

PEKING REVIEW

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January 10, 1975

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報

**Rise of Third World and Decline
Of Hegemonism**

**Study the Historical Experience of the Struggle
Between the Confucian and Legalist Schools**

Palestine: Ten Years of Armed Struggle

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CONTENTS

THE WEEK	3
Prime Minister Mintoff Arrives in Peking	
Dutch Foreign Minister Visits China	
Chinese Party Leaders Meet Comrade Hill and His Wife	
China and Botswana Establish Diplomatic Relations	
Solicitude Expressed to Pakistan People	
China's First Floating Drilling Vessel	
ARTICLES AND DOCUMENTS	
Rise of Third World and Decline of Hegemonism	6
Study the Historical Experience of the Struggle Between the Confucian and Legalist Schools — Liang Hsiao	8
Building Oil Industry Through Self-Reliance — A visit to the new oil pipeline as well as Taching and Takang Oilfields (II) — Our Correspondents Hsiang Jung and Yu Hai	13
1974 in Retrospect — Africa: A Year of United Struggle	17
Palestine — Ten Years of Armed Struggle	19
ROUND THE WORLD	20
Cape Verde Islands: Victory for Protracted Struggle	
Saudi Arabia: U.S. Attack Refuted	
Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of France: European People's Unity Stressed	
Libreville: African Forestry Conference	
Algeria: Economic Independence Consolidated	
"Scope" (Australia): Soviet Union Unmasked	
ON THE HOME FRONT	22
Civil Aviation Expanded	
Kazakh People: A New Life	

Prime Minister Mintoff Arrives In Peking

PRIME Minister of the Republic of Malta Dominic Mintoff arrived in Peking by air on January 7 for a friendly visit to China. The Prime Minister and other distinguished Maltese guests received a grand and rousing welcome at the airport from Chinese leaders Li Hsien-nien, Hua Kuo-feng and Ngapo Ngawang-Jigme, Foreign

Minister Chiao Kuan-hua and several thousand people in the capital.

Prime Minister Mintoff visited China shortly after the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and Malta in January 1972. In the last few years there have been steady developments in the friendly relations and co-operation be-

tween the two countries and in the friendship between the two peoples. The Prime Minister's second visit to China filled the Chinese people with great joy. Peking Airport flew the national flags of China and Malta, and the main thoroughfares in the city proper were decorated with welcoming streamers and bunting. The streamers bore the slogans: "A warm welcome to Prime Minister Mintoff!" "Firmly support the Government and people of Malta in their struggle in defence of national independence and against hegemonism!" "Long live the friendship between the people of China and Malta!" "Long live the great unity of the people of the Third World!" and "Long live the great unity of the people of the world!"

The arrival of Prime Minister Mintoff and the other distinguished guests was greeted with a grand ceremony at the airport. Well-wishers waved flowers or beat drums and gongs to express their warm welcome to the guests.

Premier Chou En-lai met in a hospital on the afternoon of January 7 with Prime Minister Mintoff and Joe Camilleri, Secretary to the Cabinet, and Albert Mizzi, Chairman of Sea Malta and Air Malta, who accompanied the Prime Minister on his China visit.

Dutch Foreign Minister Visits China

Premier Chou En-lai met on January 4 in a hospital with M. van der Stoel, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands, and M. H. J. Ch. Rutten, Director-General for Political Affairs of the Dutch Foreign Ministry, who accompanied him.

Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping also met the Dutch guests the same day.

Foreign Minister M. van der Stoel and his party arrived in Peking on January 3 for a formal visit to China.

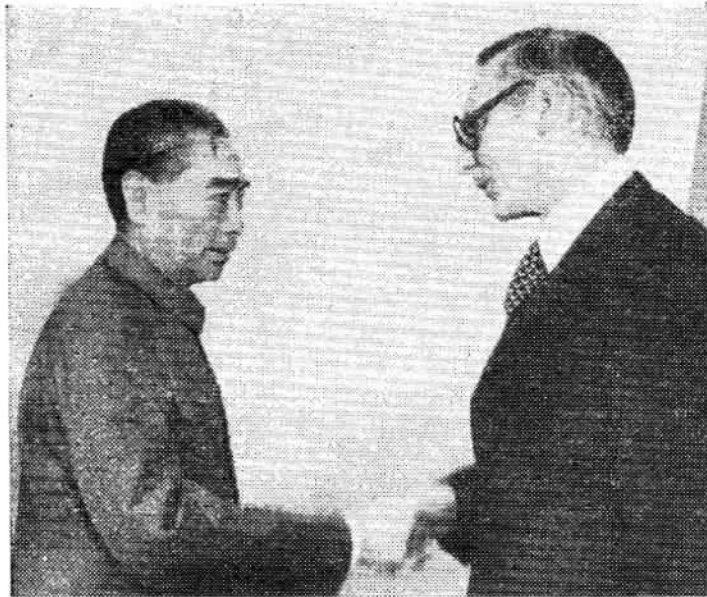
Chinese Foreign Minister Chiao Kuan-hua and Dutch Foreign Minister M. van der Stoel held talks on January 4. Foreign Minister Chiao



**Premier Chou
En-lai meets
Prime Minister
Dominic Mintoff.**



A rousing welcome at Peking Airport for Prime Minister Dominic Mintoff.



Premier Chou En-lai meets Foreign Minister M. van der Stoep.

China and Botswana Establish Diplomatic Relations

Huang Hua, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, Permanent Representative of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations, and Thebe David Mogami, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, Permanent Representative of the Republic of Botswana to the United Nations, signed a joint communique on the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and Botswana in New York, January 6, 1975.

The communique said: "The Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of the Republic of Botswana have decided to establish diplomatic relations at the ambassadorial level as from January 6, 1975.

"The Government of the People's Republic of China firmly supports the just struggle carried on by the Government of the Republic of Botswana to safeguard national independence and state sovereignty and develop the national economy.

"The Government of the Republic of Botswana recognizes the Government of the People's Republic of China as the sole legal Government representing the entire Chinese people, and Taiwan Province as an inalienable part of the territory of the People's Republic of China.

"The two Governments have agreed to develop friendly relations and cooperation between the two countries on the basis of the principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence."

under the leadership of Chairman Mao Tsetung, to achieve the social and economic development of the country.

He said: Since World War II the Netherlands has been actively absorbed in an endeavour to bring about a politically united and integrated Europe. The Netherlands, Belgium and Luxembourg were the first countries in Europe to take the

gave a banquet in honour of the distinguished Dutch guests that evening.

The two foreign ministers spoke at the banquet.

In his speech, Chiao Kuan-hua praised the Dutch people for their courage in launching battle against nature and their contribution to the struggle against fascist aggression during World War II. He said: At present the Dutch people, with other European people, are making joint efforts to oppose the expansionist ambitions of hegemonism.

He pointed out: "Although China and the Netherlands have different social systems and hold differing views on some international issues, both our peoples cherish independence and sovereignty and both our countries wish to develop our relations on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence."

He continued: "The Third World is growing daily in strength and playing an ever more important role in international affairs. On the other hand, the superpowers who attempt to seize world hegemony are running into a wall everywhere and having an increasingly hard time. They are beset with troubles at home and abroad and are contending with each other with increasing ferocity. From Europe and the Mediterranean to the Middle East, the Indian Ocean, Asia and the Pacific, wherever they contend, there is no tranquillity. Europe is the focus of their conten-

tion. With honey on their lips and murder in their hearts, they prate about 'detente,' but actually both are stepping up their arms race and actively preparing for war." "In these circumstances," he pointed out, "the people of all countries, including the European countries, must get fully prepared against a war launched by either superpower. Being prepared is better than being unprepared. We are pleased to note that the people of West European countries are increasingly awakening and striving to strengthen the unity of their countries on the basis of independence and sovereignty as well as their unity with the people in other parts of the world, particularly in the Third World, in their determined opposition to superpower control, interference or threat."

In conclusion, the Chinese Foreign Minister expressed the belief that the Dutch Foreign Minister's visit to China would surely help increase the mutual understanding and reinforce the foundation for the continued development of the relations between the two countries.

In his speech, Foreign Minister M. van der Stoep said: In spite of the tremendous distance between China and the Netherlands, the two countries maintain contact with each other. The Government of the Netherlands is aware of the historic significance of the rebirth of the Chinese nation and is following with keen interest the efforts it is making,

road towards integration, when they set up the Benelux Economic Union. Soon afterwards new and more comprehensive integration began to take shape in Europe. "Only when West European countries are integrated as closely as possible, can we achieve economic and political development," he said, adding that the Netherlands had devoted itself unrelentingly to promoting the enlargement of the European Economic Community from the original 6 to the present 9 countries.

"European co-operation is a matter which is very near to our hearts. It will continue to be the policy of my government to deepen, and to extend where possible, the process of European unification," he declared.

The Dutch Foreign Minister expressed the hope that relations between the Netherlands and China will continue to prosper for many years to come.

Chinese Party Leaders Meet Comrade Hill and His Wife

Wang Hung-wen, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, Chang Chun-chiao, Member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the C.P.C. Central Committee, and Chiang Ching, Member of the Political Bureau of the C.P.C. Central Committee, met and had a very cordial and friendly conversation on January 2 with E.F. Hill, Chairman of the Australian Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist), and his wife.

After the meeting, Comrades Wang Hung-wen, Chang Chun-chiao and Chiang Ching gave a banquet in honour of Comrade Hill and his wife.

Keng Piao and Feng Hsuan, Members of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Head and Deputy Head of the International Liaison Department of the C.P.C. Central Committee, were present at the meeting and banquet.

Comrade Hill and his wife arrived in Peking on November 5, 1974 for a visit to China. They left Peking for home on January 4.

Solicitude Expressed to Pakistan People

Premier Chou En-lai on January 2 sent a message to Pakistan Prime



Comrades Wang Hung-wen, Chang Chun-chiao and Chiang Ching meet Comrade Hill and his wife.

Minister Bhutto expressing deep sympathy and solicitude to the Pakistan Government and the people in the afflicted area over the strong earthquake that had taken place in northern Pakistan. The message read:

"Shocked to learn of the strong earthquake in an area of northern Pakistan, which caused serious losses of life and property. On behalf of the Chinese Government and people, I wish to express our deep sympathy and solicitude to you and, through you, to the Pakistan Government and the people of the afflicted area."

On the same day, the Red Cross Society of China sent a message to the Red Crescent Society of Pakistan concerning its decision to contribute food, medicines and blankets worth 200,000 yuan (RMB) to Pakistan.

China's First Floating Drilling Vessel

The first Chinese designed and built floating drilling vessel for sea exploration, the *Kantan No. 1* (Prospector), has successfully drilled a well for deep water oil prospecting in the southern part of the Yellow Sea. The trial-operation has provided China with initial experience in marine geological prospecting and helped train its technical force in this field.

During the trial-drilling, the crew worked in co-ordination with people

of departments concerned and completed all the tasks including positioning the well, casting and weighing anchors, installation of equipment underwater, well drilling, cementing and logging as well as experiments on the instruments and meters. The vessel stood the test of fresh and strong gales against which it maintained its shape, remained tethered above the well and continued normal operation. The drilling equipment, the newly designed auxiliary apparatus and the special instruments and meters all functioned well, while the underwater equipment was assembled on the sea-bed in one operation.

The floating drilling vessel was designed and built during the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius with effective help from nearly 100 factories and departments in Shanghai and other places, and was a product of socialist co-operation.

Marine geological prospecting is a new undertaking. China has done some work in this field in recent years, but the drilling equipment used to be a fixed platform resting on piles or legs and operated in near and shallow seas. The success of the *Kantan No. 1* in her first trial-drilling operation in fairly deep waters indicates a new development of China's marine geological prospecting.

Rise of Third World and Decline of Hegemonism

THE people of the Third World scored successive victories in their sustained, vigorous offensive in 1974 against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism. The course of the struggle last year showed that the people of the Third World are the main force combating imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism, the motive force of revolution propelling history forward.

The imperialist powers previously divided the world among themselves, and world affairs were once forcibly decided by a few colonial empires. Today, the two hegemonic powers, the Soviet Union and the United States, are locked in a fierce battle to redivide the world. But the days when power politics held complete sway are gone for ever. The present-day world is neither one where the two hegemonic powers decide everything, nor a "multipolar world." The Third World has now entered the international arena and is playing an increasingly important role.

The Third World's anti-imperialist and anti-hegemonist struggle in the past year has brought to the surface a number of fundamental problems in international relations that once were distorted or covered up:

In international relations, should the strong bully the weak and the big oppress the small, or should all countries, big or small, be equal? Today, despite the two hegemonic powers' dream of maintaining the old international order under their hegemony, the Third World countries' resolve to master their own destiny has become an irreversible trend. A case in point is Middle East developments. The "no war, no peace" situation painstakingly created by the two overlords in their own interests was upset by the Arab people in the 1973 October War. Last year both again set new traps in the Middle East. The U.S. Secretary of State made seven visits to the region with the intention of bypassing the Soviet Union and manipulating the Middle East problem through a U.S.-designed "phased solution." The Soviet Union, eager to intervene, pressed for holding a "Geneva peace conference" which would give it a voice in any settlement. But the Arab people want to take their own road — fight to the end in closer unity to recover their lost territories and regain the Palestinian people's national rights. This determination found expression at the Arab summit in Rabat.

As in the past, the superpowers always want to continue to dictate the internal affairs of the Third World. According to their logic, the medium-sized and small countries cannot exist on their own without "protection" from them. If one superpower does not provide the "protection," the other will have to "fill the vacuum." Hence the proposals for things like systems and blocs with all sorts of superpower tags, such as the "Asian collective security system" designed for the Asians by Moscow, the "Western Hemisphere community" designed by Washington for the Latin Americans. But the Third World is not interested in such items because it wants to follow its own road. At the Inter-American Foreign Ministers' Meeting in February 1974, Latin American representatives rejected the U.S. proposal for a "Western Hemisphere community." The Asian countries, too, stood up to Soviet revisionist pressures and turned down the "Asian collective security system." To run their own affairs, the Asian, African and Latin American countries have set up or reinforced many regional organizations excluding the two overlords, and transformed some others formerly dominated by the big powers.

Who is to play the leading role in various international conferences and organizations? The series of major 1974 international conferences point to the trend that it is not the one or two superpowers but the Third World which plays the main part.

In the past the United Nations served as a voting machine manipulated by the United States. Later it became a tool of the United States and the Soviet Union in their contention for hegemony. Today the United Nations as a voting machine is not so effective as it was, and it is gradually losing the function as a tool for contention. Now and then it looks rather like an international court, with the United States and the Soviet Union in the dock as the Third World makes the charges and holds the trial. The Special Session of the U.N. General Assembly on the problems of raw materials and development last April was a meeting initiated by the Third World which worked out the agenda and drew up the documents, a meeting which finally adopted a declaration in the interest of the Third World. At the conference the Third World settled accounts with imperialism and the superpowers for their crime of exploitation and strongly demanded the establishment of a

new international economic order. Despite all their machinations, the two superpowers failed to disorient the conference. At the U.N. Conference on the Law of the Sea in Caracas last summer, the Third World once again bombarded the two overlords, resolutely upheld 200-mile maritime rights and bared the two overlords' effort to hold on to their maritime hegemony.

In the 1940s imperialism used the United Nations to set up an Israel and imposed it on the Arab people. Again at the United Nations in the 1960s, the superpowers tampered with the fundamental question of restoring Palestine's national rights by posing it as a "refugee problem." However, as a result of the protracted and unyielding struggle of the Palestinian and Arab people, the 29th Session of the U.N. General Assembly, which was attended by the representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization, corrected this distortion of history and adopted a resolution which confirms that the Palestinian people are entitled to restore their national rights. This is another instance attesting to the power of the Third World.

To enable the United Nations to reflect today's realities, the Third World countries in 1974 raised the just demand for the revision of the U.N. Charter. At this, the two hegemonic powers flew into a rage and poured out a torrent of abuse. One asserted that revising the Charter would lead to a nuclear war, while the other alleged this was a "tyranny of the majority." These fallacies were sharply denounced by the Third World. The adoption of the Third World countries' resolution by an overwhelming majority vote testifies to the decline of hegemonism in the United Nations.

In the test of strength between the oppressed nations on the one hand and colonialism, neo-colonialism and hegemonism on the other, which actually fears which? Which will emerge the victor? In 1974 the African national-liberation movements continued to mount fierce attacks on the remnant positions of old-line colonialism in Africa, ending with the defeat of the Portuguese colonialists who for 13 years had been fighting a colonial war on the continent. Lisbon was compelled to recognize the independence of Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique. Following the defeat of the U.S. aggressors by the Indochinese peoples, this event provides yet another instance of the weak triumphing over the strong. Colonialism is losing its position in southern Africa and the racist regimes in Rhodesia and South Africa are trembling with fear. The superpowers are also worried. This proves anew that the law of the jungle practised for centuries has been relegated to the junk pile.

The independence and liberation of weak and small nations are achieved mainly through the united struggle of the people in these countries, especially through protracted armed struggle, and are never "bestowed" by a saviour. Independence cannot be a gift on a silver platter from the colonialists, much less a trophy of social-imperialism in its contention for world hegemony. But the odd thing is that whenever victory is won in a

war of national liberation somewhere, Moscow hastens to claim it as an outcome of the "peace programme of the 24th congress" and a fruit of its policy of "detente." Such pronouncements not only are contemptible attempts to take the credit for the arduous liberation struggles by the people of the small countries for itself but also reveal its evil intent to incorporate a new-born country into its sphere of influence. But since small countries are capable of toppling the brutal rule by a colonial empire, they must be equally capable of smashing the superpowers' schemes for hegemony.

Who actually depends on whom in international economic relations? An important feature in the Third World's anti-imperialist and anti-hegemonist struggle last year was the intensified fight in the economic field. This very struggle points to the following truth: It is not the poor countries that depend on the rich, but quite the opposite. (See "Earth-Shaking Struggle," *Peking Review*, No. 1, 1975.)

The Arab people achieved great success through the use of the oil weapon. In doing so, they brought to light one of the secrets of how the contemporary imperialists and superpowers amassed their wealth — making superprofits through plundering Third World raw materials by forcing down their prices. Inspired and encouraged by the use of the oil weapon, countries exporting raw materials and primary products have got together, set up organizations among themselves and reinforced existing ones to safeguard national resources and defend raw material prices. The Third World's conscious application of their raw materials as a weapon against imperialism and hegemonism is something new. This worried the imperialists and superpowers all the more because one important source of their wealth has been taken over by the Third World.

The Third World has also long been regarded by the imperialists and superpowers as a market for their industrial products. At the U.N. General Assembly special session last year, the Third World denounced the rich countries for taking away raw materials from them at low prices while selling manufactured goods and food at high prices. The Third World strongly demanded a change in these inequitable economic relations. The significant thing is that countries of the Third World now do not expect the rich countries to suddenly become "benevolent," but have begun transforming single-product economies imposed on them by colonialism, reducing their dependence on imported industrial products and food, developing agriculture and industry and diversifying economies in accordance with their own resources by relying on their own efforts. As a result, there is less and less room for imperialism to exploit the Third World through the "scissors differential" and shift burden of the economic crisis on to the Third World.

The Third World's fight against plunder and its national economic development have caused the imperialist and superpower world markets to shrink, and as a result, have aggravated the capitalist economic crisis. The imperialists and superpowers now find themselves

in the plight as a Chinese verse describes: "Flowers fall off, do what one may."

* * *

Of course, the two moribund imperialist overlords, the Soviet Union and the United States, are waging a death-bed struggle and will continue to make trouble. There can be no plain sailing in the struggle of the Third World against imperialism and hegemonism. But in the course of struggle the Third World has gradually

become aware of its own strength and has seen through the hypocrisy and essential weakness of the super-powers. It has closed its ranks and raised the art of struggle to a new level. It is bound to achieve new and greater victories in the days ahead.

Imperialism and hegemonism are like a sinking ship. The new emerging Third World, in contrast, has swept ahead full sail to greet the struggle in the new year with boundless confidence.

Study the Historical Experience of the Struggle Between the Confucian and Legalist Schools

by Liang Hsiao

THE history of the struggle between the Confucian and Legalist schools and of class struggle as a whole is now being extensively studied by China's workers, peasants and soldiers, revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals. Such a wide-ranging mobilization of the masses for studying and summing up the experience and lessons of class struggle in the past is a matter of great practical and far-reaching historical significance.

Making the Past Serve the Present

Discussing the proletariat's historical task of preventing capitalist restoration after seizing political power, Lenin pointed out: "We do not know whether or not our victory will be followed by temporary periods of reaction and the victory of the counter-revolution — there is nothing impossible in that — and therefore, after our victory, we shall build a 'triple line of trenches' against such a contingency." (*Revision of the Party Programme.*) To successfully carry out the historical mission entrusted to the proletarian dictatorship and win victory in the prolonged and complicated class struggle, the proletariat not only should be adept at accumulating experience through its own struggles, but should study past class struggle and two-line struggle and the struggle between revolution and reaction and between restoration and counter-restoration in the periods of big social change, and use the Marxist method to make a critical summing up so as to accumulate experience and draw lessons and make the past serve the present.

The development of Chinese history has its own characteristics. Because the Chinese bourgeoisie living in a semi-colonial and semi-feudal society was extremely weak economically and politically, the task of leading

the bourgeois democratic revolution historically fell on the shoulders of the proletariat. Led by the Chinese Communist Party headed by Chairman Mao, the Chinese people have thoroughly carried out the bourgeois democratic revolution and, following this, carried on the revolution to the socialist stage and founded the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Except for the revolution led by the proletariat, only the replacement of the slave system by the feudal system actually constituted a social change in China's history which saw the dictatorship of one class replaced by that of another class in its full sense. The struggle between the Confucian and Legalist lines took place during that social change. The struggle between worshipping the Confucian school and opposing the Legalist school on the one hand and between worshipping the Legalist school and opposing the Confucian school on the other hand never ceased throughout feudal society, and this struggle still has its influence up to the present time.

All the enemies of the proletarian dictatorship have taken the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius as their tool for restoring capitalism in China. The chieftains of the opportunist lines in our Party all worshipped the Confucian school and opposed the Legalist school. The renegade and traitor Lin Piao even went so far as to call Confucius and Mencius the "former sages" and Marx and Lenin the "later sages," and did all he could to peddle the idea that "both the former and later sages follow the same principles." To adhere to Marxism and oppose revisionism, we must thoroughly criticize this reactionary view and the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius.

In the Spring and Autumn and the Warring States Periods (770-221 B.C.) when the feudal system

was replacing the slave system in China, the Legalists — the political and ideological representatives of the new emerging landlord class — in the course of seizing and consolidating political power waged prolonged and sharp struggles against the declining slave-owning class and its political and ideological representatives, the Confucianists. More than 130 years had elapsed from the time Shang Yang (?-338 B.C.) carried out reforms in the State of Chin to 221 B.C. when Chin Shih Huang unified China. If we reckon from the time when the State of Lu began to collect the land tax*, it was more than 370 years. During those centuries the newly rising landlord class seized and then lost political power many times. The unification of China by Chin Shih Huang did not spell the end of struggle. From the founding of the Chin Dynasty to the fall of the Western Han Dynasty (206 B.C.-8 A.D.), the struggle continued unabated for nearly 250 years between restoration and counter-restoration although the restorationist forces of the slave-owners were weakened step by step.

The struggles between revolution and reaction and between restoration and counter-restoration in that entire era (including open and covert, bloody and bloodless, political and economic, and military and cultural struggles) have provided us with extremely rich experience and lessons in class struggle and the two-line struggle. The experience and lessons have a vivid and profound nature special to the history of Chinese society. Communists and the working masses who are making revolution in China must sum them up from the Marxist viewpoint and make them serve the current struggle in our socialist revolution and construction.

Putting the Line First

The history of the struggle between the Confucian and Legalist schools tells us that a correct line does not appear spontaneously but emerges and develops in the course of struggle. In a deep-going social change, the progressive class can further develop and perfect its revolutionary line and make good preparations for the next battle only through criticizing the reactionary line and trend of thinking and summing up the experiences and lessons in class struggle. The rising landlord class started its full-scale attack in the Warring States Period (475-221 B.C.) and a high tide of reform swept the ducal states. The thoroughness of Shang Yang's reform shocked these states.

A sharp struggle ensued between the Confucian and Legalist lines around the question of negating or affirming this social change. Flaunting the banner of "speaking in the interests of the people," Mencius (390-305 B.C.), a representative of the Confucian school, came out with the theory peddling "benevolent rule" in an attempt to negate and overthrow the political power of the new emerging landlord class and restore the

* This refers to the system of collecting a tax based on land area first introduced in the 15th year of Duke Hsuan in the State of Lu, or 594 B.C. Its adoption signified China's transition from slavery to feudalism in land ownership.

dictatorship of the slave-owners. (See "Mencius — a Trumpeter for Restoring the Slave System," *Peking Review*, No. 37, 1974.) Hsun Kuang (c. 313-238 B.C.) and Han Fei (c. 280-233 B.C.), representatives of the Legalist school, firmly refuted Mencius' absurd theory of "benevolent rule." They pointed out that the so-called "benevolence and righteousness" merely aimed at "deceiving and keeping the people ignorant" and was a restorationist theory opposing reform and change; they thus enthusiastically defended reform in the various states. This debate covered a wide field involving social and political questions as well as world outlook, and it helped further develop and perfect the Legalist line. Chin Shih Huang resolutely put the Legalist line into practice and founded the first unified feudal state under centralized authority. His victory over the six other states and in unifying the country was not only a military victory but a direct result of the Legalists' criticism of the Confucian doctrines in the big debate.

The struggle between restoration and counter-restoration was still very sharp after the founding of the Chin Dynasty. (See "Struggle Between Restoration and Counter-Restoration in the Course of Founding the Chin Dynasty," *Peking Review*, Nos. 17 and 18, 1974.) Whether the upcoming landlord class could hold political power or not hinged on whether it could guarantee the continual implementation of the Legalist line. In this respect, the Chin Dynasty had both experiences of success and lessons of failure. Not willing to quit the stage of history of its own accord, the overthrown slave-owning class attacked the present with the past and launched one attack after another against the Chin Dynasty, doing whatever it could to change Chin Shih Huang's Legalist line and subvert the dictatorship of the newly rising landlord class. Chin Shih Huang firmly adopted such revolutionary measures as "burning books and burying Confucian scholars alive" (see "Clarifying 'Burning Books and Burying Confucian Scholars Alive,'" *Peking Review*, No. 19, 1974), smashed the attacks by the slave-owners' restorationist forces, adhered to the centralized system of prefectures and counties and persisted in the Legalist line.

But, precisely as Chairman Mao has profoundly summed up, "**except for the revolution which replaced primitive communes by slavery, that is, a system of non-exploitation by one of exploitation, all revolutions ended in the replacement of one system of exploitation by another, and it was neither necessary nor possible for them to do a thorough job in suppressing counter-revolutionaries.**" (Introductory note to "Material on the Hu Feng Counter-Revolutionary Clique.") Chin Shih Huang was no exception. When he became rather complacent about peace and order in the country, Chao Kao (?-207 B.C.), a representative of the slave-owners' restorationist forces, sneaked into the core of the Chin court under the Legalist cloak and followed the "tactics of undermining from within" against the landlord class' political power. No sooner had Chin Shih Huang died than Chao Kao launched a counter-revolutionary coup

d'etat, substituted the reactionary Confucian line for the former's Legalist line, unloosed bloody class revenge against the political representatives of the landlord class and spared no effort to foster the slave-owners' restorationist forces.

The history of this period showed that after the landlord class seized political power, both the open and hidden struggles waged by the slave-owners' restorationist forces were all aimed at changing the Legalist line followed by the central authorities. Once the line was changed, the door would be open to restoration. After seizing state power, therefore, the revolutionary classes must give first place to the question of line and maintain high vigilance against the reactionary classes' intrigues and conspiracies to change the revolutionary line. Bearing in mind this experience and lesson of class struggle gained from the history of the struggle between the Confucian and Legalist schools helps us understand and persist in Chairman Mao's teachings that **"the correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything"** and **"practise Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don't split; be open and above-board, and don't intrigue and conspire."**

Relying on the Masses

The statesmen of the landlord class were in a quandary after Chao Kao usurped power. But a new situation arose immediately after the outbreak of a peasant uprising. While handing out blows to the rule of the landlord class, the peasant uprising army led by Chen Sheng and Wu Kuang (see "Working People's Struggle Against Confucius in Chinese History," *Peking Review*, No. 13, 1974) drove Chao Kao's restorationist political power into the grave in less than three years. This proved that the ascending landlord class could not carry the struggle against restoration through to the end with its own forces. The masses of the people were the main force in fighting against restoration. As the new emerging landlord class after all was an exploiting class and constituted a minority in society, it was in an antagonistic position with regard to the masses of peasants and naturally could not really rely on the masses to struggle against restoration. This was precisely the inevitable weakness of its political power.

In summing up the historical experience of the bourgeois revolution, Engels pointed out: **Even the most splendid achievements of the bourgeoisie in 17th century England and 18th century France were not made by it, but by the common masses, that is, the workers and peasants.** (*"Crisis" in Prussia.*) Similarly, the main force against the restoration of slavery in the big social change which saw feudalism replacing slavery was also the masses of peasants and those slaves who had not yet become peasants. This was decided by their class status, because once the slave system was restored, it meant first of all the return of the peasants to the extremely miserable status of slaves again. Without the forces of the masses, no revolution or counter-restorationist struggle in the past could be accomplished.

The proletarian dictatorship is the dictatorship of the overwhelming majority of people over the small number of exploiters. The proletariat can and must rely on and unite with the working people, unite with all the forces that can be united with and smash the class enemy's restorationist intrigues. Chairman Mao's theses that **"direct reliance on the revolutionary masses is a basic principle of the Communist Party"** and **"a line or a viewpoint must be explained constantly and repeatedly. It won't do to explain them only to a few people; they must be made known to the broad revolutionary masses"** point out the great significance of relying on the forces of the masses and continuously consolidating the proletarian dictatorship.

Prolonged and Complicated Nature of Struggle

The great peasant uprising at the end of the Chin Dynasty swept away the slave-owners' restorationist forces. It was on this basis that the Western Han Dynasty of the new emerging landlord class came into being. However, the declining slave-owning class' strength was still bigger than that of the newly rising landlord class in certain fields, and the slave-owners' experience of struggle in certain respects was richer than that of statesmen of the new emerging landlord class. The slave-owners were sure to use these to pit their strength again and again against the landlord class that was coming up.

Taking advantage of the economic difficulties in the early days of the Western Han Dynasty, a group of big handicraft and commercial slave-owners hoarded goods and sent prices up, and they vied with the landlord class to seize land and labour power, undermining that feudal society's economic base. At the same time, these slave-owners colluded with conservatives in the landlord class (local forces that controlled certain places and had their own armies) to turn some areas into independent states. They gathered together a large number of Confucian scholars to create public opinion for restoration in the ideological realm and used their military forces to stage armed rebellions. They also often colluded with the slave-owning aristocrats of Hsiung Nu* in Chinese territory in an attempt to subvert the centralized Western Han Dynasty of the landlord class by attacking it from both sides. All this made the counter-restorationist struggle in that dynasty a prolonged, complicated and arduous one. Sharp struggles were fought on these fronts in the early and middle periods of the Western Han Dynasty. The landlord class' centralized dictatorship became stable only after Emperor Ching of Han (whose name was Liu Chi and was on the throne from 156 to 141 B.C.) had put down the "rebellion of Wu, Chu and five other states" (see note on page 22 in *Peking Review*, No. 18, 1974) and Emperor Wu of Han (whose name was Liu Cheh and was on the throne from 140 to 87 B.C.) had launched an all-round counter-attack against the slave-

* A nationality in the northern part of China in the Western Han Dynasty.

owning merchants and had triumphed in the war against the Hsiung Nu.

This showed that even in a social change whereby one exploiting system replaced another, the struggle between restoration and counter-restoration was of long duration and complicated and took place in every single field. As long as the overthrown class has some strength, it will always attempt a restoration. This law of class struggle will never change. Chairman Mao said in 1955: **"If to this day representatives of the Royalists are found in the French bourgeois National Assembly, then it is highly probable that years after the final elimination of all exploiting classes from the face of the earth, representatives of the Chiang Kai-shek dynasty will remain active here and there. The worst diehards among them will never admit defeat."** (Introductory note to the "Third Batch of Material on the Hu Feng Counter-Revolutionary Clique.") In our study of the history of struggle between the Confucian and Legalist schools, we get a deeper understanding when we restudy this scientific summing up of historical experience by Chairman Mao. Never for a moment should the revolutionary classes and people forget that the enemy still exists in the world.

Need for a Leading Group Adhering to the Correct Line

The Western Han Dynasty was able to win victories in the struggle against restoration in its early and middle periods because it persisted in the Legalist line. The implementation of this line was interrupted after the death of Chin Shih Huang. But following the death of the first ruler of the Han Dynasty Emperor Kao Tsu (whose name was Liu Pang and reigned from 206 to 195 B.C.), the Legalist line was basically upheld for 140 years by six succeeding rulers. The landlord class in these two periods was equally in the ascendant, and yet the results were different. Why?

Obviously what happened in the early and middle periods of the Western Han Dynasty was affected by the peasant war at the end of the Chin Dynasty which swept away the remnants of the slave-owning aristocrats and by the balance of class forces in the early years of the Han Dynasty. At the same time, it could not be denied that the long-term preservation of a Legalist leading group in the central political power of the Western Han Dynasty also played an important part. From the overthrow of the Chin Dynasty, Liu Pang came to understand the central leading group's extreme importance. He held fast to the Legalist line of selecting officials in the course of struggle. After his death, Queen Lu, Emperor Wen and several succeeding emperors continued to follow Liu Pang's Legalist line; they set great store by the opinions of such Legalists as Chao Tso (200-154 B.C.), Chang Tang (?-115 B.C.) and Sang Hung-yang (152-80 B.C.) and put them in important posts in the central government. Adherence to the Legalist line was ensured because of the existence

of such a leading group which continued to carry out the Legalist line. So even when armed rebellions broke out, they were promptly quelled.

This was the specific reason why the slave-owners' restorationist forces considered the Legalist leading group in the central organ their biggest obstacle in the way of restoration. Liu Pi (215-154 B.C.), who was Prince of Wu and a nephew of Liu Pang and one of the princes in the early years of the Han Dynasty, put forth the counter-revolutionary strategy of "cleaning up those around the emperor" which, under the facade of supporting the central authorities, aimed at removing the policy-making Legalists in the central organ and putting an end to the Legalist leading group at the central level, thereby basically changing the Legalist line in the political power of the Western Han Dynasty as a whole.

After summing up this important experience in the history of struggle between the Confucian and Legalist schools, Chairman Mao pointed out: **"Ever since Liu Pi, Prince of Wu of the Han Dynasty, invented the well-known strategy of cleaning up those around the emperor by a request to kill Chao Tso (chief brain-truster of Emperor Ching), many careerists have regarded it as invaluable, and the Hu Feng clique has inherited this legacy, too."** Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, those bourgeois representatives who have wormed their way into the Party often will adopt this counter-revolutionary strategy of "cleaning up those around the emperor" in order to bring about a fundamental change in the Party's basic line. In his *Outline of Project "571,"* didn't the counter-revolutionary careerist and conspirator Lin Piao rave about flaunting the revolutionary banner to attack the revolutionary forces that persevere in Chairman Mao's correct line? **"As members of a revolutionary party, we must get to know these tricks of theirs and study their tactics so that we can defeat them."** (Introductory note to the "Third Batch of Material on the Hu Feng Counter-Revolutionary Clique.") We must be adept at detecting these careerists, conspirators and double-dealers and ensure that the Party and state leadership be always in the hands of the Marxist revolutionaries.

Persist in Continuing the Revolution

The feudal rulers carried out the Legalist line up to the end of the middle period of the Western Han Dynasty. In its struggle against restoration, the landlord class, however, aimed only at maintaining feudal rule and could not raise new revolutionary tasks for itself. After succeeding Hsiao Ho (?-193 B.C.) as prime minister in the early years of the Han Dynasty, Tsao Tsan (?-190 B.C.) told Emperor Hui: "Emperor Kao Ti [Liu Pang] and Hsiao Ho have brought stability to the country and made laws clearly known to the people; now Your Majesty should just take the reins and Tsan and others should hold our posts by following what already has been established without change. Isn't this

all right?" This typical case showed that though the landlord class at that time still adhered to the Legalist line, it lacked the clear-cut revolutionary spirit of the Legalists in the stormy periods of class struggle. Its revolutionary vigour and strength were gradually declining.

With the gradual disappearance of the danger of restoration of slavery after the Western Han Dynasty, the contradiction between the landlords and peasants daily grew sharper and the landlord class was being transformed from a real tiger to a paper tiger. The landlord class began to detest the Legalist ideas and found that the somewhat modified Confucian ideas suited its needs. This transformation was the inevitable historical destiny of an exploiting class.

However, the proletariat is different; it is most thoroughly revolutionary and its final goal is to wipe out classes and realize communism. Therefore, it persists in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Precisely as Lenin pointed out: **"Our 'guarantee against restoration' was the complete fulfilment of the revolution."** (*Report on the Unity Congress of the R.S.D.L.P.*) Chairman Mao also pointed out: The new socialist system can be **"consolidated step by step"** only in the course of socialist revolution. **"To achieve its ultimate consolidation, it is necessary not only to bring about the socialist industrialization of the country and persevere in the socialist revolution on the economic front, but to carry on constant and arduous socialist revolutionary struggles and socialist education on the political and ideological fronts."** (*Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work.*) This tells us that only by persevering in long-term socialist revolution and socialist education in the political, ideological and economic fields can the proletariat that has seized political power prevent capitalist restoration and fulfil the historical task of proletarian dictatorship.

The class basis of the struggle between the Confucian and Legalist schools changed in the middle and later periods of feudal society. The Confucian doctrines became the dominant ideology of the landlord class while the Legalists ceased to represent the newly rising class and became reformers in the landlord class. In view of the serious social and national crises at different times, they did come out with various proposals for reform which, for instance, stressed unity and waging wars of resistance and opposed splits and capitulation. Their proposals and exposure and criticism of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius were beneficial to the development of the social productive forces, culture and science and the country's unity and independence, and were therefore progressive in nature. However, it was impossible for the Legalists to solve the daily sharpening basic contradiction in feudal society and find a way out for the feudal system. Although they criticized the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius in varying degrees, they were unwilling to or dared not make a radical rupture with these doctrines and, moreover, they dared not openly raise the Legalist banner. They carried on the

struggle, but they no longer had full confidence in the future as the Legalists before the Western Han Dynasty had.

Because the Confucianists became increasingly dominant in feudal society, the Legalists were more and more oppressed, attacked and persecuted by them. This was more so the case after the Sung Dynasty (960-1279). Any minimal reform was regarded as a calamity and struck fear into the feudal rulers who immediately strangled it; any new idea was regarded as heresy by the feudal rulers who would stamp it out by every means. The struggle between the Confucian and Legalist schools throughout feudal society shows that the trend of thinking in China which worships the Confucian school and opposes the Legalist school represents the interests of the most reactionary and darkest forces and always hinders social change and social progress. Unless great efforts are made to criticize this reactionary trend of thinking, revolution cannot advance and society cannot move forward.

Purpose of Studying the Struggle Between The Confucian and Legalist Schools

Going with the tide of historical development, the Legalists of the past played a progressive role to a certain extent in different periods and under various conditions. But it was impossible for them to grasp consciously the objective law of historical development and understand the great role of the people in making history. Guided by the Marxist world outlook, the proletariat is able to understand and consciously grasp the objective law of historical development and carry out thoroughgoing revolution. The basic line of our Party formulated by Chairman Mao for the entire historical period of socialism is the scientific expression of the objective law of class struggle in the period of socialism. Although the task of struggle is arduous and the road of struggle tortuous, the future is bright. The replacement of the bourgeois dictatorship by the proletarian dictatorship and the supersession of capitalism by socialism is the inevitable law of historical development and cannot be changed by any force in the world.

By applying Marxism in studying the historical experience of the struggle between the Confucian and Legalist schools and summing up the general law of class struggle and the two-line struggle in history, we can deepen our understanding of the law of current class struggle, further strengthen our concept of class struggle and raise our consciousness of carrying out the Party's basic line; this will help consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, prevent capitalist restoration and accomplish the great historical mission of the proletariat. This is the basic purpose of our studying the historical experience of the struggle between the Confucian and Legalist schools and the class struggle as a whole.

(A slightly abridged translation of an article in "Hongqi," No. 10, 1974. Subheads and notes are ours.)

Building Oil Industry Through Self-Reliance

— A visit to the new oil pipeline as well as Taching and Takang Oilfields (II)

by Our Correspondents Hsiang Jung and Yu Hai

The first part of this article appeared in our last issue. This is the second and concluding part. — Ed.

TO lay a long-distance oil pipeline, the first thing is to get enough pipes — nearly 200,000 tons of large calibre steel pipes.

Making Pipes Through Diligence and Frugality

Originally there was only one pipe-making factory in northwest China producing these kinds of pipes, and that could not meet the project's needs. It was decided to build pipe-making plants along the pipeline's projected route.

In August 1970, six northeast cities received the state order to produce the steel pipes. Action was taken immediately and designing began in September. In less than four months, machines had been manufactured, installed and put into trial-operation. Another two months saw up-to-standard pipes being turned out.

We visited one factory — the oil pipe plant in Ssuping, Kirin Province. It stood on the old site of a timber mill and still had logs piles outside the gate. Tsung Pei-heng, chairman of the factory's revolutionary committee, came to meet us. A middle-aged cadre, he was a one-time bench worker.

He told us: When the news of building a pipe-making factory reached Ssuping, the workers here were really excited and one after another applied for participation in the job. A "mass battle" began and the city authority organized 500 people from over 40 different factories to work in it.

They built the factory through sheer diligence and frugality. Workshops first had to be built quickly, and installing the machines followed. The small new factory suddenly became busy day and night. To seize the time, the cooks delivered food to the work-site. A few winks alongside the machines were all a sleepy worker had. Some didn't even go home for several days.

All 90 pieces of equipment were made in more than 100 factories in different parts of the province in response to emergency orders. The biggest parts weigh-

ed some seven or eight tons and there were no hoists ready. Workers used shoulder poles and ropes to install them. When they were put into trial-operation, new problems came up. Things were solved by relying on revolutionary enthusiasm and collective wisdom of the workers and selfless support from other factories. None of the workers or cadres minded the tough going. All they had in mind was: "Produce pipes to contribute to oil transportation," and finally they produced up-to-standard steel pipes.

In going around the factory, we saw no imported equipment. There were some machines that looked rough and ready, cast from old rolled steel. The workshops were just some ordinary big rooms and the office of the chairman of the revolutionary committee was in a small one-storey building of what had been the timber mill.

None of this really mattered. Old China had left us only a "poor and blank" basis. We have been building our country almost from scratch and from small to large through self-reliance and arduous struggle.

The ground was broken on September 25, 1970 for the Ssuping Steel Pipe Plant which was completed and put into production on December 25 the same year. In the three and a half years between 1971 and the first half of 1974, it had produced 340-kilometre-long large calibre steel pipe, all of desired quality. Not content with what they had already attained, the workers were making further efforts to raise their production and technical levels.

People Are the Most Precious

We saw an article on one of the newspapers published at the pipe-laying work-site, "This Is No Mirage." It told of a veteran herdsman who took his flock to an old haunt early one morning. When he got there a building was standing where there had been nothing. Was he seeing things? He had passed by the evening before when he collected the sheep and there was only a vast stretch of grassland.

This was no mirage. A construction team had hurried there and had promptly got down to work. Limited



Another Section of the Oil Pipeline Being Completed.

by the amateur graphic art group
of Chihuahangtao workers and staff

in number, its workers asked support from nearby rural people's communes. Nearly a hundred commune members immediately showed up. Because of the cold, they had to have hot water to mix the mortar. Every household was mobilized to heat water and carry it to the work-site. From children over eight to old people over 60, all came to help. From dusk till dawn they spent nine hours to finish all the work, from laying the foundation to covering the roof.

Laying the whole pipeline also was helped by the masses along the route. A deep trench running through a long stretch of farmland had to be dug. The work had to start after the autumn harvest and be completed before the freezing season set in so as not to interfere with farmwork.

Time was pressing. How to accomplish the task? The people's government told the peasants along the route the significance of the pipeline to industrial development. Many applied to work on the job and applicants in many counties and communes were more than ten times the number needed. Villagers put a big red flower on the chest of each young peasant who had been accepted to take part, like people sending young men to join the people's army during the period of the revolutionary wars.

Tens of thousands of peasants, workers and P.L.A. men together took less than half a month to finish digging over 1,000 kilometres of the trench.

The backbone force in laying the pipeline is a vigorous professional contingent which shouldered all the technical tasks. We visited the No. 2 engineering subheadquarters. Recruited from more than 20

provinces, workers and staff had travelled many places building the oil industry. As the lines in the popular *Song of Oil Workers* go: "I'm finding oil for the motherland. Where there is oil, my home is there."

We were told by workers: They often worked in ice or snow during winter. Sometimes they had to lie on the ice while welding pipes and their cotton-padded clothes stuck to the ice when they had finished welding. Sandstorms were frequent when spring came. If sand was blown into their rice bowls, they said: "The blue sky is my tent and the earth my bed. Sand and rice are not bad."

It is these ordinary yet great workers, peasants and P.L.A. men who use their own hands to paint the freshest and the most beautiful pictures on China's vast land and who are writing a new chapter in the history of the rapid progress of socialist China.

Chairman Mao has said: "Of all things in the world, people are the most precious. Under the leadership of the Communist Party, as long as there are people, every kind of miracle can be performed. (*The Bankruptcy of the Idealist Conception of History*.) We build our country through self-reliance. Whom should we rely on to do this? It is the millions, the masses. Without the mass line, there can be no self-reliance.

Oil Refining

Not only has China's crude oil output increased by a big margin, but the oil refining industry also has made big strides. We went to Fushun, a coal centre in the northeast, to see one of the three refineries there — the No. 2 Oil Refinery.

An old oil refinery from pre-liberation days, it has completely changed. First built in 1941 during the Japanese occupation, it was a rather small refinery which started extracting oil from shale in 1945. Production stopped soon afterwards. Liberation in 1949 restored production and it was gradually expanded. Starting from 1962, it was transformed into one mainly refining crude since it then had 13 sets of big processing equipment that had been made by self-reliance. Today, it is a big, modern petro-chemical plant producing various high-quality fuels and petro-chemical products.

Annual processing capacity of the few imperialist-run broken-down refineries before liberation was only 100,000 tons. Following the opening up of oil resources after liberation, the oil-refining industry has developed at a high speed. Relying on her own efforts, China completed her first big, modern refinery — the Taching Refinery — in 1962. In its wake came a number of modern refineries, with China designed, made and installed.

equipment. The first big, modern petro-chemical complex in the country — the Peking General Petro-Chemical Plant capable of producing over 300 kinds of fuel oil and petro-chemical products — was completed in 1969. The processing capacity of the new refineries constructed in the 1960s was eight times that of the 1950s.

The imperialists always claim that the people of the developing countries can't do anything for themselves. Driven out in 1949, they said we Chinese could not even maintain the few small ill-equipped petroleum plants they were forced to leave behind. When we began to develop on the weak basis we had, they scoffed at our backward techniques.

However, things always happen contrary to the wishes of the imperialists. With their own crude oil, China's oil workers now not only can produce large quantities of ordinary fuels and lubricants, but also aviation fuel and lubricants for use under extremely high or low temperatures, and special petroleum products for advanced science and techniques and for the national defence industry. China is self-sufficient in petroleum products in both variety and quantity, and exports a small portion of them.

Accelerating Rate of Advance

Since the opening up of the Taching Oilfield in the early 1960s, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution which started in 1966 has further promoted the growth



An Advanced Collective in the Refinery's Socialist Emulation Drive.

by the workers' spare-time art group of the No. 1 Oil Refinery in Fushun

of China's oil industry. The Shengli and Takang Oilfields were opened during the Cultural Revolution.

We went to the Takang Oilfield which is in the coastal area of north China.

Started in spring 1964, Takang was explored and built through China's own efforts. The oilfield is rich in oil and gas resources and its crude oil is of high industrial and economic value. The average annual increase of crude oil output at Takang was 60.9 per cent between 1967 and 1973. (See "Newly Built Takang Oilfield," *Peking Review*, No. 21, 1974.)

The nationwide movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius that began in early 1974 is a new motive force in Takang's big advance. The southern zone of the oilfield was just opened in May and June last year. Only two months were spent to get the new wells there to produce much high-quality crude oil — a high speed "mass battle." The daily output created by the two months' work in this zone is equivalent to one-tenth of the oilfield's daily capacity acquired in the previous ten years.

We interviewed some builders here. They said: The opening of the new oil zone is a rich result of the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius.

The campaign has strengthened the workers' and staff's determination to speed up oilfield construction and evoked their spirit of innovation. For example, a hoisting method was traditionally used in building metal oil tanks with a large storage capacity, which required many machines and high labour intensity. Efficiency was low too. In opening the new oil zone, they used the new pneumatic floating method recently learnt from other places. When the new technology was suggested, many workers welcomed it while a few people, thinking it unreliable, preferred the old one. The latter were afraid that because time was pressing, production would be hampered if the test failed.

They did not argue over the actual work of whether to adopt the new technology or to use the old method. They first criticized Lin Piao and Confucius' crime in plotting restoration and retrogression. Reactionaries like Lin Piao and Confucius tried to turn back the wheel of history, while revolutionary people must accelerate the advance of history. Being bold in innovations and swiftly building a new oil zone are concrete actions in criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius. When their thinking is unified as mentioned above, they merged their efforts. At first installation went smoothly. Difficulties appeared later. Some conservative-minded people carped and criticized. But most people were not daunted. They studied Chairman Mao's *On Practice* and opposed sticking to the old way without change. They criticized the theory of "genius" and put their faith in overcoming difficulties through collective wisdom. Successful, the new floating method raised efficiency four-fold. The workers said: "We oppose being conservative and stand for innovation. This is a powerful rebuff to Lin Piao

and Confucius' line of restoration and retrogression." There were many similar examples like this in opening up the new oil zone.

Stories of how the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius has brought on revolution in designing have also spread in Takang. To transport Takang's natural gas to a synthetic ammonia factory under construction, a long-distance pipe had to be laid. The oilfield's designing institute was given the task last February. The movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius was in full swing at that time. The big-character posters on the grounds criticized Lin Piao and Confucius' idealist apriorism, coupling it with the influence of the revisionist line, such as being divorced from reality and clinging to the old rules in designing. The institute leadership put up big-character posters, welcoming and supporting the masses' opinions.

A "three-in-one" surveying and designing group of workers, technicians and engineers and leading cadres was organized. It was determined to overcome past designing shortcomings and to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius by deeds.

Instead of designing in their offices or working after just a quick look at the spot, the designers travelled 1,700 kilometres on foot or by vehicle to make a detailed on-the-spot survey of the ten proposed plans. Having repeatedly consulted with the peasants along the proposed route, they finally selected a comparatively desirable one for the pipeline which economized on both rolled steel and took up less farmland. Chang Hsiao-yueh, the technician responsible for the designing, told us: "The design is quite suitable. This is not because of someone's head being particularly brilliant as Lin Piao advocated, but it came from large amount of investigation and study and listening fully to the opinions of the peasants along the route. Lin Piao and Confucius advocated 'born with knowledge,' but we maintain that real knowledge comes from practice. They propagated the theory of 'genius,' while we uphold the truth that the masses are the real heroes."

We visited some Takang drilling teams and oil extraction teams and were impressed by their energetic spirit. Their average age is only 21.

The No. 2 team of the No. 1 oil producing section has 230 members, over one-third of them are young women. Deputy team leader Chen Ming-chen is 21. In the past, oil extraction workers were mainly responsible



In the Takang Oilfield.

Woodcut by Wang Ching-yu

for paraffin removal in the oil wells, sweeping floors, measuring oil and gas. And geologists were responsible for the underground oil strata. The movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius promoted further the workers' enthusiasm. On their own initiative, they suggested that they also look after the underground oil strata. Since last year the team has kept a close watch on 37 wells—recording data once every five minutes, extracting oil samples and measuring the gas every half an hour. They thus obtained 15,900 data and got to know the "temper" of every well. By measures designed to improve the situation, they conquered wells whose output was unsteady and restored production in those close to extinction. As a result, the team's average daily output in September 1974 increased 36.3 per cent as compared with the corresponding period the year before, without any new wells being put into operation.

When we went to see the team, young people just off shift were rehearsing theatrical pieces for New Year's Day they had written or composed themselves. One of their rhymed, fast talk ballads said: "The movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius has raised our enthusiasm. We are determined to overcome every difficulty in production. Our oil extracting task will be fulfilled ahead of schedule and this will be our present to the Party on New Year's Day."

All Takang is seething with activity. So are those places we went to in our travels of more than 1,000 kilometres—from Chihuahngtao, the terminal of the newly built pipeline, to the famous Taching Oilfield; from the pipe-making plant in Ssiping to the oil refinery in Fushun. Everywhere we were impressed with the soaring enthusiasm and high aspiration. Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, China's oil industry is sure to develop at a faster speed along the road of independence and self-reliance.

Africa: A Year of United Struggle

THE African people in 1974 won splendid victories in their fierce attacks launched in various spheres against imperialism, colonialism, racism, Zionism and hegemonism, thus greatly contributing to the Third World's cause of unity against imperialism.

New Victories for National-Liberation Movements

There were frequent reports of victories in the African people's struggle for national liberation in the past year.

Through protracted struggle, the African people in Portuguese colonies forced the regime in Lisbon to extend de jure recognition to the Republic of Guinea-Bissau and the Mozambican people's right to independence in September. An agreement on the realization in 1975 of the independence of the Sao Tome and Principe Islands was reached in November between the Sao Tome and Principe Liberation Movement and Portugal. The Angolan people have been strengthening their unity and fighting for the speedy realization of their national independence.

Inspired by the victorious struggle of the people in the Portuguese colonies, the southern African people have brought about a new development in the national-liberation armed struggles and mass movements. In the past year, the Zimbabwe guerrilla fighters launched ceaseless attacks, dealing the white racist Smith regime telling blows. The Namibian guerrillas intensified their struggle, inflicting heavy casualties on South African colonialist troops. The Azanian people's mass movement and strikes against the reactionary South African authorities were raging. The victorious advance of the African national-liberation movements has thrown the white racist regimes entrenched in southern Africa into panic.

Fearing no sacrifice and fighting valiantly on the battlefield, the people in the Portuguese colonies adhered to principle and dared to struggle at the negotiation table. While negotiating with Portugal, Guinea-Bissau smashed the Portuguese authorities' plots for a "ceasefire" and a "referendum" and defended the principle of national independence. From their fight for national independence, the African people have come to realize that struggle can never be given up even when

victory is won and people's armed forces can only be strengthened, not weakened. Two months after the Mozambican Transitional Government was formed in September, a handful of colonialists twice engineered revolts in an attempt to hinder the Mozambican people's independence. The Mozambican people and their armed forces firmly put down these revolts in defence of the fruits of their victory.

Fight for Economic Independence

The struggle to defend their national independence and state sovereignty and to develop their national economies and safeguard national resources by the African countries and people who have won independence is developing in depth. In their struggle against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism, the African people have realized ever more deeply that without political independence there can be no economic independence, and without the latter a country's independence remains incomplete and insecure. That is why, in the past year, more and more independent African countries have made economic independence their aim and pushed the struggle for it to a height. This fully reflects the deepening of the African people's struggle against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism and shows their new awakening.

To achieve economic independence, should a country rely mainly on its own strength or should it rely on foreign countries, particularly on the "aid" of the superpowers? The Algerian Head of State Boumediene has given a definite answer: "We must first of all learn to rely on ourselves. . . . We ourselves must take the responsibility for our own development." More and more African countries launched struggles in 1974 against colonialist forces in the economic sphere. The Congolese Government cancelled all operations by eight foreign oil companies in the country last January; Togo took over all the foreign shares in the Benin Mines Company in February; Libya declared the nationalization of three American oil companies in March; Zaire denied Belgium's patent rights to copper production in the country in April; Mauritania nationalized foreign-run iron companies in November; and in December, the Dahomeyan Government announced state monopoly over the supply, storage, transport and sale of all oil

products and by-products in the country. These measures have not only handed the colonialist forces a harsher blow, but also has provided these countries with favourable conditions for the independent development of their national economies through self-reliance.

To speed up economic construction, an increasing number of African countries are attaching importance to the development of agriculture, especially grain production. The African people are striving to gradually change the lop-sided development of agricultural economies resulting from protracted colonial rule on the continent and to achieve self-sufficiency in food grain. At the same time, many of their countries have made energetic efforts to develop national industry, paying special attention to the use of local resources and materials to build small and medium-sized enterprises that serve the interests of these countries.

The African people's anti-imperialist struggle has reached a new level with the spearhead of their struggle for economic independence directed more and more against the superpowers' policy of plunder and hegemonism. Initiated by African countries, the 6th Special Session of the U.N. General Assembly was held in April at which the representatives of these countries, countering the two superpowers' hegemonic stand against the developing countries' permanent sovereignty over their natural resources, firmly upheld the following principle laid down in the declaration drafted by the 77-nation group: The right of every country to exercise effective control over its natural resources, including nationalization and transfer of ownership to its nationals. At the Third U.N. Conference on the Law of the Sea in August, representatives of many African countries strongly condemned the maritime hegemonism stubbornly engaged in by the two superpowers, particularly by Soviet social-imperialism. Together with representatives of other Third World countries, they strongly denounced the two superpowers' fallacies of "interdependence" and "freedom of fishery" and thus isolated them to an unprecedented extent. This fully demonstrates the might of the Third World's united struggle.

Steady Expansion of Anti-Imperialist United Front

In the past year, the African countries and the other Third World countries have expanded their united front against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism, and strengthened their unity in struggle, thus bringing about an ever better situation.

To struggle against the enemy, the African countries have co-ordinated their steps still better than before and struggled more resolutely. At the time the Lisbon authorities tried to use "self-determination" and a "referendum" as bait to induce the people in Portuguese colonies to lay down their arms and thus prevent them from attaining genuine independence, leaders of 42 independent African countries in June solemnly declared that so long as Portugal did not recognize the colonial

people's right to complete independence on the basis of territorial integrity, the independent African countries would "spare neither sacrifice nor effort to strengthen the struggle waged by the liberation movements." In September, leaders of 17 East and Central African countries adopted the Brazzaville Declaration and decided to increase and expand their assistance to the national-liberation movements. These declarations expressed the African people's strong desire for the total liberation of Africa.

The South African racist regime is the common enemy of the African people. To oust its representative from the United Nations, they fought dauntlessly against sabotage and obstruction by the United States and other countries. United as one at the U.N. General Assembly in November and defying the opposition of representatives of the United States and other countries, the African and other Third World countries adopted by an overwhelming majority the ruling by the President of the General Assembly, prohibiting the South African regime's representative from taking part in the work of the 29th Session of the U.N. General Assembly.

Inspired by the Arab countries' use of oil as a weapon in their struggle, the African countries are closing their ranks with other Third World's raw-material-producing countries and waging a united struggle to protect national resources against plunder and exploitation by imperialism, particularly by the superpowers.

The ranks of the African united struggle expanded steadily in the past year. The militant African-Arab unity tempered in the October Middle East War of 1973 has been markedly strengthened. The 11th Assembly of the Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity in June adopted a special resolution, voicing firm support for the just struggle of the Arab people against Israeli aggression, and decided to strengthen African-Arab co-operation. The 7th Arab Summit Conference in October decided to increase financial and economic assistance to Africa and agreed on convening Arab-African summit conference to bring about closer Arab-African unity, thus shattering the divisive plots of the superpowers and Israeli Zionism.

The African people are marching forward on the road of united struggle but the way ahead is by no means plain sailing. They still face arduous and complicated fighting tasks. One superpower for a long time has pushed a colonial policy in Africa and supported racist regimes in southern Africa. Flaunting the banner of "supporting" the national-liberation movements, the other superpower has tried its utmost to create a split in the liberation organizations and undermine their unity in its efforts to fish in troubled waters and push the policy of hegemonism. But practice in struggle has proved that whatever their schemes and intrigues, the two superpowers can never stop the African people from advancing with giant strides towards complete African independence and liberation.

Ten Years of Armed Struggle

- With guns firmly in their hands, the Palestinian people have in the last decade repulsed Israeli Zionist suppression and smashed the disruptive schemes of the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, and thus made important contributions to Palestine revolution and the Arab people's liberation cause.

TEN years have elapsed since the Palestinian people started their armed struggle against Israeli Zionism and for the restoration of their legitimate national rights.

On January 1, 1965, heroic Palestinian sons and daughters fired the first shots in the armed struggle in Israeli-occupied Galilee, thus initiating a new stage in the Palestinian people's liberation movement.

Excellent Situation Created With Gun

Israeli aggression has caused millions of Palestinian people to become homeless and live in misery. Although some Palestinian personages went about the world campaigning for the restoration of their national rights, Israel stepped up its aggression and the superpowers used no end of tricks against them. As regards the important Palestine question concerning the national rights of millions of people, the United Nations, which was manipulated by the superpowers in the past, regarded it simply as a "refugee question," presuming it could be written off by the offer of a sum as compensation.

The Palestinian people's armed struggle has frustrated the enemy's schemes. Today, the guerrillas have become an important revolutionary force in the Middle East, enjoying ever higher prestige in Arab

countries and the rest of the world. Students in the Arab countries often are in the streets raising funds for the Palestine resistance movement, workers contribute part of their wages to the guerrillas, women knit sweaters for them and many people apply to the hospitals to be blood donors for the guerrilla forces. Moreover, fighting shoulder to shoulder with the guerrillas are many young Arab people, some of whom have given their lives for the Palestine liberation cause. In October 1974, the Arab Summit Conference adopted a resolution reaffirming the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. In November, the 29th Session of the U.N. General Assembly adopted two important resolutions, affirming the Palestinian people's right to self-determination, national independence and sovereignty without outside interference and inviting the PLO to participate as an observer in the sessions and the work of the General Assembly. The Palestinian people are fully aware that the excellent situation results from their protracted armed struggle and grows out of the barrel of a gun.

Growing Up in Struggle

The people's armed forces have developed and grown steadily in the difficult conditions and along a tortuous course. Numerically small in 1965, they could then mount an attack about every three days. They have become stronger and stronger through fighting. The guerrilla forces launched 2,390 attacks in 1969, and 2,256 attacks in 1970, averaging more than six a day. In the two years, Palestinian guerrillas penetrating deep into the heartland of the Israeli regime, launched surprise attacks on the camps and military installations of the enemy, and threw them into confusion.

Bitterly hating and mortally afraid of the guerrillas' struggle which had aroused the world's attention, the enemy twice launched massive suppressions of the guerrillas, first in September 1970 and then in July 1971. The guerrillas lost their base in Jordan. But the Palestinian people, persevering in their armed struggle and surmounting all difficulties, continued to strike hard at the Israeli aggressors.

(Continued on p. 23.)



Palestinian guerrilla fighters training for close-range fighting against the enemy.

ROUND THE WORLD

CAPE VERDE ISLANDS

Victory for Protracted Struggle

An agreement on the independence of the Cape Verde Islands was reached in Lisbon at the end of 1974 after a series of negotiations between the African Party for Independence in Guinea and Cape Verde and the Portuguese Government.

The agreement said that the Portuguese Government acknowledged "the rights of the people of Cape Verde to self-autonomy and independence" and undertook "to turn over power to the future independent state of Cape Verde." It also stipulated that the Cape Verde Islands would proclaim independence on July 5, 1975.

The islands are in the Atlantic Ocean, 515 kilometres west of Cape Verde on the western tip of the African continent. They include ten-odd islands with an area of 3,929 square kilometres and a population of nearly 300,000. Portugal made the islands its colony at the end of the 15th century. The people there have carried out a protracted and valiant struggle against Portuguese colonial rule.

SAUDI ARABIA

U.S. Attack Refuted

Fahd Ibn Abdul Aziz, Second Deputy Prime Minister of Saudi Arabia, in a recent interview with the correspondent of the Lebanese daily *Al Anwar*, refuted the U.S. slander against the use of oil as a weapon by the Arab countries.

"The Arabs never accept either interference in their affairs or economic policy imposed upon them. We are ready to co-operate with all those who are willing to co-operate with us, but we will not accept control and dictates," he said.

He refuted the U.S. allegation of the threat of a "world disaster" arising

from the raising of oil prices by the Arab countries and the accumulation of Arab capital. He said: "Such an attack is unjust. Inflation, a phenomenon brought to us by the industrial countries, existed before oil prices were raised. Prior to this, the U.S. dollar had been devalued twice and the British pound several times. This has led to the devaluation of Arab reserves and affected Arab oil revenue."

He asked: "Why do the [oil] consuming countries not repeal taxes on oil products so as to lighten the burden of the oil consumers? Is it fair for them to get more income from each barrel of oil than what the oil-producing countries get? Is it a fact that what the oil-consuming countries get is five or six times what the oil-producing countries get?"

He recalled that the Arab countries' oil embargo was aimed at putting Arab rights in the forefront. He said that certain countries "have no right to condemn us for not selling oil to those who back our enemy who occupies our land so that our people have lost their homes."

Aziz stressed the importance of unity among the Arabs, saying that this unity came to a climax during the October War of 1973. The Arab countries now should "realize our aims through co-operation, benefiting one another and unifying their will," he added.

Warmly acclaiming the Palestine revolution, he said: "This revolution has attracted the world's attention to the existence of the Palestinian people and their sufferings. Without the restoration of their rights, there will be no peace in the Middle East."

MARXIST-LENINIST COMMUNIST PARTY OF FRANCE

European People's Unity Stressed

A communique issued by the Political Bureau of the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of France

stresses that the European people must strengthen their unity to cope with the dangers caused by the two superpowers, particularly by Soviet social-imperialism. The communique was recently published in *l'Humanite Rouge*.

It points out that the world situation of late has continued to develop in a course favourable to the people of various countries and unfavourable to imperialism and social-imperialism. "In the great turbulence today, the people of various countries have constantly strengthened their unity and played a major role in the struggle against plunder and oppression, of which they are victims." The West European countries and others are also strengthening their ties with the Third World and their opposition to the two superpowers.

The communique goes on to say: "The situation is excellent for the people of the world and the proletariat and the working masses in the capitalist countries, while it has driven U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism into sharper rivalry for world hegemony."

The communique stresses that the imperialists and social-imperialists, in the grip of insurmountable difficulties, will inevitably make more trouble throughout the world, and particularly in Europe which is the centre of their contention. Thus the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of France calls on the French people to sharpen their vigilance against the danger brought on by the two superpowers, particularly by Soviet social-imperialism, to peace in Europe and the national independence of European countries. At the same time, in continuing the class struggle for immediate demands as preparation for the proletarian revolution, it is indispensable to reinforce the unity of the European peoples in all spheres.

"The unity of the peoples under the leadership of their proletarian revolutionary parties is decisive, and the unity of the proletarian revolu-

tionary parties is welded by their fidelity to the principles of Marxism-Leninism," the communique says in conclusion.

LIBREVILLE

African Forestry Conference

Proposed by Bongo, President of Gabon, the first ministerial conference of African countries on forestry economy and timber trade was held in Libreville, the capital of Gabon, at the end of 1974. Attending the conference were 11 African countries' ministers in charge of forestry and trade.

At the conference, President Bongo exposed the inequality in trade relations between industrial countries and timber-producing and exporting countries. He stressed: For the major raw-materials-producing countries which are now being built up, the only effective way to help raise the prices of their materials and improve their trade conditions is to set and carry out a co-ordinated policy. He held that the timber-producing and exporting countries should have an appropriate organization to uphold their interests.

The communique issued at the conference pointed out that the forestry economy of most African timber-producing and exporting countries was controlled by foreign enterprises which denied the former due income from their own wealth, thus impeding their economic development. The conference unanimously decided to set up an African organization for co-operation and co-ordination in forestry economy and timber trade.

ALGERIA

Economic Independence Consolidated

To independently develop the national economy, the Algerian Government promulgated a decree, nationalizing 22 foreign companies which operated in Algeria, including

the Belgian Solvay Joint Stock Company Ltd. and the French North Africa Citroen Automobile Company.

Commenting on the government's new measures, *El Moudjahid* pointed out: "Nationalization of important industries such as engineering, steel, chemical and textile will consolidate the country's economic independence at a time when Algeria is concentrating on industrialization and promotion of economic development."

Since 1965, the government has nationalized mines, power companies and a large number of foreign industrial enterprises in Algeria. The same was done with foreign trade and insurance companies and banks. On this basis, Algeria has set up four national banks and more than 80 state-owned industrial and commercial companies. Since 1969 it has controlled almost all its petroleum resources and oil exploitation.

"SCOPE" (AUSTRALIA)

Soviet Union Unmasked

"Reality shows that the Soviet Union is also an imperialist, or rather, a social-imperialist country," says a signed article in the Australian weekly *Scope*.

The article says: Through its control over the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA), the Soviet Union manipulates the economies of the East European countries to serve its interests. For instance, the German Democratic Republic has been forced in recent years to convert dozens of its textile mills into electric motor plants, abandon its traditional aircraft and big-cylinder car manufacturing industries and restrict the development of its ferrous metal industry. The Soviet Union also plunders the raw materials of the other CMEA states. A locomotive made in an East European country, for instance, can be exchanged for 3,400 tons of oil on the world market, but obtains only 1,200 tons of oil when sold to the Soviet Union.

The article continues: The Soviet imperialist domination over certain East European countries is backed up by its military forces. Soviet troops still remain not only in Czechoslovakia, but in Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, Bulgaria and Poland.

The article adds: The Soviet Union also uses its "socialist" signboard and the ruse of "aid" to exploit the Third World. Between 1960 and 1971, the Soviet Union extracted 3,300 million U.S. dollars' worth of rubber and cotton at cheap prices from the Third World. Soviet exports to Asia, Africa and Latin America are usually priced 20-30 per cent higher than the international market price, and as a rule, higher than its exports to Western countries. The Soviet Union has resold Arab oil to Western Europe at a 300 per cent mark-up, and has dictated payment in oil, gold and Eurodollars for the arms they supply to the Arab countries. They buy cheap natural gas from Iran and channel it to West European pipelines which connect en route to Moscow, re-selling it at a large profit. In India, the Soviet Union often specifies that projects built with their "aid" must manufacture products specifically for Soviet use. Following classical mercantilism, the Soviet Union buys cotton from the Sudan, sends it to India for manufacturing, and then takes the finished product back to the Soviet Union for sale, thus exploiting the "cheap labour" of the Indian workers.

The article points out: The Soviet Union is contending with U.S. imperialism for global hegemony. These are not the actions of a socialist state but of a capitalist state in the era of imperialism. This is because socialism has been replaced in the Soviet Union by the rule of a new capitalist class composed of wealthy bureaucrats, managers and directors of enterprises.

The bullying attitude of U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, however, is being increasingly resisted, the article concludes.

ON THE HOME FRONT

Civil Aviation Expanded

GUIDED by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, China's international air service has made rapid headway. Since September 1974, three new international routes have been opened: Peking-Tokyo, Peking-Karachi-Paris and Peking-Teheran-Bucharest-Tirana. These plus the Peking-Pyongyang, Peking-Hanoi, Peking-Rangoon and Peking-Moscow airlines make up a total of seven. The longest single flight now covers 12,000 kilometres as against some 3,000 before.

China's civil aviation, still in its infancy and limited in size, can be said to have only made its debut in international air service.

Old China had two civil aviation companies which catered exclusively to the imperialists, landlords and capitalists and to the Kuomintang reactionaries who were waging a civil war against the people. Over half of their capital was in the hands of Americans and most of the pilots were Americans. In November 1949, the staff of the two companies revolted in Hongkong and came over to the side of the people, but there were only 12 antiquated planes which flew back to the motherland.

Old China never built any airports exclusively for civil use. On the eve of liberation in 1949, the Kuomintang reactionaries destroyed or made away with all the installations at those airfields available to the two companies. The runway at the airfield on the western outskirts of Peiping (now Peking), which was a comparatively big airfield at that time, was 1,050 metres long, suitable for small planes only.

New China's civil aviation, built up on such poor foundations, inaugurated flights from Tientsin to Kwangchow and Chungking on August 1, 1950. Six years later, its planes landed at the Lhasa airport on the "Roof of the World." Today, more than 80 domestic air routes radiate from Peking to over 70 cities.

A special aviation service with a fleet of several hundred aircraft has been set up primarily to serve indus-

try, agriculture and scientific research. Such a thing was inconceivable in old China. With civil aviation links with foreign countries steadily growing, China has started her own international air service.

Airports, aircraft maintenance workshops and other facilities have been built on a large scale to meet the needs of expanding international air travel. Landing fields in Peking, Shanghai, Kwangchow, Urumchi and other places have been rapidly expanded into international airports for large jet airliners. China now has seven such airports, most of them are equipped with installations for the take-off and landing of big aircraft in complicated weather conditions.

After ample preparations, in 1964, 1966 and 1973 respectively the Pakistan International Airlines, Air France and Ethiopian Airlines set up flights to Kwangchow, Shanghai and Peking. In addition, China has air transport agreements with more than 30 countries and business contacts with over 100 foreign airline corporations.

Chinese airliners on scheduled flights landed at airports of ten other countries last year. The development of international civil aviation has promoted friendly intercourse and economic and cultural exchanges between the people of China and other countries.

In the past year, five Chinese goodwill delegations went on inaugural flights of the General Administration of the Civil Aviation of China (C.A.A.C.) to Japan, Pakistan, France, Iran and Albania to join in celebrations marking the occasion and to pay friendly visits.

Kazakh People: A New Life

APPROXIMATELY 80 per cent of the Kazakh people in China live in the Ili Kazakh Autonomous Chou in the northern part of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region. The autonomous chou embraces about one-fifth of Sinkiang and is a 350,000-square-kilometre area of fertile land, luxuriant steppe and abundant re-

sources. But despite all its natural richness, the Kuomintang reactionary rule in old China could bring it nothing but poverty and backwardness.

The chou began a new life only after the founding of New China in 1949. The changes it has undergone have been even more striking since the Great Cultural Revolution started in 1966. As a result of rapidly growing production and a rising standard of living, the population has expanded to a figure 2.5 times that of the early days after liberation.

Total grain output has more than trebled that of 25 years ago. This is no mean feat. Achieved through the collective efforts of commune members of various nationalities, it involved changing the primitive way of "sowing from horseback" which had long left grain yields at the mercy of nature. During the Great Cultural Revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Biao and Confucius, they mounted drives to learn from the Tachai Brigade — China's pace-setter for agriculture, taking on water conservancy projects, levelling land and popularizing the use of improved seed strains. Much work has been done on mechanization and enhancing the land's ability to withstand untoward climatic conditions. Herculean efforts have brought about gratifying results. In the Ili River valley alone, irrigation now benefits 80 per cent of the 330,000 hectares of cultivated land there. Apart from a great number of seeders, combine-harvesters, threshers and crushers as well as power-operated irrigation and drainage facilities, the valley owns some 5,000 tractors (average capacity 15 h.p.), six times as many as in 1964. This is a far cry from the past when farming was done with crude hand tools. Over 50 per cent of the farmland in the whole chou now is machine-ploughed, while the acreage sown and harvested by machinery keeps expanding.

With the development of agriculture, animal husbandry has been flourishing too. In the spirit of self-reliance, the herdsmen worked hard at building sheds and enclosures, irrigating pastures and improving animal breeds. They thus achieved a 2.5-fold net increase in livestock as

compared with the 1949 figure. This includes greatly increased numbers of Sinkiang fine wool sheep, Ili horses and other improved breeds. The herdsmen have basically given up the nomadic life followed by their forefathers for centuries and settled down in neat newly built houses.

With no iron and steel industry to speak of in pre-liberation days, metal was such a rarity that even iron for making horseshoes had to be shipped in from other parts of China. By contrast, today's Ili Iron and Steel Plant fully satisfies local needs with its own products. Before liberation the Tacheng area had a few down-at-heel handicraft shops which produced small farm tools and household utensils, such as hoes, sickles, knives, ladles. This has given way to thriving local industries producing coal, cement, electric motors, simple lathes, farm machinery and dozens of other important products.

Small hydroelectric power stations for tapping the rich water resources of the Ili River valley have sprung up one after another since the Great Cultural Revolution began. The electricity generated in 1973 was 21 times that of 1954. The advent of more electricity has enabled many production teams to install lights and mechanize grain-processing.

In the old days education was monopolized by a handful of herd-owners and wealthy persons, while the labouring people had no access



A Kazakh cadre gives a talk on the history of the struggle between the Confucian and Legalist schools.

to schools at all. Now primary school education has been popularized throughout the rural and pastoral areas and middle school education in the cities and towns. Some young Kazakhs have been recommended to study in universities and colleges in Peking, Shanghai, Urumchi (capital of Sinkiang) and other places. In addition, broadcasting and amplifying stations, libraries and reading rooms, film projection teams and cultural troupes have been set up in villages and pastoral areas since the Great Cultural Revolution got under way. The co-operative medical service with a contingent of Kazakh medical workers has become part and

parcel of the better life enjoyed by the people. Epidemic diseases which took a heavy toll of lives before liberation have been basically eliminated.

Not only does the People's Government actively help the Kazakh people develop production and increase income, it also pursues a rational price policy to lessen the peasants' and herdsmen's living expenses. Over the past 20 years since the autonomous *chou* was established, purchasing prices for agricultural and livestock products have been raised 59 per cent, while prices for agricultural means of production have been lowered 30 per cent.

(Continued from p. 19.)

During the October Middle East War of 1973, the guerrillas demonstrated their courage and power when they penetrated into the Israeli rear area, blasted enemy highways and bridges, and demolished enemy fuel and ammunition depots. This effectively tied down the enemy and supported the Syrian and Egyptian troops in their war against aggression.

Vigilant Against the Two Superpowers

Always regarding the Middle East as a choice morsel, U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism have been locked in a scramble for it, trying to expand spheres of influence there and stamp out the flames of the Arab national-liberation struggle. They have tried by hook or by crook to remove the "thorn in their flesh," the Palestinian armed forces which represent a big obstacle to the realization of their schemes. They have trotted out a "proposal" today and a "plan" tomorrow, trying to entice the Palestinian people to

lay down their arms. U.S. imperialism has consistently backed Israeli aggression and opposed Palestinian people's armed struggle and the people's recovery of lost territories and return to their homeland. Soviet revisionist social-imperialism is more cunning. For years it has slandered the armed struggle persisted in by the Palestinian people as "riots." But now it pretends to "support" their armed struggle, harbouring the ulterior motive of using the Palestinian armed forces as gambling chip in its contention with U.S. imperialism in the Middle East and thus finally realizing its vicious scheme of putting out the flames of the Palestine revolution.

The two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, are now stepping up their rivalry and making trouble in the Middle East. Meanwhile, the Israeli aggressors are biding their time for new aggression. The struggle by the Palestinian and other Arab people remains protracted and tortuous. Firmly holding their guns, the Palestinian people are keeping a vigilant eye on the developing situation.

MAO TSETUNG

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