

PEKING REVIEW

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June 27, 1975

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報

Great Victory of Korean People's Anti-Imperialist Revolutionary Struggle

— Commemorating 25th anniversary of the Korean
Fatherland Liberation War

Warm Congratulations on Rebirth Of Mozambique

Unsought Confession of Hegemonism

"Peking Review" Subject Index Nos. 1-26, 1975

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Premier Chou's Message of Greetings To President Samora Machel

PREMIER Chou En-lai sent a message to President Samora Moises Machel on June 23, greeting the founding of the People's Republic of Mozambique.

The message says: "Holding aloft the banner of armed struggle under the correct leadership of FRELIMO, the heroic Mozambican people fought courageously for ten years and finally won the great victory of national independence. This victory is a heavy blow to imperialism, colonialism and racism and a great encouragement to the people of the non-independent territories in southern Africa in their struggle for national liberation. It is our belief that the Mozambican people who have been tempered in protracted armed struggle will, under the leadership of the Government of the People's Republic of Mozambique headed by Your Excellency, keep on winning new victories in the cause of consolidating their national independence and building their country.

"The Chinese and Mozambican peoples have forged a profound

militant friendship in the course of the protracted common struggle. The glorious birth of the People's Republic of Mozambique will certainly open up new and extensive vistas for the further strengthening of the friendship between the Chinese and Mozambican peoples and the friendly relations and co-operation between our two countries.

"May the People's Republic of Mozambique enjoy prosperity and her people well-being!

"May the militant friendship between the Chinese and Mozambican peoples develop daily!"

Delegation of Thai National Assembly Members Visits China

The Delegation of Members of the National Assembly of Thailand with Speaker of the House of Representatives Prasit Kanchanawat as leader and Sawasdi Khamprakob as deputy leader successfully concluded a visit to China and left Peking for home on June 17. The

delegation arrived in China on June 8.

On June 16, Chu Teh, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, and Teng Hsiao-ping, Vice-Premier of the State Council, separately met and had friendly talks with the Thai guests.

At the farewell banquet, Speaker Prasit expressed the delegation's joy at having the opportunity to meet N.P.C. Standing Committee Chairman Chu Teh and Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping. He said the visit had enhanced the friendship and mutual understanding existing between the Thai and Chinese peoples since ancient times and that Thailand was willing to live in friendship with China and all other countries in the world on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. Toasting the further development of friendly relations between China and Thailand, Foreign Minister Chiao Kuan-hua expressed the wish that the two peoples would remain friends for generations to come.

While in China, the delegation exchanged views on matters of mutual concern to both countries with Chinese leaders and responsible members of departments concerned.

The day Speaker Prasit left Peking, Ambassador Anand Panyarachun, Thailand's Permanent Representative to the United Nations, arrived in Peking. Foreign Minister Chiao Kuan-hua met and had a friendly talk with the Ambassador and his party on June 21.

Chinese Performing Arts Troupe Returns to Peking

The Chinese Performing Arts Troupe returned to Peking on June 17 following a friendly visit to three Latin American countries, Trinidad and Tobago, Guyana and Venezuela.

The tour began April 30 and, in a period of more than a month, the

(Continued on p. 13.)



Chairman Chu Teh with the Delegation of Members
of the National Assembly of Thailand.

Great Victory of Korean People's Anti-Imperialist Revolutionary Struggle

— Commemorating 25th anniversary of the Korean Fatherland Liberation War

TODAY is the 25th anniversary of the Korean Fatherland Liberation War. The Chinese people commemorate this day of united struggle together with the fraternal Korean people.

Twenty-five years ago, the U.S. imperialists flagrantly launched a war of aggression against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. This was followed by their forcible occupation of our territory, Taiwan Province. Under the wise leadership of the Workers' Party of Korea headed by Comrade Kim Il Sung, the heroic Korean people, united throughout the nation, courageously waged a war of resistance against aggression. To resist the common foe, the Chinese people sent the Chinese People's Volunteers to fight shoulder to shoulder with the Korean people and the Korean People's Army. With the support of the world's people, the Korean people defeated the U.S. aggressors after three years of heroic fighting, winning the great victory of the Fatherland Liberation War and safeguarding their fruits of revolution.

The victory of the Korean people in their war of resistance against U.S. imperialist aggression is of great historic significance. The Korean people are the first to directly defeat a U.S. imperialist armed aggression after World War II, and thus set a shining example for the world's people in their revolutionary struggles against imperialism. The great victory of the Korean people shows that in the final analysis it is the revolutionary people united in struggle who are truly powerful, not the imperialists armed to the teeth. So long as the people of the oppressed and invaded countries dare to fight, persist in struggle, refuse to be intimidated by the imperialist colossus and take the destiny of their countries into their own hands they will certainly be able to defeat the aggressors in the end.

In the years since the war, the Korean people, carrying out the revolutionary line of President Kim Il Sung, have adhered to the dictatorship of the proletariat and to the socialist road, relied on their own efforts and waged an arduous struggle. They thus speedily healed the wounds of war, and are carrying out socialist construction with *Chollima* speed and achieving brilliant successes. Today, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has become a socialist country with a solid, independent national economy. At present, the Korean people are pushing ahead the vigorous movement of revolution in three fields: ideological, technological

and cultural; and are working hard to fulfil ahead of schedule the grand targets of the Six-Year National Economic Plan. The Chinese people rejoice at the great achievements of the Korean people and wholeheartedly wish them success in making their fatherland more prosperous and powerful.

Led by the Workers' Party of Korea, the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Korean people uphold proletarian internationalism, continuously strengthen friendship and unity with the peoples of the world, particularly those of the third world, resolutely oppose imperialism and vigorously support the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed nations and oppressed people. The recent visits of the delegation led by President Kim Il Sung to a number of European and African countries have further strengthened the unity, friendship and co-operation between the peoples of Korea and other countries. The international prestige of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has been rising daily and she is playing an increasingly important role in international affairs.

The reunification of the 3,000-ri beautiful land of Korea is the lofty national aspiration of the entire Korean people. To achieve independent and peaceful reunification of the fatherland, the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has carried out a dauntless struggle and put forward a series of correct and reasonable proposals. In particular, the three principles of independent and peaceful reunification and the five-point programme for preventing a national split and achieving reunification of the country put forward by the Korean people's great leader President Kim Il Sung chart the correct way for the cause of Korea's reunification and are resolutely backed by all the Korean people and widely supported abroad. But with the backing and the connivance of the U.S. imperialists, the Pak Jung Hi clique has constantly aggravated tension on the Korean Peninsula, sabotaged the talks between the south and the north, and obstinately pursued a policy of splitting the nation. While tightening fascist rule over the south Korean people, it clamours for "accumulation of strength" and "preparedness for war." All this fully reveals its sinister designs. The Chinese people firmly support the Korean people in their just struggle for independent and peaceful reunification of their fatherland. The Korean question should be resolved by the Korean people themselves without any outside interference. The so-called

U.N. Forces Command must be dissolved and U.S. troops completely withdrawn from south Korea.

Taiwan Province is an inalienable part of the territory of the People's Republic of China. By flesh and blood, the people of Taiwan are our fellow-countrymen. Liberation of Taiwan is China's internal affair in which no one has the right to interfere. We are determined to liberate Taiwan and accomplish the great cause of unification of the motherland. All schemes of creating "two Chinas," "one China, one Taiwan" or "one China with two governments" are doomed to fail.

China and Korea are neighbours linked by mountains and water, closely related as the lips and the teeth. The Chinese and Korean peoples are comrades-in-arms and brothers sharing weal and woe. Our two peoples and our two armies have forged a profound friendship

cemented in blood in protracted struggles against common enemies. In socialist revolution and socialist construction, in the struggle to strengthen the unity of the third world peoples against imperialism, our two peoples have always supported and co-operated with each other closely. The recent historic visit to China of the Korean Party and Government Delegation led by President Kim Il Sung once again demonstrated the revolutionary friendship and unbreakable militant unity between the Parties, Governments and peoples of China and Korea, and brought this friendship and unity to a new stage of development. The Chinese people will always fight and march forward shoulder to shoulder with the Korean people in the struggles ahead.

*("Renmin Ribao" and "Jiefangjun Bao"
editorial, June 25)*

Warm Congratulations on Rebirth of Mozambique

ON the vigorous African continent which is fighting in unity, another independent country has gloriously come into being in the flames of armed struggle. Mozambique, a former Portuguese colony, today officially declared its independence and solemnly proclaimed the establishment of the People's Republic of Mozambique. The Mozambican people who had suffered untold colonial oppression have now stood up. This is a great victory won by them in a protracted armed struggle as well as a new success of the millions upon millions of African people in their united struggle against imperialism and colonialism. With immense joy, the Chinese people extend warm congratulations to the heroic Mozambican people.

The rebirth of Mozambique comes out of the barrel of a gun. For nearly 500 years, the Mozambican people had been waging a courageous and indomitable struggle against the evil Portuguese colonialist rule and for national independence and liberation. The Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO) was formed on June 25, 1962. Two years later, the Mozambican people, under the leadership of FRELIMO, took up arms and embarked on the road of armed struggle. After ten years of arduous, fierce struggle, they built up a strong armed force and liberated vast areas of territory, dealt a crushing blow to the Portuguese colonialists and compelled the Portuguese authorities to recognize last September the Mozambican people's right to national independence. Since then, the Mozambican people have continued to advance on the road to complete independence and finally won today's great victory.

The victory of the Mozambican people has set an example of achieving national liberation through armed struggle for the people in southern Africa who have yet to win independence. It is bound to greatly encourage

and propel the southern African people's struggle for national independence. The Mozambican people's heroic exploits have added a new page to the annals of the national-liberation movement in Africa. Their victory has testified to the truth: the people of a country, be it small or weak, can surely defeat their ferocious enemy and win national liberation so long as they dare to take up arms, enhance unity and persevere in struggle.

At present, the African people are advancing in giant strides in their struggle against imperialism, colonialism, racism, Zionism and big power hegemonism. The armed struggles of the people of Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and Angola have overthrown the five-century-old Portuguese colonial rule in Africa. The people's armed struggle and mass movements in Zimbabwe, Namibia and Azania against white racism are daily growing in depth and incessantly dealing heavy blows to the reactionary regimes in South Africa and Rhodesia. But the reactionaries will never be reconciled to their defeat. They are bound to seek opportunities to launch a counter-attack and struggle desperately. Since the end of last year, Vorster of South Africa and Smith of Rhodesia, instigated and backed by imperialists and the superpowers, have kept changing their tactics. While stepping up armed repression, they are feverishly engaging in the "peace talks" fraud in a vain attempt to stamp out the flames of people's armed struggle in Zimbabwe and other parts of southern Africa. But all these efforts are in vain. Their plots and intrigues have been seen through more and more clearly by the African countries and people. The triumphant advance of the African people is not to be checked by any force. The day is not far off when all Africa will stand up.

The Chinese and Mozambican peoples and the African people as a whole are comrades-in-arms on the same

front who have forged a profound militant friendship in their common struggle against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism. From now on, following Chairman Mao Tsetung's consistent teachings, we will for ever stand by the side of the great African people and resolutely support their just struggle until complete victory. We are deeply convinced that after the independence

of Mozambique and the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and Mozambique, the traditional militant friendship between the peoples of the two countries will surely be further consolidated and developed.

(*"Renmin Ribao" editorial, June 25*)

Dictatorship of the Proletariat And the Renegade Lin Piao

by the Mass Criticism Group of Peking
and Tsinghua Universities

FOLLOWING the downfall of Khrushchov, the shameless renegade to the international communist movement, Chairman Mao in February 1965 made this widely known statement: "The Chinese revolution would not have been victorious if there had been only positive teachers and no teachers by negative example. Those who belittle the role of teachers by negative example are not thoroughgoing dialectical materialists." Like Khrushchov, the renegade to the dictatorship of the proletariat Lin Piao was another excellent teacher by negative example to the revolutionary people.

The criminal activities of the Lin Piao anti-Party clique not only represented the desire of the overthrown landlord and capitalist classes for a restoration, but also the demand of the newly engendered bourgeois elements to usurp power. For this reason, this clique's criminal activities are of great importance to us in understanding the law of class struggles in socialist society more deeply and in getting clear the question of exercising all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie.

Historical experience in the international communist movement tells us that after the proletariat has seized political power, the danger of capitalist restoration comes from imperialist aggression and subversion internationally; domestically, the danger is from the overthrown but not yet extinct landlord and capitalist classes as well as from the new bourgeois elements arising under the conditions of socialism. Since the everthrown exploiting classes always dream of a comeback, we should by no means slacken our vigilance. It is no rarity in history that the proletariat, after seizing political power, has suffered defeat under the attack of the old bourgeoisie in collaboration with foreign reactionary forces. The 1871 Paris Commune and the 1919 Hungarian revolution left us with bloody lessons.

However, after a young proletarian political power has been initially stabilized and especially after the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means

of production has in the main been completed, a newly engendered bourgeoisie poses a greater danger as the socialist revolution develops in depth. In the Soviet Union, 14 imperialist countries armed to the teeth tried in vain to strangle the new-born red political power founded by Lenin in its cradle; the Kolchak and Denikin bandit gangs for a period of time engulfed Soviet Russia in a counter-revolutionary conflagration; and at a later time the Kremlin was almost within the reach of the fascist Nazi generals. But they all met with ignominious defeat. It is the Soviet revisionist renegade clique—the very agents of the new bourgeoisie which Lenin had time and again warned the people to guard against—which has subverted the world's first socialist state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, a mission the old bourgeoisie failed to fulfil.

Waging struggles against the new bourgeoisie and gradually removing the soil on which it is engendered is an extremely important task of the proletariat in exercising all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie. It is precisely for this reason that Chairman Mao has repeatedly stressed the protracted and complex nature of class struggles in the period of socialism, as well as the danger of a capitalist restoration. Recently, he once again instructed us: "Why did Lenin speak of exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie? It is essential to get this question clear. Lack of clarity on this question will lead to revisionism. This should be made known to the whole nation." He went on to say: "Our country at present practises a commodity system, the wage system is unequal, too, as in the eight-grade wage scale, and so forth. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat such things can only be restricted." This important instruction from Chairman Mao has developed the Marxist-Leninist theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat; it teaches us to strengthen all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie, restrict bourgeois right, gradually create conditions in which it will be impossi-

ble for the bourgeoisie to exist or for a new bourgeoisie to arise, and finally abolish classes. But Lin Piao, while protecting the old bourgeoisie, did his utmost to extend bourgeois right, fostered and developed new bourgeois forces, and ferociously attacked the dictatorship of the proletariat on their behalf. This fully reveals the true features of Lin Piao, the renegade to the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Lin Piao Tried His Utmost to Safeguard And Restore Private Ownership of Means of Production

While profoundly expounding the fundamental content of bourgeois right in his *The State and Revolution*, Lenin said: **"Bourgeois right" recognizes them [the means of production] as the private property of individuals.** That Lin Piao spared no effort to extend bourgeois right was first and foremost demonstrated by his exertions to defend and restore private ownership of the means of production.

After nationwide liberation, we confiscated bureaucratic capital and abolished the imperialist and feudal systems of ownership. The socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce was completed in the main in 1956. These were important steps to abolish gradually bourgeois right in the system of ownership. As the political representative of the landlord and capitalist classes, Lin Piao was not reconciled to changing the system of ownership in China. He howled that of the various kinds of relations of production in the world, "the one which will raise productivity should be adopted." Whether in China or in other parts of the world, history and reality have eloquently proved that the capitalist system of ownership is like "the sun setting beyond the western hills" and that it shackles the development of the productive forces. The socialist system of public ownership, on the other hand, is full of vitality, displaying its great superiority and **"permitting the productive forces to develop at a speed unattainable in the old society."** (Mao Tsetung: *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*.) In China, where the socialist system of public ownership holds a dominant position and is clearly superior to the capitalist system of ownership, it was absurd for Lin Piao to say that we still had to make a choice between the two. Considering how he venomously assailed our prosperous socialist motherland, saying that "the national economy is stagnant," and how he lauded to the skies the decadent and declining capitalist system, was his vicious intent not as clear as daylight? His aim was to restore totally bourgeois right in the system of ownership of the means of production: That part of bourgeois right which already had been transformed was to be restored to its former status, while the other part which had not yet been transformed was to be treasured and carefully preserved. All this was to retain and expand the economic position for the development of the capitalist forces.

However, **"socialism is everywhere advancing triumphantly, leaving all obstructions behind."**

Contrary to Lin Piao's counter-revolutionary desire, China's socialist system of public ownership, guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, has been steadily consolidated and developed in the course of struggle, and the system of private ownership has been increasingly restricted and reduced. This indeed was a calamity for Lin Piao. Unable to restrain his counter-revolutionary hatred, he instructed someone to write down the sinister words: "Collective ownership is better than state ownership. Individual ownership is better than collective ownership and engaging in illegal dealings is even better than individual ownership." The system of socialist public ownership, according to Lin Piao, should go back to the system of private ownership, and as regards the system of private ownership, those engaging in illegal dealings are the best. This confession aptly reveals Lin Piao's counter-revolutionary heart. By "those engaging in illegal dealings" he meant the new bourgeois overnight rich who had made big profits by underhand means. Lin Piao placed his counter-revolutionary hopes on "those engaging in illegal dealings," hoping that new bourgeois elements would multiply like poisonous mushrooms after a rain. This stripped Lin Piao of all his disguise and revealed to the people in the clearest terms what kind of system of ownership he wanted!

Ample facts prove that to change the socialist system of ownership, the representatives of the bourgeoisie generally do not openly use the label of private ownership by the capitalists, but they try to seize the leadership of economic units by the tactics of "the Monkey getting into the stomach of the Princess of the Iron Fan to play the devil." [An episode in *Pilgrimage to the West*, a Chinese classical novel, tells how Sun Wu-kung, the Monkey, changed himself into a tiny insect, found his way into the stomach of the Princess of the Iron Fan and thus defeated her. — Tr.] In socialist society, therefore, in judging the nature of an enterprise or a unit, we should not only look at its name or signboard, but should see what its content and essence are; that is to say, we should see which class controls the leadership and what line and policies are followed. Lin Piao concocted the so-called "general line to seize and defend political power—love the people and pay attention to production so as to administer state affairs well and ensure national security." This "general line" preached "love" of the old bourgeoisie without suppressing the reactionary activities of some of them; it preached that one should devote one's time and attention entirely to production, without paying the slightest heed to politics, and let the new bourgeois elements grow freely. This is a downright counter-revolutionary revisionist line. The aim of this general line was to oppose the Party's basic line, transform our Party into a "production party" and a "party of the whole people" and stop us from paying attention to classes, class struggle, ideological and political line, and let the new and old bourgeois elements have their own way, even allowing them to usurp the leadership

of the socialist economic units, thereby bringing about a change in the nature of the system of ownership. This is exactly what the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has done in subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat and restoring capitalism.

Lin Piao Spared No Effort to Extend Bourgeois Right

In the process of production, the relations between people and the form of distribution are determined by and react upon the system of ownership, and they play a decisive role under given conditions. Under the conditions of socialism, whether or not to restrict bourgeois right in these two aspects of the relations of production and to criticize the ideology of bourgeois right has a direct bearing on the consolidation and continued advance of the socialist system of ownership. In this respect Lin Piao sang an entirely different tune from that of the proletariat.

Turning Relations Between People Into Relations of Buying and Selling of Commodities. With the basic realization of the system of public ownership of the means of production in China, the working people have become masters of society, and the relations between them are brand-new socialist relations. Bourgeois right, however, still exists to a serious extent in the relations between people and the ideology of bourgeois right is still constantly corrupting people's minds. Therefore, Chairman Mao has all along paid great attention to educating the whole Party, the whole army and the people of the entire country in scientific communist world outlook, teaching us to completely and thoroughly serve the people and consciously resist erosion by the ideology of bourgeois right. Nourished by Mao Tsetung Thought, people like Lei Feng* have emerged everywhere in our socialist society and the lofty spirit of **"utter devotion to others without any thought of self"** has become the trend. A cunning two-faced counter-revolutionary, Lin Piao on the surface publicized that his maxim was serving the people; actually he hid himself in dark corners and preached the extremely decadent and reactionary world outlook of the exploiting classes. He wrote: "In relations between men—be selfish," and "Animals live by plundering. This is for everyone to follow." One of the chief members of the Lin Piao anti-Party clique also preached: "Relations between men are like those between wolves" and "It is impossible to make a bargain without recourse to deception." What unconcealed words! So the real

*Lei Feng, a member of the Chinese Communist Party and a squad leader in an engineering corps of the Shenyang Units of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, was born in a poor-peasant family in Changsha, Hunan Province, in 1939. He painstakingly studied Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and had a clear-cut proletarian stand. Dedicated to the revolution in word and deed, he was praised for his communist style of devotion to the public interests without any thought of himself and for his fearless proletarian fighting will. He died a martyr on August 15, 1962 while on duty. On March 5, 1963, the inscription **"Learn from Comrade Lei Feng,"** in Chairman Mao's own handwriting, was published in the press. Lei Feng's advanced ideas and heroic actions have greatly inspired the people of the whole country, the youth and children in particular.

maxims of Lin Piao and his gang on the relations between people are "wolves," "plundering," "deception" and "bargain"!

"Be selfish," "wolves" and "deception" are not new inventions of Lin Piao and his gang. Lenin said in *The Tasks of the Youth Leagues*: **"The old society was based on the principle: rob or be robbed."** As to the relations between people, the bourgeois rule of conduct has always been one of big fish eating the small fish and everything is drowned in the frigid waters of egoism. Bourgeois philosophers long ago said: "Men treat one another like wolves." In exposing the mutual relations between people in capitalist society, Engels hit the nail on the head when he said that the principle of the strong bullying the weak with egomania as the core was the **"Darwinian struggle of the individual for existence transferred from nature to society with intensified violence."** (*Anti-Duhring*.)

It is not strange that Lin Piao and his gang fanatically agitated for "deception" and "bargaining" behind people's backs. Commodities are cells in capitalist society where everything becomes a commodity. The bourgeoisie **"has left remaining no other nexus between man and man than naked self-interest, than callous 'cash payment.'"** (*Manifesto of the Communist Party*.) Therefore, under capitalist society, relations between people are relations of buying and selling of commodities. Lin Piao and his gang made "plunder," "deception" and "bargaining" their principle and exerted their efforts to extend bourgeois right in the realm of mutual relations between people. By doing so, they vainly hoped to transform the relations between people in socialist society into capitalist relations of trade in commodities, thereby changing socialist public ownership into private ownership so that they could carry out wild plunder and exploitation. This precisely reflected the wish of a handful of unreformed landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements, Rightists and new bourgeois elements.

To subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat, Lin Piao and his gang introduced into the political life of the Party and the state the capitalist principle of the exchange of commodities. In the eyes of that commodity fetishist Lin Piao, politics was something like a big business transaction. To quote his own words: "It is a highly profitable business to do political work well." His so-called "never forgetting" politics is nothing but a synonym for never forgetting "highly profitable business." The Lin Piao anti-Party clique made counter-revolutionary political deals according to the capitalist principle of exchange of commodities. If you pledge loyalty to me, I will offer you higher official posts. In this way, he lured people over to form a clique, organized a sinister headquarters and rigged up big and small "fleets" (the code name for the counter-revolutionary detachments organized by Lin Piao and his gang). They were a pack of counter-revolutionary political speculators. Following this principle, Lin Piao advertised that "human relations are more important than the laws of a king." His so-called "human rela-

tions," to put it bluntly, were nothing but market prices for capitalist commodity exchange. Lin Piao resorted to such sleight of hand to incite the new bourgeois elements to break both the Party's discipline and the law of the state at will, so as to pave the way for them to restore capitalism.

What would become of our Party and what would become of our socialist comradeship and our state if these principles advocated by Lin Piao were applied to relations between people, such as "be selfish," "live by plundering," and "it is impossible to make a bargain without recourse to deception"? The answer to all these questions can be found somewhere else in the world today, i.e., the Soviet Union under the rule of the new bourgeoisie. A handful of new bourgeois party tyrants and big and small bureaucrats in that country are ravaging the masses of Soviet workers and peasants like wolves; callous cash payment has infiltrated every corner and bourgeois principles such as "it is impossible to make a bargain without recourse to deception" are being practised in every trade and profession; the world's first socialist country of the dictatorship of the proletariat has degenerated into a social-imperialist country and world domination has become the fundamental content of its foreign policy. Like the colonial pirates of old, the banner of this country clearly bears such markings as "wolves," "plunder," "deception" and "bargain."

Material Incentives Advocated. In China, the form of distribution in both the ownership by the whole people and collective ownership is to each according to his work, and bourgeois right holds a dominant position in distribution. In carrying out distribution according to work, it is therefore necessary to restrict the bourgeois right embodied in it. But Lin Piao, parroting the Soviet revisionists, praised to the skies the fallacy that "material incentives are still necessary." Proceeding from the principle of material incentives, Lin Piao raised a hue and cry that of the "two factors" in the process of production—the role of people and the role of technique—"the most important is man's treatment (salary and position)." He also instructed others to find the ruling method of the exploiting classes from the ancient works, and copied it down. It read: "Tai Kung [His surname was Chiang and he helped King Wen of Chou, founder of the Chou Dynasty, overthrow the Shang Dynasty in the 11th century B.C.] said: 'If the fishing line is thin and the bait clear, small fish will eat it; if the fishing line is straight and the bait smells good, medium-sized fish will eat it; if the fishing line is thick and the bait plentiful, big fish will eat it.'" "Therefore if one catches fish with bait, the fish will be killed; if one wins the people's hearts with emoluments, everybody will follow you." Lin Piao annotated in the margin: "Such is the principle of wages," "the big role of wages" and so on. To take material incentives as the formula and wages and treatment as the bait—this was Lin Piao's "fundamental principle" in his great effort to extend bourgeois right in distribution.

Whose formula does this "material incentive" belong to? It is the formula of the revisionists! It is an out-and-out formula of the bourgeoisie! A capitalist is only capital personified and the most powerful incentive he knows is that of surplus-value, profit. "**For it nothing exists in this world, except for the sake of money, itself not excluded. It knows no bliss save that of rapid gain, no pain save that of losing gold.**" (Engels: *The Condition of the Working-Class in England.*) In *Capital*, Marx quoted the following passage which vividly portrays how "miraculously efficacious" "material incentives" are for the bourgeoisie: "With adequate profit, capital is very bold. A certain 10 per cent will ensure its employment anywhere; 20 per cent certain will produce eagerness; 50 per cent, positive audacity; 100 per cent will make it ready to trample on all human laws; 300 per cent, and there is not a crime at which it will scruple, nor a risk it will not run, even to the chance of its owner being hanged." Bourgeois economics, in its entirety, takes "material incentive" as its basic principle. That Lin Piao took such decadent and putrid trash as his "formula" was for the purpose of using this capitalist principle to incite people to seek personal fame and gain, enhance their "enthusiasm" for capitalism and poison the minds of the masses, the youth in particular. His futile attempt was to convert the proletarian policy of "**grasping revolution, promoting production and other work and preparedness against war**" into the revisionist policy of the Soviet revisionists, who claim that "the ruble is the locomotive," and foster and develop the forces of the new bourgeoisie.

Lin Piao and his gang made a big clamour about the question of wages, using the principle of "to each according to his work" as a cover for their conspiracy. This was a sinister scheme, pure and simple. In reality, what they wanted was to carry out distribution according to the amount of capital and power each has. Not in the least satisfied with their legitimate income, they wanted to follow in the footsteps of the reactionary ruling classes of the past, expand without restraint special privileges and grab more wealth. Working overtime to advocate "inducing others with high official posts, fostering them with handsome emoluments and appointing them to posts of great power," Lin Piao and company did all they could to use "high official posts," "handsome emoluments" and "great power" to foster a group of new bourgeois elements who would be their counter-revolutionary backbone force in pushing a restoration line. Lin Piao grabbed himself "handsome emoluments" through abusing the power he had usurped and by various illegal means. Politically a counter-revolutionary careerist, he was at the same time a thoroughly rotten embezzler and grafter.

Lin Piao's Destruction Was Historically Inevitable

The new bourgeois elements' appetite is insatiable. They are out not only to grab economic gains but to seize political power as well. They know very well that so long as political power is in the hands of the proletariat their shameless schemes to extend bourgeois

right and seek special privileges without restraint inevitably will be checked by the dictatorship of the proletariat. They also know that their underhand machinations such as graft, theft and speculation will inevitably be punished by the dictatorship of the proletariat. Their depraved and extravagant way of living can only be carried out in dark corners. Once they are discovered and caught red-handed, the dictatorship of the proletariat will clean out their dens of iniquity built up so assiduously over the years. Consequently, these new bourgeois elements, like the old exploiting classes, focus their counter-revolutionary class hatred on the dictatorship of the proletariat. When Lin Piao said that "without political power, everything will be lost," he clearly expressed the grief of the overthrown landlord and capitalist classes and the lesson they had drawn from their defeat. Another saying of Lin Piao's — "we have everything once we have political power" — bared the never-ending greed of the new bourgeois elements who would avidly swallow up at one gulp the wealth of the whole society if they could do so; it also reflected their unbridled ambition to overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat and set up a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie in order to open the way for the unrestricted spread of capitalism.

The inveterate hatred of the old exploiters, as expressed in the words "without political power, everything will be lost," and the new bourgeois elements' wild ambitions embodied in the expression "we have everything once we have political power" infused the Lin Piao anti-Party clique with a mad desperadoism to seize and usurp political power. They trotted out the nonsense that only Lin Piao could "directly command" the army. Time and again they opposed Chairman Mao's repeated instruction that the state would not have a chairman, their vain attempt was to seize supreme power in the Party and the state. After their counter-revolutionary coup d'etat at the Second Plenary Session of the Ninth Central Committee of the Party was smashed, they concocted their *Outline of Project*

"571" to launch an armed counter-revolutionary coup d'etat in a futile attempt to assassinate our great leader Chairman Mao. All these prove that under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the struggle between the bourgeoisie trying to seize power and the proletariat fighting against it is a tremendous life-and-death class struggle.

For a brief period the Lin Piao anti-Party clique ran wild, but it soon met with ignominious defeat. This reflects the decadent, weak nature of the classes the clique represented. All reactionaries look at the objective situation with the eyes of idealists. In their plan for an armed counter-revolutionary coup d'etat entitled *Outline of Project "571,"* Lin Piao and his gang arrogantly proclaimed that "the leadership has historically fallen on our 'fleets.'" How eager these representatives of the new bourgeoisie were for battle and to be counter-revolutionary commanders in subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat! But these frantic activities of the "new" bourgeoisie against the dictatorship of the proletariat were nothing more than the death-bed struggles of the old system. Their decadence and weakness caused them not only to pick up the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius — the ideological weapon of all the reactionary moribund classes in China's history — but also to seek the backing of international imperialism. Because of their common class basis as members of the new bourgeoisie and because revisionism is an international ideological trend, the Lin Piao anti-Party clique inevitably threw itself into the embrace of social-imperialism and leaned on the Soviet revisionist renegade clique as a prop. But none of this was of any help at all to the counter-revolutionary cause of the Lin Piao anti-Party clique. What had historically fallen on their heads was nothing but the iron fist of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is the inevitability of history.

(A slightly abridged translation of an article in "Hongqi," No. 5, 1975. Subheads are ours.)

Unsought Confession of Hegemonism

THE Soviet TASS News Agency issued on June 18 a "Statement to the Government of Japan," crudely exerting pressure on the Japanese Government against including the anti-hegemony clause in the proposed Japan-China treaty of peace and friendship. Thus the Soviet authorities have revealed their hegemonic features.

The TASS statement attacked China for allegedly "striving to impose by all possible means the inclusion into the treaty of peace and friendship, whose conclusion is being negotiated at the present time, a provision which . . . is aimed, first and foremost, against the Soviet Union."

However, the wordy statement failed to make clear what provision "is aimed, first and foremost, against the Soviet Union." This brings to mind the character Ah Q in Lu Hsun's story who, having shiny ringworm scars on his scalp, made "bright" and "light" forbidden words both for himself and for others. The Brezhnev clique taboos all mention of "anti-hegemonism" because it is pursuing a policy of hegemonism. Any mention of "opposition to hegemony" throws it into a fit. Hisao Kuroda, Chairman of the National Headquarters of the Japan-China Friendship Association (Orthodox), hit the nail on the head when he said: "If the Soviet Union does not pursue hegemonism, colonialism and imperialism and will not do so in future, then why should it

oppose putting down the anti-hegemony clause in the Japan-China Joint Statement in the proposed treaty? This shows that the Soviet Union has been pursuing hegemonism and will continue to do so!"

The statement also slanderously accused China of wanting "to involve Japan . . . in the orbit of their foreign policy." Who after all wants to involve Japan in the orbit of his foreign policy? That the Japanese and Chinese Governments are negotiating for a Japan-China peace and friendship treaty in accordance with the spirit of the Japan-China statement is a matter concerning only Japan and China. But the Brezhnev clique is so full of rancour against this that it is trying hard to obstruct and undermine the negotiations. The Soviet authorities also have vilified all Japanese personages who are opposed to hegemonism. For example, the release of a joint statement comprising anti-hegemony content by the Sixth Delegation of the Japan Socialist Party to China and the China-Japan Friendship Association brought a TASS attack on Chairman Tomomi Narita of the Japan Socialist Party for "serving as an accomplice of Peking in its policy of great-nation chauvinism." Now the Soviet authorities have become more blatant by releasing the TASS statement. They have even openly clamoured that they will "give a proper rebuff" to any action which will "create obstacles to the improvement of Soviet-Japanese relations," and, in the tone of an overlord, ordered Japan to take "the same approach." This only serves to show that

it is none other than the Soviet authorities themselves who want to "involve" Japan "in the orbit of their foreign policy." However, this hegemonic behaviour will never succeed in the face of the Japanese people who have self-respect.

The statement drew strong reaction from Japan immediately after it was made. Japanese government leaders declared that "the negotiations between Japan and China are aimed at maintaining and developing relations between the two countries in accordance with the 1972 joint statement," that the anti-hegemony question is "a bilateral problem to be resolved through the joint efforts of Japan and China, and remarks on which by third nations are uncalled for," and that "the Soviet statement is difficult to understand, there is no reason for the Soviet Union to interfere in the negotiations between Japan and China." The *Nihon Keizai Shimbun* reported on June 18 that Japanese Foreign Ministry sources held that "the Soviet action will have an exactly opposite effect," and that the Soviet publication of the statement in relation to the hegemony issue is an "unsought confession."

The TASS statement wants Japan to "give a proper rebuff" to China. But this statement by the Soviet revisionists, an unsought confession of hegemonism, has met with and will continue to meet with strong rebuff from the Japanese public.

(Hsinhua Correspondent, June 21)

Fierce U.S.-Soviet Contention in Portugal

THE two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, are contending fiercely in Portugal.

Portugal is located in the southwest part of the Iberian Peninsula in Southern Europe. The peninsula guards the strategically important passage—the Strait of Gibraltar—linking the Mediterranean Sea and the Atlantic Ocean. It also is near the sea lanes of the North Atlantic and controls the navigation routes from the North and West European countries to South America, West Africa, the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean.

Portugal was in the U.S. sphere of influence before the downfall of the Caetano fascist regime on April 25, 1974. NATO's Iberian Atlantic naval forces command is located near Lisbon. Portugal's Azores in the Atlantic is an important U.S. military base. This group of islands not only serves as refuelling stations for U.S. military planes flying from the United States to the Middle East (it was used as such in the Middle East war of October 1973), but also as NATO's most important monitoring station in the Atlantic, keeping the manoeuvres of Soviet submarines there under surveillance. Airports and munition and fuel dumps for the exclusive use of NATO were also built in Portugal proper.

With the intensification of the U.S.-Soviet contention in the Mediterranean, the Iberian Peninsula's position has become even more important in their rivalry. The Soviet Union has displayed extraordinary concern and interest in Portugal since the downfall of the Caetano fascist regime in the April 25 coup d'etat last year. Taking advantage of the changing situation in Portugal, it is trying hard to fish in troubled waters, doing everything it can to make inroads into the country and squeeze out U.S. influence there.

Many African countries have called on Portugal to recognize the right to complete independence of the people of its African colonies. The Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, in a statement on June 16, 1974, made a call to refrain from establishing diplomatic relations with Portugal before it recognizes the independence of its colonies. However, with ulterior motives and ignoring the appeal of many African countries, the Soviet revisionists, who claim to be "always supporting" the struggle for national liberation, hurriedly announced the establishment of diplomatic relations with Portugal on June 9 last year and, in the following three months, the Soviet Union sent more than a dozen delegations

to Portugal to expand its influence there under a "legal" cloak.

Lisbon official sources disclosed at the end of last January that the Soviet Union had asked Portugal to provide a port for its "fishing fleet" in the Atlantic. This news caused a shock in the United States and other NATO countries. In mid-March, Western news agencies sent out a report confirmed by the Portuguese Government, saying that the Soviet Union had requested to build a refuelling station for its merchant fleet in the Portuguese Madeira Islands. The British paper *The Times* said on March 17 that "the granting of refuelling rights for civilian Soviet vessels could facilitate Soviet naval espionage in the Atlantic. More seriously, in the present political atmosphere it would be seen by many people as the first step towards the establishment of an actual Soviet naval base on Portuguese territory."

At a time when Soviet social-imperialism is casting covetous eyes on Portugal ever more blatantly, the United States has become increasingly worried that the Portuguese situation would undergo a change to its disadvantage and that the political developments in the country would bring repercussions not only in Spain but also in Italy and other countries and thereby make a breach in NATO's southern flank. In the past few months, U.S. President Ford and Secretary of State Kissinger have time and again expressed their "concern" over the Portuguese political situation and talked about how they were "disquieted" by the developments in Portugal. After attending the NATO Summit

Meeting in Brussels at the end of May, Ford told a press conference that the United States and its NATO allies agreed that "the situation [in Portugal] must be watched with care and concern."

U.S. Senator Buckley said more bluntly on March 21 that should the Soviet navy acquire basing rights in Portugal, the Mediterranean would be rendered untenable to the U.S. Sixth Fleet. Soviet control of the Azores would, he maintained, "threaten the sea lanes connecting the United States and its West European NATO allies." Other U.S. congressmen and the bourgeois press also have more than once strongly advocated intensified contention with the Soviet Union in this region.

But Portugal belongs to the Portuguese people. The fierce contention between the two hegemonic powers, the Soviet Union and the United States, in Portugal has aroused the vigilance and opposition of Portuguese progressive forces. In a recent article, *Unidade Popular*, organ of the Communist Party of Portugal (Marxist-Leninist), pointed out: "Portugal is the object of frantic contention between the two imperialist superpowers, Soviet social-imperialism and U.S. imperialism," and "if Portugal was under social-imperialist control, Western Europe and the Mediterranean could be attacked from both sides." The paper appealed to the Portuguese people and working class to maintain vigilance over the danger to European and world peace brought on by the rivalry between the two hegemonic powers.

Why Moscow Frowns Upon Britain's Referendum Results

THE fact that the people of Britain, by an overwhelming majority, voted "Yes" to its continued membership in the E.E.C. in the June 5 national referendum reflects the aspiration of the British public to make common cause with the other West European countries against the hegemonic powers.

The heavy pro-Market returns evoked widespread acclaim in many countries on the continent. But the Kremlin took the news in an entirely different manner. From Moscow, TASS tendentiously slanted its coverage the following day by putting it this way: "Every third Briton said 'No.'" While conceding in despair that "the odds were stacked against the anti-Common Market forces," it quite groundlessly asserted that "broad sections of the British people are against their country staying in the Market."

Why was Moscow so disappointed with the results of the United Kingdom's national referendum? The

answer is not far to find. Anyone with some understanding of Soviet foreign policy knows the Soviet Union has always been hostile to the E.E.C.

Throughout the decade and more since the creation of the Community, the Soviet Union has tried in every way to undermine it, seeing it as a major stumbling-block to its expansion and penetration in Western Europe for the purpose of establishing hegemony on the continent.

Because of its vitally important position in international political and economic affairs, Europe comes first in the contention for world hegemony between the two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States. The West European Economic Community is composed of countries with a combined total of nearly 256 million people and economic capabilities close to those of the United States and surpassing those of the Soviet Union. Enlarged in 1973 from the original

six to the present nine, the Community has, through repeated negotiations, adopted quite a few measures to strengthen political co-operation within it and oppose the two superpowers' economic domination and penetration. It has set itself the goal of transforming its economic integration into a "European union" by the end of the 1970s so as to achieve a greater political identity. Economically, besides having unified tariffs for manufactured goods and adopted a common agricultural policy, it further plans to set up an "economic and monetary union" step by step. In external relations, it has been strengthening ties with the third world countries. It signed, for instance, the Lome convention last February with 46 developing countries of the African, Caribbean and Pacific regions.

Such an orientation by the West European countries plainly is incompatible with the hegemonist policy of the superpowers. Soviet social-imperialism, a late-comer but wildly ambitious, is more undisguised in its hostility to the Community.

The Soviet revisionist leading clique accuses the Community of having harmed European "detente" and damaged European "harmony." For many years, it refused to acknowledge the "existence" of the E.E.C. and forbade the East European countries to have anything to do with the Community. And when its non-recognition stand became more and more discredited, it ostensibly extended recognition to the Community, while in actual fact continuing its attempts to divide and sabotage the organization. Simultaneous with its political hostility to the E.E.C., it nevertheless has flaunted the worn-out banner of "developing economic co-operation" to have separate contacts with some E.E.C. countries and beg for their investment and loans. The Soviet revisionists' smug calculation is that in so doing, they will make some economic gains, divide and win over the West European countries and extend their influence into Western Europe. Such a calculation is as sinister as it is contemptible.

The Soviet revisionists spare no efforts to undermine the E.E.C. whenever a chance arises. After taking office in March 1974, the British Labour government asked for "renegotiating" the terms of Britain's entry into the Common Market and declared that a referendum would be held after negotiations to decide whether Britain would continue its E.E.C. membership.

Taking this as a very good opportunity, the ruling circles in Moscow once again cranked out through its news media a propaganda broadside aimed at undermining the West European union. Later when the heads of government of the nine E.E.C. countries reached compromises in "renegotiating" the terms for Britain's entry and when British Prime Minister Harold Wilson declared an end to the "renegotiation," TASS came forward on March 12 this year to accuse the Labour government of failing to keep its promises to revise the entry terms, asserting that the struggle to get Britain out of the Common Market was by no means over. The Soviet propaganda machine, moreover, even tried to agitate Britain to withdraw from the E.E.C.

Referring to this Soviet machination, former British Prime Minister Edward Heath in a speech in May pointed out that in 1968, the Soviet rulers "were worried about the sovereignty of Czechoslovakia. So they destroyed it. Don't let them destroy the sovereignty of Western Europe." Conservative party leader Margaret Thatcher declared that her party firmly supported Britain's membership in the European Community out of consideration, first of all, for security. Home Secretary Roy Jenkins of the Labour government said that Britain's withdrawal from the Community would "gravely exacerbate" the NATO crisis and could well be "fatal" to European security. A British journal wrote in satirizing a Soviet gesture of concern over British sovereignty: "In view of Moscow's control over the non-Russian peoples of the U.S.S.R. and Eastern Europe, Soviet concern over Britain's loss of sovereignty seems somewhat hypocritical."

The rulers in Moscow tried to use Britain's referendum to sabotage West Europe's union, but all their tricks came to naught. Developments in Europe in recent years show that it is the two superpowers' rivalry that has given rise to the West European countries' trend to strengthen unity against the two hegemonic powers. As their contention becomes fiercer, their expansion in the West European countries in the political, military and economic fields increases and their threat to these countries and their people bulks larger, the demand to strengthen the forces against the two hegemonic powers will gain more momentum. Britain's referendum returns are a fresh demonstration of such a strong mood in Western Europe.

(Continued from p. 3.)

troupe gave a total of 26 performances in theatres, parks, universities, mining areas and the countryside of the three countries. It was warmly welcomed by nearly 60,000 spectators. At the end of each show, thunderous applause and cheers broke out and

many in the audience went up to the performers to congratulate them on their successful performance and to ask for autographs.

This was the first comprehensive performing arts troupe of music and dances to go abroad since China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution begun. Through its tour, the

troupe introduced to the people of the three countries the time-honoured traditional music and dances of China and the achievements of socialist revolution in traditional music and dances. It also deepened mutual understanding and friendship between the people of China and those of the three countries.

South Korea in Serious Economic Trouble

by Kuo Chih

SOUTH Korea's economy is in more desperate straits than ever under the reactionary rule of the Pak Jung Hi clique.

In recent years the clique has redoubled its efforts to sell out national rights and interests under the pretext of "developing the economy." Statistics show that, by the end of June 1974, foreign capital brought in by the Pak clique under different names had exceeded 6,800 million U.S. dollars. Foreign monopoly capital now controls south Korea's major industrial departments, such as iron and steel, oil, cement, machine-building, electric power, textile and plywood processing industries.

With the capitalist world enmeshed in its most serious postwar economic crisis, south Korea's colonial economy cannot but receive head-on blows and be in the uttermost chaos.

The export trade is hog-tied due to the sudden depression of the international market and its chief export items like textiles, plywood, wigs and raw silk have fewer and fewer customers. The foreign trade deficit for the first four months of this year topped 1,080 million dollars.

Because south Korea's industry is under the control of foreign capital, the equipment it needs and its semi-processed products have to be imported while its products are mostly for export. This not only has brought immense difficulties in finding markets, but also in such matters as raw materials, fuel and funds. Beginning from March and April 1974, industrial production kept dropping, more so in spheres closely related to the export business, such as fabrics, plywood, electronics and textiles. There have been widespread failures. As disclosed by the south Korean press, over 4,000 small and medium-sized firms had either collapsed, gone out of business or reduced work hours by the end of last year. This year has seen many enterprises continuing to operate with shorter work hours and a large number faced with liquidation.

Along with this has been the rapid increase in the number of unemployed. The south Korean authorities announced that up to last December, completely jobless workers totalled half a million, and the figure has kept going up this year.

At the same time, south Korea is being plagued by runaway inflation and soaring prices. Hoping to stimulate exports, the Pak clique announced last December the adoption of a "special measure" to devalue its currency by 20 per cent. But devaluation has resulted in still higher prices for imported fuel and other items and in sending up the price of oil products 31.3 per cent, the cost of electricity 42.3 per cent, railway freightage 39 per cent; higher prices for other commodities also ensued. Price soaring has gone unabated this year. Compared with a year earlier, rice at the end of last February was up 54 per cent with prices of other necessities up by 35 to 60 per cent respectively. April saw another 7.5 per cent hike in rice price.

Agriculture in south Korea is being gravely hamstrung by the clique's brutal oppression and exploitation of the peasants. The area of cultivated land is shrinking daily as foreign capital is allowed to freely occupy farmland to set up industrial plants. In 1974, the clique imported 3.2 million tons of grain and is expected to import more this year. There now is an acute shortage of grain, and rice is hard to get even in rice-producing areas. With agriculture going bankrupt, hundreds of thousands of peasants flee the countryside every year.

To extricate itself from its economic trouble, the Pak clique on the one hand has been grinding down the people with a greater assortment of exactions and, on the other, shamelessly begging foreign countries for huge loans. By the end of 1974, south Korea's external debts had come to 7,654.3 million dollars. Besides, flaunting the signboard of "emigration," the clique actually has sold large numbers of unemployed workers and peasants running away from famine to capitalists in foreign countries. Last year alone, according to a survey, the clique "earned" over 140 million dollars in foreign exchange by selling abroad some 14,000 people.

The traitorous policies of the Pak clique have brought untold suffering to the labouring people of south Korea and powered their strong resistance. This year has been seeing a continued upsurge in the workers' struggle for the right to survive and for democratic freedoms and the popular struggle against fascist rule. It speaks volumes for the fact that the Pak clique, wallowing in serious political and economic crises, is on its way out.

Meeting People in Lhasa

by Our Correspondents Hsi Chang-hao
and Kao Yuan-mei

The first of this series of reports appeared in issue No. 25. It described what these correspondents saw en route to Tibet and their impressions of Lhasa's new city proper and industrial development. — Ed.

WHEN we walked into Parkor, formerly the centre of old Lhasa, Chungsupingtsu told us what the place was like before liberation: Streets littered with garbage and shit, beggars and tramps, making up one-fifth of the population, squatting at street corners, and naked children jostling with dogs for left-overs in garbage heaps. Whenever the nobles trotted through the streets on their sleek mounts, the slaves had to step back on the side, bow deep and stick out their tongues to show respect and awe. All this is gone, now that feudal serfdom has been abolished.

Parkor has taken on a new look. The streets surfaced with pebbles look quite neat, though they are not as smooth as the asphalt ones in the new city proper. On both sides are signboards like tailors' co-operative, smiths' and carpenters' co-operative, noodle-makers' co-operative and green-groceries co-operative, from which comes the faint humming of machines from time to time. The slaves, mendicants and tramps of yesterday have all been organized into these producers' co-ops.

Most of the houses here are in the Tibetan style, with flat roofs, stone walls whitewashed outside and flower pots on the window sills.

Old Lhasa was the hub of feudal Tibet from where the serf-owners held sway over the entire region. Many of them had their mansions here. But who are the masters today?

Tailor Tantsengwangchiu

We found ourselves calling at one of the houses. Our host Tantsengwangchiu, member of a tailors' co-operative, and his daughter greeted and took us upstairs to a spacious room with glass windows opening on the south. Portraits of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and of Chairman Mao on the wall adorn this typical Tibetan room with its usual cushions, wardrobes and trunks. This room and four others now occupied by the Tantsengwangchius had belonged to a serf-owner whose property was confiscated for his part in the 1959 counter-revolutionary rebellion and distributed among Tantsengwangchiu and others like him during the democratic reform.

He and his wife were slaves in the old days. He sweated day and night to make garments for a manorial lord, and got only a bowl of *tsamba* (barley flour, a staple food of the Tibetan people) when the lord was in a good mood. Often he was refused even a drop of water simply because the master was in a bad temper. Unable to keep body and soul together, he had to beg for food

to feed his children. One night while making a Tibetan robe, he dozed off from overfatigue and the hot iron burnt a hole in the robe. The lord flew into a rage and slapped him on the face with a "leather palm" (a specially made instrument of torture), 100 times on each side, leaving his cheeks battered and swollen and damaging his hearing. Still Tantsengwangchiu was kept working through the night. As he did not come home after midnight, his mother, worried and alarmed, went looking for him. She burst into tears at the sight of her son. The lord smashed a cooking pot over her head, killing her instantly. He



Tantsengwangchiu and his family.

gave orders not to have her body removed by the front gate but thrown out from the window.

Tantsengwangchui was begging in the streets one day when the manorial lord sent for him. His wife, an expectant mother soon to deliver, had to ask for leave of absence on his behalf. Hardly had she finished speaking than the master called in thugs to strip her naked and tie her to a pole, and then let loose his pack of dogs on her. In no time, their fangs sank in and tore her belly, injuring the baby in the womb. Fortunately, the Han doctors of a unit of the People's Liberation Army arrived at Lhasa just in time to save both mother and baby. . . .

Choked with emotion, Tantsengwangchui suppressed spasms of grief as he recounted the miserable past which filled his heart with bitter hatred. With trembling hands, he parted the hair on his daughter's forehead to show us the prenatal scar left from dog-bites. What her father told us also made her eyes swim in tears. She is that unborn child who was savaged even before she had come into the world. Now a healthy and rosy-cheeked 24-year-old girl, she was dressed in blue and wore her hair in two braids. She works in a trade company away from Lhasa. At the time of our visit, she was on home leave visiting her parents. Looking around, we saw hanging on the wall a citation from the company in recognition of her outstanding work. Alongside there was another, this one from the tailors' co-op to her father.

Tantsengwangchui's wife is a member of a noodle-makers' co-op. Except two youngest ones who are in school, all the five other children are working. The family's total monthly income (excluding that of the eldest son who is married and lives with his own family) is 297 yuan (equivalent to about 800 kg. of flour). Tantsengwangchui told us he has more than enough to cover all expenses, with savings every month.

Party Secretary Sochia

The Lhasa City Party Committee and Revolutionary Committee are housed in what once was the mansion of a manorial lord in southern Parkor. It was here that we met 35-year-old Sochia, one of the Party committee secretaries.

Sochia hails from a Tibetan family whose members had been serfs for generations in Latzu County, Shigatse. He began life hewing firewood for a manorial lord when he was barely ten. This slave-driver made it a rule to check the load himself, whip in hand. If it was short of what he expected, the whip came cracking down on little Sochia. But then this child labourer could not carry loads far beyond his age, so he got whipped all the same no matter how hard he tried.

On one occasion, the lord made him carry lime to a hill for building a house and he stamped a mark on the boy's face after each climb. When night fell, he counted the marks and if they were not up to the required number, his whip cracked. "Under serfdom," Sochia said, "we serfs had no end of corvee, debts and



Secretary Sochia.

floggings. Year in and year out, we found everything empty — empty homes, empty pockets, empty bowls and empty stomachs."

Things began to look up after the peaceful liberation of Tibet in 1951. Sochia's family got state loans for farm production and had the corvee reduced. He even had a chance to go to school in 1954, studying at the newly established county primary school. Two years later, at the age of 17, he was sent to the Central Institute for Nationalities in Peking. Here he learnt about the whys and wherefores of the revolution, raised his consciousness of class struggle and the struggle between the two lines, and was admitted into the Communist Party of China.

In 1959, the Dalai traitorous clique embarked on an armed rebellion. The news infuriated Sochia. He returned to Tibet and took part in putting it down. In one battle, the P.L.A. unit he was attached to captured seven rebels. The rebellion having been put down, he plunged himself into the democratic reform movement which overthrew feudal serfdom. Later, he served as district head, county head and county Party secretary, and took on his present post in 1973.

Our talks with Secretary Sochia were interrupted several times by cadres of both Tibetan and Han nationalities who came to ask for his instructions concerning the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, the selection of students to be sent to universities in the interior and other matters. In clear-cut terms, he had answers to all the questions put to him.

Sochia had much to think about, and to be grateful for, the change in his own status in society. Many emancipated serfs like him, he told us, have become leading cadres. Three of the secretaries on the Lhasa City Party Committee and two of the city revolutionary committee vice-chairmen are Tibetans. The number of national minority cadres (besides Tibetans, there are also Huis and Luopas) is now 125 per cent more than

before the start of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. National minorities account for 72 per cent of the cadres in charge at the county level (there are 12 counties under Lhasa). And almost all positions of responsibility below the district level are in the hands of national minorities.

Two Artists

When we were back at the hostel, our friends Yangchin and Choka with whom we had become acquainted aboard the Tibet-bound plane called on us to offer us yak butter tea, an affectionate expression by Tibetan compatriots to their guests.

We fell into conversation. Choka's parents, we learnt, had been bards of a kind for years. They were so gifted in singing that they were forced to entertain manorial lords with operas as a form of corvée. Until the suppression of the rebellion in 1959, they had to perform for Dalai and his kind every year. At a word, they had to rush to Lhasa, far or near, rain or shine, and would be punished for arriving late or not performing to the lords' liking. When their performance in Lhasa was over, they went on the road and performed in exchange for a mere pittance of *tsamba*. Hence the nickname "Beggars' Opera Troupe."

Now 25, Choka took up opera-singing in 1959 when her troupe was taken over by the People's Government. Assured of food and clothing, she put her heart and soul into the art and soon developed into a full-fledged singer.

Yangchin is 28 years old. Her father was a house slave who scrubbed stairs. Overwork killed him and Yangchin's elder brother took his place. The brother was suffering from a bout of heart attack, and a slip on the stairs robbed him of his life too. Her mother died from a miscarriage while at work. Sold at 11 to become a child-bride, Yangchin could not stand the unbearable hardships and iniquities. She fled one night and joined a P.L.A. cultural troupe. To throw the serf-owner off the track, she changed her original name Choma to Yangchin. Later she was transferred to the Tibetan Opera Troupe and in 1960 enrolled in the Tientsin Conservatory in north China where she studied instrumental music until 1963. One and a half years ago, she was sent to Tibet's neighbouring province of Szechuan to pursue further study at the Szechuan Conservatory. She took a fancy to the two-stringed Chinese violin.

Actually the old Tibetan opera was designed mainly to spread feudal myths and sing the praises of the manorial lords. The actors and actresses wore masks and the musical instruments were crude. Since the start of the Great Cultural Revolution, it has been reformed under the guidance of the principle that literature and art should serve the workers, peasants and soldiers. In a Tibetan opera recently adapted from one of the model revolutionary theatrical works, Choka plays the role of the heroine — a Party underground worker who dies a

martyr's death on the enemy's execution ground rather than give up Party secrets. The Tibetan Opera Troupe has also created and presented its own items mirroring the present-day struggle in Tibet's rural areas. Masks have given way to make-up and the troupe has an orchestra with a variety of instruments.

There also are song and dance ensembles, modern play and other professional troupes in Lhasa whose members regularly perform in factories, villages and P.L.A. units. Many factories, neighbourhoods and communes have their own amateur troupes.

One evening, Yangchin and Choka invited us to a performance at the cinema-cum-theatre of the Working People's Cultural Palace, one of several such big ones in Lhasa. The hall was packed to capacity, the audience mostly Tibetans. The programme consisted mainly of Tibetan songs and dances with themes denouncing the old society and eulogizing the new life.

We were captivated by the graceful movements of the dancers, and as we were still revelling in the melodious notes of a fascinating song, the compere announced: "The next item is a soprano solo *From Peking's Golden Hill*." This brought on warm applause from the audience.

In bright coloured Tibetan dress, the soloist came on stage. Her lovely voice rang out:

*From Peking's golden hill,
Light shines forth far and wide.
Chairman Mao is the bright golden sun,
How warm and how kind,
Lighting up the hearts of the emancipated serfs.
We are striding along the broad and happy socialist
road.*

...



ROUND THE WORLD

E.E.C.

Establishment of Relations With China Hailed

The European Parliament discussed on June 18 at a meeting in Strasbourg, France, the establishment of official relations between the European Economic Community and China. Vice-President Soames of the E.E.C. Commission gave an account of the establishment of official relations with China and his China visit. Five deputies with different political views spoke at the meeting, all greeting the setting up of relations.

In his report, Soames said: "The establishment of normal, official relations between China and the Community will lead to greater understanding between the two."

During his China visit, he added, "there is one point, and a particularly important one, over which I found myself in complete agreement with the views of my Chinese hosts. This was over the future of the Community." "They think it [Western Europe] is less likely to be a potential battlefield if it is united, and they see it as having a vital role to play in the world." "Trade with China," he noted, "offers the Community considerable possibilities in the long term."

French Deputy Carpentier spoke on behalf of the Socialists among the deputies of the nine E.E.C. countries. He praised the success achieved by China in the past 25 years. China, he said, is a great country and a great nation which has decided to establish official relations with the E.E.C. "This is a gesture of sympathy to the Nine." He called the establishment of relations a "historic event."

On behalf of the Liberals in the European Parliament, British Member of Parliament Gladwyn said that if Europe fails finally to get united, the Soviet Union "will be in a position to control Europe." He added

that China "has shown no sign to impose anything on foreign countries through brutal means." The development of relations with China, he pointed out, should be "encouraged by every possible means."

As spokesman for the Christian Democrats, Jahn, Member of Parliament of the Federal Republic of Germany, said the establishment of relations with China is an important event in the world.

Dutch Member of Parliament Lenihan said China's decision and the signing of the Lome convention indicate the important position of the E.E.C. in the world.

British Member of Parliament Dykes said he stands fully for Soames' report. He described the establishment of relations between the E.E.C. and China as an historic event.

U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL

Debate on Cyprus Situation

The U.N. Security Council concluded debate on the situation in Cyprus on June 16. With 14 countries voting in favour, the council adopted on June 13 a draft resolution to extend the period of the United Nations peace-keeping force's stay in Cyprus for another six months. China did not take part in the voting.

In a statement issued after the voting, Chinese Representative Chuang Yen said: "The Chinese delegation's stand on the question of Cyprus has been consistent and clear." The Chinese delegation, he said, was in favour of part of the draft resolution. However, as the draft resolution mainly concerned the question of the U.N. peace-keeping force on which the Chinese delegation has always held its position of principle, it did not participate in the voting, he said.

"We are pleased to note that in the recent period the parties concerned with the Cyprus question have already started their talks and achieved initial progress," he said. "We sincerely hope that the two Cypriot communities and the parties concerned will continue to do away with superpower meddling and intervention, take the overall interests to heart, conduct peaceful and patient negotiations on an equal footing and in a spirit of mutual understanding and mutual accommodation and strive for an early and reasonable settlement of the Cyprus question."

In their statements, the representatives of the non-aligned member countries of the Security Council underlined the resolution concerning Cyprus adopted by the General Assembly last year and urged that all countries respect Cyprus' state sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and non-alignment. They also opposed all actions of interference in Cyprus and called on the representatives of the Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities to speed up the negotiations so as to reach a political settlement as soon as possible.

Soviet Representative Malik this time dared not reiterate his proposal to send a special Security Council mission to Cyprus. Nevertheless, he still tried to peddle the so-called proposal for an extensive "international conference" in an attempt to interfere in the affairs of Cyprus and contend with the other superpower. This ridiculous proposal was cold-shouldered at the meeting.

OPEC

Ministerial Conference

The 44th ministerial meeting of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) was held in Libreville from June 9 to 11. In the spirit of the Solemn Declaration adopted at the first summit conference of the OPEC member states in Algiers last March, the conference discussed the international monetary system, oil prices, a dialogue between the third world countries and industrial countries and other matters.

In view of mounting inflation, the U.S. dollar devaluation as well as losses incurred therefrom by OPEC member states in the real value of oil revenue, the conference decided to adjust crude oil prices as of October 1, 1975. In order to keep the purchasing power of oil revenue from being affected by the U.S. dollar fluctuations, the conference decided to use Special Drawing Rights as a unit of account, and practical procedures for the implementation of the SDR will be defined at the coming September 24 extraordinary meeting. In addition, the conference also decided to co-ordinate member states' gas-pricing policies so as to be in conformity with OPEC oil-pricing policies.

The conference further agreed to make necessary measures to promote co-operation among the national oil companies of the OPEC member states, particularly in the marketing field, and, in this context, decided to set up organs and institutions within the framework of the OPEC.

INDIA

Acute Grain Shortage

India is being plagued by an acute grain shortage which has already caused famine and seizure of grain in some parts of the country.

Last year saw a sharp decrease in autumn harvests. Total production for the 12 months from last July to June this year is estimated at only 100 million tons, far behind the planned 118 million ton target.

India imported in that year mountains of grain which, however, still were far from meeting the needs. The Indian Central Government had to repeatedly curtail the food supply to the grain-deficient states.

Famine in varying degrees has broken out in Rajasthan and eight other states. In Rajasthan, 24 of the 26 districts have been hit by famine, affecting 30,000 villages and involving about 50 per cent of the state population. About 9 million people are seriously threatened in Orissa State. A great number of people had

no choice but to flee their countryside to seek a living. Many have had to sell their children. More than 1,000 people have died of hunger in Maharashtra. In Srinagar, capital of the Indian occupied area in Kashmir, hungry masses recently demonstrated against the raising of subsidised rice price by the government. Some were arrested or injured by the police. In late May, about 500 persons seized grain from railway wagons at a station near Raipur in Madhya Pradesh.

U.S.S.R.-U.S.A.

Arms Race

The recently published 1975 yearbook, *World Armaments and Disarmament*, by the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, unmask the feverish U.S.S.R.-U.S.A. arms race.

The yearbook says: "Each year the world spends an enormous amount of money on armaments — over 210 billion dollars in 1974." "For many years now the United States and the Soviet Union have accounted for the bulk of the money spent on armaments. In 1974, for example, these two powers spent 60 per cent of the total. The two major alliances, NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organization, together spent 80 per cent in 1974."

"The U.S. strategic nuclear arsenal contains: about 500 strategic bombers; 41 strategic nuclear-powered submarines; and 1,054 land-based strategic missiles. The Soviet nuclear arsenal contains: 140 nuclear strategic bombers; 42 strategic nuclear-powered submarines and 1,540 land-based strategic missiles," it says. The yearbook stresses that both the United States and the Soviet Union have enough nuclear weapons to destroy each other 100 times. "Such is the insanity of the nuclear arms race," it notes.

"In addition to huge strategic forces, the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. have deployed tens of thousands of tactical nuclear weapons. In Europe alone there are about 7,000 U.S. and 3,500 Soviet tactical nuclear weapons," the yearbook says. "The

total explosive power of existing tactical nuclear weapons is enormous — so large as almost to defy imagination."

Though the United States and the Soviet Union have been holding arms limitation talks, the yearbook points out, the accord between them "does not limit the nuclear arms race, but simply defines it."

ZAIRE

Imperialist-Plotted Coup Condemned

Over 200,000 people in Kinshasa staged a demonstration on June 18 against the imperialist-engineered coup d'etat which had been thwarted. Demonstrators carried placards reading: "Courageously defend sovereignty!" "Smash the Zionists!" and "The imperialist powers should remember Cambodia and Viet Nam!" Some army units also joined in.

In a letter to Essolomwa Nkoy, Director and Editor-in-Chief of the Zairian paper *Elima*, on the evening of June 16, President Mobutu said: "This coup was engineered by a big foreign power." He pointed out that the power had plotted the coup in a vain attempt to subvert the present Zairian leadership because Zaire has openly denounced its policy towards Africa and also adheres to friendship with the People's Republic of China and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. No matter how strong the power is, he stressed, it can never defeat the 24 million Zairians.

In an article the same day exposing the aborted coup, Nkoy said: "The United States has appealed to certain people, who have gone astray, in and outside the country, as well as to certain black Americans, supplying them with sophisticated arms equipped with telescopic sights to liquidate President Mobutu and all his civil and military collaborators."

Radio Voice of Zaire reported that the U.S. ambassador to Zaire was asked by the Zairian Government to leave the country before June 21.

PEKING REVIEW

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