutionary enthusiasm, workers, cadres and technicians of different nationalities are determined to deepen the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius and speed up Tibet's socialist revolution and construction.

Be Good Revolutionary Successors

by Tung Liang-ho

IN response to Chairman Mao's call for "young people with education to go to the countryside," I left Peking after graduating senior middle school in 1969 to become a peasant and settled in the Hochiachai Brigade of the Choutou Commune in Chin County, Hopei Province.

My parents are veteran Communist cadres who were on the Long March. Warmly supporting my action, they also encouraged me to study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought conscientiously and to be modest in learning from the poor and lower-middle peasants, so as to be a new-type socialist farmer. Before I left home, my father gave me a several-times patched towel he had used in the revolutionary war years. He wanted me to inherit the veteran revolutionaries' excellent tradition of hard work and plain living.

Five years' experience in the countryside has made me realize more than before the great significance of Chairman Mao's teaching that it is necessary for young students to integrate with the workers and peasants.

Educated Youth Must Integrate With Workers and Peasants

Thirty-five years ago, our great leader Chairman Mao pointed out in his brilliant work *The Orientation of the Youth Movement* that China's young people had played a vanguard role in the revolution, which means taking the lead and marching in the forefront of the revolutionary ranks. They are an army on one of the fronts against imperialism and feudalism, but they are not the main force. "What then is the main force? The workers and peasants." "Only by mobilizing the masses of workers and peasants, who form 90 per cent of the population, can we defeat imperialism and feudalism." "The young intellectuals and students throughout the country must unite with the broad masses of workers and peasants and become one with them."

In the fiery years of the War of Resistance Against Japan, many of our veteran cadres — young students at that time — responded to Chairman Mao's call. Replacing students' attire with home-spun clothes, they left their homes thousands of miles away, to go to the sacred revolutionary place — Yen-an — and to other liberated areas, the countryside, revolutionary bases and the frontlines. Together with the worker-peasant masses, they learnt revolutionary theory in searching for principles and methods of national salvation and at the same time launched the famous great production campaign. Nurtured and brought up by the Party

and Chairman Mao, that generation of revolutionary youth played its proper role with the broad masses of workers and peasants in their great struggle in defeating Japanese imperialism, overthrowing the Chiang Kai-shek dynasty and liberating all China. As to those who looked down on and were unwilling to integrate with the workers and peasants, although they talked glibly about Marxism and socialism, in actual fact they not only achieved nothing, but also degenerated into tools of exploiting classes in oppressing the people.

We are the young generation growing up in the period of socialist revolution. In our country, although the exploiting classes have already been overthrown and private ownership of the means of production abolished, a long period of time to continue the revolution is still needed in order to realize mankind's supreme ideal — communist society.

Class enemies at home and abroad have consistently used every means to lead youth astray so as to restore capitalism in our country. Taking the changes in the Soviet Union as an example, the spokesmen of imperialism are pinning their hopes of a "peaceful evolution" on the third and fourth generations of the Communist Party of China. To meet the needs of imperialism, Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and their like worked furiously to foster revisionist seedlings in China. Patterning themselves on Confucius, they peddled "study hard behind closed doors" and "study in order to become an official." Lin Piao went so far as to slander the educated youth who went to the mountainous areas and the countryside as "reform through forced labour in a disguised form." According to their revisionist line for training the young people, cadres should not be servants of the people but overlords sitting on the backs of the labouring people; engineers, artists and other specialists trained according to this line inevitably would become intellectual aristocrats who lord it over the people. They undoubtedly would form the social basis for restoring capitalism.

Summing up the historical experience of class struggle at home and abroad, Chairman Mao has put forward the strategic task of training tens of millions of successors for the revolutionary cause of the proletariat. During the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, Chairman Mao again pointed out: "It is highly necessary for young people with education to go to the countryside to be re-educated by the poor and lower-middle peasants. Cadres and other people in the cities should be persuaded to send their sons and daughters who have finished junior or senior middle school, col-

lege or university to the countryside. Let us mobilize. Comrades in the rural areas should welcome them."

Like millions of other young students all over China, I went to the countryside in response to this great call of Chairman Mao. Life there has made me understand more and more clearly that integration with workers and peasants pointed out by Chairman Mao is the inevitable path for training successors of the proletarian revolutionary cause.

Changes in Thinking and Feelings

Before leaving for the countryside, I thought that as I was the son of revolutionary cadres I love the Party and socialism and there would be no question about my going and integrating with peasants. But after settling down, I found things weren't as simple as that.

Though I'd had 12 years of schooling, because of the influence of the revisionist line in education, I seldom went to the countryside, not to speak of contact with peasants. When talking about our ideals or the future with classmates in school, we sometimes spoke about better positions, professions and living conditions, and hardly considered what had to be done for the motherland or our own contribution to the revolution. After several days of manual labour in the countryside, I realized manual labour was really hard work, and life there was not as comfortable as at home in Peking. I began to waver. But the peasants working with me never complained of anything and always appeared happy.

During a summer wheat harvest, I asked an old peasant: "Do you think work here is laborious?" Surprised, he said: "Laborious? From the bottom of my heart, I feel much happier nowadays. You don't know how we suffered in the past when we worked for the landlord. Life has become happier and happier since our emancipation under the leadership of the Communist Party and Chairman Mao. In building socialism, we plough the land and feel it somewhat toilsome and difficult, but this is so that our next generations will not have to endure the suffering we had, and the working people of the whole world can lead a happy life." This peasant's words made me feel ashamed. Indeed, I thought, it is very necessary for me to be re-educated by the poor and lower-middle peasants in order to remould my world outlook.

In the last five years, I've shared weal and woe with the poor and lower-middle peasants. My face has become sunburnt, my hands calloused and my health has improved. But the most important result is the deep changes in my thinking and feelings. I now further understand that there can be no socialism without ar-



With other educated youth, Tung Liang-ho (left) writes a big-character poster criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius.

duous labour and there can be no future for revolution and mankind without the revolutionary cause carried on by the mass of the working people. Chairman Mao teaches us: "This change in world outlook is something fundamental." This change cannot be accomplished by sitting in the study nor by learning from books only, it must be made by doing manual labour and integrating with workers and peasants.

Learning Real Knowledge

From Confucius down to Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao, all of them advocated "the highest are the wise and the lowest are the stupid." They hated manual labour and despised workers and peasants. All these are the out-and-out decaying ideas of the exploiting classes.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "What is knowledge? Ever since class society came into being the world has had only two kinds of knowledge, knowledge of the struggle for production and knowledge of the class struggle. Natural science and social science are the crystallizations of these two kinds of knowledge." Chairman Mao also points out that certain students brought up in schools that are completely cut off from practical activities in society have only some book knowledge, which is still incomplete.

Because of the pernicious influence of the revisionist line in education before the Great Cultural Revolution, my education had been also cut off from practical activities in society. In the last few years I've fully understood that the countryside is a good classroom and that the poor and lower-middle peasants are our good teachers.

Take social science for example, in which class struggle is one of the main subjects. I recall that no sooner had we arrived in the countryside than a handful of class enemies tried to incite us to go back to the city. They spread rumours like "They won't stay long, they're just showing off." Later they even threatened us. The Party branch helped us study Chairman Mao's teachings on class and class struggle. An old poor peasant taught us how to distinguish friends from enemies by using the method of class analysis.

All this enhanced our understanding that educated youth going to the countryside is a socialist new-born thing which class enemies will inevitably try to sabotage and which will be obstructed by traditional ideas. Supporting or opposing this new-born thing is one of the manifestations of class struggle and struggle between the two lines. After our understanding was increased, our minds cleared, our eyes became sharper and we stood firm in facing this adverse current. We planted trees in front of our living-quarters as a sign of our determination to settle in the countryside permanently.

Tempered over the last five years in the class struggle in the countryside and in the struggle between the two lines, I have studied works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and Chairman Mao's works in combination with the actual struggles, and I'm beginning to be able to observe complicated social phenomena by applying the method of class analysis. Just as Chairman Mao teaches us: "In order to have a real grasp of Marxism, one must learn it not only from books, but mainly through class struggle, through practical work and close contact with the masses of workers and peasants."

The same applies to obtaining knowledge of the struggle for production. Once the brigade leader asked me to measure a plot of land. As I had studied mathematics in school, I thought this would be like rolling off a log. But the result was that after drawing many lines on the ground I still couldn't find the answer. One commune member gave the measurement based on his many years' experience in practice. This was a blow to my idea that I had more learning than the peasants and it made me realize that knowledge comes from practice and fighters with the most practical experience are the wisest and most capable.

Educated by the poor and lower-middle peasants, I have learnt to do some ordinary farm work and mastered some agricultural techniques. The knowledge we have learnt from books can be brought into full play after being closely integrated with practice. We educated youth subscribed to some publications on the science of agriculture, obtained some good strains from scientific research institutes and set up an agricultural experimental station on a patch of barren land. There we carried out experiments on seeds, plant protection and inter-cropping. All this was helpful in increasing agricultural production.

Building a New Socialist Countryside

Chairman Mao teaches us: "We must help all our young people to understand that ours is still a very

poor country, that we cannot change this situation radically in a short time, and that only through the united efforts of our younger generation and all our people, working with their own hands, can China be made strong and prosperous within a period of several decades. The establishment of our socialist system has opened the road leading to the ideal society of the future, but to translate this ideal into reality needs hard work."

In the spirit of arduous struggle over the last five years, we educated youth who have settled in Choutou Commune together with the commune members have reclaimed five hectares of land, levelled 40 hectares of arable land and sunk and repaired 25 power-pumped wells. As a result, sown acreage has been expanded and the per-hectare yield of crops rose. Our brigade's grain and cotton output per hectare in 1972 doubled that of 1969. From its own accumulation, the brigade has bought motor vehicles, tractors, threshers, crushers, weeding machines, electric motors and internal combustion engines. Witnessing all this I can't find words to express my joy.

More than 8 million educated youth like myself have gone to the countryside to become peasants since 1968. They have not only contributed to building a new socialist countryside, but will gradually be trained as reliable successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat. This is surely a heavy blow to the fond dreams of the class enemies at home and abroad who have been putting their hopes of restoration on China's younger generation.



Tung Liang-ho learning to repair farm tools from an old peasant.

Seeking World Domination

THE two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States, have been locked in ever fiercer rivalry for maritime hegemony in recent years, a struggle which is an important part of their contention for world domination.

The earth's vast seas and oceans make up 70 per cent of its surface and form important routes linking all the continents. The imperialists and colonialists have all along proclaimed that control of the seas is a prerequisite for world domination. As early as the 16th century, the British colonialists preached that those who ruled the seas could exercise control over the world. Late in the 19th century, Alfred Thayer Mahan, the early exponent of the "influence of sea power," even asserted that world domination could be established through the "command of the sea." A Russian tsar also shouted: "Water areas — that's what Russia needs."

Imperialist Fallacy

Taking over the old tsars' mantle, the Soviet revisionist social-imperialists, in order to carry out expansion abroad and contend for maritime hegemony, have tried their best to make imperialist propaganda, asserting that the navy "is the sole force capable of defending the interests of a country abroad," that "it can be utilized even in peacetime to demonstrate abroad a state's economic and military power." They also claimed that "a powerful navy is one of the elements conducive to the promotion of certain states to the rank of a great power, and furthermore, history shows that without a powerful navy, it would be impossible for a state to occupy a permanent position as a world power."

They even had the cheek to say that Soviet fleets will "sail wherever the security interests of our country require," and will "sail in all regions of the world oceans." They also brazenly described the plunder of the maritime resources as a stipulation in their party's programme, saying: "The programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union stipulates not only the utilization of the known natural resources, but also the research of the new. In this connexion, the world oceans acquire exceptional importance." This is exactly the same as the theory advocated by the other superpower that "U.S. interests require the ability to control use of the seas" and "the United States has an interest in maintaining the security of lines of communication across oceans that are vital to our security interests and to our continuing economic vitality."

Contention for maritime hegemony is of great political and military importance to imperialists in contending for world hegemony. Through maritime hegemony, British imperialism extended its influence to every continent in the world and set up a so-called "empire on which the sun never sets." After World War II, a large navy and so-called "command of the sea" were important means U.S. imperialism used to play the part of the "world gendarme." In contending with the United States for maritime hegemony Soviet revisionist social-imperialism aims precisely at "weakening the adversary and undermining its hegemony" and realizing the old tsars' dream of establishing a worldwide great Slav empire.

Aim of Contention for Control of the Seas

The two superpowers are the biggest exploiters and oppressors in the world today. To seize markets and outlets for investments abroad, plunder foreign resources and commit aggression and expansion, they are bound to contend for control of the sea. According to U.S. official data, 69 of the 72 vital raw materials used in the United States are shipped in by seas. It has been estimated that 50 per cent of the oil needed in the United States will have to be imported by 1980, mostly from the Middle East. The Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean are important routes for the shipment of oil. Soviet revisionist social-imperialism is also becoming more and more dependent on ocean transportation as it has greatly increased exports of goods and capital and intensified plunder of foreign resources and overseas military expansion in recent years. The superpower that controls the sea lines of communication and strategic points on the seas will pose a great threat to the other one.

Moreover, there are rich sea biological and mineral resources. Oil is an example. It has been estimated that deposits of sea-bed oil make up more than one-third of the world's total. Sea-bed oil output, which now accounts for 19 per cent of the total oil production in the world, will reach 40 per cent towards the end of this century. There are large quantities of gold, uranium, manganese and other mineral resources in the seas and sea-bed, which the predatory superpowers will try their best to grasp. Soviet revisionist social-imperialism greedily talks about "the ten million tons of gold and four thousand million tons of uranium" in the sea. It has claimed that the study of the world oceans and "of the utilization of the resources becomes one of the biggest state problems directed to ensure the

economic power of the Soviet Union." This fully exposes the rapacious features of the social-imperialist plunderers.

In the scramble for hegemony on the seas, Soviet revisionist social-imperialism has changed its naval strategy from inshore defence to deep-sea attack. It has wildly expanded its naval strength, built aircraft-carriers and formed marine corps at the expense of its national economy. Its war fleets are rapidly catching up with those of the United States.

In the face of the Soviet revisionist social-imperialist offensives in contending for maritime hegemony, the United States also devotes great efforts to strengthening its naval forces. In a report on the U.S. defence posture to Congress last March, U.S. Secretary of Defence James R. Schlesinger declared that "we are determined to maintain our own sea lines of communication on a worldwide basis and to ensure that naval balance of power does not tilt against us." He said that the United States is energetically carrying out its naval modernization programmes so as to be "adequate to any challenge from the Soviet surface navy . . . in regions of interest to the United States."

Rivalry in the Mediterranean and Indian Ocean

Soviet-U.S. rivalry for maritime hegemony affects every ocean in the world and the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean are the regions where contention is particularly fierce. Located between Europe, Asia and Africa, the Mediterranean is the key route linking the three continents, and is on the south flank of the European continent which is strategically the key point of Soviet-U.S. contention. The Indian Ocean, which is located between the three continents of Asia, Africa and Oceania and between the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans, is also very important strategically. The Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean are key sea lines of communication and their adjacent areas possess some important strategic raw materials. Known deposits of oil in the Middle East account for 60 per cent of total world deposits, and the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean are, therefore, of special importance to U.S.-Soviet contention for maritime hegemony.

Judging from the situation of global strategy on the seas, the United States is located between the Atlantic and the Pacific. The Panama Canal under its occupation links its Atlantic and Pacific fleets; when its fleet sails from the Atlantic towards the east, or from the Pacific towards the west, the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean serve as intermediate pivots. Should this sea area be in the hands of the United States, U.S. naval forces could operate in concert with one another in various oceans of the world. To cope with the U.S. deployment based on the two-ocean strategy, Soviet revisionist social-imperialism works furiously to bring the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean under its control and break up the U.S. naval deployment. Should Soviet revisionism control the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean, its fleets could co-ordinate operations

with each other. To the west, they could support the massive number of troops stationed on the European continent, subjecting Western Europe to pincer attacks from the sea and on the land. To the east, they could get to the Pacific region, first dealing with the U.S. Pacific fleet, second with Japan and third with other Asian countries.

To achieve the above-mentioned strategic purposes, Soviet revisionist social-imperialism has set up a huge permanent task fleet in the Mediterranean with over 90 ships at the most and some 50-60 under ordinary circumstances, surpassing the number of ships of the U.S. Sixth Fleet stationed there. It also has set up a permanent sub-fleet in the Indian Ocean and sought to establish naval bases there by every means. Pushing expansionism in the Indian Ocean, it even instigated a war to dismember Pakistan. When Engels castigated the old tsars, he said that they "are as treacherous as they are talented." The Soviet revisionist social-imperialists of today truly are as treacherous as the old tsars.

To counter increasing expansionist manoeuvres on the part of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism, U.S. imperialism, while zealously strengthening its political position in the Mediterranean area, has sent more and more naval vessels into the Indian Ocean, and is planning to expand its military base on Diego Garcia in the centre of the Indian Ocean to cope with Soviet revisionist naval expansion in that ocean. The two superpowers are contending with mounting ferocity for domination in the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean.

Opposition From World's People

"War is the continuation of policy," Lenin said. "World domination is, to put it briefly, the substance of imperialist policy, of which imperialist war is the continuation." Developments have made it clear that where the naval vessels of U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionist social-imperialism appear, there is Soviet-U.S. rivalry, and, accordingly, the danger of a new war. Using the "principle of freedom of the seas" as a pretence, the two superpowers have been rampaging over all the oceans of the globe. This actually has turned the high seas into their own territorial seas. While contending with each other desperately on the seas, which is an important means of their rivalry for world domination, both have come out against the just proposals on maritime matters put forth by other countries, particularly the Third World countries.

The two superpowers' battle for maritime hegemony has greatly disturbed the peace of the oceans and posed a serious threat to the sovereignty of other states and the security of all people. This has aroused ever stronger opposition from the people of the world, particularly the countries and people of the Third World. The two superpowers' contention for maritime hegemony will surely create the conditions for hastening their eventual doom.

(A commentary by Hsinhua Correspondent, July 7)

Analysis of Soviet Revisionists' Policy of "National Rapprochement"

THE Brezhnev revisionist clique in recent years has redoubled its efforts in pushing greater Russian chauvinism in the guise of "national rapprochement." At the same time it has done all it can to gloss over the national contradictions which have become more and more acute in the Soviet Union, claiming that "the national question, as it came down to us from the past, has been settled completely, finally and for good." But hosts of facts show that with the only difference, except for its cloak of Leninism, the so-called "national rapprochement" is actually the sinister trash peddled by the Russian tsars in the past to impose Russification on the non-Russian nationalities.

Leninism Betrayed

Brezhnev has taken over the mantle of "national rapprochement" from Khrushchov. During the Soviet revisionist 22nd congress in 1961, Khrushchov clamoured for a policy of "increasingly closer rapprochement of nationalities," big and small, in the Soviet Union under revisionist rule. After Brezhnev came to power, he also pledged time and again to carry out in a vigorous manner the policy of "the further drawing together of nationalities," big and small, and was dead set against what he called "nationalism."

What rubbish Khrushchov, Brezhnev and their cronies have tried to sell under the signboard of "national rapprochement" has been clearly indicated in the Soviet revisionists' official publications. The Soviet journal *Communist* boasted in its fourth issue last year that the Soviet Union is entering "the stage of achieving complete unification" among all the nationalities and that there are now "possibilities to conceive more specifically the process of rapprochement, even integration, among all nationalities." It added that "a single socialist nation is taking shape" in the Soviet Union. Another Soviet journal *Historical Problems* declared that through the extensive mastery of Russian the Soviet Union "is achieving unification of language." Thus it has been made crystal clear that a single nation using the Russian language should be formed in the Soviet Union. One can see from this that the "national rapprochement" pushed by the Soviet revisionists is actually meant to create a "single" Russian nation in the Soviet Union by forcing the Russification of the over 100 non-Russian nationalities and tribes throughout the country.

Probably finding the formulation of "creating a single nation" too outspoken, the Soviet revisionists

sometimes have replaced it with that of "forming a new historical community of people — the Soviet people" in the Soviet Union. They pompously added that this "does not mean elimination of the differences among various nationalities and disregard of national characteristics, languages and culture." This, however, cannot cover up the nature of the Soviet revisionists' policy of eliminating the non-Russian nationalities. Referring to the "historical community — the Soviet people," the journal *Soviet Ethnology* says: "The concept of nation and tribes . . . will increasingly give way to the concept of Soviet people." The Soviet revisionists here oppose the concept of "Soviet people" to the concept of "nationality," and order the latter to "give way." With the concept of "nationality" forbidden to exist, what national characteristics and status of the non-Russian nationalities are there to speak of? The formulation of a "historical community — the Soviet people" is only another fig-leaf for forcible Russification.

Brezhnev and his ilk shamelessly try their utmost to describe what they call "national rapprochement" as "the Leninist policy on nationalities" and the "continued development along the road charted by Lenin." This is indeed the biggest insult to Lenin, the teacher of proletarian revolution, and a crude distortion of his teachings.

Viewed from the long-term historical development, the integration of nations and the extinction of nation conform to the law of historical development. But Marxist-Leninists maintain that the elimination of classes will come first, followed by the elimination of the state and finally that of nations. Lenin pointed out that mankind "can arrive at the inevitable integration of nations only through a transition period of the complete emancipation of all oppressed nations." Referring to Lenin's attitude towards the problem of nationalities, the great Marxist-Leninist Stalin pointed out that "Lenin never said that national differences must disappear and that national languages must merge into one common language within the borders of a single state before the victory of socialism on a world scale. On the contrary, Lenin said something that was the very opposite of this, namely, that 'national and state differences among peoples and countries . . . will continue to exist for a very, very long time even after the dictatorship of the proletariat has been established on a world scale.'"

In the Soviet Union today, the prerequisites, as pointed out by Lenin, for "bringing the nations closer together" and "integrating them" do not exist at all, let alone the "complete emancipation" of oppressed nations. On the contrary, capitalism has been restored in an all-round way in the Soviet Union under the rule of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique. The working people have been thrown once again into the abyss of oppression and exploitation and the non-Russian nationalities again have been reduced to oppressed nations under the yoke of greater Russian chauvinism. The Soviet Union has become a social-imperialist country and a tsarist-type "prison of the peoples" again. The immediate task of all the nationalities there is to rise in struggle to eliminate class and national oppression and achieve complete emancipation for all nationalities. The Brezhnev clique's attempt to forcibly carry out "national rapprochement" and "national integration" while stepping up class and national oppression is nothing but greater Russian chauvinism. It has nothing in common with the Leninist policy on nationalities; it is an utter betrayal of Leninism.

Following in Old Tsars' Footsteps

Far from being "the Leninist policy on nationalities" and the "continued development along the road charted by Lenin," the "national rapprochement" carried out by the Soviet revisionists is actually the old tsars' policy on nationalities and the continued development along the road mapped out by the old tsars. It would be better to call it "the policy on nationalities of the new tsars."

To force their rule on the non-Russian nationalities, the tsarist Russian rulers all along pushed the policy of "integrating" them into the Russian nation. The tsarist Russian ruling clique said that "as long as a people preserves its faith, language, customs and laws it cannot be considered subdued," and that as regards "alien peoples not yet morally integrated with the conquerors," "such an integration can and must eventually be realized." It also asserted that in Russia, the "various tribes" had already "mingled to form a single nation." "National rapprochement," the "formation of a single nation," a single "historical community"—these and other such fallacies spread by Brezhnev and his like are merely new versions of the trash peddled by the old tsars.

The Soviet revisionists have taken over the mantle of the old tsars not only on the Russification policy but also on the concrete measures of Russification.

Lenin denounced the tsarist Russian ruling clique's assertion that "all the peoples must submit to Great-Russian rule" as "arguments of the Black Hundreds." But today Brezhnev and his like openly peddle such arguments, declaring that the Russian nation deserves the "genuine respect of various nationalities" of the Soviet Union and that Russia is "the great mother" whereas the non-Russian nationalities are "faithful sons of great Russia."

The Russian magazine *Kolokol* pointed out in 1865 that one of the important elements of tsarist Russia's policy on nationalities was to "even out and equalize all national peculiarities." To this end, tsarina Catherine the Second even ordered "the diverse customs (of various nationalities) in Russia" to "be brought into harmony." The Soviet revisionists try in every possible way to strangle the national culture of the non-Russian nationalities for the same purpose. The Soviet magazine *Statistical Review* openly declared in its No. 7, 1972 issue that an important aspect of the "development of the multi-national Soviet socialist state" is that "the people of different nationalities and tribes in their millions regard Russian culture as their own."

Before the October Revolution, Lenin condemned the tsarist Russian ruling clique for prohibiting the use of non-Russian languages and making the use of Russian compulsory. He pointed out: "There must be no compulsory official language." Today Brezhnev and company have stipulated that "every citizen (of the non-Russian nationalities) should master this language (Russian)" and that Russian should be learnt even in "pre-school child care institutions." The *Handbook of World Population* published by the Soviet Union notes that in the Soviet Union today "groups of people who have changed their language, in the course of time usually also change their ethnic (national) identity." This makes it crystal clear that the compulsory learning of Russian serves to enforce a change of national identity and impose Russification.

To accelerate Russification of the non-Russian nationalities, the Brezhnev clique also has moved large numbers of people of the non-Russian nationalities from areas where they lived from generation to generation to live among the Russians in Russian areas. *Theoretical Problems of the Formation and Development of the Multi-National Soviet State*, a book published in the Soviet Union in 1973 has to admit: "People dispersed for a long time in an alien national environment are experiencing the natural process of assimilation in this national environment." According to the Soviet official census published in 1970, more than 390,000 Moldavians, or 14.6 per cent of the Moldavian population, were moved out of the Moldavian Republic by 1970, and over 5 million Ukrainians, or 13.4 per cent of the Ukrainian population, were moved out of the Ukrainian Republic. What a striking similarity there is between this performance of Brezhnev and the old tsars' eviction of large numbers of people of "alien nations" after they occupied the Northern Caucasus!

National oppression by the old tsars either slowed down the population growth rate of some non-Russian nationalities, or steadily reduced their population, or even brought about their extinction. The same thing is happening with some non-Russian nationalities in today's Soviet Union under the rule of the new tsars. *The Theoretical Problems of the Formation and*

Development of the Multi-National Soviet State admits that because of "integration" and other reasons some nationalities "have ceased to exist independently." "With each new census, the number of nationalities covered by statistics constantly declines." According to the 1959 and 1970 censuses, the number of nationalities in the Soviet Union dropped from 126 to 119. Official Soviet statistics on population show that the nationalities whose population remained virtually at a standstill from 1959 to 1970 include the Latvians, Evenkis, Khantys, Aleuts and Udegeitsys. In the period under review, the Karelians decreased by 21,000, or about 13 per cent over the previous 11 years, Veps, by 8,800, or about 51 per cent, and Mordvinians, by 22,000. This is what the Soviet revisionists have been bragging as "all-round prosperity among all the big and small nationalities" in the Soviet Union!

Sharpening National Contradictions in Soviet Union

The Soviet revisionist leading clique's forcible Russification and ruthless national oppression under the cloak of "national rapprochement" have met with strong resistance from the people of various nationalities and brought about daily sharpening national contradictions in the country.

It was reported that a group of Ukrainians had declared in open letters their "opposition to the destruction and ruination of the Ukrainian language." They pointed out that the Soviet authorities' policy of greater Russian chauvinism "violates the constitution and is anti-Leninist, anti-Party and anti-Soviet" and that "this policy in no way differs from that pursued by the big powers which occupied Ukraine." In May 1972, a Komsomol member in Lithuania burnt himself to death in protest against national oppression by the Soviet revisionists. This touched off two-day demonstrations by thousands of students and workers who shouted "Freedom to Lithuania!" In June and September that

year, there were mass demonstrations and strikes involving over 10,000 people in two Ukrainian cities, Dneprodzerzhinsk and Dniepropetrovsk. Last year, a massive strike took place in the biggest plant in Vitebsk, Byelorussia. Similar demonstrations and strikes have broken out every year in areas of non-Russian nationalities in recent years. Some non-Russian nationalities have set up underground organizations to resist the Soviet revisionists, and published underground papers, journals and books to expose the national oppression they are carrying out.

A high-ranking tsarist Russian official said that among the non-Russian nationalities, "as long as there are people reluctant to accept complete assimilation" and "overtly or covertly opposed to the measures for bringing about moral integration taken by the country to which they are subordinated," the government "must base its power on firm military installations." This is exactly the measure Brezhnev and company are using. In the areas of non-Russian nationalities, they are intensifying secret police rule, tightening ideological control over the broad masses of cadres and other people, and carrying out mass purges and arrests. Since Brezhnev came to power, many leading cadres in Ukraine, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Moldavia and other union republics have been sacked one after another on the charge, among others, of half-heartedly repressing "nationalism."

Following in the old tsars' footsteps, the new tsars are futilely trying to overcome national contradictions with intensified violent suppression. But stepping up violent suppression and pushing Russification by violence will only enable the peoples of the various nationalities in the Soviet Union to see through still more clearly the cloak of "Leninism" Brezhnev and company have put on and their nature as new tsars, thereby leading to still larger-scale struggles against national oppression and reactionary rule.

(Continued from p. 9.)

exaltation of Confucius is merely a ruse to cover up, under the veil of "humanitarianism," its true social-imperialist colours. Chairman Mao has pointed out: "As for the so-called love of humanity, there has been no such all-inclusive love since humanity was divided into classes. All the ruling classes of the past were fond of advocating it, and so were many so-called sages and wise men, but nobody has ever really practised it, because it is impossible in class society." (*Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art.*)

Criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius is a serious political and ideological struggle in the superstructure. Our struggle against the Lin Piao anti-Party clique is an

acute class struggle against capitalist restoration. Our relation with it can in no way be one of equality or of kindness and magnanimity. On the contrary, it is a relation of one class oppressing another, that is, the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie. In this struggle, we must consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat still further, strive to effect "the most radical rupture with traditional ideas," as Marx and Engels enjoined, and sweep away the mire of all exploiting class morality so that communist morality will develop and shine with greater brilliance.

(A slightly abridged translation of an article in "Hongqi," No. 6, 1974. Subheads are ours.)

ROUND THE WORLD

CAMBODIA

Samdech Norodom Sihanouk's Statement

Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia and Chairman of the National United Front of Cambodia, issued a statement in Peking on July 10 firmly rejecting and refuting the proposal for "negotiation," "reconciliation" and "establishment of a national coalition government" put forth under U.S. instigation by the traitorous Lon Nol clique, and expressing determination to carry the struggle for the liberation of the fatherland through to the end.

The statement says: "The National United Front of Cambodia, the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia, and the People's Armed Forces of National Liberation of Cambodia are not making war for the sake of war. But embodying the true, profound and unshakable aspirations of the Cambodian people for freedom, independence and non-alignment, they are obliged to carry out a very arduous armed struggle against the superpower and the super-rich United States."

"Therefore, the armed struggle carried out by the N.U.F.C., the R.G.N.U.C. and the P.A.F.N.L.C. in the past more than four years is a sacred struggle for national salvation and national liberation."

The statement reveals by numerous facts that U.S. imperialism had engaged in subversion and aggression against Cambodia one year before it instigated the traitorous Lon Nol clique to launch the reactionary coup of March 18, 1970. After engineering the coup, it openly sent 50,000 American troops and 60,000 Saigon troops to invade Cambodia, and supported the traitorous Lon Nol clique's anti-nation and anti-people war with U.S. air and naval forces and huge sums of money. From August 16, 1973 to now, U.S. imperialism has continued to command and directly take part in the Cambodian war. "Therefore, this war is not a 'civil war,' but a war of aggres-

sion and colonization against Cambodia by the United States," the statement says.

It says: "We shall always categorically refuse an 'American peace' which imposes partition of our country or a 'coalition government' with the traitors."

"The return of peace to Cambodia does not need to go through 'negotiations' or by an 'international conference.' This peace can be realized immediately: If the United States ceases to interfere in Cambodia's affairs and ceases to give military aid to the Lon Nol clique, this will suffice for the Cambodian problem to be solved *ipso facto*," the statement points out.

The statement says: "In the name of the N.U.F.C., the R.G.N.U.C. and the P.A.F.N.L.C. I demand that the U.S. Government led by Mr. Richard Nixon unconditionally and immediately cease interfering in Cambodia's internal affairs and unconditionally and immediately dismantle the U.S. neo-colonialist system established in Phnom Penh and several other Cambodian cities."

"Failing this, the N.U.F.C., the R.G.N.U.C., the P.A.F.N.L.C. and Norodom Sihanouk will fight the enemy to the death. We shall never accept any compromise with him, still less a reconciliation with the traitors, his despicable valets."

The statement says in conclusion: "Even if we have to fight and suffer for 10 or 20 more years we shall never go down on our knees."

WEST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

Relationship Towards Arab Countries Changes

Not long ago, the foreign ministers meeting of the Nine Common Market countries unanimously agreed to begin a "dialogue" with 20 Arab countries with a view to exploring the possibilities of further development of economic, technical and other ties between the two sides. This is a remarkable event in the

relationship between the West European and Arab countries.

After the outbreak of the Middle East war last October, the Arab countries hit hard at the Israeli Zionists and their backers by joining their forces in struggle and using oil as a weapon. At the same time, this helped bring about changes in the relationship between the West European and Arab countries.

The changes are most sharply manifested on the Middle East question. The Nine Common Market countries unanimously have declared that Israel must "put an end to the territorial occupation which it has maintained since the conflict of 1967" and "the legitimate rights of the Palestinians must be taken into account."

Changes are also shown in economic ties between the West European and Arab countries.

Over 80 per cent of the oil the West European countries need comes from the Middle East. The intensified rivalry in the Middle East between the two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States, made them realize that to follow a superpower completely would seriously jeopardize their oil supplies. After the last Middle East war, France, Britain, the Federal Republic of Germany and other West European countries exerted themselves to make bilateral oil deals and develop economic relations with Middle East oil-producing countries. These facts are indications that the West European countries are strengthening their economic ties with the Arab countries.

As one of the biggest international exploiters, the Soviet revisionists are doing their best to control and plunder Middle East oil under the guise of economic, technical and military "aid." The West European countries are concerned that should the Soviet revisionists get control of the oil-producing Middle East area and oil pipelines in the Gulf area, they would dominate the oil supply route to Europe. Western Europe naturally is unwilling to accept such a position.

The West European countries want both Middle East oil supplies and a

say in Middle East affairs. That is why they are all the more dissatisfied with the hegemonism and power politics of the two superpowers in the Middle East, thus strengthening West European desire to develop a new relationship with the Arab countries.

"Dialogues" between the West European and Arab countries are an outcome of the united struggle of the Arab countries and peoples in the fourth Middle East war, as well as an inevitable result of aggression, plunder, intervention and bullying carried out by the two superpowers against the medium-sized and smaller nations. Such a development, however, will not be plain sailing, for the two superpowers, particularly the Soviet revisionists, will not take their defeat lying down, but will try their utmost to turn the tide. Moreover, it has to be noted that further development of the economic, technological and other ties between the West European and Arab countries is possible only on the basis of the principles of equality and mutual benefit.

SOUTH KOREA

Pak Clique's New Crimes Strongly Denounced

The spokesman of the South Korean Revolutionary Party for Reunification issued a statement on July 10 strongly denouncing the Pak Jung Hi clique's recent outrageous persecution of south Korean patriots.

It was reported that Seoul's "extraordinary military tribunal" on July 9 had passed death sentence for seven students of Seoul University, including Li Chol, General Action Chief of the National Federation of Youth and Students for Democracy, and poet Kim Ji Ha; life imprisonment for Hwang In Song, another Seoul University student, the *Chungang Ilbo* editorial writer Ryu Gun II and five others; and prison terms of 15-20 years for 18 other students.

The Pak clique on July 11 sentenced 21 people, including So Do Won, to death or heavy penalties for involvement in the "case of the National Federation of Youth and Students for Democracy."

The spokesman's statement pointed out that this was an all-out and

frenzied criminal act by the clique to massacre the masses of the people. It strongly demanded an immediate end to the trial of all patriots and their unconditional release.

The Korean paper *Rodong Sinmun* in an editorial on July 12 denounced the savage action of the Pak clique. It pointed out that the clique's criminal aim is to break down the north-south dialogue in violation of the North-South Joint Statement, the main content of which is the three principles of national reunification, to perpetuate the division of Korea and to maintain the fascist dictatorship at all costs.

The Committee for the Peaceful Reunification of the Fatherland, the Central Committee of the League of Socialist Working Youth of Korea and the Korean Students Committee issued statements on July 12 and 13 which declared resolute support for the south Korean students and other people in their struggle and strongly denounced the Pak clique. Youth, students and working people of Pyongyang held a rally on July 13 strongly condemning the Pak clique for its persecution of south Korean students and democratic figures.

MOZAMBIQUE

New Front Opened

Samora Machel, President of the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO), announced at a press conference in Dar-es-Salaam on July 5 that a new front of armed struggle, a fifth front, had been opened on July 1 in Zambezia Province by freedom fighters under the command of the FRELIMO. The other four are in Niassa, Cabo Delgado, Tete, Manica and Sofala Provinces.

Important strategically and economically, Zambezia Province — population of 1.5 million — produces tea, sugar and sisal and has rich deposits of copper.

Samora Machel said that during the first operations on the new front, freedom fighters had captured large quantities of weapons and other war materials from the enemy. They enjoyed the active support of the local people, and about 2,000 people had joined their ranks in the previous few days, he said.

Before opening the new front, the freedom fighters had won victories in their armed struggle against Portuguese colonial troops on the other four fronts.

Samora Machel pointed out that the victorious development of the Mozambique people's armed struggle "shows that no massacres or other forms of suppression by Portuguese colonialism can prevent the Mozambique people from fighting for complete and genuine freedom and independence."

MANILA

Laurel-Langley Agreement Expires

In a speech on Philippine-U.S. relations, Philippine President Marcos announced on July 3 that the Laurel-Langley Agreement signed by the Philippines and the United States expired at midnight July 3, 1974 and the privileges enjoyed by the Americans in the country terminated with the agreement's expiration.

The Laurel-Langley Agreement signed on July 4, 1954 was a new version of the unequal Philippine-U.S. Trade Agreement of 1946. The United States made the trade agreement an appendix and part of the Philippine Constitution. The agreement provided that the Philippines had to maintain after independence "special relations" with the United States and give Americans "parity rights" with the Filipinos in exploiting Philippine natural resources, owning land, running public utilities and other business activities. U.S. commodities could be imported to the Philippines without limitation and some were even exempted from duties. In contrast, the United States dictated the varieties, volumes and prices of the agricultural products and other industrial raw materials the Philippines was required to supply to the former.

The Philippine people of various strata have waged an unremitting struggle for the abrogation of unequal treaties and agreements between the Philippines and the United States. Abrogation of the agreement is welcomed by the people and public opinion of the Philippines.

ON THE HOME FRONT

Advanced Electronic Calculator

THE Mathematics Institute of the Chinese Academy of Sciences has designed and manufactured an advanced electronic desk calculator. Tests proved that it has greater storage capacity and higher calculating speed than calculators of the same type made abroad and is easier to operate. The structure of logic circuits is simple and power consumption low. The calculator will soon go into production.

This success is a victory for Chairman Mao's principle of **maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands and relying on our own efforts**, and is a fruit of grasping revolution and promoting production propelled by the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius.

The calculator is convenient for composing, debugging and modifying programmes. Problems are solved under programme control. Equipped with a printer and a magnetic tape unit, it is a complete and independent small computer system.

Partially performing the functions of a general-purpose computer, the new calculator can be operated manually to solve simple problems. It also can solve more complex ones under programme control.

Co-operative Medical Service in a Mountain Commune

THE co-operative medical service in Leyuan Commune in central China's Hubei Province is improving by leaps and bounds.

For the peasants living in this mountainous area there was a shortage of both doctors and medicine as a result of the interference and sabotage by Liu Shao-chi's revisionist line before the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution began. In 1966, the first year of the Great Cultural Revolution, commune members criticized the revisionist line and set up a co-operative medical service. Fund-

ed by subsidies from the brigades and commune, it entails a small annual fee paid by commune members, and patients only have to pay a small registration fee each time they consult the doctor.

Thanks to this brand-new service by which commune members rely on collective efforts to fight disease, medical and health work in the commune has undergone a fundamental change.

The commune now has a medical service network. In addition to a commune clinic run by the government, each of the six brigades (one brigade includes one or several villages) has set up a co-operative medical station with one or two trained "barefoot doctors" who engage in both farm and medical work. They work at preventing and treating common diseases, and some can perform simple operations. As for the 49 production teams under the six brigades, each has a peasant health worker who propagates medical knowledge, organizes public health campaigns and helps the peasants with family planning. Many of them can treat ailments by acupuncture, give injections and do some first aid.

All this has made it possible for commune members to get prompt treatment in their own villages when they have minor injuries or ailments. Serious or acute diseases which are not too difficult to handle are treated in the commune clinic. There are now 75 medical workers working at the commune, brigade and team levels, as against 12 before the co-operative medical service was introduced. Thus, convenient and effective medical treatment is guaranteed the commune members.

Commune member Chien Hsing-shu's personal ex-

perience shows the profound change in this area's medical service.

Chien's parents died before liberation of sickness because they had no money for treatment. Eight years ago, one of his sons became seriously ill. By the time he had taken his son to a hospital of the special administrative region (two levels above the commune) after a long journey, it was already too late for treatment. The establishment of the co-operative medical service has changed the situation. Once, three in his family were sick or injured in a short space of time (one had tuberculosis, one osteomyelitis and the third a fractured leg). The "barefoot doctor" in the village treated them every day and a year later all of them recovered.

In the current movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, commune members of the Leyuan People's Commune have warmly praised the co-operative medical service and refuted the attacks by Lin Piao and his like on this socialist new-born thing. They are determined to run the co-operative medical service still better so as to consolidate and develop the great fruits of the Cultural Revolution.



"Putting prevention first," a medical worker in Leyuan Commune brings preventive medicine to the fields.

In English

ARTICLES BY MAO TSETUNG

(Some of the works written between 1945 and 1948)

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