

# PEKING REVIEW

44

November 1, 1974

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**Third World: Great Motive Force  
In Advancing World History**

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**Contention Between Hsun Kuang and Mencius  
Is a Two-Line Struggle**

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## CONTENTS

### THE WEEK

3

- Premier Chou En-lai Meets Vice-Premier Le Thanh Nghi
- Premier Chou Cables Arab Summit Conference
- Yugoslav People's Army Delegation in China
- Comrade Chang Chun-chiao Meets Delegation of Communist Party of Italy (M-L)
- 24th Anniversary of C.P.V. Entry Into Korean War Marked

### ARTICLES AND DOCUMENTS

- Third World: **Great Motive Force in Advancing World History** — Jen Ku-ping 6
- Major Capitalist Countries: **Worsening Economic Situation** 9
- Why Has Soviet Revisionism Changed Its Tune on the Middle East? — A commentary by Hsinhua Correspondent 11
- Contention Between Hsun Kuang and Mencius Is a Two-Line Struggle** — Chin Yun-ko 12
- Workers, Peasants and Soldiers Criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius: People's Strength Triumphs Over Nature — Repudiating Confucius' idealist theory that everything is decided by heaven — Chen Yu-ching 18

### ROUND THE WORLD

20

- Saigon Regime-Controlled Area: People Fight Tyranny
- South Korea: New Struggle for Democracy
- Capitalist Countries: Shifting Burden On To Workers
- United States: Stop Persecution of Indians!
- "Class Struggle" (Norway): Behind "Detente" and Peace

### ON THE HOME FRONT

22

- Peking — From Consumer City to Industrial Centre
- Rural Broadcasting Networks
- Gas Sensitive Semi-Conductor Devices

## Premier Chou En-lai Meets Vice-Premier Le Thanh Nghi

Chou En-lai, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Premier of the State Council, met and had a cordial and friendly conversation in a hospital on October 27 with Le Thanh Nghi, leader of the Government Economic Delegation of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party and Vice-Premier of the Government, Ly Ban, deputy leader of the delegation and Vice-Minister of Foreign Trade, and Lieutenant-General Tran Sam, member of the delegation and Vice-Minister of National Defence.

The delegation led by Vice-Premier Le Thanh Nghi arrived in Peking on October 25 for a visit that was a continuation of his China visit last August.

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, gave a banquet on October 26 to welcome the delegation.

Speaking at the banquet, Vice-Premier Li praised the heroic Vietnamese people who, after winning great victories in the war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation, have achieved new successes on different fronts. He said: The people in south Viet Nam have won one new victory after another in their resolute struggles to oppose the violation of the Paris agreement by the United States and the Saigon regime and to safeguard and consolidate their liberated areas.

The Vice-Premier added: Recently, south Vietnamese people of various strata in the areas under the control of the Saigon regime started a wave

of struggle against Nguyen Van Thieu's dictatorial rule. This was an inevitable result of the Thieu clique's obdurate acts of violating and sabotaging the Paris agreement and pushing its fascist rule. The Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam have issued statements in support of the just struggle of the south Vietnamese people. The Chinese people express their resolute support for this.

In his speech, Vice-Premier Le Thanh Nghi said: The tasks facing the Vietnamese people at present are very heavy, and we have to overcome many difficulties. In the south, the Thieu clique, which is supported and assisted by the United States, is continuing the neo-colonialist war. It has seriously violated and sabotaged the Paris agreement on Viet Nam. It has been ceaselessly attacking and nibbling at the liberated areas and unrestrainedly trampling on all freedoms and democratic rights of the people of various strata in the areas under its control and thus committing numerous barbarous crimes. This has resulted in a very tense situation in the south.

He went on: The south Vietnamese people have resolutely smashed these conspiratorial activities. Recently, they have successively won many great military and political victories and defended and consolidated the liberated areas. The struggle against the fascist, war-like Thieu regime waged by the people of various strata in cities and the countryside is in a greater upsurge than ever before. In the north, after many years of fierce war, our people are striving to realize the resolution of the 22nd Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party, heal the wounds of war, rehabilitate and develop the economy, promote social-

ist industrialization and improve material and cultural life, and at the same time fulfil their obligation to their kith and kin in the south and energetically support the fraternal Lao and Cambodian people.

Vice-Premier Le Thanh Nghi stated: Viet Nam and China are two fraternal socialist countries and close neighbours. The revolutionary cause of the Vietnamese people and that of the Chinese people are closely linked. There have been for a long time close relations between our two Parties and profound friendship between our two peoples. As always, the Viet Nam Workers' Party, the Vietnamese Government and people are determined to do their best to defend, consolidate and develop the great friendship and militant unity of the two Parties and two peoples of Viet Nam and China.

An agreement between the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam on China's economic and military materials assistance to Viet Nam for 1975 was signed in Peking on October 26. A protocol on China's gratuitous supply of military equipment and materials to Viet Nam for 1975, a protocol on China supplying Viet Nam with general goods and an agreement on the mutual supply of goods and payments for 1975, all contracted between the Chinese and Vietnamese Governments, were also signed in Peking the same day.

Concluding its China visit, the delegation left Peking for home on October 28.

## Premier Chou Cables Arab Summit Conference

Premier of the State Council Chou En-lai on October 26 sent a message to the 7th Arab Summit Conference, extending warm congratulations on its convocation. The message reads:

"On the occasion of the convocation of the Arab Summit Conference, I wish to extend warm congratulations to the conference on behalf of the Chinese Government and people.

"In the Middle East war of October last year, the Arab people in their tens of millions, with common hatred for the enemy, gave play to the great might of their militant unity and dealt heavy blows at Israeli Zionism and at the superpowers which tried to fish in troubled waters. In the past year, the situation in the Middle East has developed in a direction more and more favourable to the Arab people and the people of the Third World and unfavourable to Zionism and big-power hegemonism.

"I am sure that the convening of the present Arab Summit Conference will further strengthen the militant unity of the great Arab people and help promote the just struggle of the Arab and Palestinian people for the recovery of lost territories and the restoration of national rights."

### **Yugoslav People's Army Delegation in China**

Li Ta, Deputy Chief of the General Staff of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, hosted a banquet in Peking on October 23 in honour of the Delegation of the Yugoslav People's Army led by Lieutenant-General Branislav Joksovic, leader of the delegation and Vice-Chief of the General Staff of the Yugoslav People's Army, and Major General Stevo Ilic, deputy leader.

In his toast, Deputy Chief of the General Staff Li Ta paid tribute to the people and army of Yugoslavia who, he said, had waged an unyielding struggle against the German and Italian fascist aggressors and liberated their own country during the great anti-fascist war.

"In recent years," he continued, "Yugoslavia has adhered to the policy of non-alignment, opposed imperialism and hegemonism, countered intervention, subversion and threats of aggression by the superpowers and

frustrated conspiracies calculated to endanger the security and independence of Yugoslavia. The people and army of Yugoslavia have made unremitting and fruitful efforts to safeguard their state sovereignty and national independence, thus demonstrating their will and determination of daring to struggle in defiance of brute force. To this we express our admiration, and we resolutely support you in your just struggle."

Li Ta noted that both China and Yugoslavia were developing countries. "Our two peoples have always sympathized with, supported and encouraged each other, both in the past struggle against fascism and in the present struggle against imperialism and hegemonism," he stated. He expressed the profound conviction that the delegation's current visit to China would certainly contribute to furthering friendly relations between the people and armies of the two countries.

Proposing a toast, Vice-Chief of the General Staff Joksovic pointed to the fact that both the Yugoslav People's Army and the Chinese People's Liberation Army had matured in the course of arduous guerrilla warfare and revolution. "Today our armies are playing a similar role, that is, defending the freedom and independence of their own countries," he added.

"In our view, the independence, freedom and peaceful development of a country is what it treasures most," Joksovic stated. "We should be ready at all times to defend the fruits of revolution and our people's peaceful labour. What is safeguarding our national defence is not just confined to the army but also includes the entire people who have been extensively organized for training in the nationwide defence forces."

The Vice-Chief of the General Staff stressed: "Experience tells us that the people attacked are always more powerful than the attackers." He expressed the belief that his delegation's visit would assuredly serve to enhance co-operation between the armies of Yugoslavia

and China and friendship between the two peoples.

Vice-Chairman of the Military Commission Yeh Chien-ying met and had a cordial and friendly conversation on October 26 with all members of the delegation.

While in Peking where the delegation arrived on October 22, its members visited an armoured force unit, an infantry unit and an air force unit of the People's Liberation Army. Commanders and fighters there gave them a warm welcome.

The delegation departed for other places in China on October 27 after ending its friendly visit to the capital.

### **Comrade Chang Chun-chiao Meets Delegation of Communist Party Of Italy (M-L)**

Chang Chun-chiao, Member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, met and gave a banquet in honour of the Delegation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Italy (Marxist-Leninist), led by General Secretary of the Party Fosco Dinucci, on the evening of October 23 and had a cordial and friendly conversation with it.

Attending the meeting and banquet were Keng Piao, Member of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Head of the International Liaison Department of the C.P.C. Central Committee; Feng Hsuan, Member of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Deputy Head of the International Liaison Department of the C.P.C. Central Committee; and leading members of departments concerned.

### **24th Anniversary of C.P.V. Entry Into Korean War Marked**

Hyun Jun Keuk, Ambassador of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to China, gave a banquet on the evening of October 24 to mark the 24th anniversary of the entry

of the Chinese People's Volunteers into the war in Korea.

Attending the banquet were Chen Hsi-lien, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, Nieh Jung-chen, Vice-Premier of the State Council and leading members of the departments concerned.

Comrades Hyun Jun Keuk and Chen Hsi-lien spoke at the banquet.

Comrade Hyun Jun Keuk said: Twenty-four years ago, when the Korean people and the Korean People's Army were rising in resistance to the U.S. imperialist aggressor troops and their lackeys, the Chinese people's great leader Comrade Mao Tsetung sent to Korea the Chinese People's Volunteers, who fought in the same trenches alongside officers and men of the Korean People's Army against their common enemy — U.S. imperialism — and defended with their own blood every inch of land in Korea. With the strength of unity, the armies and peoples of Korea and China won great victories in the war against U.S. imperialism, thus safeguarding the security of the two countries and contributing to peace in Asia and the world.

Dwelling on the question of the reunification of Korea, he said: Following the basic principles on the reunification of the fatherland indicated by the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung, our Party and Government are carrying on an active struggle for the realization of the independent and peaceful reunification of the country. However, abetted by U.S. imperialism, the Pak Jung Hi puppet clique which attempts to perpetuate the division of the country is continuing its most vicious conspiratorial activities and at the same time intensifying its fascist suppression of patriotic people who stand for democracy and reunification of the fatherland. The clique is ceaselessly making provocations against the northern part of the Republic and deliberately aggravating tension.

Sternly condemning these acts of the puppet clique in south Korea, the ambassador stressed that the U.S.

imperialists must accept the just proposal for the conclusion of a peace agreement put forward by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and immediately withdraw the U.S. imperialist aggressor troops occupying south Korea under the signboard of "United Nations Command."

In his speech, Comrade Chen Hsi-lien said: The great victory of the Fatherland Liberation War of Korea is a manifestation of the great strength in defying tyrannical enemies and daring to fight on the part of the Korean people who rally around their great leader President Kim Il Sung and the Korean Workers' Party, a manifestation of the invincibility of the Chinese and Korean peoples who are united as one in battle.

He said: Twenty-one years have elapsed since the Korean Armistice, but south Korea is still under the occupation of U.S. troops flaunting the U.N. flag. This is the reason why a solution cannot be reached on the question of the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea. Under U.S. aegis, the Pak Jung Hi clique has recklessly subjected the people in south Korea to fascist suppression, flagrantly pursued a policy of creating "two Koreas," time and again trampled the north-south joint statement underfoot and disrupted the dialogue between the north and the south, thus placing serious obstacles in the way of the Korean people's sacred cause of reunifying their country independently and peacefully. This state of affairs must be brought to an end. The United States must stop interfering in Korea's internal affairs immediately and the U.S. troops flying the U.N. flag must be pulled out of south Korea without delay.

He concluded: The Government and people of China have always resolutely supported the Korean people in their just struggle for the independent and peaceful reunification of their country and the three principles and five-point programme set forth by President Kim Il Sung in this regard.

On the same evening in Pyongyang, a banquet was given by the Korean Ministry of the People's Armed Forces to mark the occasion. Speaking at the banquet, Chief of the General Staff of the Korean People's Army Senior General O Jin U and Chinese Ambassador Li Yun-chuan both praised the militant unity and friendship between the two countries.

## News Briefs

- A postal and telecommunications agreement between the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Provisional National Union Government of Laos was signed in Peking on October 20. Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien attended the signing ceremony, before which he met the Lao Delegation of Posts and Telecommunications led by Khampheng Boupma, Minister of Posts and Telecommunications.

- Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien met and had a cordial and friendly talk on October 20 with Seiichi Tagawa, Member of the Lower House of the Diet of the Japanese Liberal Democratic Party, and his wife Noriko Tagawa.

- Chi Teng-kuei, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, met and had a cordial and friendly talk on October 27 with all members of the Tanzanian Youth Delegation with Ali Hassan Khamis, Member of the National Executive Committee of the Afro-Shirazi Party and Deputy Secretary-General of the Youth League of the Party, as its leader and Bernard Mbakileki, Member of the Central Committee and Member of the General Council of the Youth League of the Tanganyika African National Union, as its deputy leader.

- A protocol of the 13th Meeting of the Commission for Scientific and Technical Co-operation between the People's Republic of China and the Hungarian People's Republic was signed in Peking on October 26.

# Great Motive Force in Advancing World History

by Jen Ku-ping

ONE thing underscoring today's excellent world situation is the awakening of the Third World, which is growing in strength. While constantly strengthening unity among themselves and increasing mutual assistance, the Third World countries have steadily achieved brilliant victories in the struggle against colonialism and imperialism, and against the superpowers in particular. Playing an increasingly important role in the development of the international situation, they have become a great motive force in propelling the wheel of history forward.

## The Emergence of the Third World

The Third World which embraces more than 100 developing countries in Asia, Africa, Latin America and other regions has a population of around 3,000 million, constituting more than 70 per cent of the world's people. Long suffering from oppression and exploitation by colonialism and imperialism in the past, these countries today are still exposed to aggression, interference, subversion, control and plunder by imperialism, the superpowers in particular. Therefore, they have the strongest revolutionary urge to oppose oppression and achieve emancipation and national development. With the Third World as its main force, a tempestuous struggle against the imperialist and hegemonic powers is now raging all over the globe. The old order anchored on colonialism, imperialism and hegemonism is in the process of disintegration.

After a long period of tussling and scuffling following World War II, the various political forces on the international scene arrived at a drastic division and realignment. It is precisely in this great upheaval in the world situation that the Third World has become awakened and grown up in strength.

Replacing German, Italian and Japanese fascism in the early years after the war, the United States made its bid for world domination. The capitalist world of the West it headed was then known as the First World, the socialist camp, composed of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, as the Second World and the nationally independent countries and

those fighting for independence over vast areas in Asia, Africa and Latin America were referred to as the Third World. Towards the latter part of the 1950s and especially in the early 60s, a great change took place. The socialist countries scored continuous new successes in revolution and construction while the vigorously developing national-liberation movements won momentous victories. The Western world, in contrast, became seriously divided, with U.S. imperialism daily on the decline and Western Europe, Japan and the Oceanic countries gradually recovering and developing their economic strength. Meanwhile, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique came to power in the Soviet Union and turned that country into social-imperialism with the result that the socialist camp which had existed for a time was no longer in existence. Since the early 60s, the two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States, have been fiercely contending for world hegemony. Present international relations show that the world today actually consists of three parts, or three worlds that are both interconnected and in contradiction to one another. The two superpowers make up the First World. In between the superpowers and the developing countries, the developed countries make up the Second World. The developing countries in Asia, Africa, Latin America and other regions make up the Third World.

Lenin long ago pointed out: "The characteristic feature of imperialism consists in the whole world, . . . being divided into a large number of oppressed nations and an insignificant number of oppressor nations, the latter possessing colossal wealth and powerful armed forces." Ours is still an era of imperialism and proletarian revolution. Lenin's brilliant thinking still serves as an important basis for us in observing the world situation. The two superpowers are the biggest international exploiters and oppressors in the contemporary world. Striving to eliminate further the remnant colonial forces, develop their national economies and consolidate their national independence, the vast number of Third World countries now constitute the main force in the struggle against colonialism and imperialism, particularly the superpowers. There are conflicts of basic interests and extremely acute con-

traditions between them and the superpowers. The situation in the Second World in between the two is a complicated one. Some countries in it still retain in one form or another colonialist relations with Third World countries. At the same time, all the Second World countries, controlled, threatened or bullied in varying degrees by one superpower or the other, also are inclined to oppose superpower hegemonism.

### Who Are Really Powerful?

Chairman Mao has pointed out: "What imperialism fears most is the awakening of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples and of the peoples of all countries." Today, the Third World countries which long suffered from oppression and enslavement have awakened and stood up. They have no fear of brute force and are all-courageous in safeguarding national independence, defending state sovereignty and developing their own national economies and cultures and waging a tit-for-tat struggle against imperialism, especially the superpowers. In the world today, it is not the superpowers but the Third World and the people of all countries, united and daring to fight, that are really powerful. The development of world events fully testifies to the fact that the struggle by the Third World against imperialism and hegemonism is forcefully pushing forward the wheel of world history.

Events that speak for themselves are:

1. The heroic struggle of the Third World against aggression has won successive victories. The people of three Indochinese countries defeated the colossus of U.S. imperialism, setting a brilliant example for small countries to defeat big ones and weak nations to defeat strong powers. This has greatly strengthened Third World confidence in resisting superpower aggression. Demonstrating the might of the Arab people's united struggle, the Arab and Palestinian people in their fourth Middle East war dealt heavy blows to the Israeli aggressors backed and encouraged by the two superpowers.

2. There is a vigorous development of national-liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The number of independent countries in Africa has gone up from a few in the early 1950s to 42 in the 70s. The people of the Portuguese colonies in Africa have won one great victory after another in their armed struggle. After the independence of Guinea-Bissau, Portugal had to recognize the Mozambique people's right to independence as well. The armed struggles and popular movement for national liberation are forging ahead triumphantly in those parts of Africa yet to win independence. Many Asian and Latin American countries have likewise gained national independence after prolonged struggles.

3. The situation in which the superpowers controlled the United Nations has been changed. Third World countries now form the overwhelming majority of the U.N. member states, thus changing the composition of

this world organization. The restoration of China's legitimate rights in the United Nations marked a common victory for medium-sized and small countries fighting in unity. "The U.N. commission for the unification and rehabilitation of Korea," an instrument for interference in Korea's internal affairs and for aggression against that country, was finally swept on to the garbage heap of history. Gone for good are the days when the superpowers could do whatever they liked in the United Nations.

4. The Third World is fighting doggedly against superpower exploitation and plunder. As a result of the united struggle of the 100-odd developing countries, the Sixth Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly adopted the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order and the Programme of Action. This was a powerful challenge to superpower monopoly in the world's economic affairs. The struggle for the defence of 200-nautical-mile maritime rights initiated by Latin American countries has spread swiftly to other continents. Using oil as a weapon, the Arab countries have dealt Zionism and hegemonism a heavy blow. This was a historic pioneering action. It is an eye-opener to the vast number of Third World countries; they have come to realize that the natural resources once subject to imperialist plunder can become a powerful weapon in their struggle against imperialism and hegemonism. Quite a few international organizations have been set up among raw-material-producing countries. On the basis of further consolidating political independence, the Third World has persisted in the struggle to defend state sovereignty, safeguard national resources and develop the national economy. This signifies that the struggle of the people of the world against imperialism and hegemonism has reached a new stage of in-depth development.

5. Third World countries are fighting against control, subversion and interference from without. In the Sudan, a counter-revolutionary coup with Soviet revisionism behind the scenes was smashed. Egypt sent the military personnel of the Kremlin packing. Incomplete figures show that 20 Third World countries have since 1971 unmasked and expelled over 700 Soviet revisionist spies, of whom 200 were deported. More and more clearly, the Third World countries have seen the ugly features of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism and heightened their revolutionary vigilance.

6. Summit conferences of varying scales have been held by the Third World countries to co-ordinate actions and strengthen unity, fully demonstrating their firm determination to unite in the struggle against the common enemy. This shows that the Third World has come to the fore as a powerful and independent force in the international arena.

In the second decade of this century Lenin said: "But the morrow of world history will be the day when the awakening peoples oppressed by imperialism will be finally aroused and the decisive long, hard struggle

for their liberation will begin." Living events today have completely borne out this scientific forecast he made.

### Historically Inevitable

It is historically inevitable for the Third World to become a great revolutionary motive force to push forward the wheel of world history. Marxists have always maintained that the oppressed nations of the world have an inexhaustible revolutionary potentiality in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution. They have the biggest population but are the most cruelly oppressed. Therefore, they are bound to play the greatest revolutionary role in the cause of the people of the world to smash imperialism. Before World War I when the opportunists were acclaiming "social peace," Lenin had already felt great excitement over a new source of storms of national-liberation movements opening up in Asia. He believed that the world was in an "era of storms and their 'repercussions' in Europe." Since the Russian October Socialist Revolution, the liberation struggle of any oppressed nation has been, as Chairman Mao has pointed out, sure to "line up on the anti-imperialist front." Today, the anti-imperialist revolutionary situation in the world has developed to a considerable extent. The national-liberation movements of all countries have merged to become the main force hitting directly at imperialism, the superpowers in particular.

A developing socialist country, China belongs to the Third World. Although its social system is different from that of the many other developing countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America, China can only side with the numerous developing countries in the political, economic and other spheres. Having the unshirkable duty of supporting the liberation struggle of the oppressed nations and people, the developing socialist countries themselves suffer aggression, interference and bullying by the superpowers. So they are bound to form a common front with many other developing countries in the struggle against imperialism and hegemonism. The militant slogan "**Workers of all countries and all oppressed peoples, unite!**" put forward by Lenin in the 1920s has become a great revolutionary practice of the proletariat and millions upon millions of people of the world. In spite of the betrayal by Soviet revisionism after World War II, nothing can hold back the victorious development of the socialist revolution and of the national-liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The emergence of the Third World and its growth in strength are a manifestation of the further convergence of the two major historical currents—the socialist revolutionary movement and the national-liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The mighty strength of the united struggle of the Third World has greatly alarmed the Soviet revisionist renegade clique. In an attempt to downgrade the Third World's great historical role, it has spared no efforts

in smearing and attacking the Third World as "impure in composition" and merely a group of countries with a "backward economy and different in social economic conditions and political system." On the other hand, it has shamelessly lauded its "socialist community" as a "decisive element" and "decisive force" in the world's destiny. In other words, in the eyes of the Soviet revisionist overlords, the Third World countries are good for nothing, there is little they can do except turning to these overlords for help.

True, the Third World is composed of a large number of small and poor countries. But poverty gives rise to the desire for change; these countries want to stand up, make revolution, and so they represent the new and rising revolutionary force. In contrast, Soviet social-imperialism is a decadent, reactionary and moribund force and the so-called "socialist community" is nothing but a new type of colonial system, which, like the old one, is destined to collapse in the struggle against hegemonism by the people of the world. It is exactly the small and poor countries of the Third World that have joined forces against imperialism and hegemonism, leaving the two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States, baffled and shaking with fear. And yet, Soviet revisionism still boasts that its "socialist community" is "the decisive force" in world destiny. Nothing could be more ridiculous.

### A Completely New World

The present international situation is characterized by great disorder throughout the world. As the Chinese verse goes, "The wind sweeping through the tower heralds a rising storm in the mountains." Countries want independence, nations want liberation, and the people want revolution. This has become an irresistible trend of history. All the basic contradictions in the world are sharpening further, particularly the contradiction between the two superpowers on the one hand and the people of all countries on the other and the contradiction between the two superpowers themselves. Both superpowers are beset with difficulties at home and abroad and facing a series of crises; they are aptly described by another Chinese verse: "Flowers fall off, do what one may." The situation is becoming more and more favourable to the revolutionary struggles of the people of all countries in the world and unfavourable to imperialism and social-imperialism. As Chairman Mao said: "**While the prospects are bright, the road has twists and turns.**" So long as the Third World countries and people strengthen their unity, unite with all countries in the world subjected to superpower bullying and with the people of the whole world, including the people of the United States and the Soviet Union, and form the broadest possible united front to wage a protracted and unremitting struggle, they can certainly bury colonialism, imperialism and superpower hegemonism once and for all. They have a completely new world to win.



## Worsening Economic Situation

**T**HE economic situation in the major capitalist countries is deteriorating. Greatly alarmed, the governments and the monopoly capitalists do not know what to do.

### Malignant Inflation

Malignant inflation is the first sign of the serious and dangerous economic situation. Since autumn last year, prices in the major capitalist countries have been rising at a rate and on a scale unprecedented in the period since World War II. According to data released by the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), consumer prices in 1973 in 24 major capitalist countries were four times the average annual rate of the 1960s. The situation was even worse in the first half of this year: Consumer prices soared to a double-digit annual rate in all major capitalist countries except the Federal Republic of Germany. The increases were nearly 30 per cent annually in Japan, nearly 20 per cent in Italy, more than 16 per cent in Britain and France, and 12.4 per cent in the United States. And prices are still climbing without any limit in sight. The United States is one example. The rise in the wholesale price index at an annual rate of 44.4 per cent last July was an indicator of further hikes in consumer prices.

### Industrial Production Slump

Another sign of the serious and dangerous economic situation is that since the fourth quarter of last year, industrial production has declined or stagnated in the major capitalist countries. The U.S. gross national product dropped in all of the first three quarters of this year. Following a slump of four consecutive months beginning last December, industrial production, despite a slight pickup last April and May, was stagnant in June and July and again fell in August. Japan's industrial output dropped in four of the first seven months of 1974. Last August's industrial production index, compared with the highest monthly figure in 1973, dropped by 6.6 per cent. Britain's industrial output value in the first half of 1974 fell by 2 per cent as compared with the corresponding 1973 period. The shrinking domestic market in the Federal Republic of

Germany has led to an industrial production slump this year in spite of orders from abroad. Compared with last November, the industrial production index was down 3.6 per cent in June. Industrial stagnation or slowdown also characterizes the economies of France, Italy and other major capitalist countries. Commenting on this, the British weekly *Economist* wrote last July: "The [capitalist] world recession . . . has arrived."

Key industries in the major capitalist countries, automotive and housing, are in a serious plight. Automobile sales in the first half of 1974 were estimated to be 30 per cent less than in the same period last year. As a result, many countries had to drastically reduce car production. Betset with difficulties in sales, the capitalists were compelled to cut the number of housing projects. Those started last July in the United States decreased by nearly 60 per cent compared with the same month last year. *U.S. News and World Report* admitted in its September 2 issue that U.S. housing "is sliding into its worst crisis since the depression." In the Federal Republic of Germany, Britain and other countries, the picture is almost the same. The slump in these two key industries is bound to make an impact on production in other industrial sectors.

### Huge Trade Deficits

The gravity of the economic situation also lies in the fact that most industrialized capitalist countries have had huge trade deficits and balance of payments deficits this year. The U.S. foreign trade deficit in the first eight months exceeded 2,100 million dollars and its balance of payments deficit in the first half of the year totalled 7,200 million dollars, almost equalling the total 1973 balance of payments deficit of 7,700 million dollars. Having put an end to a most favourable balance it annually enjoyed in the last few years, Japan had its first mammoth foreign trade deficit of 5,240 million dollars last year. The deficit in the first seven months of 1974 came to 7,040 million dollars, far exceeding the last year's total. The trade situation in Britain and Italy is even worse. It has been estimated that the two countries' deficits this year will reach astonishing figures of 10,000 million and 12,000 million

dollars respectively. To offset these huge balance of payments deficits, both countries had to go abroad for enormous loans. France's 1974 trade balance has stayed in the red month after month and the balance of payments deficit by the end of the year, it is estimated, will reach 6,000 million dollars.

### Mounting Unemployment

More and more enterprises in the major capitalist countries have been compelled to close under the twin pressure of galloping inflation and slumping production. Statistics show that 5,180 went to the wall in the United States in the first half of the year, a 6 per cent increase over the corresponding 1973 period. Japan registered more than 5,500 bankruptcies during the first six months of 1974 — 60 per cent more than in the same period last year — and the total debts of enterprises that closed in September hit a record high. Important banks and firms have closed one after another in the Federal Republic of Germany, Britain and other countries. The Statistics Bureau of the Federal Republic of Germany described 1974 as "a record year for bankruptcy." Business failures have involved some big enterprises and this has struck terror into the hearts of the monopoly capitalists.

In this perilous situation, the monopolists have laid off large numbers of workers in order to get rid of their own burden. This has quickly raised the number of unemployed in the major capitalist countries. According to official figures, the U.S. unemployment rate rose to 5.8 per cent in September when the jobless totalled 5.3 million, or 440,000 more than in August. In Britain, total jobless exceeded 690,000 in August, a 15 per cent rise over July and a record monthly increase since the end of World War II. The number of unemployed in the Federal Republic of Germany has climbed steadily since the start of the year; it reached 557,000 in September, a 5.7 per cent rise over the August figure.

### Monetary Turmoil

The steady deterioration of the finance and economy of the major capitalist countries inevitably has brought turmoil to the monetary market. To stimulate their economies, these have in recent years increased credit to a dangerous extent and their public and private debts are formidable. Especially since the beginning of the year, they have had to negotiate big loans from foreign banks to meet huge balance of payments deficits, thus drastically increasing the total credit of the "European monetary market." This has greatly aggravated an already worsening situation. Financial circles in these countries are greatly worried that should those countries with heavy external debts fail to make repayments when it is due, a great many bank failures

may follow, with possible calamitous results to the financial system as a whole.

### No Effective Counter-Measures

All this has steadily intensified the contradictions inherent in the capitalist system and aggravated the political and social crises in all major capitalist countries, resulting in deep unrest at home. Caught in a crossfire of malignant inflation and economic crisis, ruling circles in these countries are in a double bind, unable to come up with any effective counter-measures. Stimulating production by inflationary measures in order to ease the crisis is bound to make inflation get out of control, while curbing inflation by restrictive measures will deepen the economic crisis.

To cope with the pressing problem of worsening inflation, these countries have taken a number of so-called domestic programmes of retrenchment. These limited measures not only have failed to effectively stop inflation, but have already aggravated the production slump or stagnation. In addition, since all the major capitalist countries are gripped by economic difficulties at the same time, there is not much room for them to shift the burdens of crisis on to each other. At present, all try to reduce imports and increase exports. This has aroused misgivings and uneasiness among them. The U.S. magazine *Newsweek* of July 8 wrote that efforts to cut imports and boost exports involved a vast danger: "the possibility of a murderous trade war that in turn could lead to worldwide [capitalist] economic collapse."

### Gloomy Prospects

The slump in stock market prices in the major capitalist countries during the past few months profoundly reflects the gloomy mood of people who have lost confidence in the economic future. It may be recalled that the great depression that swept the capitalist world in 1929-33 started with a slump in the stock market, and the scale of the slump in recent months has surpassed that of 1929.

More and more words of worry over a possible repetition of the economic crisis of the 1930s have got round in the ruling circles and the press of the major capitalist countries. Referring to recent failures and big losses of some banks in the West, an editorial in the *New York Times* on September 7 pointed out that this situation "should serve as a warning that the sort of disaster that struck the world in 1931 with the collapse of the Austrian Credit-Anstalt is no longer unthinkable." In a statement in September, U.S. Senate Democratic leader Mike Mansfield expressed the view that the current economic situation "has all the earmarks of the 1930s." David Rockefeller, President of the Chase Manhattan Bank, had said in early August that the economic situation was so uncertain that "one shouldn't discard the possibility of a [economic] panic."

# Why Has Soviet Revisionism Changed Its Tune On the Middle East?

**T**HE change in tune on the Middle East question by the Soviet revisionist leading clique in the past few months merits attention.

The concentrated expression of this change can be found in a speech by Soviet revisionist chieftain Brezhnev in the Moldavian Republic of the Soviet Union on October 11. He said that "the immediate, political settlement of the (Middle East) conflict" had emerged as the main task of the day, that it was necessary that "liberation of the Israel-captured lands be ensured, the legitimate interests of the Arab people of Palestine be met and their right to their national home be satisfied." He declared that "the U.S.S.R. resolutely comes out for the earliest and effective resumption of the work of the Geneva peace conference, with all the sides concerned, including Palestinians, participating."

Other Soviet revisionist chieftains and the Soviet press recently have also clamoured that it is necessary to find an "overall settlement," a "thorough settlement" or a "final settlement" to the Middle East question.

People still remember that for a long time the Soviet revisionist social-imperialists called for the "settlement" of the Middle East issue "stage by stage," and that they described the Palestine issue as a "refugee issue," asking the Arab countries and their people "not to overemphasize" this question. Now they are raising a hue and cry for an "immediate" and "overall settlement" and trying to present themselves as "supporters" of the "legitimate interests" of the Palestinian people. This contrast in attitudes makes it obvious that a sharp change has taken place in the Soviet revisionists' tune. One can only ask: What is behind it?

Is the Soviet revisionist leading clique now genuinely supporting the "legitimate interests" of the Palestinian people, as it claims? Of course not. If one examines Middle East developments, it is not difficult to understand why the Soviet revisionists have changed their tune on this issue.

As a result of several tours of the Middle East after the October Middle East war and particularly from the beginning of the year, U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, pushing the Soviet revisionists aside, got Egypt and Israel, Syria and Israel to reach agreement on troop disengagement. The United States resumed diplomatic relations with Egypt and Syria. In the contention for Middle East influence between the two superpowers, it is obvious that the United States has gone over to the offensive and its influence there has increased whereas the Soviet revisionists have been

forced on to the defensive and their influence has decreased. These are the changed circumstances causing the Soviet revisionists to strike up the tune of an "immediate," "overall" and "thorough" settlement of the Middle East issue. Meanwhile, they have reproached the United States for manipulating the Middle East peace talks and Brezhnev himself came out to accuse once and again the United States of putting forward "ersatz plans" for a Middle East settlement, which meant, he said, to "replace the overall settlement with 'partial' agreement of various kinds." "But it could in no way replace a real settlement."

The setting specified for the "overall settlement" advocated by Soviet revisionist social-imperialism is "the Geneva peace conference." In a speech last April, Brezhnev pointed out clearly that "a durable and just settlement (in the Middle East) can and must be" worked out in "the authoritative international forum, the Geneva conference." A recent TASS commentary said: "The Geneva peace conference is the most appropriate forum in the quest for a radical peace settlement that would satisfy all the sides involved in the conflict." Brezhnev unequivocally asserted that the Soviet Union intended to be present at all stages and in all aspects of a settlement in the Middle East. To put it bluntly, the Soviet revisionists' "overall settlement" and their choice of "the Geneva peace conference" mean that they want to have a hand in the Middle East settlement and are trying to prevent U.S. manipulation of it. Western news agencies recently pointed out that after some months' hesitation the Soviet Union is beginning to make a resolute effort for a come-back in the Middle East and to resist growing U.S. influence in this key strategic region. The aim of the Soviet counter-attack, they report, is to get the Geneva conference resumed for this will enable the Soviet Union to have a direct hand in the mediation.

People still have fresh recollections of the Soviet revisionist leading clique's attitude towards the Palestinian guerrillas. Attacks by the clique on the Palestine liberation movement appeared frequently in the Soviet press which defamed the Palestinian guerrillas' persistent armed struggle as "irresponsible adventurous riots." The aim was to negate the Palestine liberation cause and remove the "obstacle" — the Palestinian guerrillas — that stands in the way of the two superpowers which are contending in the Middle East.

At present the Soviet revisionist chieftains noisily boast about their "support" for the "legitimate in-

terests" of the Palestinian people and the participation of the latter's representatives in the "Geneva peace conference." Though there has been a change in tune and manoeuvres, their real intention has not changed. It still is to contend with U.S. imperialism for hegemony in the Middle East. The only difference is that now they are trying to use the Palestine Liberation Organization as a counter in their bargaining with U.S. imperialism.

In a recent commentary entitled "What Is Behind Soviet Support to Palestinian Nationalism?" Agence Arabe d'Information pointed out sharply: "In supporting the Palestinian people, the Soviet Union believes that through such practice it can group around it the forces that oppose the American plans for solution" and "find the means to again set foot in this region."

Despite different Soviet revisionist social-imperialist tunes and different tricks in different periods, the aim

remains unchanged: to expand influence in the Middle East and to compete with U.S. imperialism for domination there. The use of a "political settlement" in international issues as a means to expand influence and have a hand in the settlement is a familiar pretext which Soviet revisionist social-imperialism has used more than once and which people have come to see through.

Speaking of tsarist Russia's foreign policy of aggression and expansion, the great revolutionary teacher Marx pointed out: "Its methods, its tactics, its manoeuvres may change, but the Polar Star of its policy — world domination — is a fixed star." Marx's exposure of the old tsars serves as an excellent portrayal of the new tsars' aggression and expansion today in the Middle East.

(A commentary by Hsinhua Correspondent, October 27)

## Contention Between Hsun Kuang and Mencius Is a Two-Line Struggle

by Chin Yun-ko

IN the Warring States Period (475-221 B. C.), there was a fierce struggle on the ideological front between Hsun Kuang\* and Mencius (see "Mencius — a Trumpeter for Restoring the Slave System" in our issue No. 37). Over the last 2,000 years many historians described it as a struggle between the Confucianists themselves, thereby concealing its class nature. Actually, the contention between Hsun Kuang and Mencius was a struggle between the Confucian and Legalist schools after Shang Yang's reforms to decide which of the two would win out; it was a two-line struggle between the new emerging landlord class which advocated changes and opposed restoration and the declining slave-owning class which opposed changes and worked for restoration. When the class nature of this contention is made clear, we will have a better understanding of the significance of the struggle between the Confucianists and the Legalists and a clearer idea of the reactionary and pro-

gressive roles played by the two schools of thought respectively. It will also be of help in our further criticism of the ultra-Rightist nature of Lin Piao's line.

From the latter part of the Spring and Autumn Period (770-476 B.C.) to the Warring States Period, new feudal relations of production appeared. This was the result of the steady decline of the state power of the slave-owning aristocrats and the extensive use of iron implements and oxen in farming; which in turn brought about the rapid growth of the productive forces in agriculture and the demolition of the nine squares (*ching tien*) land system that once served as the economic base of the slave system. Karl Marx said: "With the change of the economic foundation the entire immense superstructure is more or less rapidly transformed." (Preface to "A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy.") During the transition from slavery to feudalism in China, slave uprisings rocked and toppled the political power of the slave-owners, and representatives of the rising landlord class rose one after another to seize power from the slave-owning aristocrats; concomitant with this were the reform movements of the Legalist school which represented the up-and-coming landlord class.

The reform movements were carried out in the midst of repeated trials of strength between the two

\* Hsun Kuang (c. 313-238 B.C.), a native of the State of Chao (in what is now the western part of Hopei Province, the central and northern parts of Shansi Province) in the later days of the Warring States Period. Known as Hsun Ching in his time, he was a materialist thinker and an outstanding representative of the Legalist school. He gave lectures in Lintzu (north of present-day Yitu in Shantung Province), the capital city of the State of Chi, and had considerable influence. Among his disciples were the famous Legalists Han Fei and Li Ssu. Only thirty-two of his articles, collated in his work *Hsun Tzu*, are now extant. Many of them are militant political essays and have been preserved to this day.

classes and the two lines. In the State of Wei (one of the major ducal states which, in addition, included Han, Chao, Chu and Chin), there was Li Kuei\* who effected social reforms along the Legalist line. He compiled *Fa Ching* (Book of Law) in six chapters as the legal code to protect the interests of the new emerging landlord class, and dealt a blow at the forces of the slave-owning aristocracy by abolishing their hereditary prerogatives and introducing a system which awarded official ranks and emoluments to people according to their merits and services rendered. In the State of Han, there was Shen Pu-hai\*\* who, after becoming prime minister, carried out the political line of the Legalists and strengthened the dictatorship of the rising landlord class by "awarding men according to merits and appointing officials according to ability." In the State of Chao, Legalists were also appointed to senior official posts and they carried out social reforms along the Legalist line. But Han, Wei and Chao all remained weak and chaotic because the restoration forces of the slave-owning aristocracy in these three states were still strong and some important government posts were still in the hands of the reactionary Confucianists who obstructed the Legalists from carrying out thoroughgoing political reforms.

In the State of Chu, Wu Chi\*\*\* launched a radical reform movement along the Legalist line and the slave-owning aristocrats who had enjoyed prerogatives for more than three generations were deprived of their hereditary official ranks and emoluments. These aristocrats were dismissed from office and moved to out-of-the-way places. After the death of Prince Tao of Chu who upheld the reform, however, the slave-owning aristocrats killed Wu Chi in cold blood and his reform movement came to an abrupt end. In the years that followed, the State of Chu became weak and chaos reigned. The State of Chin was the only exception where the reform movement was carried out with success because Shang Yang had taken a firm hand in doing away with obstructions, interference and sabotage by the Confucianists.

In the State of Chin, Shang Yang (c. 390-338 B.C.) followed the Legalist line and his reforms which con-

\* Li Kuei (c. 455-395 B.C.), a well-known statesman in the early Warring States Period, was one of the important exponents of the Legalist school. When he was the prime minister of the State of Wei, he carried out political and economic reforms to consolidate the rule of the new emerging landlord class and deal blows at the restorationist forces of the slave-owning aristocrats. His work *Fa Ching* had considerable influence on the Legalists of the later days.

\*\* Shen Pu-hai (c. 385-337 B.C.), a native of the State of Cheng, was a Legalist in the middle years of the Warring States Period. He had assisted the ruler of the State of Han in carrying out the Legalist line. Most of the articles in his work *Shen Tzu* are lost.

\*\*\* Wu Chi (?-381 B.C.), a native of the State of Wei, was one of the exponents of the Legalist school and a famous expert of the military science in the Warring States Period. He had served as a government official in the States of Lu, Wei and Chu at different times. When working under the ruler of the State of Chu, he, as the representative of the new emerging landlord class, introduced some political and economic policies with marked effects. The slave-owning aristocrats later killed him with arrows.

tinued for nearly two decades resulted in profound social changes in many fields. Politically, he abolished the "hereditary official posts and emoluments" system under which slave-owning aristocrats were entitled to these privileges at the time of birth and became officials when they grew up; an extremely strict rule of "law" by the new emerging landlord class was introduced together with the establishment of the "prefecture and county system," thereby laying the foundation for building up step by step the institutions of a centralized feudal autocratic state. Militarily, Shang Yang laid down the rule that official ranks would be conferred to people according to their military exploits to encourage them to fight for the political power of the rising landlord class. Economically, the nine squares land system was totally abolished so as to consolidate and expand the feudal ownership of the new emerging landlord class; in addition, efforts were made to promote the development of agricultural production, stipulating that "slaves who work hard in farming and weaving and produce more grain and silk" could be "set free," which meant in fact emancipating the slaves through developing production. Ideologically, Shang Yang advocated the burning of the Confucian "canons" and opposed the ideology of the slave-owning class represented by the Confucianists.

After the introduction of reforms by Shang Yang, the question of transferring political power in the State of Chin from the hands of the declining slave-owning class to the hands of the new emerging landlord class was basically solved, and this rapidly promoted social progress. Agricultural production developed and the country's military strength grew.

The success of Shang Yang's reforms alarmed the declining slave-owning class both inside and outside the State of Chin and struck terror into their hearts. This gave rise to a restorationist adverse current against Chin and Legalists.

Mencius (390-305 B.C.), the chief exponent of the Confucian school at that time, was the mouthpiece of this adverse current. He actively plotted and took part in a series of counter-revolutionary activities aimed at restoring the old order. With the support of the restorationist forces of the aristocratic slave-owners, he toured the various ducal states and preached his so-called "government by right" and other counter-revolutionary theories of the Confucian school in an attempt to bring about a restoration.

The book *Mencius*, which directed its main attacks on Shang Yang's reforms, set forth tit for tat the theories and policies for restoring the slave-system. Politically, Mencius described the new emerging landlord class' rule of "law" exercised by Shang Yang and his suppression of the slave-owning aristocrats' resistance as "not benevolent." He openly clamoured that a "policy of benevolence" should be adopted towards the slave-owning aristocrats and that the system of "hereditary official posts and emoluments" should be reinstated. In military affairs, Mencius vilified the war carried out by the State of Chin for unifying the country as "subduing people by force"; he cursed that Shang

Yang was "bloodthirsty" and openly proclaimed that Shang Yang should be put to death. Meanwhile, he went from place to place to incite the rulers of the ducal states, big and small, to unleash counter-revolutionary wars to restore the slave system. In economic affairs, Mencius was filled with hatred for Shang Yang for having abolished the nine squares land system and shouted that a "policy of benevolence" must begin with the restoration of this system so that the declining slave-owning class would regain the hereditary fiefs and their slaves. In his opposition to Shang Yang's reforms, Mencius developed the Confucian school of thought and made it more reactionary than before.

Instigated by Mencius, a Confucian disciple named Chao Liang in 338 B.C. quoted in the presence of Shang Yang a passage from the Confucian "canon" *Book of Historical Documents* which said: "He who relies on virtue will thrive and he who relies on force will perish." Chao Liang used this to attack the reforms in the State of Chin and threatened to kill Shang Yang unless he handed over power and called a halt to the reforms. The brief passage quoted above gave full expression to the inveterate hatred the declining slave-owning class had for Shang Yang's reforms. Five months later, following the demise of Duke Hsiao of Chin who reigned from 361 to 338 B.C. and who backed Shang Yang's reforms, the restorationist force of the slave-owners in the State of Chin dismembered Shang Yang by tying his limbs on chariots driven in different directions and killed his whole family.

What deserves our attention is that on October 1, 1969, when the whole nation was celebrating the red-letter day which marked the 20th anniversary of the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship of the big landlord and capitalist classes by revolutionary violence and the establishment of the people's democratic dictatorship, Lin Piao who lived 2,000 years after Chao Liang actually wrote down this same passage "He who relies on virtue will thrive and he who relies on force will perish" on a scroll and hung it on a wall to give vent to his inveterate hatred and vicious imprecations against the Party and the dictatorship of the proletariat. This was evidence of Lin Piao's crime in attempting to topple the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism as well as a clear manifestation of the ultra-Rightist nature of his line.

Chairman Mao said: "But they [the diehards] always get the opposite of what they want." (*New Democratic Constitutional Government*.) Although Shang Yang was killed by the declining slave-owning class, the State of Chin continued to implement the political line of the Legalist school. It went on to deprive the handful of slave-owning aristocrats of their prerogatives, further strengthened the dictatorship of the new emerging landlord class, promoted the development of the landlord economy, reinforced its armed forces, defeated the troops of its neighbouring states many times, expanded its territory and prepared the way for the armed unification of the whole country. The successful development of the rising landlord class in the political, economic and military fields was a fatal blow to the

restorationist adverse current of the declining slave-owning class in opposing the State of Chin and the Legalists. In the sphere of ideology, the theoretician and thinker of the Legalist school Hsun Kuang was the chief representative in this struggle against restoration.

Taking the stand of the new emerging landlord class, Hsun Kuang warmly supported and resolutely defended Shang Yang's reforms. He criticized in an all-round and systematic way the reactionary thinking of the Confucian school represented by Mencius at that time. He toured the State of Chin to make on-the-spot inquiries into the life of the people, their political leanings and the rule of law exercised by the regime at various levels. With great warmth he spoke highly of the Chin officials for their earnest administration of justice and not forming self-seeking factions; he also praised the Chin court for its competence in keeping the whole state under its sway and its high efficiency in administration. He came to the conclusion that the State of Chin was approaching "the height of order," that is, nearing the loftiest ideal of the new emerging landlord class' rule of law.

Hsun Kuang bitterly denounced Mencius' so-called "policy of benevolence" as sheer chicanery. He opposed Mencius' advocacy of the restoration of the system of "hereditary official posts and emoluments" which he described bluntly as the root cause of "disorder." He opposed Mencius' absurd attacks that Chin and Shang Yang had followed only the "way of might," and he lauded Shang Yang as "a man who knows how to conduct military affairs." He was convinced that the military successes of the State of Chin conformed with the demands of social development and placed his hopes for the unification of China ("let all people within the four seas live like one single family," as he put it) on the military victories of Chin. Hsun Kuang was all for the abolition of the nine squares land system and maintained that "land should be divided up among the tillers" and that the development of individual rural economy, which was the economic base of feudal society, should be promoted. He denounced Mencius for fabricating his theories on ancient legends and trying to put them in practice in his own time.

Describing Mencius' absurd talk for attacking Shang Yang's reforms and restoring the slave system as "evil talk" and "heresy," Hsun Kuang pointed out incisively: Mencius "was wickedly deceiving the public with embellished heresy and veiled evil talk." In other words, Mencius was spreading "evil talk" and "heresy" with the aim of creating trouble in places under the rule of the new emerging landlord class in order to restore the slave system. Hsun Kuang's all-round and systematic criticism, from a theoretical viewpoint, of the Confucian principles represented by Mencius dealt a telling blow to the ideology of the Confucian school.

## II

The theoretical struggle between Hsun Kuang and Mencius evolved round the actual political struggles at that time. All the theoretical struggles — whether one should "bring heaven under control" or "stand in awe

of the mandate of heaven," "follow the kings of the contemporary era" or "follow the ancient kings," and whether "man's nature is evil" or "man's nature is good" — centred round the fundamental question of whether to strengthen the dictatorship of the rising landlord class or restore the dictatorship of the slave-owning class.

### "Master the Law of Heaven" or "Stand in Awe Of the Mandate of Heaven"

In the true tradition of idealism, both Confucius and Mencius regarded the "mandate of heaven" as the basis of the slave-owning class' power to rule. They also asserted that all earthly things (such as wealth and position, poverty and degradation, weal and woe, good and bad fortune) were decided by the "mandate of heaven." Mencius even asserted that the "great mission" of restoring slavery which he intended to fulfil had also "fallen from heaven" on him. Preaching the concept that "those who act according to the will of heaven survive and those who defy it perish," he wanted people to believe that the new emerging landlord class was bound to fail in its effort to seize power and replace the slave-owning class because it "defies the will of heaven." On the other hand, Mencius and his like alleged that their effort to restore the dictatorship of the slave-owners was bound to succeed because they were "acting according to the will of heaven." Such was Mencius' political aim in preaching the concept of the "mandate of heaven." Taking over this Confucian and Mencian concept, Lin Piao likened himself to a "heavenly horse" and propagated the theory of "genius" for the purpose of restoring capitalism throughout China.

Hsun Kuang, taking the materialist stand, criticized and liquidated the Confucian school's concept of the "mandate of heaven" in explicit terms. He clearly pointed out that "heaven follows a regular course" and "heaven is governed by certain rules." That is to say, "heaven" was nature whose movement was governed by certain objective laws and was not necessarily linked with such earthly things as wealth and position, poverty and degradation, weal and woe, good and bad fortune. He cited numerous facts to explode the myth that man's destiny was preordained by "heaven" and similar superstitions peddled by the Confucian school. The motions of the celestial bodies and the changes of the four seasons, he said, "were the same in the times of Yu and Chieh\*"; but Yu had brought order to the country whereas Chieh had brought disorder, and so it is clear that neither order nor disorder is caused by heaven." While criticizing the Confucian fallacy that the power to rule was "bestowed by heaven," Hsun Kuang set forth the materialist principle of the need to "tell the difference between heaven and man," separating natural "heaven" from the social "being."

\* Yu and Chieh were two rulers of the ancient Hsia Dynasty (21st to 16th centuries B.C.) in China; the former was the founder of the dynasty and the latter led it to ruin.

Hsun Kuang held that the thing to be dreaded was not the "mandate of heaven" but the "human monster," meaning the reactionary rule of the slave-owning class. He cited numerous criminal deeds of political oppression, economic exploitation and ideological poisoning, all connected with the "human monster," and made it clear that they were torments brought about by the rule of the slave-owning class. In this way, he spear-headed the attack of the rising landlord class against the restorationist activities of the declining slave-owning class.

Just as the concept of the "mandate of heaven" had failed to help Mencius realize his dream of restoring the slave system, the careerist Lin Piao who called himself a "heavenly horse" also failed to pull his broken cart to move against the trend of history.

Hsun Kuang not only resolutely opposed the concept of the "mandate of heaven" but went a step further by putting forward the positive stand of "conquering heaven." While criticizing the conservative idea of indolence and helplessness before nature, Hsun Kuang set forth and elaborated the brilliant idea that man would surely conquer nature. Gallantly he said: "Why not make use of heaven by mastering its law, instead of bowing to it and singing its praise!" This reflected the new situation in class struggle and the new development in the productive forces, and was a manifestation of the confidence of the new emerging landlord class in its own strength and of its demand for developing production. As Chairman Mao has pointed out: "In past history, before they won state power and for some time afterwards, the slave-owning class, the feudal landlord class and the bourgeoisie were vigorous, revolutionary and progressive; they were real tigers." (The note of explanation to *Talk With the American Correspondent Anna Louise Strong*.) Hsun Kuang's simple materialist approach to knowing nature was beyond all other philosophers in the Warring States Period.

### "Follow the Contemporary Kings" or "Follow The Ancient Kings"

Because the Confucianists took the stand of the declining slave-owners, they maintained that "the present is not as good as the past." To them, all things of the past were good and they disdained everything of their own era. Confucius regarded the rule of the slave-owning class in the Western Chou Dynasty as the "millennium," and described the Spring and Autumn Period he lived in as an age "lacking in right principles throughout the country." Mencius, on his part, regarded the Warring States Period he lived in as the time in which "the world is on the decline and has no principles." In their eyes, the Spring and Autumn Period was worse than the Western Chou Dynasty and the Warring States Period was worse than the Spring and Autumn Period; accordingly, the rule of law by the new emerging landlord class was worse than the rule of "rites" by the slave-owning class. In short, things were going from bad to worse generation after generation.

Basing themselves on this retrogressive concept of history, they raised the political slogan for restoration: "Follow the ancient kings." Mencius travelled all over the ducal states to peddle his "way of the ancient kings." By preaching "following the ancient kings," Mencius hoped to build up anew the dictatorship of the slave-owning class and restore slavery in an all-round way. Lin Piao, who on one occasion compared himself to King Wen of Chou, the No. 1 chieftain of the Western Chou slave state, and on another occasion instructed his son to study King Wen's way of ruling the country, was singing the same tune as Mencius' "following the ancient kings."

The Legalists who took the stand of the new emerging landlord class held that the present was better than the past and the near-ancient times were better than hoary antiquity. They maintained that society was moving ahead continuously and each generation was better than the previous one. Hsun Kuang was of the opinion that the State of Chin which had put the rule of law on a firm basis surpassed all previous dynasties and that the kings of the landlord class surpassed the ancient kings of the slave-owning class. Basing himself on the viewpoint that society was continually advancing, Hsun Kuang countered the Confucianists by putting forward the political slogan "Follow the contemporary kings." What he meant was that the various ducal states should follow the example of the State of Chin and firmly establish the dictatorship of the new emerging landlord class.

Hsun Kuang certainly hit the nail on the head when he pointed out that Mencius was using the political slogan "Follow the ancient kings" to throw the "world" of the rising landlord class into "disorder" in an effort to restore the dictatorship of the slave-owning class. But when Mencius and his like raised this slogan in a bid for restoration, they were only day-dreaming because final victory belonged to the dictatorship of the rising landlord class. It is a matter of course that Lin Piao, by "following the ancient kings," should have broken his neck when he tried to oppose the powerful dictatorship of the proletariat 2,000 years later.

### "Man's Nature Is Evil" or "Man's Nature Is Good"

Mencius described the dictatorship of the slave-owning class as "benevolent government." He tried to support his argument by appealing not only to "heaven" but to human nature as well. This was where his theory that "man's nature is good" came in. According to him, man was by nature good. So the ancient kings who ruled the land were born with "hearts which cannot bear to see the sufferings of other people." Cast in the same mould were Liu Shao-chi's "sympathetic heart of humanity" and Lin Piao's "heart of compassion and love." So Mencius' "benevolent government" originated from the ancient kings' "hearts which cannot bear to see the sufferings of other people."

To counter this, Hsun Kuang put forward the theory that "man's nature is evil" and systematically

refuted Mencius' theory that "man's nature is good." He held that "love of gains and abhorrence of losses" was only human, that man "loves seeing beautiful things, hearing nice sounds and eating delicious food and sets his mind on making profits." He stated that man's nature was irrelevant to the ethical code of society and did not comply with it; accordingly, man was by nature "evil." "Speaking of human nature," he added, "... both the superior men and the inferior men are alike." "Man's nature is evil; it is the result of human effort if it has anything good." What he meant was this: The nature of both the elite and the lowly was the same, and it was "evil"; if it had anything "good," it was the result of study and remoulding. Hsun Kuang pointed out, political institutions "are not derived from man's nature," but the product of society.

Chairman Mao pointed out: **"In class society there is only human nature of a class character; there is no human nature above classes."** (*Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art.*) Mencius, and also Hsun Kuang in this case, used idealist apriorism in their abstract arguments about the good or evil of human nature without taking into consideration man's class character. But it must be pointed out that Mencius used the theory that "man's nature is good" to cover up the cruel and rapacious nature of the slave-owning class for the purpose of restoring slavery, whereas Hsun Kuang's theory that "man's nature is evil" laid bare the class nature of the slave-owners, including the "sages" and "ancient kings" eulogized by the Confucianists, as one characterized by rapacity, brutality and lasciviousness. This theory propounded by Hsun Kuang, besides tearing away the slave-owning class' hypocritical veil of benevolence and righteousness, also reflected the demand of the new emerging landlord class to replace the declining slave-owning class and take the state power. Hsun Kuang said: "It is the common desire of all men to be so important as to become the supreme ruler and so rich as to own the wealth of the world." Although this meant replacing the dictatorship of an old exploiting class with that of a new one, it was nevertheless progressive and revolutionary in the historical conditions at that time.

So Mencius' theory that "man's nature is good" and his "benevolent government" were no more than a thin veil covering up the cruel dictatorship of the slave-owners. Lin Piao, however, highly appreciated these and lauded the Confucianists as "awarders" and benefactors of the people. But the fact was that Mencius would definitely not apply a "policy of benevolence" to the people. Man's inborn "good nature," he said, "has been cast away by the common people but preserved by the superior men." It followed that since the common people and slaves had lost the "good nature," the only thing left to do was to deal with them in a ruthless and dictatorial way. As to the so-called "genuine socialism" Lin Piao and his gang wrote in their plan for an armed counter-revolutionary coup d'etat entitled *Outline of Project "571,"* it was a ruse similar to Mencius' "benevolent government."



Hsun Kuang's theory that "man's nature is evil" provided the theoretical basis for the new emerging landlord class' rule of "law." For this Lin Piao attacked the Legalists by calling them "punishers." The fact was that, under the condition of the rule of law, the Legalists never meant giving up the task of educating and remoulding people. Hsun Kuang said that because "man's nature is evil," it was necessary "to establish the power of the sovereign to place man under his sway" and, backed by the powerful force of dictatorship, carry out education among men, remould them and transform their "evil" nature into "good" nature. If any member of the slave-owning class deprived of his prerogatives should refuse to change from "evil" to "good," the only thing to do was "to mete out severe punishment in order to bring him under control." This was entirely necessary. When Lin Piao attacked the Legalists as "punishers," his immediate political aim was to speak on behalf of the toppled landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists and to have them "politically liberated," all in an attempt to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism.

### III

Among the various factions of the Confucian school after the death of Confucius, the most influential one was the Tzu Ssu-Mencius sect\* which considered itself to be the orthodox school following Confucius' line. Hsun Kuang's criticisms of Mencius, who was the chief exponent of the Tzu Ssu-Mencius sect, was a fatal blow to this sect's basic theories and political line and totally discredited it. At the same time, Hsun Kuang also took all other factions of the Confucian school to task, excoriating those "half-witted Confucianists," "dogmatic Confucianists" and "philistine Confucianists" by thoroughly exposing their degenerated and shameless deeds, telling how they put on affectations, parroted what others said, cheated people, sought personal gains and position, and went after "wine, women and song." Being himself a rebel of the Confucian school, Hsun Kuang was well acquainted with the thinking of the Confucian school and knew the inside stories of its various sects. That was why his criticisms had stung the Confucianists to the quick.

While dealing resolute blows at the entire Confucian school, Hsun Kuang proposed that it be banned. He scathingly repudiated the diehards of the forces of restoration like Mencius as "the exponents of the wicked people." He made the suggestion to "punish them at once as soon as the sage-kings rise to power." Here he was telling the rulers of the new emerging landlord class to exercise revolutionary dictatorship over the slave-owning class in the realm of ideology. This proposal was put into practice later by Chin Shih Huang (259-210 B.C.), the founder of the first unified feudal state under the dictatorship of the landlord class in Chinese history. With firm determination, Chin Shih

\* Tzu Ssu, alias Kung Chi, was the grandson of Confucius. Mencius' teacher was a student of Tzu Ssu.

Huang "burnt books and buried Confucian scholars alive" not only because these reactionary Confucian scholars continued to make trouble but also because the false theories of the Tzu Ssu-Mencius sect had been completely discredited and had become very notorious in society.

Hsun Kuang's criticism of the Confucian school represented by Mencius was a general liquidation of the ideology of the declining slave-owning class on the eve of the nationwide seizure of political power by the rising landlord class. His blows at the ideology of the Confucian school represented by Mencius were a victory for the Legalist school over the Confucian school and a victory for the new emerging landlord class over the declining slave-owning class in the realm of ideology. This victory signified the fact that the former had surpassed the latter in both political and economic strength. Chairman Mao has pointed out: "**Any given culture (as an ideological form) is a reflection of the politics and economics of a given society, and the former in turn has a tremendous influence and effect upon the latter; economics is the base and politics the concentrated expression of economics.**" (*On New Democracy*.) This victory had helped bring about the victory of the struggle to set up a nationwide autocratic, centralized feudal state.

After Hsun Kuang, his student Han Fei\*\* further developed the thinking of the Legalist school by absorbing the best parts of the theoretical accomplishments of the other Legalists and provide a theoretical basis for the establishment of such a state. Li Ssu\*\*\*, another disciple of Hsun Kuang, became the prime minister of Chin Shih Huang and put the Legalist thinking into practice on a still broader scale. He helped Chin Shih Huang build up a centralized dictatorship of the landlord class throughout the country and played a progressive role in China's social development.

In his struggle against the Confucian school and various kinds of idealism of many other schools of thought, Hsun Kuang succeeded in working out a rel-

\*\* Han Fei (c. 280-233 B.C.), a native of the State of Han in the later years of the Warring States Period, was a disciple of Hsun Kuang. He summed up and developed the thinking of the earlier Legalists and established the ideological system of the Legalist school. Thus he became the chief exponent of the Legalist thought before the Chin Dynasty. His theories provided powerful theoretical basis for the establishment of a unified feudal state under a central authority. His writings were included in *Han Fei Tzu* comprising 55 articles.

\*\*\* Li Ssu (?-208 B.C.), a native of Shangtsai (now Shangtsai in Honan Province) in the State of Chu, was a disciple of Hsun Kuang. When he went to the State of Chin, he was held in esteem by Chin Shih Huang who first appointed him *leching* (visiting minister, a senior post offered by the various ducal states at that time to those coming from other ducal states), later *tingwei* (in charge of judicial affairs of the whole country) and later the prime minister. During the reign of Chin Shih Huang, he had all along served as the emperor's right-hand man, contributing much to the unification of China and the consolidation of the centralized feudal system.

atively comprehensive materialist philosophical system for the Legalist school while making himself the greatest materialist philosopher of the pre-Chin times. But the Confucianists in the later years placed him in the ranks of Confucianists alongside Mencius on the ground that Hsun Kuang had studied under some Confucianists and used some of the phraseology of the Confucian school. They thus described the contention between Hsun Kuang and Mencius as a struggle within the Confucian school itself; this, of course, concealed its class nature. In spite of all this, the Confucianists after him had not in any way spared their efforts to attack him.

The question of which school of thought did Hsun Kuang belong to can be solved only by applying the Marxist method of class analysis — by analysing the actual conditions of the class struggle and the two-line struggle at that time. In the struggle between restoration and counter-restoration following Shang Yang's reforms, Hsun Kuang unequivocally stood on the side of the new emerging landlord class, opposed the declining slave-owning class, upheld the Legalist line and rejected the Confucianist line. This spoke volumes for the fact that he was a Legalist, not a Confucianist. It was precisely because his thinking, like that of other

Legalists, represented the fundamental interest of the new emerging landlord class that his works were widely read and exerted very profound influence on society in the Chin Dynasty (221-207 B.C.) and in the early period of the Western Han Dynasty (206 B.C.-8 A.D.) when the landlord class was on its rise.

According to historical records, as many as 321 articles by Hsun Kuang were in circulation in the early Han Dynasty. But after a period in power, the landlord class gradually turned reactionary with the result that the works by Hsun Kuang and other Legalists were rejected and shelved. Only 32 articles by Hsun Kuang are extant today. It was not until the Chinese society had entered the period of bourgeois democratic revolution that his works began to win the attention of some exponents of the bourgeoisie standing for reforms. But, owing to the weakness and class prejudice of the Chinese bourgeoisie, they could not draw a line of demarcation between the Confucianists and the Legalists and were unable to truly grasp the class nature of the contention between Hsun Kuang and Mencius. Only the Chinese proletariat with the Marxist world outlook can give Hsun Kuang and other Legalists their due place in history.

### *Workers, Peasants and Soldiers Criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius*

## People's Strength Triumphs Over Nature

— Repudiating Confucius' idealist theory that everything is decided by heaven

by Chen Yu-ching

I AM a member of our commune's hailstorm prevention group. A hired farm labourer in old China, I couldn't afford to go to school and have never read any "classics" of Confucius and Mencius. But their reactionary doctrines, such as the idealist theory that everything is decided by heaven, plagued us like the hailstorms.

After liberation, guided by Chairman Mao's philosophical work *On Practice*, we poor and lower-middle peasants freed ourselves from the influence of this idealist theory. We emancipated our minds and kept fighting hailstorms. We came to realize that the theory was a fallacy used by the decadent exploiting classes to deceive the people. Under the leadership of Chairman Mao and the Communist Party, we labouring people

The writer is a member of the hailstorm prevention group in Wentou Commune of Minhsien County in north-west China's Kansu Province.

can overcome the elements and create miracles if we keep to the socialist road.

In the past 2,000 years and more, representatives of the Legalist school have continuously waged struggles against the Confucian theory that everything is decided by heaven. Hsun Kuang, chief representative of the Legalist school in the later Warring States Period (475-221 B.C.) wrote the essay *On Heaven*, in which he put forth the militant slogan to "make use of heaven by mastering its law" and criticized the fallacies of Confucius and Mencius such as fear of "mandate of heaven," and "life and death are preordained, wealth and honour come from heaven." However, it is only under the leadership of the Communist Party and the socialist system of the proletarian dictatorship that we can use the sharp ideological weapon of Marxism to thoroughly repudiate Confucius' and Mencius' idealist theory that everything is decided by heaven. Our ex-

perience in fighting against hailstorms in Minhsien County is an obvious example.

### To Prevent Hailstorms, First Make Revolution

Minhsien County is located in a region of big mountains and deep gullies. The weather is highly variable — from June to September, storms often gather suddenly on bright sunny days. Hailstones as big as eggs damage crops and even kill farm animals. But we common people could do nothing about it in the old society. The landlords and corrupt officials who rode roughshod over us fished in troubled waters. During the hailstorm season, they put up a signboard "May god bless us and bring good weather," and extorted money, grain, pigs and sheep from us in the name of offering a sacrifice. They preached the reactionary Confucian theory that everything is decided by heaven, saying that hailstorms break out because "god is angry and the mountain spirits are making trouble. There's nothing we can do about it."

Things have been entirely different since liberation. Under the leadership of Chairman Mao and the Communist Party, we labouring people have become masters of our own destiny. By standing up politically and economically we've begun to free our minds. We don't believe in god or heaven, to say nothing of that reactionary Confucian theory spread by the landlords and rich people, and we've taken up the struggle against hailstorms. Since the start of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, we've gone further in destroying fetishes and freeing our thinking, and are now combating hailstorms in an all-round way.

In 1970, a three-in-one group composed of cadres, old peasants and scientific and technical personnel was formed in the Wentou Commune. It surveyed all the mountains in the commune and mapped out three main routes along which stormclouds usually move. We built three defence lines across the routes, set up 39 gun emplacements and organized a 114-member hailstorm prevention group. Whenever stormclouds gathered, we fired the guns under unified command to disperse them before the hailstones formed. This greatly lessened the damage resulting from hailstorms.

By 1973, the county had set up over 700 hailstorm prevention emplacements equipped with more than 4,000 weapons. Two thousand three hundred people now take part in the work. Communes and production brigades have workshops for making explosives and shells. A threatening hailstorm is greeted by thunderous volleys from all the mountain tops and ridges of Minhsien County in a people's war against heaven. The county was hit by 26 hailstorms between May and October last year. We dispersed the gathering clouds on ten occasions and minimized damage on the other occasions.

By implementing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, deepening the movement to learn from Shansi Province's Tachai Brigade, national pace-setter in agriculture, and effectively combating hailstorms, the county has increased its grain yield year by year. Its total grain output in 1973 was double that of 1969.

Lin Piao and Confucius slanderously described us as "the lowest and the stupid" whose fate is decided by heaven. However, our victories in battling the elements forcefully refute the idealist theory peddled by them — the theory that everything is decided by heaven. Take me for example, an illiterate farm labourer in the old society. With more than ten years' experience in fighting hail, I have come to know that it is a natural phenomenon and have learnt how people can control it. Together with several militiamen of the hailstorm prevention group, I studied *On Practice* and learnt how to improve our weapons. After making trials and summing up experiences, we manufactured a kind of shell that explodes 3 to 5 times in a row. This not only saves gunpowder but increases the power of the explosion in the air. We also laid home-made mines on mountain peaks to disperse hail clouds. The simultaneous firing of three weapons — home-made rockets, shells that explode in the air and home-made mines — to bombard the clouds at high, medium and low levels respectively brought good results. This shows that there's no such thing as heavenly mandate, and that natural disasters can be averted. Under the leadership of the Communist Party, the people's strength can triumph over nature.

### Use Marxism to Occupy the Superstructure

Our great leader Chairman Mao has said: "To overthrow a political power, it is always necessary first of all to create public opinion, to do work in the ideological sphere. This is true for the revolutionary class as well as for the counter-revolutionary class." (*Speech at the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.*) In spreading the idealist theory that everything is decided by heaven, Confucius and Mencius tried to turn public opinion in favour of restoring the slave system. They described the chieftains of slave-owning aristocrats as rulers with the mandate of heaven, so that the slaves would be willing to accept their own fate as beasts of burden. Lin Piao floated the idealist theory of genius to palm himself off as a "heavenly horse," "the noblest of men." He, too, was using the ideology of the decadent, reactionary classes to prepare counter-revolutionary public opinion for a capitalist restoration.

To oppose counter-revolutionary public opinion created by the reactionary classes, the revolutionary classes always wage tit-for-tat ideological struggles. When Hsun Kuang wrote *On Heaven* more than 2,000 years ago refuting the idealist theory of Confucius and Mencius that everything is decided by heaven, he was creating favourable public opinion for the rising landlord class in its struggle against the declining slave-owning class. Today we must carry on the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius in a deep-going, popularized and sustained way, thoroughly repudiate Lin Piao's counter-revolutionary revisionist line, completely discredit the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, and use Marxism to occupy all spheres of the superstructure so as to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat.

# ROUND THE WORLD

## SAIGON REGIME-CONTROLLED AREA

### People Fight Tyranny

The large-scale struggle in south Viet Nam against tyranny by the people in areas controlled by the Saigon regime in the last 30 days or so has shown that the contradictions between the Nguyen Van Thieu clique and the people have further sharpened as a result of the clique's brutal rule. The people are burning with anger and the clique is finding the going tougher and tougher.

In the more than 20 months since the signing of the Paris agreement on Viet Nam, the Thieu clique, supported by the United States, has refused to implement many important provisions of the agreement and stubbornly pursued a series of reactionary policies. These perverse actions have time and again aroused strong indignation and opposition from people of all strata in areas under its control. The storm of the struggle has spread rapidly from Hue and Saigon to a dozen small and medium-sized cities.

Those taking part in the struggle include workers, students, journalists, Catholics, Buddhists, Hoa Hao Buddhists, Cao Dai Buddhists, and even members of the "national assembly" and well-known political figures. Many mass organizations set up to strive for democracy and freedom have been supporting each other in the struggle.

The spearhead of this anti-tyranny struggle is aimed directly at Thieu and his reactionary administration. Many students and other inhabitants have pointed out in their resolutions that "the Nguyen Van Thieu administration is the people's enemy" and "it is rotten to the core and the people can no longer permit its existence." Many members of the "national assembly" have written to the Saigon "control council" that they have no confidence in Thieu.

While this anti-tyranny struggle was brought on by the graft and cor-

ruption in the Thieu clique and by its suppression of democracy, the fundamental cause was the stubborn pursuance of reactionary policies and fascist dictatorship by this U.S.-backed gang over a long time in contravention of the people's demand for independence, peace, democracy and national reconciliation.

The struggle has shown that the demand for "the establishment of an administration in Saigon which has the sincerity to implement the Paris agreement" reflects the common aspiration of the people of all strata.

## SOUTH KOREA

### New Struggle for Democracy

Defying ruthless suppression by the Pak Jung Hi clique, south Korean students have been waging a new just struggle against tyranny and for democracy which has violently shaken reactionary rule in south Korea.

Despite all reactionary laws, students and patriots in October last year unleashed a gigantic and vigorous four-month struggle and struck the Pak clique a heavy blow. In April this year, the students engaged in another large-scale mass democratic movement against tyranny. Since mid-September, they have got under way a new wave of the movement which deeply reveals the Pak clique's political and economic crisis.

Over 40,000 students from several dozen universities and colleges have taken part in the struggle which has gone on for about 40 days.

In this just struggle, students put forward militant slogans and political demands, such as an end to dictatorial rule, revision of the puppet constitution and release of the detained students and people of other walks of life.

To crush the student movement, the Pak clique sent large numbers of police to besiege and blockade univer-

sities and make mass arrests. Up to October 20, over 120 students had been arrested and detained and more than 20 universities and colleges closed.

The students' struggle has won the support from people of various circles in south Korea. On October 14, the south Korean opposition parties — the New Democratic Party, the Democratic Unification Party and the United Socialist Party — issued statements to denounce the Pak clique's crimes. More than 50 members of the south Korean puppet national assembly also strongly demanded the immediate release of the arrested students and other patriots in all walks of life.

In an interview with the Panamanian Journalists' Delegation on September 1, President Kim Il Sung declared: "We actively support the south Korean people's struggle against fascism and for democracy. We regard it as our lofty national duty to support and encourage the patriotic struggle of the south Korean people."

## CAPITALIST COUNTRIES

### Shifting Burden On To Workers

Beset by galloping inflation and shrinking international and domestic markets, many monopolists in the United States and West European countries have laid off workers, introduced shorter work hours and closed down plants in an intensified effort to shift their economic woe on to the working people.

In the United States where the housing industry is in a slump, large numbers of workers have been dismissed. The rate of unemployment for construction workers rose to 12.4 per cent in September, more than twice the rate for the country's work force as a whole and the highest in three years.

Two major textile firms in North Carolina have decided to shut down five plants for a week each. Chrysler is studying a programme for massive layoffs and the closure of six assembly plants.

In Britain, plagued by its worst economic difficulties in the post-

war years, the British Caledonian Airways, one of the biggest in Britain, has decided to cut back on home and overseas service and carry out a 12 per cent staff reduction at home and 25 per cent overseas—a total of more 800 from its 5,700 employees.

In Italy, as of October 10, Fiat reduced work hours of some 71,000 workers from 40 to 24 hours a week so as to cut production by 200,000 cars in four months. This created great difficulties for the 7,500 small handicraft factories serving the Fiat and their 63,000 workers were threatened with unemployment.

In France, the domestic French airline, Air-Inter, expects a deficit of up to 45 million francs this year, according to an announcement by Managing-Director Rene Lapautre. The airline has cancelled three flight courses, reduced other flights, cancelled all freight contracts and cut the staff.

Auto companies in the Federal Republic of Germany also have laid off workers on the excuse of poor domestic and foreign sales. Volkswagen dismissed 3,500 workers in June—one-third were foreign workers—and plans to lay off 6,000 more by the end of the year. The Bavarian Motor Works laid off some 9,500 of its 26,000 workers for a week beginning October 18.

Steps by the monopolists of the United States and West European countries to shift the burden of their crisis on to the workers have aroused widespread protest. Some 10 million workers and staff members in Italy's industrial, commercial and other sectors went on a nationwide general strike on October 17. Similar strikes or demonstrations have also been held by U.S., British and French workers against monopoly capital.

#### UNITED STATES

### Stop Persecution of Indians!

The American people won an initial victory in their struggle against Indian persecution by the judicial authorities when a district court in September dismissed unjus-

tified charges against two Indian leaders and the case against both was dropped.

More than 200 Indians occupied the hamlet of Wounded Knee in South Dakota at the end of February last year in protest against racial discrimination and intolerable living conditions. They persisted in the struggle for 71 days, defying encirclement and a blockade by the authorities' armed police.

Wounded Knee is a tiny grassland hamlet in the second largest centre of Indian community of the United States, the pine ridge "reservation" in the southwest part of South Dakota. In 1890, when U.S. cavalry suppressed Indians en masse at Wounded Knee, 300 were massacred, including more than 140 fighters and old men, women and children.

With this cruel historical experience in mind, the Indians who occupied Wounded Knee in 1973 fought hard and heroically. U.S. judicial authorities later proceeded to unjustifiably indict more than 100 Indians who took part in the struggle, and two of the leaders were the first to be put on trial last January and after.

People in various parts of the United States held meetings, demonstrations and took other forms of action to support the Indian struggle against persecution and for their national rights. Under these circumstances, the presiding judge announced on September 16 this year dismissal of all charges against the two leaders.

The American people are now pressing ahead with their movement to support other Indians still being persecuted. They are demanding that all unjustified charges against the Indians be dropped.

"CLASS STRUGGLE" (NORWAY)

### Behind "Detente" and Peace

Rivalry for hegemony in Europe between the Soviet Union and the United States behind the smokescreen

of "detente" was condemned by the Chairman of the Workers' Communist Party (M-L) of Norway, in a statement published in the latest issue of the Party's organ *Class Struggle*. Chairman Sigurd Allern pointed out that "struggle and contention are basic" between both superpowers.

He said: "Europe has increasingly become the main region of rivalry between the two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States. Today, the two superpowers have concentrated their biggest military forces in Europe. They regard the European continent as a key area of contention, because one-third of the world's industrial resources are concentrated in Europe and it is a very important area for investment and trade."

Referring to reduction of armed forces in central Europe and the "European Security Conference," he noted: "The negotiations on the force reduction conference and an 'all European security system,' have no positive significance whatsoever for the small nations and people of the world. The only significance of the force reduction conference lies in the fact that whenever the superpowers are engaged in frenzied military expansion and war preparations, they have to wave the flag of disarmament just as Hitler Germany did before World War II." He pointed out that while Soviet revisionist social-imperialism was hawking in Europe an "all European security system," "it occupied Czechoslovak, increased its forces massed in other East European countries and interfered in Yugoslavia's internal affairs through the fifth column which has been exposed and is led by the Soviet Union."

The Chairman said that the Soviet military build-up on the Kola Peninsula "has laid bare what is really behind the lies of the Moscow revisionists about detente and peace."

He also pointed out that the Soviet Union has become a social-imperialist country and its military system is for offensive war anywhere in the world.

## ON THE HOME FRONT

### **Peking — From Consumer City to Industrial Centre**

**P**RE-LIBERATION Peking had to buy the simplest industrial goods for daily use from other parts of the country or to import them. Today, its annual total industrial output value is greater than that of the whole country in 1949 when the People's Republic was founded.

With about 110-fold increase in total industrial output value in the last quarter-century, this former consumer city has become a socialist industrial centre.

Peking's modern industry, 102 years old counting from the establishment of the Mentoukou Coal Mine in 1872, inched along lifelessly for the first 77 years. By the time of liberation in 1949 there were little more than 80,000 workers, including 60,000 handicraftsmen, making up only 4 per cent of the urban population.

By contrast, today there are a million industrial workers. A fairly complete industrial system has been set up in accordance with Chairman Mao's principle of "maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands and relying on our own efforts."

Before liberation the city produced only a negligible amount of pig iron, but no steel at all. Today its annual steel output is ten times that of the whole country in 1949. Many varieties of high-grade alloy steel and rolled steel are being turned out.

Peking — unable to make rubber tubes for bicycle tire valves before liberation — has built a 30,000-ton hydraulic press, and produces hob relieving grinding machines with a tolerance of less than three-thousandths of a millimetre. Highly efficient automatic casting lines have been set up in its foundries.

Twenty-five years ago local shops could not make the simplest electronic tube radio sets. Their products now include whole sets of high-power transmitters for radio stations and integrated circuit electronic computers that can do a million calculations per second.

When the Kuomintang reactionaries held sway, glasses, thumb tacks, nibs and tooth paste were brought in from other cities or foreign countries. Now 80 per cent of the manufactured goods for daily use sold in Peking stores are produced locally, as are large quantities of heavy industrial

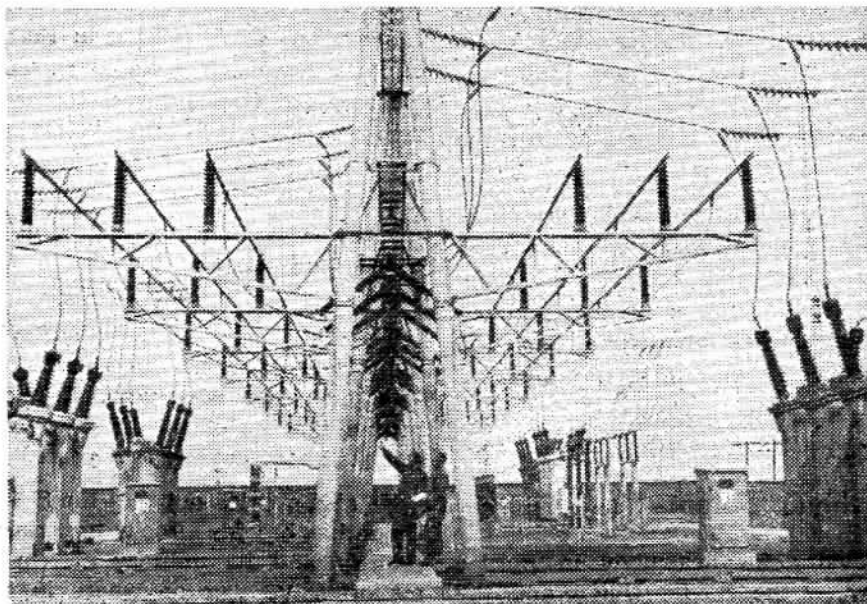
and consumer goods for shipment to other parts of the country. More than 400 varieties of products made here, including motor vehicles, machine tools, cameras, refrigerators and pianos, are being exported to more than 90 countries and regions.

When the People's Republic was set up, the imperialists imposed an economic blockade against it. In the early 60s the Soviet revisionist social-imperialists tore up their contracts with China and recalled all Soviet specialists sent here. How then was Peking's working class able to win such achievements in industry? Under the leadership of Chairman Mao and the Communist Party, it adhered to the principle of independence and self-reliance, worked hard for the prosperity of the country and, together with the people throughout the land, shattered these criminal attempts to strangle New China.

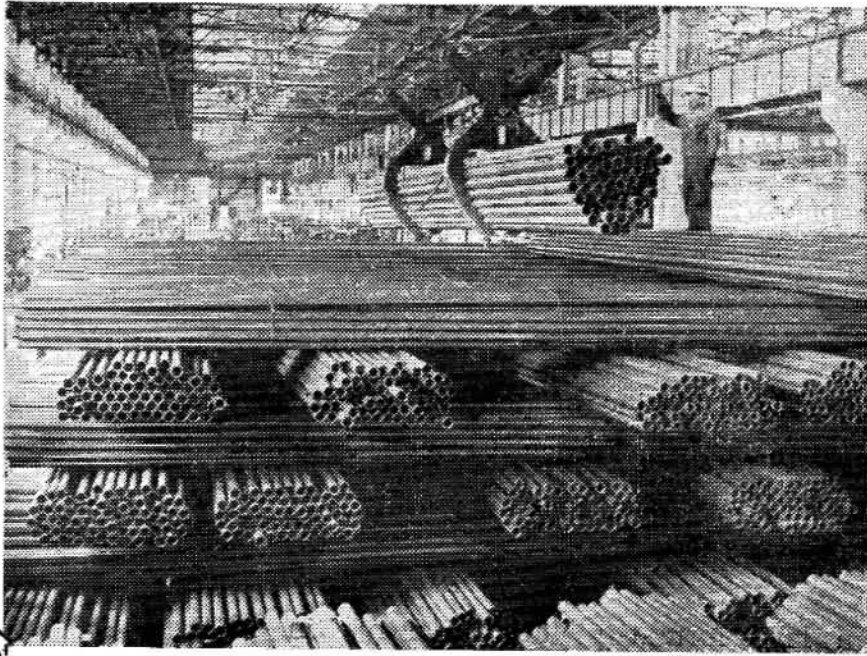
Peking's rapid industrial progress represents a great victory for Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. In the past 25 years, several big political movements have been launched in Peking as in other parts of the country, each ending in a victory over the Right opportunist line of bourgeois agents who had sneaked into the Party and each leading to rapid advance in industrial construction. In 1958 during the big leap forward in socialist construction, the city's total industrial output value rose to double that of 1956.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution smashed the two bourgeois headquarters with Liu Shao-chi and Lin Biao as their chieftains, and their revisionist line was scathingly criticized. This further accelerated the city's industrial development. Over two-thirds of Peking's present industrial production capacity has been acquired since the start of the Cultural Revolution. In 1973, the city's total industrial output value rose to three times that of 1965.

Before the Cultural Revolution, power in the municipal Party committee was usurped by Peng Chen and his followers, who carried out Liu Shao-chi's sinister proposal to stress steel-making without developing iron-ore extraction or steel-rolling. Consequently little iron-ore or



A sub-station in Peking.



Steel tubes produced by the Shoutu Iron and Steel Company.

rolled steel was produced locally. Iron-ore had to be brought in from southern areas some 3,000 kilometres away, and the steel Peking made had to be bloomed in other parts of the country.

With the opening up of a large modern iron mine in a few year's time during the Cultural Revolution, the city has become self-sufficient in iron-ore. Blooming and steel-rolling have been developed. Peking's steel output today is more than four times what it was eight years ago, while rolled steel, produced in much greater quantities, is now available in over 10,000 varieties and specifications.

Output of electric generators, motor vehicles, equipment for the mining and chemical industries, walking-tractors, chemical fertilizer, wrist watches, transistor radios and other products is several to dozens of times as great as before the Cultural Revolution. The city now produces over 200 types of machine tools as against only 20 in 1965.

### **Rural Broadcasting Networks**

**R**ADIO rediffusion networks have been set up all over China's rural areas. Nearly every county operates its own rediffusion station, while an

overwhelming majority of communes are equipped with broadcasting and amplifying facilities. Loudspeaker systems now in use in over 90 per cent of the production brigades and teams reach 63 per cent of the peasant families. This enables the rural folk in their hundreds of millions to keep abreast of events taking place at home and abroad.

There were no broadcasting facilities to speak of in the pre-liberation countryside. Rural radio rediffusion networks, promoted only after liberation in 1949, have increased rapidly since 1965, the year when Chairman Mao issued the directive: "Strive to do broadcasting work well and serve the people of China and the world."

The peasants have taken an active part in setting up the necessary facilities. Commune members of different nationalities in a county in south China's Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous Region have put up a 4,000-kilometre-long transmission line across an area of jagged mountains and dense forests and installed over 13,000 loudspeakers.

During the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, broadcasting in the rural areas has played a positive role in guiding the three great revolutionary movements in the countryside — class struggle, struggle for

production and scientific experiment. It also helps to enrich the peasants' cultural and recreational activities. In the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, many counties make use of rediffusion stations to broadcast lectures on works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and by Chairman Mao as well as talks on the history of the struggle between the Confucian and Legalist schools. Articles criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius are read over the air.

### **Gas Sensitive Semi-Conductor Devices**

**C**HINESE scientific workers have turned out gas sensitive semi-conductor devices, filling a void in the country's electronics industry.

Made of semi-conductor materials that are sensitive to combustible or explosive gases, the devices represent a new technique which has emerged in recent years. Since they transmit electric signals when combustible gases reach a certain density, they can be used in various detectors to test and analyse combustible gases and issue warning signals, give fire alarms and determine atmospheric pollution. They can also be used in the oil, coal, chemical and power industries, as well as in telecommunications and public utilities.

In making the devices, the scientific workers of the Kirin Institute of Applied Chemistry under the Chinese Academy of Sciences followed the road of integrating with the workers and peasants. By going to the factories and mines, they realized how urgently the workers needed better ways of detecting and giving warning signals against combustible, explosive or poisonous gases. They took up the investigation of gas sensitive semi-conductor materials as their research project.

In the short period of seven months, they turned out China's first batch of gas sensitive semi-conductor devices and made several prototypes of combustible gas detectors using such devices. These simple, inexpensive, new detectors have proved sensitive and safe.

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