

PEKING REVIEW

23

June 4, 1976

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報

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Minister and Begum Bhutto**

**The Masses Are the Real
Heroes**

**Teng Hsiao-ping's Total Betrayal
Of Marxism**

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Chairman Mao Meets Prime Minister and Begum Bhutto

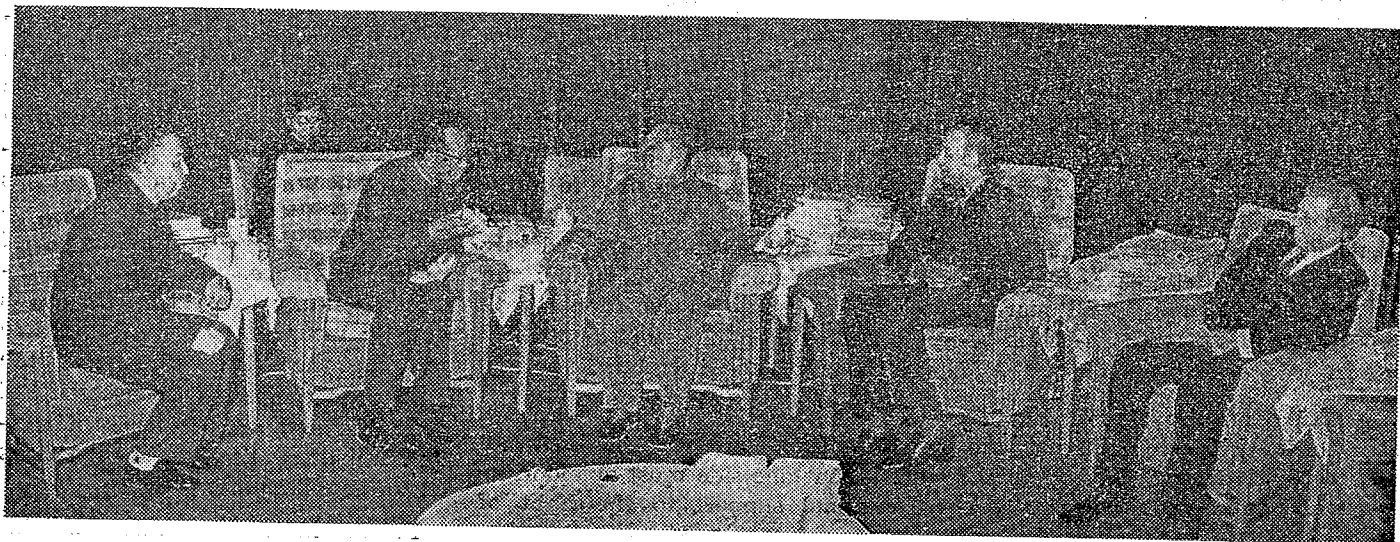
CHAIRMAN Mao Tsetung on the evening of May 27 met with Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, Prime Minister of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan; Begum Nusrat Bhutto; and Aziz Ahmed, Minister of State for Defence and Foreign Affairs.

When Prime Minister Bhutto and the other guests arrived at the meeting hall, Chairman Mao happily clasped their hands and extended a warm welcome to the

distinguished guests from the friendly neighbour, Pakistan.

Then, Chairman Mao had a cordial and friendly conversation with Prime Minister Bhutto and Mr. Aziz Ahmed.

Chinese Premier Hua Kuo-feng was present on the occasion.



Prime Minister Bhutto's Visit To China

PAKISTAN Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto arrived in Peking on May 26 for an official visit to China at the invitation of Premier Hua Kuo-feng and left the Chinese capital for home by special plane on May 30 at the end of his successful five-day visit. He was given a warm send-off at the airport by Premier Hua Kuo-feng, Foreign Minister Chiao Kuan-hua, Minister of Foreign Trade Li Chiang and several thousand well-wishers from the Chinese capital.

A joint communique was issued on the same day (see page 7). An agreement on scientific and technical co-operation between China and Pakistan and a protocol to the agreement on economic and technical co-operation between the two countries were signed by Chinese Minister of Foreign Trade Li Chiang and Abdul Hafeez Pirzada, Pakistan Minister of Education and Provincial Co-ordination, on behalf of their respective governments.

On their arrival in Peking, Prime Minister Bhutto and other distinguished Pakistan guests were welcomed at the airport by Premier Hua Kuo-feng, Foreign Minister Chiao Kuan-hua, Minister of Foreign Trade Li Chiang and several thousand people in the capital. A grand welcome ceremony took place at the airport.

In the evening, Premier Hua Kuo-feng gave a grand banquet to welcome the guests in the Great Hall of the People. Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien and others were present. Premier Hua and Prime Minister Bhutto spoke at the banquet. (For excerpts of their speeches see pp. 8-10.)

On May 29, on the eve of their departure, Prime Minister and Begum

Bhutto gave a return banquet. Attending were Premier Hua Kuo-feng, Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien and others.

In his speech, Prime Minister Bhutto said: "During my stay in Peking, I have had the honour of being received by Chairman Mao Tsetung, the great and respected leader of the Chinese people. As always, I have benefited immensely from his wisdom. And I was deeply moved by his concern for the well-being of the people of Pakistan and his keen interest in maintaining the closest relations between our two countries. I should like to express, once again, our gratitude to him and through him to the Chinese people for their constant solidarity with Pakistan."

Prime Minister Bhutto said that he had a valuable dialogue with Premier Hua Kuo-feng. He added that the understandings reached reflect the mutual confidence and the sincere friendship existing between the two countries. He expressed his confidence that this visit will mark a new milestone in Pakistan-China relations.

Speaking on the steps taken by Pakistan towards completing the process of the normalization and in the re-establishment of diplomatic rela-



Premier Hua Kuo-feng and Prime Minister Bhutto hold talks.

tions between Pakistan and India, Prime Minister Bhutto said: We are willing to advance from the stage of normalization to peaceful coexistence in accordance with the five well-known principles pertaining to interstate relations. Clearly, however, this relationship can be achieved only after a settlement of the Jammu and Kashmir dispute in accordance with the United Nations resolutions which had been accepted by both India and Pakistan.

He said: "Normalization does not mean that one side must abandon its traditional support to the right of

self-determination of the people of Jammu and Kashmir, that it resile from the basic principles of its foreign policy or that it compromise its sovereignty and political independence. Normalization means acceptance by both sides of the principle of reciprocity and admission of realities. Hence, the path of normalization is a two way street. It is equally incumbent on the other side to accept the existence of the dispute and to acknowledge the necessity of its settlement on the basis of self-determination through negotiations on an equal footing."

Prime Minister Bhutto in his speech also mentioned the Pakistan-Korea joint communique signed when he visited the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. The communique calls for convening a conference of the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, at the highest level, in order to mobilize the full force of the peoples of the third world behind their common struggle for liberation from international economic oppression and exploitation.

Prime Minister Bhutto said: "The people of Pakistan have profound respect for the Chinese people. We have the highest admiration for the spectacular progress made by China in all fields and for the assurance with which it is poised to confront the challenges of the future. We deeply appreciate the many-sided assistance China has extended to



A rousing welcome for distinguished guests from Pakistan at Peking Airport.

Pakistan. China's help has been most invaluable. For it has served to enhance our self-reliance. This is the lesson we draw from the arduous experience and historic example of the great Chinese people."

Prime Minister Bhutto said: "We return to our country fortified in spirit and strengthened in resolve to defend our independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity against the forces of imperialism, expansionism and hegemonism." He expressed his renewed faith in Sino-Pakistan friendship and solidarity which has withstood strains and weathered storms in the past. He concluded: "We are confident that this friendship and this solidarity will endure whatever vicissitudes or inclemencies of international political climate that future events may bring about."

Premier Hua Kuo-feng said in his speech: Short as it is, the current visit to China by Prime Minister Bhutto has achieved fully satisfactory results. Our great leader Chairman Mao Tsetung met Prime Minister Bhutto, and they had a cordial and friendly conversation. Leaders of the two countries had a sincere and friendly exchange of views on the international situation, the strengthening of the relations between the two countries and issues of common concern, thus further deepening our mutual understanding and confidence. The visit of the Prime Minister has made a positive contribution to enhancing the friendship between the peoples of China and Pakistan and the friendly relations and co-operation between the two countries.

The Premier said: Prime Minister Bhutto has praised China's support and assistance to Pakistan. This is a great encouragement to us. We have always held that it is as it ought to be

that the third world countries support and assist each other and that they should strengthen their unity. We consider it our bounden internationalist duty to support and assist Pakistan in her just cause. As China is also a developing country, our aid is limited. With the development of Chinese revolution and construction, we hope to make more contributions to the people of the world. Over the years, the Government and people of Pakistan have also given us great support and help in various fields. I would like to take this opportunity to express once again our heartfelt thanks to the Government and people of Pakistan. Sino-Pakistan friendship is based on principles and has a great vitality. We are sure that, through the joint efforts of our two governments and peoples, the traditional friendship of the peoples of China and Pakistan and the friendly relations and co-operation between our two countries will grow in strength and develop continuously. The Chinese Government and people resolutely support the Pakistan Government and people in their just struggle in defence of national independence and state sovereignty, and resolutely support the people of Jammu and Kashmir in their just struggle for the right of self-determination.

During their stay in Peking, Prime Minister and Begum Bhutto met with Madame Teng Ying-chao, widow of the late Premier Chou En-lai, and expressed their condolences to her on his death. Madame Teng Ying-chao expressed her hearty thanks for this. Yeh Chien-ying, Vice-Chairman of the Military Commission of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, met and had a cordial and friendly conversation with General Mohammad Shariff, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee, and Air Chief Marshal

Zulfiqar Ali Khan, Chief of Staff of the Pakistan Air Force.

China and Surinam Establish Diplomatic Relations

After friendly consultations concerning relations between the two governments and the two peoples at a meeting in New York, Lai Ya-li, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, Acting Permanent Representative of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations, and Henricus A.F. Heidweiler, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, Permanent Representative of the Republic of Surinam to the United Nations, issued on May 28 a joint communique on the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries.

The communique said: "Both governments confirm their adherence to the principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, of non-interference in the internal affairs of each other, of equality and of mutual benefit, and consider that the development of relations between the two countries on the basis of these principles will be to the mutual advantage of the two countries and of their peoples."

"The Government of the Republic of Surinam recognizes the Government of the People's Republic of China as the sole legal government of China."

"Accordingly, the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of the Republic of Surinam, in conformity with their common desire to develop friendly relations and co-operation between their two countries, have decided to establish diplomatic relations at the ambassadorial level as from this date."

"The two governments have agreed mutually to provide all necessary assistance for the establishment and performance of the functions of the embassies in their respective capitals on the basis of equality, mutual benefit and friendly consultations, and in accordance with international practice."

On May 30, *Renmin Ribao* published an editorial hailing the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries. The editorial said that with this "we have made a new friend in Latin America" and "it is our belief that the relations of friendship and co-operation between the two countries and the friendship between their peoples will be further promoted by the concerted efforts of both sides."

The editorial pointed out: "It is our consistent stand that all states should be equal irrespective of their size and we are firmly opposed to big-power hegemonism and power politics whereby the big bullies the small, the strong overbears the weak and the rich rides on the back of the poor. It is on the basis of this principle that China has established relations of friendship and co-operation with many Latin American countries."

It noted that Surinam's accomplishments in internal and foreign affairs have won praise from other third world countries and peoples.

Referring to the excellent situation in the struggle against imperialism and hegemonism in Latin America, the editorial said: "The struggle of the Latin American countries in defence of national independence, 200-mile maritime rights and economic rights and interests has been mounting steadily. The recent years in particular have witnessed a tit-for-tat struggle by Latin American countries and their people against superpower hegemonism in the

sphere of international economic relations. In Latin America the Soviet social-imperialists have been energetically hawking their putrid 'disarmament' and 'detente' for the purpose of diverting the region from its general trend of fighting against imperialism and hegemonism. This vicious effort, however, has been frequently exposed and resisted. The tidal wave of the anti-hegemonic struggle of Latin America and the third world as a whole can be arrested by nobody."

African Liberation Day Celebrated

The diplomatic envoys of African countries to China gave a reception in Peking to mark the 13th anniversary of African Liberation Day which fell on May 25.

Among those attending the reception on invitation were Hsu Hsiang-chien, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and Chiao Kuan-hua, Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Egyptian Ambassador to China Salah El-Abd spoke at the reception on behalf of the diplomatic envoys of African countries to China. He said, "Today is African Liberation Day, the day set aside by the O.A.U. to commemorate its historic founding 13 years ago, to take stock of the organization's achievements to date and to rededicate Africa's resources anew to the unfinished tasks which still remain to be accomplished." "We are confident," he continued, "that the African people, basing themselves on self-reliance and strengthened by genuine international support, will ultimately eradicate colonialism, imperialism and racism from the face of the continent."

Ambassador El-Abd reviewed the great victories the African people have won in the cause of liberation

in the past 13 years. He said, "The situation is excellent, particularly in southern Africa. For the bastions of colonialism, neo-colonialism and racism are crumbling under the intensification of the African struggle and the heightened revolutionary consciousness of the African people."

Ambassador El-Abd said: "The struggle for African liberation is meaningless unless it is linked with the liberation of all oppressed peoples. This is the basis of Africa's solidarity with the third world, of which China is a respected member. It is also the basis of our solidarity with the non-aligned world. That is why we support the peaceful reunification of Korea and the determination of the Chinese people to liberate Taiwan. That is why the struggle of our Arab brothers against Zionism and particularly of the heroic Palestinian people for justice and national identity finds ready response in African hearts. We are convinced that the unity and solidarity of the third world is the only way to achieve liberation, prevent domination and establish a new world economic system, based on mutual benefit and universal justice."

Foreign Minister Chiao Kuan-hua, on behalf of the Chinese Government and people, extended the warmest festive congratulations to the governments and people of the African countries.

He said: "Over the last 13 years, the African countries and people, inspired by the spirit of the Charter of the Organization of African Unity and holding high the banner of opposing imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism, Zionism and big-power hegemonism, have waged a determined and unremitting struggle and won continuous new victories. The large number of newly emerging African countries have continued to

(Continued on p. 18.)

JOINT COMMUNIQUE

1. At the invitation of His Excellency Hua Kuo-feng, Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, His Excellency Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, Prime Minister of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan and Begum Nusrat Bhutto paid an official visit to the People's Republic of China from May 26 to May 30, 1976. The Prime Minister of Pakistan and members of his delegation were accorded a warm and cordial welcome by the Government and people of China reflecting the feelings of profound friendship and solidarity that have traditionally existed between the two governments and peoples.

2. Chairman Mao Tsetung met with the Prime Minister of Pakistan, and they held discussions in a cordial and friendly atmosphere. Prime Minister Bhutto conveyed to the great leader of the Chinese people and through him to the fraternal people of China the greetings of the people of Pakistan and the gratitude of the Government and people of Pakistan for China's unflinching and firm support to the just cause of Pakistan. Prime Minister Bhutto praised China for consistently upholding in international affairs that all states, big or small, must respect the principles of sovereign equality, territorial integrity and political independence and strictly eschew interference in the internal affairs of other states.

3. Prime Minister Bhutto congratulated Premier Hua Kuo-feng on his appointment as the First Vice-Chairman of the Party and Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China.

4. Prime Minister Bhutto and Premier Hua Kuo-feng held extensive talks on the current international situation, developments in South Asia as well as on bilateral relations and co-operation between the two countries. The two leaders expressed complete satisfaction with the outcome of the talks.

5. Reviewing the international situation, the two sides agreed that, at present, the international situation is developing in a direction increasingly favourable to the people of the world and unfavourable to imperialism and hegemonism. They acclaimed the further awakening of the third world which was playing an ever greater role in international affairs. They agreed that the just struggle of the peoples of the third world against imperialism, colonialism, racism and hegemonism had become an irresistible historical trend. The two sides are opposed to the attempts by any country or group of countries to establish hegemony and spheres of influence in any part of the world.

6. The two sides agreed that a new economic order should be established on the basis of the principles of independence, self-reliance, sovereignty, equality and mutual benefit to replace the old economic order under which the third world is exploited by a few big powers. They agreed to take all effective measures to strengthen third world unity so as to change the unjust old economic

order—a legacy of the imperialist and colonialist era.

7. The two sides acclaimed the great victory of the liberation struggles of the peoples of Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea, and held that it would be a source of inspiration to all peoples of the third world in their determination to defend their national independence, state sovereignty and territorial integrity. The two sides firmly support the Korean people in their just struggle for the independent and peaceful reunification of their fatherland, firmly support the Arab people in their just struggle against Israeli Zionist aggression and outside interference and for the recovery of the occupied territories and the complete restoration of the national rights of the Palestinian people. The two sides warmly congratulate the African people on the victories they have won in their great struggle against imperialism, colonialism and racism, highly appreciate the African people's vigilance against outside interference in African affairs, and firmly support the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and Azania in southern Africa in their just struggles for independence and liberation and against apartheid and white minority rule.

8. The two sides welcomed the positive developments in the situation on the South Asian subcontinent. The Prime Minister of Pakistan reiterated his commitment to normalizing relations in South Asia in accordance with the Simla agreement. He informed the Chinese Premier that the various steps envisaged in the Simla agreement for normalizing international relations in South Asia had been completed. Only the Jammu and Kashmir dispute now remained to be resolved peacefully in accordance with the right of self-determination recognized in United Nations resolutions and accepted by both India and Pakistan. The Prime Minister affirmed that a just settlement of this dispute was imperative if relations between India and Pakistan are to be fully normalized on the basis of principles of peaceful coexistence. The Pakistan Prime Minister reaffirmed Pakistan's sincere desire to close the chapter of conflict and confrontation in South Asia and stressed the need for durable peace for Pakistan, India and Bangladesh so that they may be able to devote their energies and resources to the material and spiritual advancement of their peoples.

9. The Prime Minister apprised the Chinese Premier of the full rapprochement achieved between Pakistan and Bangladesh and expressed confidence that the historic ties between the peoples of the two countries would constitute a constructive element in promoting harmony and tranquillity in the region. The Prime Minister welcomed the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and Bangladesh.

10. The Chinese Government welcomed the positive developments in the relations between Pakistan and

Premier Hua Kuo-feng's Speech

(Excerpts)

PRIME Minister Bhutto is the Chinese people's well-acquainted and respected friend of long standing, who over the years visited China on many occasions and made an outstanding contribution to the growth of the friendship between China and Pakistan. On this current visit to China, His Excellency the Prime Minister has brought with him the Pakistan people's deep friendship for the Chinese people and this visit gives us an opportunity to renew our friendship.

The Chinese people greatly admire the people of Pakistan, who are an industrious, brave and heroic people unafraid of brute force and with a glorious tradition of combating imperialism, colonialism and

aggression. Under the leadership of Prime Minister Bhutto, the Government and people of Pakistan have in recent years continued to work hard with a will and achieved marked success in safeguarding national independence and state sovereignty, building the country and developing the national economy. On the international plane, Pakistan has made active efforts to strengthen solidarity, co-operation and mutual support and assistance with other third world countries and made a positive contribution to the cause of unity of the people of all countries against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism. We heartily rejoice at the growing strength of Pakistan and her rising international standing. The Chinese Government and people sincerely

Bangladesh and appreciated the contribution that Pakistan had made to the process of normalization of relations with India. The Prime Minister of Pakistan apprised the Chinese Premier of the present state of relations between Pakistan and Afghanistan. The Chinese Government looked with favour upon the Prime Minister's forthcoming visit to Kabul and hoped that it would lead to positive results.

11. The two sides emphasized that the relations among all countries in South Asia must reflect the principles of sovereign equality of states, large or small, inviolability of territorial integrity and non-interference in internal affairs. They reaffirmed their opposition to expansionism, hegemonism and claims to dominance or spheres of influence. The Chinese Premier reiterated that the Chinese Government and people will, as always, firmly support the Pakistan people in safeguarding national independence, state sovereignty and territorial integrity. They also firmly support the struggle of the people of Jammu and Kashmir for attaining their right to self-determination.

12. The two sides firmly support the just proposition of the Government of Sri Lanka for making the Indian Ocean a zone of peace and the proposal of His Majesty the King of Nepal that Nepal be a zone of peace.

13. The Pakistan Prime Minister thanked the Chinese Premier for China's firm support to the proposal of the Pakistan Government for a nuclear-free zone in South Asia and expressed deep gratification at China's willingness to assume appropriate commitments arising therefrom.

14. The Prime Minister of Pakistan reaffirmed that Pakistan would continue to give full support to the Chinese people in their struggle to liberate Taiwan which is an inalienable part of the territory of the People's Republic of China.

15. The Pakistan side expressed deep admiration for the spectacular achievements made by the Chinese people under the great leadership of Chairman Mao Tsetung in consolidating the results of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and national reconstruction. The Chinese side warmly acclaimed the fact that under the leadership of Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto the people of Pakistan had achieved outstanding successes both in the internal and external affairs, and safeguarded Pakistan's political independence, state sovereignty and territorial integrity by opposing foreign interference and strengthening internal unity and developing the national economy.

16. The Chinese Premier welcomed the visit of Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto which coincided with the 25th anniversary of diplomatic relations between China and Pakistan. The two leaders noted that during this period, relations between the two countries were characterized by ties of sincere and indestructible friendship and were convinced that the Prime Minister's present visit to China would consolidate further the deep and traditional relations between the two countries.

17. Prime Minister Bhutto extended a cordial invitation to Premier Hua Kuo-feng to visit Pakistan. The invitation was accepted by the Chinese Premier with pleasure.

Peking, May 30, 1976

congratulate the Pakistan Government and people on every success of theirs, and we firmly believe you will win new and continuous victories on your road of advance.

Since Prime Minister Bhutto's visit to China in 1974, the world has continued to advance amidst turmoil. The third world people's united struggle against imperialism and hegemonism has surged forward like a sweeping tide. The two superpowers have found the going tougher and tougher. "Wind and thunder are stirring, flags and banners are flying wherever men live." In recent years, the situation in South Asia has also developed in a direction more and more favourable to the people of the world and unfavourable to imperialism and hegemonism. The developments and changes in the situation in South Asia are a sharp indication of the South Asian peoples' strong desire to shake off the fetters of hegemonism and expansionism and march along the road of independence. Although a certain superpower flaunts all kinds of banners and shifts various tactics, it does not take long before an increasing number of people come to see through its vicious features as it harbours the evil intentions of controlling and enslaving the South Asian countries. The South Asian peoples who have a glorious tradition of opposing imperialism and colonialism are not to be bullied. We are sure that the South Asian peoples will frustrate all conspiratorial activities of the enemy if they continue to heighten their vigilance, persist in struggle and strengthen their unity. The Chinese Government and people firmly support the South Asian peoples in their struggle to defend national independence and state sovereignty and combat imperialism, hegemonism and expansionism. We firmly support the proposal of the Pakistan Government for a nuclear-free zone in South Asia. We firmly support the positive proposal of the Sri Lanka Government for making the Indian Ocean a zone of peace. We firmly support the just stand taken by His Majesty the King of Nepal in declaring Nepal a zone of peace. We are ready to assume appropriate commitments arising therefrom.

The Chinese Government and people have always cherished a profound friendship for the people of the South Asian countries. We earnestly hope that the South Asian countries will exclude outside interference, resolve their differences through consultations on an equal footing and live in friendship in accordance with the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. We are pleased to note that Pakistan and Bangladesh, after establishing diplomatic relations, are actively developing their friendly relations and co-operation. Pakistan has, moreover, made positive efforts for strengthening solidarity among the South Asian peoples and for normalizing relations with neighbouring countries. Pakistan and India have recently reached agreement on resuming diplomatic relations and Prime Minister Bhutto will be visiting Afghanistan to hold talks with President Daoud on the relations between the two

countries. These are all welcome developments. Friendly coexistence among the South Asian countries is conducive to their defence of national independence and development of their national economies and adverse to superpower rivalry and expansion in this region, and is therefore in conformity with the fundamental interests of the people of the South Asian countries. On its part, the Chinese Government will continue to strengthen and develop friendly and good-neighbourly relations with the South Asian countries on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence.

China is a developing socialist country belonging to the third world. Under Chairman Mao's wise leadership, the Chinese people, firmly taking class struggle as the key link and grasping revolution and promoting production and other work and preparedness against war, have scored great victories in socialist revolution and socialist construction. But class struggle has not died out, and there are always some people who attempt to restore capitalism and change the political colour of our country. Therefore, we must carry on struggle. Chairman Mao teaches us: "Without struggle, there is no progress." "Can 800 million people manage without struggle?!" At present, the struggle initiated and led by our great leader Chairman Mao personally to criticize Teng Hsiao-ping's counter-revolutionary revisionist line and repulse the Right deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts has already won great victories, and the situation is excellent. Through this struggle, it is certain that Chairman Mao's revolutionary line will find its way deeper into the hearts of the people, China's socialist revolution and socialist construction will develop more vigorously, and the revolutionary line and policy in foreign affairs formulated for us by Chairman Mao will continue to be implemented, and implemented even better. We are determined to make continued efforts and carry this great struggle through to the end.

This May marks the 25th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and Pakistan. On this happy occasion, we are particularly glad to receive His Excellency Prime Minister Bhutto, friendly envoy of the Pakistan people. The past twenty-five years testify that our two countries are truly old friends and good friends. This is not only because there exists a deep traditional friendship between our two peoples, but also because the common struggle against imperialism, colonialism, hegemonism and expansionism has always bound our two peoples closely. Whether in overcast weather or in storm, our two countries have always sympathized with and supported each other. Our friendship and co-operation are most sincere and serves the interest of the common cause of the unity of the third world against imperialism and hegemonism, and are therefore indestructible by any force on earth. Just as Prime Minister Bhutto

has said, the relations between China and Pakistan "have stood the test of time. They have withstood the vagaries of political weather."² In future as in the past, the Chinese Government and people will firmly support the Pakistan Government and people in their just

struggle to safeguard national independence, defend state sovereignty and oppose outside interference. Our Pakistan friends can rest assured that the Chinese people will always be reliable friends of the Pakistan people.

Prime Minister Bhutto's Speech

(Excerpts)

IT is my pleasant duty to extend to you, on behalf of the people and the Government of Pakistan, Mr. Prime Minister, our heartfelt congratulations on your appointment as First Vice-Chairman of the Party Central Committee and Premier of the State Council. By entrusting you with such high and onerous responsibility, the people and the Party of your country have demonstrated their confidence and trust in you at an important period in the history of your great country.

We have maintained close understanding between our two countries through regular consultations at the highest level. My present visit to your great country is part of the same process.

I have had the privilege of coming to China on many occasions. I have come here in times of peace and also in times of grave crises. Throughout the long period of our close association, the Chinese people and their Government have stood staunchly by Pakistan and given us unstinted support in our just struggle to defend our national unity, political independence and state sovereignty. I recall that in the wake of the tragic events of 1971, there were many who wondered whether Pakistan after its dismemberment would be able to resist a dictated peace. There were also those who underestimated the strength of our people's will, their fortitude and determination to defend and preserve their national independence. There were others who failed to recognize the fact that Pakistan continued to enjoy the powerful support of friendly nations, wedded to the principles of a just peace. In that dark hour of our history, it was China's resolute support that provided a source of strength to the Government and people of Pakistan. It was China which reinforced our resolve to resist a diktat regardless of the price in human sufferings and to accept nothing short of an honourable peace settlement.

The friendship between our two countries is based on our common dedication to the high principles of international conduct. It is not based on expediency or opportunism. We stand side by side in the struggle against domination and exploitation. Our friendship rests on the common dedication of our two governments and peoples to the defence of the principles of respect for state sovereignty, political independence and territorial integrity and of non-interference in internal affairs. We are confident that, as in the past, Sino-

Pakistan friendship will continue to make a major contribution to the security and stability of our region and to the struggle of the peoples of the world against imperialism, expansionism and hegemonism everywhere.

Pakistan has always endeavoured to cultivate and maintain peaceful and amicable relations with all its neighbours—big or small. It remains committed to advancing the process of normalization in South Asia and it is indeed gratifying that our efforts in this direction have met with a good measure of success.

The various steps envisaged in the Simla agreement for normalizing international relations in South Asia have been completed and only the Jammu and Kashmir dispute remains to be resolved. Conscious of our historic responsibility to the people of Jammu and Kashmir, we shall continue to strive for a peaceful settlement of our dispute with India in regard to their future, but we shall not compromise on principles. I wish to take this opportunity to once again thank the Government and people of China for their unwavering and principled support to the right of self-determination of the people of Jammu and Kashmir.

We sincerely desire to close the chapter of conflict and confrontation in South Asia. We have an overriding interest in peace so that Pakistan, India and Bangladesh may be able to devote their energies and resources to the material and spiritual advancement of their underprivileged peoples.

It is indeed gratifying that full rapprochement has been achieved between the peoples of Pakistan and Bangladesh. We believe that the deep and historic ties between our two peoples are a constructive element in promoting harmony and tranquillity in the region.

Another positive development in our region has been in our relations with Afghanistan. We have always desired to develop close and friendly ties with our neighbour and been ready to enter into discussion with the Government of Afghanistan to seek ways of improving and strengthening our relations on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence. It is in this spirit that I look forward to my visit to Kabul in the near future.

We are entering an era in which domination has begun to assert itself in its new shape of economic exploitation. States like Pakistan may have achieved po-

litical freedom but our fight for economic emancipation has still to be won. Our struggle for economic independence is obstructed by an international economic order that seeks to perpetuate an unequal and exploitative relationship between the industrialized nations and ourselves.

It is in the resistance to this threat that the third world faces the sternest challenge to its unity. Neo-colonialist designs aim to disrupt and destroy this unity or to feed us on false hopes with a view to gaining time in order to oppose our just demands. We must ask ourselves whether exercises in dilatory tactics, such as international conferences, are to be endlessly tolerated, or whether the time has come for all the third world countries to unite their strength and forge a common platform at the highest political level in a great conference of Asian, African and Latin American countries, to establish a more just international economic order?

We admire the phenomenal achievements made by the Chinese people under the leadership of Chairman Mao Tsetung. China's renaissance is the renaissance of a quarter of humanity and a great source of inspiration to all developing nations. Your revolution has opened

new vistas of hope and confidence for future generations of mankind.

We, in Pakistan, are also engaged in transforming our society and ensuring a better and richer life for our people. We do not underestimate the difficulties confronting us, but with the determination of our people we are moving forward. We are appreciative of the invaluable assistance rendered by your great country in our endeavour to build our economy on a self-reliant basis. Thanks to your help, we can now look forward, with a measure of hope, to the early establishment of certain basic industries in our country.

The exchanges in the cultural, trade, economic and technological fields between our two peoples have enriched us and we are determined not only to continue and consolidate the existing co-operation between our two peoples in those spheres but to expand and strengthen it further. Our two countries have set a good example of positive and constructive international co-operation. The increasing contacts between our peoples is a distinguishable feature of our relations, which I am confident, will continue to grow from strength to strength with the passage of time.

The Masses Are the Real Heroes

TURNING over the pages of recent newspapers, people again and again come across reports on how comrades at some grass-roots units consciously boycotted Teng Hsiao-ping's Right deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts as early as last year. These reports are both a profound education and a great inspiration.

The broad masses of revolutionary teachers and students at Tsinghua University, Peking University and the Chaoyang Agricultural College have all along "worked directly against" Teng Hsiao-ping's revisionist line. This is known to all. Following are examples of what happened in some other places.

When "taking the three directives as the key link" was made known at the Chaiho lead and zinc mine in the mountainous region of northern Liaoning Province, the secretary of the Party committee there led his "squad members" to diligently study Chairman Mao's instructions and take a resolute stand against it. They adopted a decision which said that in writing articles, giving talks or drafting a report they must not mention "taking the three directives as the key link" but should stick to Chairman Mao's consistent teaching of "taking class

struggle as the key link and upholding the Party's basic line."

Last summer, when the Shanghai No. 5 Steel Plant heard about Teng Hsiao-ping's "taking the three directives as the key link," someone asked a member of the theoretical study group in the No. 2 workshop: "Is this 'taking the three directives as the key link' a correct formulation?" This comrade answered explicitly: "No, it does not conform to Chairman Mao's consistent teachings." The secretary of a branch of the Communist Youth League at the Shanghai Hsinghuo Spare Parts Factory pointed out unequivocally at a factory-wide meeting of cadres last July: "Taking the three directives as the key link' is in effect opposed to putting politics in command of economic and vocational work."

The Party branch secretary of the Hsiao-chin-chuang Production Brigade on the outskirts of Tientsin felt something was wrong with "taking the three directives as the key link" when he first heard it. He did not pass it on to the masses, let alone putting it into practice. In face of the evil wind stirred up by Teng Hsiao-ping to attack and vilify the brigade, the Party branch did

not falter nor did the poor and lower-middle peasants bow in submission. They said: "A 'hurricane' is nothing to be afraid of. Let's go into action and work directly against it!"

A 22-year-old fighter in the sixth company of a unit of the Wuhan Garrison heard a relayed "speech" by Teng Hsiao-ping in September last year. He felt that Teng Hsiao-ping was striking up a tune in opposition to Chairman Mao's teachings by prating about "rectification" and trumpeting that to fight a tough battle means to "fight a battle of steel" while keeping mum on the subject of class struggle and political line. Linking all this with Teng Hsiao-ping's old theme of "white cat, black cat," the young soldier felt that this was a cardinal issue involving the political line. With great resolve, he wrote what he thought about the matter in a letter to Chairman Mao.

There are many other similar cases.

Our great leader Chairman Mao has always taught us that the masses are the real heroes. In the course of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, he has on many occasions supported the creative spirit of the masses and discovered, summarized and popularized many new emerging things, thereby giving impetus to the steady development of the entire movement. In the current struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-ping and repulse the Right deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts, Chairman Mao has once again pointed out that "the masses are the real heroes, while we are childish and ignorant" and that "very often people at the lower levels can do better than those at the higher and the masses than the leaders; leaders are not as good as ordinary labourers because they are detached from the masses and lack practical experience." Facts fully testify to this truth of historical materialism incisively set out by Chairman Mao and prove that, tempered in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the masses have greatly heightened their consciousness of class struggle and the struggle between the two lines, increased their ability to distinguish genuine from sham Marxism, and enhanced their immunity to revisionism and their fighting capacity to combat it. With masses as valiant as these, our Party and our country are assured of tremendous achievements and boundless prospects.

How is it that these ordinary masses and grass-roots cadres dared to struggle against Teng Hsiao-ping's revisionist line? The answer is because they have steadfastly put into practice Chairman Mao's theory on continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Through the Great Cultural Revolution, Chairman Mao's analysis of classes and class struggle in socialist society and his teaching never to forget class struggle have taken deep root in their minds. They want revolution and progress; they demand the gradual restriction of bourgeois right and the continuous elimination of the "birthmarks of the old society" in the economic base and all spheres of the superstructure in order to create conditions in which it will be impossible for the bourgeoisie to continue to exist or for a new bourgeoisie to arise.

They understand that the basic demand of the masses of people who account for over 95 per cent of the population is to take the socialist road. The capitalist-roaders in the Party, who push the revisionist line and work for restoration and retrogression, stand completely in opposition to the will of the masses. It is imperative to rise in struggle against them. This kind of proletarian revolutionary spirit is precious beyond measure and merits emulation by one and all.

The masses of people not only firmly oppose revisionism but are good at discerning it. This is because they have striven to arm themselves with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. The above-mentioned comrades were able to smell a rat immediately Teng Hsiao-ping trotted out his revisionist trash because, without a single exception, they had assiduously studied works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and Chairman Mao's works and made efforts to grasp the basic concepts of Marxism. It is precisely with the aid of Marxism—the telescope and the microscope in political matters—that their horizons have widened and their eyesight has become keen. No matter how revisionism disguises itself or changes tactics, they can strip it of its mask and expose it for what it is. Is the struggle between the two lines something abstract and unknowable? Is it absolutely unavoidable for some people to be hoodwinked and misled? No. This depends on whether or not they "read and study conscientiously and have a good grasp of Marxism."

Since the start of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, Chairman Mao has many times stressed that a line or a viewpoint should be constantly and repeatedly explained. "They must be made known to the broad revolutionary masses." When Chairman Mao called for getting a clear understanding of why Lenin spoke of exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie, he also emphasized that "this should be made known to the whole nation." Calling on the people to criticize and discuss the novel *Water Margin*, Chairman Mao once again stressed the need "to help all the people recognize capitulationists." By placing the struggle between the two lines in the Party before the masses and mobilizing millions upon millions of people to expose and criticize revisionism, Chairman Mao has created an extremely important new experience in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. We must make good use of this experience in the current movement to criticize Teng Hsiao-ping. The current criticism of Teng Hsiao-ping is being carried out under the leadership of the Party committees at all levels. The leadership should learn from the masses and those at the higher levels should learn from those at the lower. It is essential to fully mobilize the masses, bring their initiative into full play, pool their wisdom and guide them to advance continuously along Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, subject Teng Hsiao-ping's counter-revolutionary revisionist line to penetrating and thoroughgoing criticisms, and carry the struggle against the Right deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts through to the end.

— ("Renmin Ribao" editorial, May 29)

Teng Hsiao-ping's Total Betrayal of Marxism

by Li Chang

THE arch unrepentant capitalist-roader in the Party Teng Hsiao-ping trotted out the revisionist programme of "taking the three directives as the key link" and pushed a counter-revolutionary revisionist line. His reactionary programme and line were opposed to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and, politically, represented the interests and aspirations of the bourgeoisie both inside and outside the Party, and his vain attempt was to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism; ideologically or theoretically, they revised *in toto* the three component parts of Marxism, that is, philosophy, political economy and scientific socialism. The current great struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-ping's revisionist line and repulse the Right deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts is developing victoriously. In order to thoroughly settle accounts with Teng Hsiao-ping's crimes, it is extremely necessary to expose and criticize in a deep-going way, ideologically or theoretically, his reactionary nature in betraying Marxism.

The theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat is the quintessence of Marxism and the most important content of scientific socialism. To uphold or to oppose the dictatorship of the proletariat has always been the focus of the struggle between Marxism and revisionism.

Teng Hsiao-ping is a renegade to the dictatorship of the proletariat. He denied class struggle in socialist society, opposed the proletariat exercising all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie, and vainly attempted to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism. Thus he completely betrayed the Marxist theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Referring to the necessity of the dictatorship of the proletariat, Lenin pointed out: "The dictatorship of the proletariat is a most determined and most ruthless war waged by the new class against a *more powerful* enemy, the bourgeoisie, whose resistance is increased *tenfold* by its overthrow (even if only in one country), and whose power lies not only in the strength of international capital, in the strength and durability of the

international connections of the bourgeoisie, but also in the *force of habit*, in the strength of *small production*. For, unfortunately, small production is still very, very widespread in the world, and small production engenders capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously, and on a mass scale. For all these reasons the dictatorship of the proletariat is essential." (*"Left-Wing" Communism, An Infantile Disorder.*)

Chairman Mao has comprehensively summed up the historical experience, both positive and negative, of the dictatorship of the proletariat since the October Revolution, and has inherited, defended and developed the Marxist-Leninist theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. He has profoundly expounded the law governing class struggle in socialist society and solved, both in theory and in practice, the question of whether or not to continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the target of the revolution and the way to make revolution and the question of how to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, prevent capitalist restoration and build socialism. As far back as 1949, Chairman Mao pointed out that after the seizure of political power throughout the country, the principal contradiction at home was one between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. After the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production was in the main completed, Chairman Mao has, in a series of works and instructions, repeatedly set forth the views: Throughout the historical period of socialism, there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle, and the principal contradiction is that between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. He has also formulated the basic line for our Party to persist in the dictatorship of the proletariat and prevent the restoration of capitalism. Chairman Mao has specially analysed the question of the struggle against the bourgeoisie inside the Party. In a document concerning the socialist education movement in January 1965, he pointed out: "The main target of the present movement is those Party persons in power taking the capitalist road." Recently, he further pointed out: "You are making the socialist revolution, and yet don't know where the bourgeoisie is.

It is right in the Communist Party — those in power taking the capitalist road. The capitalist-roads are still on the capitalist road." Chairman Mao has not only solved in theory the question of how to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, but has also, on the basis of this theory, personally initiated and led a series of political movements — the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius, the study of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the criticism of *Water Margin*, and the current struggle to beat back the Right deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts. All these movements are class struggle waged by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and are aimed at consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and preventing the restoration of capitalism.

Betraying our Party's basic theory and practice over the last two decades, Teng Hsiao-ping did his utmost to deny class struggle in socialist society. When the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production was basically completed, he followed Liu Shao-chi in trumpeting the theory of the dying out of class struggle, alleging that "class contradictions have now been solved in the main," that "since classes have been eliminated basically, we should not stress class struggle." His revisionist stand remained unchanged even after the Great Cultural Revolution. Shortly after he resumed work, he dished up the revisionist programme of "taking the three directives as the key link," denying class struggle as the key link and tampering with the basic line of the Party. He even babbled: "How can we talk about class struggle every day?" He thus openly betrayed Marxism.

The essence of the theory of the dying out of class struggle advocated by Teng Hsiao-ping is betrayal of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Lenin pointed out: "The dictatorship of the proletariat is not the end of class struggle but its continuation in new forms. The dictatorship of the proletariat is class struggle waged by a proletariat that is victorious and has taken political power into its hands against a bourgeoisie that has been defeated but not destroyed, a bourgeoisie that has not vanished, not ceased to offer resistance, but that has intensified its resistance." (*Foreward to the Published Speech "Deception of the People With Slogans of Freedom and Equality."*) To deny and oppose the class struggle waged by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie is bound to deny and oppose the dictatorship of the proletariat. In betraying the dictatorship of the proletariat, the revisionists, besides openly abandoning and opposing the dictatorship of the proletariat, usually resort to the means of mouthing phrases about "the dictatorship of the proletariat" but actually distorting, emasculating and tampering with the revolutionary content of the dictatorship of the proletariat; that is to say, they advocate the theory of the dying out of class struggle, deny the class struggle waged by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and the dictator-

ship exercised by the former over the latter and talk only about state leadership over economic construction. By this fraudulent tactic, they try to make the dictatorship of the proletariat "evolve" into the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. It was under the cover of the theory of the dying out of class struggle that the Soviet revisionist renegade clique toppled the dictatorship of the proletariat established personally by Lenin in the Soviet Union and has since been exercising the dictatorship of the bureaucrat-monopoly bourgeoisie. Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao also resorted to this tactic when they plotted to turn the dictatorship of the proletariat into the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. What Teng Hsiao-ping had taken over was precisely this mantle of theirs.

In criticizing the Right deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts, Chairman Mao said: "In 1949 it was pointed out that the principal contradiction within the country was one between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Thirteen years later the question of class struggle was reiterated, and mention was also made of the fact that the situation began to turn for the better. What is the Great Cultural Revolution for? To wage class struggle. Liu Shao-chi advocated the theory of the dying out of class struggle, but he himself never ceased to wage class struggle. He wanted to protect his bunch of renegades and sworn followers. Lin Piao wanted to overthrow the proletariat and attempted a coup. Did class struggle die out?" This instruction of Chairman Mao's hit the nail on the head in exposing the reactionary nature of the theory of the dying out of class struggle peddled by Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-ping. Teng Hsiao-ping did not in the least extinguish the class struggle waged by the bourgeoisie against the proletariat. He took the lead in whipping up the Right deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts, pushed a revisionist line, tried to reverse the correct appraisal of the Great Cultural Revolution and settle accounts with it, and he represented the bourgeoisie in launching a wanton attack against the proletariat. It is clear from Teng Hsiao-ping's words and deeds that, from the superstructure to economic base, he attacked and opposed whatever was conducive to consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and preventing the restoration of capitalism; and he gleefully hailed and tried by a thousand and one ways to push forward whatever was beneficial to restoring the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

Chairman Mao has said: "The proletariat must exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in the superstructure, including all spheres of culture." After the seizure of political power by the proletariat, the bourgeoisie is still quite strong in the superstructure, including all spheres of culture. Unless this situation is completely changed, the dictatorship of the proletariat cannot be consolidated. Whether or not to carry out socialist revolution in all spheres of the superstructure and to exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie is an important hallmark of

upholding or opposing the dictatorship of the proletariat. Teng Hsiao-ping and his followers openly declared that it was impermissible to mention the dictatorship of the proletariat in the fields of science and technology; they energetically opposed turning the schools into an instrument of the dictatorship of the proletariat, opposed the revolution in education, in literature and art and in health work and tried to reverse the correct verdicts on the revisionist line followed in the 17 years before the Great Cultural Revolution. All these were aimed at restoring the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie in those spheres.

At the end of 1974, Chairman Mao called upon the people of the whole country to make clear "why did Lenin speak of exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie?" and raised the question of restricting bourgeois right. This is a fundamental measure for combating and preventing revisionism and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. Since bourgeois right, which still exists in socialist society, provides the soil and conditions for continuously engendering capitalism and the bourgeoisie, "therefore, if people like Lin Biao come to power, it will be quite easy for them to rig up the capitalist system." Whether or not to restrict bourgeois right is, in the final analysis, a question of whether or not to uphold the dictatorship of the proletariat. In this respect, Teng Hsiao-ping also revealed his reactionary features of betraying the dictatorship of the proletariat. That he feverishly opposed restricting bourgeois right and had deep hatred for socialist new things which restrict bourgeois right from various aspects was determined by his reactionary stand of opposing the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Chairman Mao has pointed out: "Those representatives of the bourgeoisie who have sneaked into the Party, the government, the army and various spheres of culture are a bunch of counter-revolutionary revisionists. Once conditions are ripe, they will seize political power and turn the dictatorship of the proletariat into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie." Teng Hsiao-ping's reactionary crimes and the counter-revolutionary political incident that took place early in April at Tien An Men Square have once again proved that this thesis of Chairman Mao's is very wise and perfectly correct. After Teng Hsiao-ping's plot to turn the dictatorship of the proletariat into the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie by pushing a revisionist programme and line was exposed and frustrated, the bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party and the unreformed landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists he represented, hurriedly launched a frantic counterattack against the proletariat. They viciously assailed our country's dictatorship of the proletariat and tried to make Teng Hsiao-ping China's Nagy, stage a counter-revolutionary coup and establish the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. This has further exposed Teng Hsiao-ping as the general representative of the various reactionary forces which are hostile to the dictatorship of the proletariat. The dictatorship of the proletariat in China

was established after long years of revolutionary struggles led by Chairman Mao and has taken deep root among the masses of the people. It has become more consolidated and more powerful than ever after the Great Cultural Revolution. In putting up a desperate struggle, Teng Hsiao-ping and the handful of class enemies were lifting a rock only to drop it on their own feet, and they ended up in utter defeat.

II

Marxist political economy is an important theoretical basis for proletarian political parties to formulate their political lines and policies. The theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat is the inevitable conclusion arrived at by Marx after analysing the law of the development of the capitalist relations of production. Teng Hsiao-ping betrayed not only the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat but the basic principles of Marxist political economy as well.

Using the law of the unity of opposites — the fundamental law of the universe — Marx and Lenin made profound analyses of socialist society. They pointed out in explicit terms that it is still stamped with the birthmarks of the old society and bourgeois right still exists in regard to the distribution of articles of consumption. Lenin further pointed out: "There remains for a time not only bourgeois right, but even the bourgeois state — without the bourgeoisie!" (*The State and Revolution*).

Summing up the practical experience after Lenin, Chairman Mao has made a penetrating analysis of the relations of production in socialist society and the movement of their contradictions with the productive forces, thereby developing Marxist political economy. Chairman Mao has pointed out: "Socialist relations of production have been established and are in harmony with the growth of the productive forces, but they are still far from perfect, and this imperfection stands in contradiction to the growth of the productive forces." (*On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*) He has further pointed out in his important instruction on the question of the theory: "In a word, China is a socialist country. Before liberation, she was much the same as a capitalist country. Even now she practises an eight-grade wage system, distribution according to work and exchange through money, and in all this differs very little from the old society. What is different is that the system of ownership has been changed." "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." These scientific theses tell us clearly that in socialist society, there is still the contradiction between the relations of production and the productive forces which finds concentrated expression in the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and between the socialist road and the capitalist road. The soil and conditions engen-

dering new bourgeois elements not only include certain remnants of private ownership but also bourgeois right which exists in distribution according to work, in the exchange of equal values and in the relations between people. To wipe out the social basis of revisionism and create conditions in which it will be impossible for the bourgeoisie to exist or for a new bourgeoisie to arise, bourgeois right must be restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat. These theses of Chairman Mao's have smashed the metaphysical viewpoints which have long existed in the field of political economy and dealt heavy blows to revisionist viewpoints of all descriptions.

Revisionists invariably allege that after the basic completion of the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production, the revolution in the relations of production and in the superstructure is also accomplished and that, after this transformation, the primary or even the only task is to develop the productive forces. Teng Hsiao-ping is a stubborn trumpeter of this theory of productive forces. As early as in 1956, he and Liu Shao-chi advocated that the principal contradiction at home was "the contradiction between the advanced socialist system and the backward social productive forces," that "the future task is construction as the task of revolution has in the main been completed." Last year, Teng Hsiao-ping once again trotted out the theory of productive forces to serve as the theoretical basis of his revisionist line. He preached "taking the three directives as the key link," negated taking class struggle as the key link and, putting the label of the four modernizations (modernization of agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology) on the theory of productive forces, he called for stirring up an "economic hurricane" and a "hurricane for vocational work." His real aim was to sweep away the movement for the study of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat in order to protect bourgeois right and safeguard the economic base on which the bourgeoisie and especially the bourgeoisie within the Party rely for existence.

The theory of productive forces denies in a fundamental way that in socialist society there are still contradictions between the relations of production and the productive forces and between the superstructure and the economic base, that among the various factors of productive forces, it is people, not things, that are decisive. Therefore, it denies that the only way to develop the productive forces is to take class struggle as the key link, persist in putting proletarian politics in command, deepen the socialist revolution and persevere in mobilizing and relying on the masses. It turns a blind eye to the fact that there are still birthmarks of capitalism in the socialist relations of production, that there are two possibilities for the development of the socialist relations of production, namely, if the proletariat does not persevere in continuing the revolution and does not restrict bourgeois right nor struggle against the bourgeoisie within the Party, then not only will socialism be

unable to move on to communism but will degenerate into capitalism. It is therefore clear that if Teng Hsiao-ping's theory of productive forces were followed, the already established socialist relations of production would surely be wrecked and those things in the relations of production which differ very little from those of the old society would be retained for ever and continuously expanded. In this way, capitalism and new bourgeois elements would emerge at a more rapid pace from the soil of bourgeois right, laying the social basis for capitalist restoration.

One of Teng Hsiao-ping's favourite remarks was: "It doesn't matter whether it is a white cat or a black cat, any cat that catches mice is a good cat." This serves better than many long articles to reveal more clearly the revisionist nature of the theory of productive forces. In criticizing Teng Hsiao-ping, Chairman Mao has pointed out: "This person does not grasp class struggle; he has never referred to this key link. Still his theme of 'white cat, black cat,' making no distinction between imperialism and Marxism." Teng Hsiao-ping regarded revisionist and imperialist trash as treasures. In his eyes, material incentives, putting profits in command, servility to things foreign, the doctrine of trailing behind others at a snail's pace were things which he could not part with for a moment. If his revisionist line were followed, it would be impossible to develop socialist production. Only socialism and only Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought can save China. This has been proved by history and reality. Therefore, Teng Hsiao-ping's clamour for the development of the productive forces and the four modernizations was a fraud; his real aim was to restore capitalism. The differences between us and him lie not in whether the four modernizations should be realized or whether the productive forces should be developed, but are fundamental differences between taking the socialist road and taking the capitalist road.

Teng Hsiao-ping's aim in advocating material incentives was to further strengthen and expand bourgeois right. The theory of material incentives is an important viewpoint of revisionist political economy. The Soviet revisionist renegade clique has always used it to protect their special privileges and legalize their wanton appropriation and exploitation of the Soviet proletariat's fruits of labour; at the same time, it inculcates decadent ideas of bourgeois selfishness in the minds of the labouring people so as to blunt their revolutionary will and make them willingly submit themselves to oppression and exploitation. Lenin once pointed out: "Opportunism and social-chauvinism stand on a common economic basis — the interests of a thin crust of privileged workers and of the petty bourgeoisie, who are defending their privileged position, their 'right' to some modicum of the profits that their 'own' national bourgeoisie obtain from robbing other nations, from the advantages of their Great-Power status, etc." (*Socialism and War*.) In socialist society, there are the class basis

and economic conditions for engendering revisionism. In advocating material incentives, Teng Hsiao-ping was safeguarding and expanding the economic conditions for engendering revisionism. This is diametrically opposed to the interests of the workers, peasants, revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals. Chairman Mao has said: **Politics is the commander, the soul. "Political work is the life-blood of all economic work."** Our experience in the past two decades and more has proved that only by adhering to the principle of putting proletarian politics in command can the socialist enthusiasm of the masses be really aroused, and only in this way can they be guided to advance along the socialist road. Going in for material incentives will only lead to the expansion of bourgeois right and foster the concept of private ownership, and the result would be departing further and further from socialism and going nearer and nearer to capitalism. The reality in the Soviet Union is a mirror. In that country, material incentives are all pervasive, resulting in the enrichment of a handful of bureaucrat-monopoly capitalists and the increasing poverty of the labouring people. Isn't it crystal clear which class benefits and which class suffers from material incentives, and whether it is Marxism or revisionism? Teng Hsiao-ping's clinging to material incentives shows precisely that he is a revisionist who has betrayed Marxism.

III

The struggle between political lines is often linked with the two-line struggle in the philosophical field. Ringleaders of the opportunist lines in our Party — from Chen Tu-hsiu and Wang Ming to Liu Shao-chi and Lin Biao — all philosophically betrayed Marxist-dialectical materialism and historical materialism and based their opportunist lines on idealism and metaphysics. This is also the case with Teng Hsiao-ping. In philosophy, a conspicuous manifestation of his betrayal of Marxism was his using idealism to oppose materialism and palming off eclecticism as dialectics.

Marxism always holds that the people are the makers of history. Chairman Mao has said: **"The people, and the people alone, are the motive force in the making of world history."** (*On Coalition Government*.) He has also said: **"The masses are the real heroes, while we ourselves are often childish and ignorant."** (*Preface and Postscript to "Rural Surveys"*.) Our cause and all our work reflect, in the final analysis, the demands of the masses. From the masses and back to the masses — this is our basic method of leadership and is also the only correct ideological line for us to know and change the world according to material dialectics. Directly opposed to this Marxist-Leninist line, all revisionists are protagonists of historical idealism. In their eyes, history is made by a few heroes, not by slaves. They never believe in the truth that the masses are the real heroes. They fear the mass movement very much and when there is one, they always try by every means possible to suppress it.

Teng Hsiao-ping acted his part fully in this respect. When the socialist transformation of agriculture was in full swing, he opposed the movement for co-operation. In the initial stage of the Great Cultural Revolution, he and Liu Shao-chi pushed a bourgeois reactionary line to suppress the revolutionary masses. This time he fanned up the Right deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts, negated the Cultural Revolution and socialist new things and opposed wholehearted reliance on the working class and other labouring people — thereby further laid bare his features as proponent of historical idealism.

Marxist philosophy holds that the law of the unity of opposites is the fundamental law of the universe. The two aspects in a contradiction are united and at the same time struggle with each other, and it is this that propels the development of things. There are many contradictions in the process of development of a complex thing, and one of them is necessarily the principal contradiction whose existence and development determine or influence the existence and development of the other contradictions. Observing society with this fundamental law, we can see that in socialist society the principal contradiction at home is that between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Once we grasp this principal contradiction and take the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie as the key link, everything will fall into place and the other contradictions can be correctly solved. Openly revising this basic principle, Teng Hsiao-ping put stability and unity and pushing the national economy forward all in the place of key link. In this way, he negated the principal contradiction and the law of the unity of opposites, and so landed himself in the mire of eclecticism.

Eclecticism is revisionism. In putting the three directives on a par, and placing politics and economy, politics and vocational work and technique all on an equal footing, Teng Hsiao-ping was using sophistry to negate the principal contradiction and the main aspect in a contradiction. This was an eclectic sleight of hand. Lenin pointed out in criticizing Bukharin: **"His theoretical attitude is: 'on the one hand, and on the other,' 'the one and the other.' That is eclecticism."** (*Once Again on the Trade Unions, the Current Situation and the Mistakes of Trotsky and Bukharin*.) We can use these very words to give an apt description of Teng Hsiao-ping. This phenomenon only shows the weak nature of the revisionists. They want to reverse the theoretical conclusions arrived at by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and replace them with revisionist theories. But revisionism goes against the interests of the workers, peasants, soldiers, revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals, that is, the masses who comprise 95 per cent of the population; and since practising revisionism goes against the will of the people, they dare not expose themselves too much, so they resort to eclecticism because **"in falsifying Marxism in opportunist fashion, the substitution of eclecticism for dialectics is the easiest way of deceiving the masses."** (Lenin: *The State and Revolution*.) However, confronted by the masses whose

consciousness of class struggle and the two-line struggle has greatly heightened, these tactics of theirs are completely useless.

IV

Lenin said: "The opportunists' formal membership in workers' parties by no means disproves their objectively being a political detachment of the bourgeoisie, conductors of its influence, and its agents in the labour movement." (*The Collapse of the Second International*.) To push a political line which represents the interests of the bourgeoisie, the opportunists and revisionists invariably attack or revise the three component parts of Marxism. From Bernstein to the present-day Soviet revisionist renegade clique, they all betrayed Marxism in an all-round way on the pretext that Marxism is outdated. After Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao had played their part, Teng Hsiao-ping stepped out to serve as a teacher by negative example. Didn't he often say that "one mustn't always talk with ready terms, but should say something new"? From the above analysis we can see clearly that by "ready terms" he meant the basic principle of Marxism and "something new" meant the theory of the dying out of class struggle, the theory of productive forces, idealism, eclecticism and other revisionist trash. When these were used by class enemies as weapons in their attack on proletarian dictatorship, they were turned into the most reactionary and dirty political slogans such as were used during the counter-revolutionary political incident that took place at Tien An Men Square. The handful of counter-revolutionaries who created the incident clamoured that they wanted "genuine Marxism-Leninism." These reactionaries who opposed communism and the people and harboured bitter hatred for our socialist system under the dictatorship of the proletariat have deep hatred for Marxism-Leninism-

Mao Tsetung Thought, and what they want is out-and-out revisionism and fascism. They directed the spearhead of their attack at our great leader Chairman Mao and at the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, and they openly hoisted the banner of supporting Teng Hsiao-ping. This shows that the "ism" of these counter-revolutionaries is Teng Hsiao-ping's revisionism. This all the more exposes the fact that Teng Hsiao-ping has completely betrayed Marxism and that his practice of revisionism represented the interests of the bourgeoisie both inside and outside the Party and of the class enemies at home and abroad.

The struggle to beat back the Right deviationist wind has won great victories. On the proposal of our great leader Chairman Mao, the Party Central Committee decided to dismiss Teng Hsiao-ping from all posts both inside and outside the Party. This has greatly heightened the morale of the revolutionary people and deflated the reactionary arrogance of the class enemies. But the struggle is by no means over. We are still confronted with the important and militant task of deepening our criticism, ideologically or theoretically, of Teng Hsiao-ping's revisionist line.

Lenin said: Marxism "has had to fight for every step forward in the course of its life." (*Marxism and Revisionism*.) The bourgeoisie and revisionists will never be reconciled to the advance and victories of Marxism. They are sure to continue their attack on Marxism and try to revise it. However, history has proved that Marxism becomes stronger and more vigorous after each big struggle against revisionism. Marxism advances continuously in the course of fighting against revisionism. Revisionism, like the bourgeoisie it represents, is decadent and is doomed to destruction.

(An abridged translation of an article in "Hongqit" No. 5, 1976)

(Continued from p. 6.)

stride forward on the road of defending national independence and developing the national economy and culture. In international affairs, the African countries have played an ever more important role and become a dynamic militant force in the contemporary struggle of the third world against imperialism and hegemonism."

Foreign Minister Chiao pointed out: The racist regimes in South Africa and Rhodesia will not be reconciled to defeat but will put up a last-gasp struggle. The superpower that styles itself "the natural

ally" of the African people, in its scramble with the other superpower for Africa, is trying hard to disrupt the militant unity among African countries and using all kinds of criminal means to obstruct and sabotage the national-liberation struggles of the peoples in southern Africa. The fighting task of the African people remains arduous. But countries want independence, nations want liberation and the people want revolution — this has become an irresistible trend of history. We believe that the African countries and people, sharpening their vigilance, reinforcing their unity, relying on their own strength and persevering in a protracted strug-

gle, will surely defeat the enemies who go against this trend, and win complete independence and liberation for the entire African continent.

Foreign Minister Chiao said that the Chinese people and the African people have always sympathized with and supported each other and have forged a profound militant friendship in the long struggle against imperialism and colonialism. "The just struggle of the great African people is a powerful support to China's socialist revolution and socialist construction. It is our bounden internationalist duty to support the African people's just struggle," he stressed.

Great Popularization of Mao Tsetung Thought

by Sun Ying-fang

TEN years ago the East wind of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution swept our village which is crisscrossed by rivers and streams. I was 19 then and had just taken up my duties as deputy leader of our production brigade. In response to Chairman Mao's call "You should concern yourselves with affairs of state and carry through the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution to the end!" and filled with hatred for that renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-chi, I flung myself into this great struggle.

In the eastern part of our village, big-character posters were put up, spearheaded against Liu Shao-chi. I was terribly upset because I could not understand all that were written as I could not read much. At the criticism meetings in another part of our village, facts and arguments were presented which tore Liu Shao-chi's counter-revolutionary revisionist line to shreds. But I could make no profound criticism as I lacked theory. This, too, made me intensely dissatisfied with myself.

Early one morning in spring 1967 the commune held a criticism meeting. I mounted the platform to criticize Liu Shao-chi's crimes of undermining the collective economy. I compared the old society with the present one and spoke about the "one-plank bridge" of going it alone and about the bright road of the people's commune. I presented a staggering amount of facts but I could not criticize in depth the reactionary essence of Liu Shao-chi's revisionist line from the theoretical angle.

After the meeting I felt that I had not fulfilled the wishes of the poor and lower-middle peasants. I lay awake for a long time that night, a jumble of thoughts swirling in my mind.

As a cadre elected by the masses I had over the years set my heart on doing a good job in my work and had taken the lead in labour. The Party organization and the poor and lower-middle peasants had commended me for it. I thought that if I kept at it like this everything would be all right. But the criticism meeting I had taken part in made me see that the situation had developed. The battlefield had changed, it had moved

into the area of the mind, and this battle was not fought with knives and guns! To criticize revisionism and build socialism one had to have a good grasp of revolutionary theory.

I decided thenceforth to read and study and master theory. In reading and studying the works of Chairman Mao, I came across many new words but I was not daunted. I always asked others what I did not understand, and sometimes I neglected sleep and meals doing so.

Comrades cried: "Have a care for your health!"

Class enemies jeered: "A man learning to play the trumpet at eighty; ain't got the breath to blow even if he succeeds in learning it!"

But the backing of the Party organization and the poor and lower-middle peasants gave me the strength and confidence and I made up my mind never to give up!

When I picked up the *Critique of the Gotha Programme* to study, I found the very first line a puzzler. "Labour is the source of all wealth and all culture." Marx said this is an opportunist view, and pointed out that "labour is *not* the source of all wealth." How should one understand this? Isn't it that we peasants grow the grain and the workers make the cloth and the working people create culture? Why is it then that "labour is *not* the source of all wealth"?

I sought enlightenment from the poor and lower-middle peasants. An old poor peasant said to me: "In the old society we poor and lower-middle peasants worked as hired farmhands or as casual labourers the year-round but what had we to show for it? Nothing, but the landlords and rich peasants got richer and fatter on our labour." What he said made me see that the solution to my problem lay in applying the method of class analysis. I went over the *Critique of the Gotha Programme* and *Manifesto of the Communist Party* again and again until I gradually came to see that Lassalle's reactionary views masked the essence that the working people, deprived of the means of production for thousands of years in class society, were cruelly exploited. Lassalle talked airily about "labour," but passed over in silence the fact that the slave-owners, landlords and capitalists owned the objective conditions of labour

The author is secretary of the Party branch of the Chiangnan Brigade of the Shihyen Commune in Tungtai County, Kiangsu Province.

and that the slaves, peasants and workers must be the slaves of them. This was a renunciation of class analysis and a negation of the class struggle, and was therefore opportunist drivel. Then I came to a clearer understanding of that brilliant statement by Marx that "labour is not the source of all wealth."

Persistence is needed in studying theory. Over the past eight years I have read all four volumes of *Selected Works of Mao Tsetung*, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, *Critique of the Gotha Programme*, *The State and Revolution* and other Marxist-Leninist works. I have also read some writings by the Legalists and written some study notes and articles of criticism.

"Reading is learning, but applying is also learning and the more important kind of learning at that." In accordance with this teaching of Chairman Mao's, I have persisted in using revolutionary theory to guide revolutionary practice.

In the spring of 1971 I was elected secretary of our brigade's Party branch. I have often given thought to the question of how to transform the quite backward conditions of the No. 4 production team through studying revolutionary theory.

The cadres of this team said that their land was low-lying and the soil lean and production conditions were unfavourable. But the brigade cadres said that the team cadres were rather not up to the mark.

Repeated study of works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and Chairman Mao's works concerning class

struggle and also study of the Party's basic line led me to see that none of these was the real reason for the backwardness of the No. 4 production team. To solve this team's problems we must apply the viewpoint of class struggle and make a class analysis. "Grasp class struggle and all problems can be solved." Acting according to Chairman Mao's teaching we quickly found out that the fundamental reason why this team was backward was that a handful of class enemies were stoking up clannish feelings, disrupting revolutionary unity and sabotaging the movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture. We mobilized the masses and swept off the lid covering class struggle, with the result that revolution and production rose steeply. A swift change took place in the team.

In the ten years since the Great Cultural Revolution started, tremendous changes have taken place in our brigade. I feel that the change with the deepest and most far-reaching significance is the popularization of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. We have begun to learn to consciously do things according to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and we find solutions to problems now come quite easily. All six production teams of our brigade now have political evening schools and a theoretical contingent of 87 poor and lower-middle peasants has been formed. This contingent has taken the lead and acted as a nucleus in criticizing Teng Hsiao-ping's counter-revolutionary revisionist line and in the struggle to beat back the Right deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts, and it has the aid and support of all the poor and lower-middle peasants.

Achievements by the Shanghai Atomic Nucleus Research Institute

THE Shanghai Research Institute of Atomic Nucleus completed over 100 research items last year, more than five times the number for 1965, the year preceding the start of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Twelve of these are of great importance to developing the national economy and strengthening the national defence, and some have filled in the gaps in China's science and technology.

The major cause accounting for the institute's achievements is its staff members' integration with the workers and peasants in doing research.

Influenced by Liu Shao-chi's revisionist line before the Great Cultural Revolution, the researchers shut themselves up in libraries, caring little about matters concerning the development of the national economy

and production. During the Cultural Revolution they criticized Liu Shao-chi's revisionist line and, adhering to the principle that scientific research must serve proletarian politics and be combined with productive labour, have since gone to factories, mines and the countryside to look into the needs of industry and agriculture and do research work together with the workers and peasants.

The institute had begun research on isotope instruments and meters before the Cultural Revolution. But the results were negligible, and the few instruments and meters that were made were not applicable to production. Things have changed since the Cultural Revolution began. The researchers took their work to the factories and invited workers to join in designing

and trial-manufacturing. Last year alone, they successfully produced a number of isotope instruments and meters, such as isotopic X-ray fluorescence analysers, level and thickness gauges, leakage detectors, and some of these products have already been used in production.

An agricultural atomic energy group has also been set up by the institute. Last year, it irradiated more than 1,000 batches of seeds sent in by many units in east China, thereby making its contribution to cultivating good strains of seed and increasing yields. Efforts have also been made to study and produce radioisotopes and labeled compounds required in industry and agriculture and medical work. Last year, over 40 items were completed, three times the 1974 figure.

To help prevent cancer, personnel of the institute made investigations in factories, rural areas and hospitals and, with the help of workers, successfully turned out in less than a year a transistorized detector for skin and intra-muscular tumours. Clinical tests show that its accuracy is around 90 per cent.

Last year the institute invited workers, cadres and technical personnel from 1,500 factories and other units to conduct joint scientific research. The researchers helped solve many problems in irradiating various sam-

ples, preparing radioisotopes and labeled compounds and producing nuclear electronic instruments.

Recently, the institute made a breakthrough in analysing activation of charged particles. They succeeded in analysing particular micro-elements in silicon, copper, steel and other materials, thus providing data for a number of plants.

New progress in research has also been made by the institute in nuclear physics and radiation chemistry.



**THE GREAT CULTURAL REVOLUTION
WILL SHINE FOR EVER**

“Levelling Up” — the New Tsars’ Spurious Theory for Plundering C.M.E.A. Countries

LEVELLING up” the economic development of member nations is a “historical inevitability” and the “general objective” of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (C.M.E.A.). So said the Soviet press on a recently much-advertised theme.

At the Soviet revisionist party’s 25th congress Brezhnev stated that the “elements of community (between the Soviet Union and other C.M.E.A. member nations) are increasing in their policy, economy, and social life, there is a gradual levelling up of their development.”

Theoretically a heritage and development of the viewpoints of their revisionist predecessors, the “levelling-up” theory of Brezhnev and company is in practice more blatant. The Soviet revisionists of today try by means of “levelling up” to “level” the equipment, capital and labour of the more developed C.M.E.A. states as well as their sovereignty and resources and those of the economically less developed states not “up” but into

the Soviet orbit. In a word, they are bent on stepping up their plunder and control of these states.

Plundering Labour Force, Materials and Capital

The Soviet press asserts that this “levelling up” method “is to accelerate the industrialization of backward areas and departments.” Despite the fact that the Soviet Union is a social-imperialist superpower, the level of development of its many industrial departments and vast areas (such as Siberia) is far more backward than that of the C.M.E.A. states in Eastern Europe. Under the pretext of “levelling up,” Moscow has in recent years got some East European countries with a better industrial foundation to send to the Soviet Union labour force, materials and capital to help it build giant combines, exploit resources and set up or extend raw material and fuel bases so as to speed up industrialization in those backward Soviet areas and departments.

In 1972, for instance, the Soviet Union coerced Bulgaria, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic and Poland into signing an agreement on "joint investment" for the building of the Ustilinsk Paper Pulp Combine in Siberia. The agreement required these countries to provide the Soviet Union from 1973 to 1978 with capital, machinery and equipment as well as other materials worth more than 300 million rubles.

In 1973 the East European countries were asked to build the Kiembraevsk Asbestos Combine in south Ural and during the construction period to provide the Soviet Union with 100 million rubles' worth of building machinery, equipment, materials and consumer goods.

Construction of the Orenburg natural gas pipeline, now under way, is the biggest project forced upon the East European countries by the Soviet Union. According to Soviet press reports, the construction of this 2,750-kilometre-long pipeline was shared by Bulgaria, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, Poland and Czechoslovakia, with each country undertaking to build 500-600 kilometres and three to five air pressing stations. To complete this project, these five countries are required to send more than 20,000 technicians and workers and put up a great amount of capital.

In addition, the Soviet Union did its arm-twisting to get the East European countries to build phosphorus mines in Estonia's Kingissep and in Kalatav. The Soviet press admits that these projects add up to a total of 30 or more, most of which lie in the Soviet Union.

Forcing the East European countries to take part in capital construction on its territory, the Soviet Union has for years exploited them ruthlessly and imposed heavy burdens on them. This is admitted even by the Soviet press. *Trud* in an article in September 1975 said: "More than 500 million rubles will be appropriated for investment in integrated projects built by joint efforts in the Soviet Union and most of the money depended on special loans from the C.M.E.A. member states concerned."

Chairman of the Soviet State Planning Committee has admitted: "For the first time in the practice of economic ties with other countries, there is complete reliance on the manpower and materials of the building organizations of some C.M.E.A. states to build a number of projects in the Soviet Union." The old-line imperialists usually made direct investment in building factories and opening mines in the colonies and semicolonies so as to rob their resources and exploit their manpower. Apart from using the methods mentioned above, the new tsars today, under the signboard of "levelling up," "international division of labour" and "integration," browbeat their "allies" into providing manpower, money and equipment for tapping resources and building factories in the Soviet Union. This shows that social-im-

perialism is not only weak economically, but also more greedy and crafty than old-line imperialism and colonialism.

Plundering and Controlling Less Developed Countries

At the same time, the Soviet press tries to sway public opinion by saying that it is "unnecessary" and "impossible" for countries in general and small countries in particular to develop independently new industrial departments, and that "the most appropriate way for them to develop their national economies is to consolidate and perfect international economic, scientific and technical co-operation" and "expand and deepen the international division of labour." The gist of the Soviet argument is that small countries should not be allowed to "develop independently" their industries and must depend on "co-operation" and "division of labour" with the Soviet Union. This is the pretext used by the new tsars to put the Mongolian economy completely under their control. An economic counsellor of the Soviet Embassy in Mongolia, in an article on January 1, 1976, admitted that 14 ministries of the Soviet Union have "established direct ties" with their counterparts in Mongolia and "most of them have sent their plenipotentiaries to Mongolia" who take part in the "working out of annual plans," and have sent "Soviet experts" to "manage production" and "draw up measures." Some important industrial departments in Mongolia such as the power and coal industries are in the hands of Soviet "plenipotentiaries" and "experts."

Among Mongolia's imports, over 90 per cent of the machines and equipment, 100 per cent of the tractors, farm and pastoral machines and fuel and 70 per cent of the daily necessities are brought in from the Soviet Union. The Soviet investment in mining in Mongolia is made exclusively to meet the need of the Soviet Union. Not only are most of the products owned by the Soviet Union but also the "general managers" of the enterprises are appointed by Moscow. It is clear from these facts that the Soviet Union is in no way "levelling up" its own economy with "backward areas" and "backward industry" but is intensifying its plunder and domination of the economically less developed states under the cover of "levelling up."

Such a "levelling up" profits the Soviet Union at the expense of others. It has aroused growing discontent among other C.M.E.A. member states and is boycotted by them. More and more people in these countries have learnt from their own experience that every time the Soviet leading clique plays up "integration," "division of labour," "co-operation" and "levelling up," it means that it is out to fleece and exploit them. However, intensified exploitation, plunder and control will only sharpen the vigilance of the people of other C.M.E.A. member countries, heighten their indignation and stiffen their resistance against the new tsars.

(A commentary by Hsinhua Correspondent)

ROUND THE WORLD

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

A Fraud to Cover Up Nuclear Arms Race

In the midst of their feverish nuclear arms race, the two super-powers have trotted out a so-called "treaty on underground peaceful nuclear explosions." This treaty, like all other previous ones on limiting nuclear arms signed between the Soviet Union and the United States, is a sheer fraud designed to conceal their stepped-up nuclear arms race.

It was signed simultaneously on May 28 in Moscow and Washington by the chiefs of the two countries.

At the signing ceremonies, one of them described the accord as representing "another link in the chain of measures geared to contain the growth of armaments," while the other hailed it as a "historic milestone in the history of arms control agreements." Their statements make it clear that the expression "explosions for purposes of peace" is synonymous with nuclear arms race. Their efforts to paint the treaty in glowing colours serve only to reveal their eagerness to shore up their tattered "detente" facade.

It is a bigger hoax to say that the treaty "contains" and "controls" nuclear armament. The treaty stipulates that the two contracting parties are not to carry out any individual explosion with a yield exceeding 150 kilotons, or any group explosion (consisting of a number of individual explosions) with an aggregate yield exceeding 1,500 kilotons. But it puts no limits on individual explosion with a yield below 150 kilotons or any group explosion with an aggregate yield below 1,500 kilotons. As to individual explosion with a yield exceeding

150 kilotons, it is still to be discussed by the two parties "in due time." In other words, this "limit" is nothing but empty talk.

Shortly after the treaty was made public, an American Congressman called it "a hoax and a fraud." *The New York Times* in a news analysis of May 29 noted that "the 150-kiloton limit is virtually no limit at all."

The fact is that in the past two years since the conclusion in July 1974 of their so-called "treaty limiting underground nuclear tests," the Soviet Union and the United States have each conducted more than ten underground nuclear explosions with yields varying from 150 kilotons to 1,000 kilotons. This has paved the way for the development of new nuclear weapons with high yields.

KAMPUCHEA

Water Conservancy Projects

Adhering to the principle of self-reliance, Kampuchea has continued mobilizing the masses to action and relying on their collective strength to build water conservancy projects and improve their farmland in order to reap a better crop in the rainy season this year.

Some of the major projects have been completed. About 10,000 people in Pursat Province have built a trunk canal, 63 kilometres long, eight metres broad and three metres deep, along Highway 5. Upon completion the canal can irrigate over 90,000 hectares of farmland and will serve as a major waterway in this area.

To greet the first anniversary of the liberation of the country on April 17, more than 20,000 peasants, cadres and fighters in Tbaung Khmum District, Kompong Cham Province, completed an irrigation project near

Highway 7 after one month of hard work. This project will irrigate 11,500 hectares of land.

Large numbers of small water detention and drainage projects have also been built. In the dry season of last winter and spring, co-operatives in three villages of Kompong Trabek District, Prey Veng Province, built 15 canals 300-1,200 metres long. In Prey Veng District of the province, 164 dykes with a total length of about 50 kilometres were erected. Dozens of canals totalling 68 kilometres in length and more than 60 ponds were dug. The two districts have in the main solved the problems of irrigation, putting an end to "farming at the mercy of heaven."

Right after last year's rainy season rice harvest, the people in a district of Takeo Province threw themselves into the battle of harnessing rivers. By now, 32 dykes have been built and canals totalling 35 kilometres have been dug.

HONDURAS

Struggle Against Transnational Banana Companies Intensified

Following its recent acquisition of the wharves and part of the railways formerly controlled by the U.S. United Brands Company and Standard Fruit Company, Honduras began exercising its sovereignty in regard to the production, shipping and marketing of bananas.

At the proposal of the newly founded Advisory Council on National Banana Policy, the Government of Honduras has since last August taken a series of positive measures in its struggle against the U.S. transnational banana companies. (See P.R. No. 35, 1975, p. 20.) As the first step, it abolished the concessions and contracts of foreign banana companies and took over with compensation 23,000 hectares of land from the Tela Railroad Company, an

affiliate of the U.S. United Brands Company. This was followed by the founding of the state-owned Honduran Banana Corporation to enforce new banana policy and an announcement that idle land hitherto controlled by foreign banana companies was to be handled in accordance with the agricultural reform law.

After this, Honduras entered into negotiations with the two U.S. transnational companies — the United Brands and the Standard Fruit — on the acquisition of the wharves and part of the railways they used for shipping and exporting bananas. While negotiations were going on, the Standard Fruit Company flagrantly exerted pressure on Honduras. It went so far as to dismantle installations on the northern coast banana plantations in the Isletas region hit by a hurricane. As a result, banana production was crippled. Then seeing that the banana growers in the region were anxious to rehabilitate production, the company unreasonably proposed that the Honduran Banana Corporation co-operate with it as a condition for the restoration of production on 5,000 acres of banana plantations. In January this year, the Honduran Government denounced the schemes of the Standard Fruit Company and suspended the talks. It also requisitioned the company's property in Isletas and forbade the removal of the dismantled farm machinery and installations from the region. At the same time, positive measures were taken to settle more than 1,000 peasant households in the region to restore the damaged plantations. As a result of the Hondurans' struggle, the two U.S. transnational companies were finally forced to hand over the wharves to the National Port Enterprise of Honduras. At the end of last April, the Tela Railroad Company formally turned over the railways to the National Railroad Company of Honduras. At the hand-over ceremony, Honduran President

Juan Alberto Melgar Castro pointed out that Honduras was now in a position to successfully wage an arduous struggle for the realization of its economic independence.

Honduras abounds with bananas. But since the beginning of the century, its banana industry — from production to marketing — had been controlled by the two U.S. companies which forcibly occupied 200,000 hectares of fertile land and operated 80 per cent of the nation's railways. The profit for the United Brands Company is usually as high as 600 per cent.

UNITED STATES

Economy Still in the Doldrums

Despite its slow industrial recovery this year, the U.S. economy, as signs indicate, still has a long way to go before it can extricate itself from the current economic crisis.

Since the slump of April 1975, recovery in industrial production has been languid, more so in March and April this year, the industrial index for April being about 4 per cent lower than the pre-crisis peak in November 1973. The steel and building industries which have a very important bearing on the economy are still in deep trouble. In the first quarter of this year, steel production fell about 9 per cent below the level of the same period last year; private home construction, though perked up somewhat compared with the corresponding period of 1975, was more than 40 per cent below the first quarter of 1973. Depression in the steel and building industries are sure to prolong the economic crisis in the United States.

Meanwhile, prices are again tending upward. Wholesale prices, after a slight drop in the first quarter of this year, were up by 0.8 per cent in April, the highest monthly growth rate since October last.

This year, unemployment rate in the first four months stood at an average of 7.5 per cent or higher. Hit by mass unemployment and steady price hikes, the spending power of the working people at large is so limited that it will continue to keep down the pace of recovery.

Economic recovery in that country is, to some extent, being brought about artificially by the government's deficit financing policy which has caused the budgetary deficits to snowball. The United States will be 76,900 million dollars in the red for fiscal 1976 while the budget for fiscal 1977 approved by Congress will have a deficit of 50,800 million. In the three years from fiscal 1975 to 1977, deficits will climb to a staggering total of 171,300 million dollars, exceeding the aggregate deficits of 154,900 million in the 25 fiscal years between 1950 and 1974. These huge deficits are sure to aggravate inflation and have adverse effects on its financial and monetary situation.

Its foreign trade is once again deteriorating. What with the devaluation of the dollar, what with protectionist quota and exploitation of the third world, the United States did for a while manage to reverse its huge foreign trade deficits. Beginning last November, however, U.S. exports started to fall. In four consecutive months this year, it registered a trade deficit of 1,066 million dollars. With the capitalist countries taking steps to encourage exports and restrict imports, there will be an intensified trade war among them. Meanwhile, the struggle of the third world countries against the shift of the economic crisis on to them and for the establishment of a new international economic order is gaining momentum. In these circumstances, U.S. foreign trade will no longer be of any substantial help to its economic recovery as was the case in the past.