

PEKING REVIEW

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February 27, 1976

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— From the Soviet revisionists' 24th congress to their
25th congress

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Chairman Mao Meets Former U.S. President and Mrs. Nixon

CHAIRMAN Mao Tsetung on February 23 met with Richard M. Nixon, former President of the United States of America, Mrs. Nixon and John V. Brennan, a member of his party.

At the meeting, Chairman Mao shook hands with the American guests, welcoming them to China, and had a friendly conversation with Mr. Nixon on a wide range of subjects. At the end of the conversation,

Chairman Mao asked Mr. Nixon to convey his regards to President Gerald R. Ford upon returning home.

Present at the meeting and conversation were Hua Kuo-feng, Chinese Acting Premier; Chiao Kuan-hua, Foreign Minister; Huang Chen, Chief of the Liaison Office of China in the United States; Wang Hai-jung, Vice-Foreign Minister; and Tang Wen-sheng and Chang Han-chih, Deputy Departmental Directors of the Foreign Ministry.



Former U.S. President and Mrs. Nixon in China

RICHARD M. Nixon, former President of the United States of America, and Mrs. Nixon arrived in Peking by special plane on February 21 on a visit to China at the invitation of the Chinese Government.

Welcoming them at the airport were Acting Premier Hua Kuo-feng, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress Yao Lien-wei, Minister of Foreign Affairs Chiao Kuan-hua, Minister of Public Health Liu Hsiang-ping, Chief of the Liaison Office of the People's Republic of China in the United States Huang Chen, and more than 300 people in the capital including people of various circles who have visited the United States.

Also meeting them at the airport were Harry E.T. Thayer, Deputy Chief of the Liaison Office of the United States of America in China, and members of Mr. Nixon's entourage who had arrived in Peking earlier.

On February 22, Acting Premier Hua Kuo-feng hosted a banquet given in their honour by the State Council in the Great Hall of the People.

Acting Premier Hua Kuo-feng and Mr. Nixon spoke at the banquet. (For excerpts of their toasts see pp. 5 and 6.)

Talks were held between Acting Premier Hua Kuo-feng and Mr. Nixon.

Mr. Nixon and Mrs. Nixon called on Madame Teng Ying-chao and expressed their deep condolences on the death of the late Premier Chou En-lai.

On February 23, accompanied by Chinese leaders Hua Kuo-feng, Chiang Ching and Yao Lien-wei, Mr. and Mrs. Nixon attended an evening performance given by the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee.

During their stay in Peking, Mr. and Mrs. Nixon visited the Exhibition on the National Movement to Learn From Tachai in Agriculture, the Museum of Chinese History and other places.

Zairese Government Delegation Ends Visit

The Government Delegation of the Republic of Zaire led by Engulu Baangampongo Bakokele Lokanga, Commissioner of State for Political Affairs, left Peking on February 19 after a five-day friendship visit to China. Acting Premier Hua Kuo-feng met and had a cordial and friendly talk with members of the delegation on February 18.

Foreign Minister Chiao Kuan-hua gave a banquet in honour of the delegation on February 15. In his speech at the banquet, the Foreign Minister said: In the past year and more, the Zairese Government and people, under the leadership of His Excellency President Mobutu Sese Seko, have stood firm against the pressure of the superpowers, firmly safeguarded national independence and state sovereignty, supported the African national-liberation movement and pushed forward the African countries' joint struggle against hegemony. On the question of Angola, the Zairese Government has upheld justice and strongly condemned and opposed aggression and interference by Soviet social-imperialism. In the face of Soviet threat, intimidation and military provocation, Zaire has defied brute force and given it a tit-for-tat rebuff, and has demonstrated the indomitable courage of the third world to oppose big-power hegemonism. The firm stand of the Zairese Government has won the sympathy and admiration of the third world countries and all other countries in the world that uphold justice. This we sincerely hail.

"To contend for world hegemony with U.S. imperialism," he added, "Soviet social-imperialism has single-handedly provoked the civil war in Angola and openly carried out military aggression against Angola in an attempt to turn the country into its colony and further stretch its tentacles to other areas of Africa. All this fully shows that the Soviet Union which has wild ambitions is the most dangerous enemy of the Angolan people and other African peoples. Like all other reactionaries, Soviet social-imperialism, outwardly arrogant, is merely a paper tiger. The deeper it gets bogged down in Angola, the more it will meet with the strong resistance of the people of Angola and other African countries. Africa is the Africa of the African people, and Angola is the Angola of the Angolan people. We believe that so long as they persevere in struggle, the Angolan people who have rid themselves of Portuguese colonial rule through protracted struggle will surely be able to end all outside

(Continued on p. 20.)



Acting Premier Hua Kuo-feng holds talks with Mr. Nixon.

Acting Premier Hua Kuo-feng's Toast

(Excerpts)

FOUR years ago, President Nixon visited our country, and China and the United States issued the famous Shanghai communique. That historic event has played a major role in improving and developing Sino-U.S. relations and exerted a far-reaching influence internationally. Mr. Nixon certainly showed farsightedness in taking this courageous action in his capacity as U.S. President at a time when contacts between the Chinese and American peoples had been suspended for more than 20 years. The redwood saplings President Nixon brought here as a gift from the American people to the Chinese people are growing sturdily, symbolizing a new phase of friendship between the Chinese and American peoples. In the four years since then, contacts between our two peoples have resumed and the relations between our two countries improved on the basis of the principles set forth in the Shanghai communique. On the significant occasion of the fourth anniversary of President Nixon's first visit to China, Mr. and Mrs. Nixon have come again to visit our country at the invitation of the Chinese Government. It is my pleasure to extend, on behalf of the Chinese Government and people, our warm welcome to you and the other American guests.

The American people are a great people. The Chinese people are a great people. Our two peoples have always been friendly to each other. True, China and the United States have different social systems and ideologies and there are differences of principle on quite a number of issues; however, our two countries have many points in common in the world today. The Chinese Government has always pursued and will consistently pursue the line, principles and policies laid down by Chairman Mao in the field of foreign affairs. We remain convinced that so long as both sides earnestly implement the principles of the Shanghai communique, Sino-U.S. relations will further improve, and that this conforms to the common desire of the Chinese and American peoples.

In the past four years, the world has witnessed a series of important events, and encouraging changes have taken place in the international situation. The

situation characterized by great disorder under heaven is developing further and becoming better and better. The danger of the outbreak of a new war keeps growing as a result of the intense rivalry for world hegemony, and in particular, that imperialism which flaunts the signboard of "socialism" has reached out its grasping hands everywhere and carried out rabid expansion; it has become the main source of war. This is a fact which attracts people's attention today. The only realistic and effective way to cope with this situation is for the peoples of the world to heighten their vigilance, strengthen their unity and get well prepared against war. It will be recalled that Mr. Nixon wrote in June 1972 that aggressive ambitions are held in check not by idealism. It should also be noted that this expansionism is pitiable, being lacking in capabilities though wild in ambition. Its aggression and expansion everywhere bear the seed of defeat. History has time and again proved that expansionists never come to a good end; such was the case with Hitler, and the hegemonism of today will come to no better end. It is the people, and definitely not hegemonism, that is really powerful.

In China, a revolutionary mass debate is going on in such circles as education, science and technology. It is a continuation and deepening of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. It fully demonstrates the extensive democracy practised in our country under the system of socialism. We are confident that, through this debate, Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line will find its way deeper into the hearts of the people, and our socialist motherland will be further consolidated. It will also enable us to do better in making a greater contribution to humanity in accordance with Chairman Mao's teachings.

The next 50 to 100 years or so, will be a great era of radical change throughout the world, an earthshaking era without equal in any previous historical period. The road of advance of human history is always tortuous, but we firmly believe that the people of the world, by waging unremitting struggle, will usher in a most splendid future.

Mr. Nixon's Toast

(Excerpts)

SOON after we arrived last night in Peking for our second visit, a Chinese friend said to me that to meet someone after a long period of being apart is a special pleasure. That is exactly the way we feel tonight.

As has already been indicated, it was just four years ago this week that the Shanghai communique was issued. That historic document ended a generation of confrontation and conflict between our two countries and began an era of negotiation and consultation and also progress toward those goals we share together.

Acting Premier Hua tonight has eloquently supported the principles of the Shanghai communique. And President Ford in his state visit to China in December strongly affirmed the support of the United States for the principles of the Shanghai communique. This indicates that this document was something more than the usual statement signed by two leaders of a nation or two nations at any particular time. Because what we see here is that while the interests of great powers are involved, that even though the leaders may change, the interests remain the same. And it is because the principles of the Shanghai communique were principles that were in the interests of both the People's Republic of China and the United States of America, that those principles are just as strongly held today as they were four years ago.

I recall when I first had the honour of meeting Chairman Mao four years ago. We spoke very candidly and honestly about the fact that we came from different backgrounds and that we had many areas in which our beliefs on philosophical, political and economic matters were different.

What then brought us together? This was his answer: History has brought us together. And now four years after that meeting, history calls on our two nations to continue to work together to build on the foundation that we laid four years ago and to build on the document which set forth the principles on which we had agreed. We must realize how vital it is that we do so, because the future not only of the 800

million people who live in the People's Republic of China and of the 200 million people who live in the United States of America but the future of all the people in this world depend upon the reliability, and the capability and the determination of our two nations to work together for the cause of peace with security for all nations.

There are of course some who believe that the mere act of signing a statement of principles or of a diplomatic conference will bring instant and lasting peace. This is naive. There cannot and will not be lasting and secure peace until every nation in the world respects the security and independence of every other nation large or small. Let me illustrate that point by reading directly from the Shanghai communique: "Both sides are of the view that it would be against the interests of the peoples of the world for any major country to collude with another against other countries, or for major countries to divide up the world into spheres of interest."

And when all countries in the world as have the People's Republic of China and the United States of America subscribed to and support that principle, then, there will be real peace and security for all countries in the world.

In his remarks tonight, the Acting Premier has spoken eloquently of the redwood saplings that we had the honour to plant at the beautiful city of Hangchow four years ago. When my daughter Julie and her husband David Eisenhower returned from their trip to China, they told us that they had been informed in Hangchow that over 5,000 seeds had already been taken from those saplings and would be planted all over China. And when a dinner was given for them as they were about to leave China from Shanghai, their Chinese host made the statement that those California redwoods were a symbol of the evergreen friendship between China and the United States. And tonight I hope and trust that in the years ahead like the giant California redwoods China and the United States will grow strong and tall in their friendship.

Criticism of "Water Margin"

by Chu Fang-ming

IS *Water Margin* (see p. 11) a novel "eulogizing the peasants' revolutionary struggle"? No. It is a novel advocating capitulationism.

Is it a "revolutionary textbook"? No. It is teaching material by negative example.

Chairman Mao has pointed out: "The merit of the book *Water Margin* lies precisely in the portrayal of capitulation. It serves as teaching material by negative example to help all the people recognize capitulationists." Poisonous weeds can be turned into fertilizer. The revolutionary people can extract experience and draw lessons from this teaching material by negative example.

A Capitulationist Line

Water Margin is a classical novel depicting a peasant uprising at the end of the Northern Sung Dynasty (960-1127). Chairman Mao has pointed out: "The ruthless economic exploitation and political oppression of the peasants by the landlord class forced them into numerous uprisings against its rule." (*The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party*.) By the end of that dynasty, class contradictions and national contradictions had sharpened to breaking point. Peasant uprisings which erupted one after another dealt heavy blows to the rule of the landlord class. How does *Water Margin*, once praised as "an epic of peasant revolution," describe the peasant uprisings at that time?

The novel is against corrupt officials only, but not against the emperor.

Running through it is the theme that corrupt officials are bad and the emperor is good. The novel says that "Emperor Hui Tsung who ruled during the years 1101-25 was a sage and was most intelligent but unfortunately power was in the hands of evil officials," with the result that the country was in upheaval. Whenever officers sent by the court were captured, Sung Chiang, head of the insurgent forces on the Liangshan Mountain (in present-day Liangshan County in Shantung Province), would say: "How dare I, Sung Chiang, turn against the court?" "I was only driven to this pass by corrupt officials." The main targets of attack of the Liangshan peasant insurgents led by Sung Chiang were the local corrupt officials.

In feudal society, the emperor was the chief representative of the landlord class and the mainstay of all feudal officials. The rule of the landlord class could not be overthrown if attacks were directed at corrupt officials only but not the emperor. The Yellow Turbans Uprising in the Eastern Han Dynasty (25-220) and the uprising led by Fang La in the Northern Sung Dynasty all had their spearheads directed at the emperors.

Sung Chiang and his cohorts were loyal to the emperor. That was why they feared Li Kuei who was against the emperor. Whenever Li Kuei declared that he wanted to fight all the way to the capital and seize the throne, Sung Chiang threatened to cut his head off. Even when he was dying, Sung Chiang did not forget that Li Kuei was a menace to the emperor and so he managed to poison Li Kuei. Sung Chiang decked himself out as one "carrying out the right way on behalf of Heaven." In his terminology, "Heaven" was the reigning emperor, and the "right way" was the rule of the feudal landlord class. In short, "carrying out the right way on behalf of Heaven" meant placing himself in the service of rulers of the Sung Dynasty.

In the novel, fighting against corrupt officials and being loyal to the emperor were identical. In fighting against corrupt officials, Sung Chiang and his followers were merely showing their loyalty to the emperor. In their attempt to eliminate corrupt officials, they were actually trying to mend the state machinery and consolidate the dictatorship of the feudal landlord class. Just as Chairman Mao has pointed out: "Sung Chiang's struggle against Kao Chiu is a struggle waged by one faction against another within the landlord class." The two had identical basic political interests: safeguarding feudal rule and opposing the peasant revolution. The only difference between them was in the method employed: one used the tactics of armed suppression, while the other caused the peasant revolution to disintegrate from within.

Regimes of the landlord class always resorted to dual counter-revolutionary tactics in dealing with peasant uprisings: suppression as well as offering amnesty and enlistment. If they could destroy the peasant forces, they resorted to suppression; otherwise, they offered amnesty and enlistment. The imperial court in *Water Margin* used these two tactics alternately in dealing with the Liangshan peasant insurgents and finally offered amnesty and enlistment to them.

To meet the needs of the court, Sung Chiang pushed a capitulationist line and made acceptance of the offer of amnesty and enlistment the aim of the uprising. What the novel praises is just this specimen of "revolt in order to accept the offer of amnesty and enlistment."

The two-line struggle within the peasant insurgent forces of Liangshan focused on accepting or rejecting the offer of amnesty and enlistment. Sung Chiang and Lu Chun-yi were capitulationists while Li Kuei, Wu Yung and the three Juan brothers were good characters and were not willing to surrender. In the novel, however, Sung Chiang's capitulationist line dominated while the anti-capitulationist line of Li Kuei and others was in an inferior position. It ridiculed the anti-capitulationist line and described it as sheer stupidity to make it serve as a foil to the "correctness" of Sung Chiang's capitulationist line. So acceptance of the offer of amnesty and enlistment was good, capitulation was excellent! That was the theme of the novel *Water Margin*.

When Sung Chiang was still a "bandit," "carrying out the right way on behalf of Heaven" meant opposing corrupt officials. What did he and his cohorts do after they had been offered an amnesty and enlisted as "imperial troops"? On their own initiative they petitioned for and obtained an "imperial decree" to fight Fang La (?-1121), the famous leader of another peasant uprising towards the end of the Northern Sung Dynasty. For a period, his troops occupied 25 counties in eight prefectures in present-day Anhwei and Chekiang Provinces in southeast China. He not only gave his reign a title, but dared to proclaim himself a king. His troops were a peasant revolutionary force determined to overthrow the Sung Dynasty.

When Sung Chiang was face to face with Fang La's troops, he was no longer the obsequious man he was previously in front of the "imperial troops." Spitting out threats, Sung Chiang blustered: "We troops of Heaven have arrived!" "We will never turn back until we have killed you all!" He was most ruthless towards the captured leaders of Fang La's army, "disembowelled them and had their hearts gouged out." How clear his counter-revolutionary stand was and how vicious were the features of this butcher in suppressing the peasant uprising! The reactionary nature of "carrying out the right way on behalf of Heaven" by Sung Chiang and his band was completely bared there and then.

That Sung Chiang had turned to fight against Fang La was an out-and-out counter-revolutionary action. Yet the novel *Water Margin* lauds it to the skies. But this only helps the revolutionary people see more clearly the counter-revolutionary stand of this novel.

Opposing corrupt officials but not the emperor, accepting the offer of amnesty and enlistment, and suppressing the peasant uprisings — this is the trilogy in praise of the capitulationist line in *Water Margin*.

The view that Sung Chiang's surrender stemmed from the "limitations of the peasantry" was once prevalent. This viewpoint negated the principled difference between the two opposing classes — the peasantry and the landlord class — and between the two diametrically opposed lines — the line which upholds peasant uprisings and the line of capitulation. Thus this viewpoint actually amounted to an apology for the capitulationists. In Chinese history, peasant uprisings which broke out one after another with unremitting and fierce attacks on the rule of the landlord class demonstrated the undaunted revolutionary spirit of the Chinese peasants. It was only because at that time there were no new productive forces, no new relations of production, no new class forces and no advanced political party to lead them that those uprisings ended in failure.

But defeat must not be equated with surrender. Traitors and lackeys capitulated to the feudal ruling classes; this must not be mentioned in the same breath with "limitations of the peasantry." There was nothing in common between defeat after undaunted struggle and surrender for the purpose of getting high official posts and personal gain! The peasantry might have "limitations" of one kind or another, but not the "limitation" which would lead them to surrender to the feudal ruling classes.

Typical Image of a Capitulationist

In a literary work, its main character is a representative of a certain class and trend. *Water Margin*, which eulogizes capitulationism, laid it on thick in its subtle portrayal and praise of Sung Chiang, a typical capitulationist.

In *Water Margin* Sung Chiang was a member of the landlord class. "Having studied the Confucian canon since boyhood," Sung Chiang whose mind was saturated with this trash was a dyed-in-the-wool follower of Confucius and Mencius. A peasant uprising was in his eyes "lese-majesty" and taking part in it meant "disloyalty to the emperor and unfilial behaviour to one's parents." That was why he refused several times to join the Liangshan peasant insurgents. He eventually joined them because he had no other choice. But his feelings were: "Though I am here by the Liangshan marshes, my heart is still with the court." And he often declared: "I Sung Chiang and the rest of us never really meant to revolt in the first place." He pledged that he, "with unmatched loyalty," "will work faithfully to serve the country until death."

Later, having accepted the emperor's offer of amnesty and enlistment, he became more devoted than ever to serving the feudal ruling class and volunteered to suppress other peasant insurgent forces. Even when he was dying, he still muttered: "I'd rather let the court deal unfairly with me. But I will remain loyal and never turn against the court."

The highest tenet abided by Sung Chiang throughout his life was "loyalty to the emperor"; he was in

no way "an outstanding leader of the peasant insurgents," as some people said, but a filial son of the landlord class and a faithful lackey of the emperor of the Sung Dynasty.

Because of his "loyalty to the emperor," Sung Chiang had all the time set his mind on getting amnesty and enlistment from the emperor. Even before he went to Liangshan, he had counselled some captains of the peasant insurgents to surrender. Sung Chiang would never have joined the peasant uprising if he could climb up the official ladder. It was only after he had failed to "achieve fame and get an official post" and when his very life was in danger — first he was sentenced to imprisonment for having killed his kept woman after a quarrel and later given the sentence of death for his impromptu poems written in inebriety — that he decided to "make Liangshan his temporary refuge" until the emperor offered amnesty and enlistment.

Chao Kai was the founder of the peasant army of Liangshan. He adhered to the line of uniting all the captains of the insurgent force in their struggle against the emperor. He called the assembly hall where he and his men met to discuss matters the Chu Yi Hall (*chu yi* meaning to unite and rise in revolt). In order to accept the offer of amnesty and enlistment in the future Sung Chiang schemed in a thousand and one ways to replace Chao Kai as leader of the insurgents. Using double-dealing tactics and bestowing petty favours, he finally succeeded in winning people over to his side and usurping the leadership over the insurgents. After Chao Kai's death, Sung Chiang lost no time in changing Chu Yi Hall into Chung Yi Hall (*chung yi* meaning loyal to the emperor), thereby tampering with the revolutionary line of the Liangshan peasant insurgents.

In the hope of securing amnesty and enlistment from the emperor, Sung Chiang refrained from "taking cities and prefectures" and expanding the territory held by the peasant insurgent force, but went out of his way to release captured generals and troops sent by the imperial court on "punitive" expeditions. All these were designed to facilitate his surrender to the court at a later date.

To secure this amnesty and enlistment, Sung Chiang also resorted to both coercion and persuasion in his dealings with the revolutionaries in the insurgent force, removing them from power and suppressing them as he saw fit. At the same time, he recruited hereditary aristocrats, generals of the imperial army, landlords and prominent members of the gentry and appointed them to important posts, thereby building up a backbone force to push his capitulationist line.

To secure amnesty and enlistment, Sung Chiang announced at a gathering of the 108 leading members of the insurgent force his programme for a surrender,

declaring: "It is my ardent wish that the court would before long give us blessings and absolve us from our heinous crimes." Later he wrote a poem expressing what he had in mind:

I wish the Son of Heaven would soon issue an edict
for our enlistment,

Only then will I rest content.

To secure amnesty and enlistment, Sung Chiang went in person to Li Shih-shih, the emperor's favourite courtesan, asking her to put in a word for him and get the emperor's permission for him to surrender. He also sent his men to bribe the Secretary of the Imperial Court for Military Affairs Su Yuan-ching to talk to the emperor on his behalf. When the Liangshan insurgents captured their deadly enemy Kao Chiu, Sung Chiang acted so obsequiously as "to prostrate himself [before the captive], saying he had committed a 'capital offence,' and begging for "mercy and forgiveness." How nauseating and despicable his conduct was!

The novel excluded Chao Kai from the 108 insurgent leaders and, as the story developed, had him shot to death by an enemy arrow not long after Sung Chiang came to Liangshan. This was a calculated move to place the capitulationist Sung Chiang in the spotlight and also to make way for him to secure amnesty and enlistment. Chao Kai, founder of the Liangshan peasant revolutionary cause who was determined to "fight the emperor of the Great Sung Dynasty" to the finish, adhered to the revolutionary line of the peasant uprising. Sung Chiang, having wormed his way into the ranks of the peasant insurgent force, engaged in counter-revolutionary activities in the guise of a revolutionary and, revising Chao Kai's revolutionary line and replacing it with his capitulationist line, practised revisionism. This was how the once raging peasant uprising of Liangshan fizzled out, a tragedy for which Sung Chiang and his capitulationist cohorts must be held responsible.

Sung Chiang was hardly a "fellow-traveller" of revolution, still less the leader of a peasant revolution. He was a traitor who led the peasant uprising to destruction. He had not made any "contribution" to the peasant uprising; in fact, he was the arch traitor who had betrayed a peasant revolution.

Philosophy of Capitulationism

In propagating the capitulationist line and singing the praises of the capitulationists Sung Chiang and company, *Water Margin* peddled the decadent doctrines of Confucius and Mencius and advocated in a comprehensive way the philosophy of capitulationism.

"The mandate of heaven." This is an ideological weapon used by the exploiting classes to safeguard their reactionary rule and poison the minds of the working

people. All peasant uprisings in Chinese history, in their resistance to the rule of the landlord class, without exception directed the spearhead of their criticism at this reactionary spiritual shackle.

But *Water Margin*, in its very first chapter, said by way of an introduction that peace or disorder on earth and good fortune or bad are all "decided by heaven." The emperors of the Sung Dynasty, as the novel had it, were all deities deputed by the King of Heaven to rule on earth, while the 108 persons of Liangshan were "demons" loosed upon mankind to create troubles. Thus the relationship between the landlord class and the peasantry ceased to be one of two antagonistic classes since both had come to the world by "the mandate of heaven." It was on this cornerstone that the novel *Water Margin* rested.

Then there was the "Goddess of the Ninth Heaven" who appeared twice at the crucial moments of the story. This was an attempt to impress the readers with the omnipotence of the "mandate of heaven." For instance, when Sung Chiang had just joined the Liangshan insurgents, the "Goddess of the Ninth Heaven" passed on to him a "holy decree" which said: "You are to carry out the right way on behalf of Heaven. As the chief, see to it that loyalty and righteousness prevail. As a government official, your duty is to serve the state and pacify the people. So break away from the evil and return to the saintly way."

Thus, it "conforms to the will of heaven" if the peasant insurgent force should surrender to the landlord class; and to "carry out the right way on behalf of Heaven" required that one be loyal to the emperor and fight in defence of the state of the landlord class. This was how *Water Margin* put an aura of holiness about the despicable conduct of capitulation and made the theory of the "mandate of heaven" the theoretical basis for spreading capitulationist ideas.

"Loyalty and righteousness." They constituted the core of the feudal-patriarchal ideology. *Water Margin* did its utmost to laud the capitulationists represented by Sung Chiang, describing them as men with "the twin virtues of loyalty and righteousness." In this novel, capitulation and "loyalty and righteousness" were synonyms, and to uphold "loyalty and righteousness," one must capitulate. Some members of the landlord class were well aware of the subtle role played by *Water Margin* in propagating "loyalty and righteousness," around which contradictions in the story were unfolded, the plot built and the characters delineated.

The authors of the novel wrote: "As far as benevolence, righteousness, propriety, wisdom, sincerity, acting in accordance with the code of conduct, loyalty and kindness are concerned," Kao Chiu "is a complete

stranger"; as for Sung Chiang, "all his life, he believes only in two words: 'loyalty and righteousness.'" With regard to Sung Chiang's joining the "rebellion," the novel described him as a "loyalist" driven to take up arms by the "treacherous ministers," not as one joining a popular revolt caused by despotic rule. This being the case, Sung Chiang made Liangshan his temporary abode, waiting for an offer of amnesty and enlistment by the emperor and a chance to serve the imperial court — this was "loyalty to the emperor" in a roundabout way, so to say. On the question of peasant uprising, *Water Margin* provided the landlord class with ideas and tactics far more vicious than suppression by brute force; it recommended using the rope of "loyalty and righteousness" to drag the peasant insurgent force towards capitulation.

The philosophy of life of all exploiting classes is that one should do his best to move to the top of the official ladder and get rich; position, fame, high emoluments and other material gains are baits used by all reactionary ruling classes in enlisting lackeys. *Water Margin* propagated this reactionary and decadent philosophy of life by giving an account of the life of Sung Chiang. "Though loyal to the emperor, he failed to make much headway" at the start. He joined the Liangshan insurgents against his will and later accepted an offer of amnesty and enlistment, went to fight Fang La and wound up with fame and success in his official career. To Sung Chiang, a man should live to seek promotion in officialdom, get rich, win honour and distinction for his family and "make a name in history."

Sung Chiang died like a dog, and most of the captains under him got killed in the fight against Fang La. But the authors of *Water Margin* considered that they all deserved to be extolled. So Sung Chiang, as the novel said, was conferred posthumously the title of marquis by the emperor who built a temple for him on Liangshan Mountain and wrote a dedicatory inscription as a tribute to Sung Chiang. All this, according to the landlord class, was indeed a feather in the cap.

* * *

At all times — past, present and future — it is inevitable that there are capitulationists in a revolutionary camp. Sung Chiang was a capitulationist of bygone days. Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and their like, who pushed a revisionist line, were modern capitulationists. Internally, they practised class capitulationism and, externally, national capitulationism. In the historical period of socialism, it is necessary for us to learn to identify the capitulationists and fight them in order to combat and prevent revisionism and persevere in continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

At present, the Chinese people are unfolding a criticism and discussion of the novel *Water Margin* by

using the Marxist viewpoint and adhering to the method of class analysis. They are making good use of this teaching material by negative example as they criticize *Water Margin* for propagating the capitulationist line, expose the true colours of Sung Chiang who practised revisionism and capitulationism, criticize the theory of reconciliation in class struggle in the study of the novel

and draw a line of principle between the two classes and the two roads. This is of great and profound significance not only to the study of classical literature, to literary criticism and the work of literature and art as a whole but also to the Chinese people in upholding Marxism, combating revisionism and adhering to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

For Your Reference

About "Water Margin"

SHUI HU, or *Water Margin*, is a widely read, long classical novel running to a million Chinese characters. Its subject-matter is a peasant uprising that took place around the Liangshan Mountain (in present-day Liangshan County of Shantung Province) towards the end of the Northern Sung Dynasty (960-1127), but it advocates capitulationism.

Synopsis

Chao Kai, founder of the Liangshan peasant army, and Wu Yung, Juan Hsiao-erh, Juan Hsiao-wu, Juan Hsiao-chi and two others make their way to Liangshan in revolt after seizing a huge amount of money and effects which was sent to Prime Minister Tsai Ching and beating off government forces trying to round them up. There, they all pledge "to work together and be of one mind and rise in revolt" against the emperor. Accordingly, they call the assembly hall where the chiefs of the Liangshan army meet to discuss matters the Chu Yi Hall (*chu yi* meaning to unite and rise in revolt). Chao Kai is popularly known as the "Heavenly King." But the authors of the novel considered rising against the emperor and calling himself a king to be a case of lese-majesty. So they contrived, with malicious intent, to have him killed by a poisonous arrow in a battle with the armed forces of the landlords.

The novel lavishly praises Sung Chiang, a representative of the capitulationists. A member of the landlord class, this man is a disciple of the reactionary Confucian school and has served as a petty official in the Yuncheng (in present-day Shantung Province) county government until his involvement in a murder case. He is subsequently sentenced to imprisonment for killing his mistress and banished to Chiangchow (near present-day Kiukiang in Kiangsi Province). Filled with discontent over the misfortune that has struck him, he gets drunk one day and gives vent to his resentment and desire for revenge by composing a couple of poems. For this he is accused of high treason and condemned to death, but he is rescued by the Liangshan army. Later, he is forced by circumstances to join the Liangshan revolutionary army when

he has no other alternative. Being a man of some renown, he becomes the second in command. After Chao Kai's demise, he manages to win the confidence of the other insurgent captains and becomes the No. 1 chief of the Liangshan army.

As soon as he assumes leadership, Sung Chiang changes the Chu Yi Hall, named by Chao Kai, into the Chung Yi Hall (*chung yi* meaning loyal to the emperor) and has a banner hung in front of the hall bearing the words: "Carrying out the right way on behalf of Heaven." Here, Heaven means the emperor. This banner and the change in the name of the assembly hall mark Sung Chiang's adulteration of Chao Kai's line of peasant revolution.

Sung Chiang recruits a number of government army officers and big landlords and appoints them to leading positions, thereby radically changing the composition of the leadership of this peasant revolutionary army. According to Sung Chiang, only those born in rich and aristocratic families, having the looks of a dignitary and with great learning are eligible to be chiefs. Acting on this principle, he invites Lu Chun-yi to Liangshan. An arrant rogue and big landlord who gives his allegiance to the emperor, Lu has once vowed to extirpate the entire Liangshan army.

It is true that Sung Chiang also fights the government troops of the Sung Dynasty, but he does so only to strengthen his position in bargaining for a surrender. Every time an officer of the imperial army is captured in battle, Sung Chiang without fail humiliates himself to say: "We are guilty of crimes. In offending Your Excellency today, we have committed another crime deserving death ten thousand times over. But we will never dare to turn against the emperor. We are hoping all the time that His Majesty will grant us amnesty and allow us to surrender. Once our wish comes true, we will serve the state together. At a gathering attended by all the captains of the Liangshan army, Sung Chiang announces in explicit terms that their goal is to wait with one mind for an offer of amnesty and enlistment to be granted by the emperor.

Among the 108 chiefs of the Liangshan army, Li Kuei, Wu Yung and the three Juan brothers oppose surrender. A well-known slogan Li Kuei is often heard to shout is: "Let's fight all the way to the capital and seize the throne." Li Kuei and the others have told

to Sung Chiang's face that he is wrong in making plans for a surrender. Li Kuei has even torn to pieces an imperial decree granting them amnesty. The authors of the novel, however, portrayed him as an ungainly and rash man.

Using both coercion and persuasion, Sung Chiang tries to suppress Li Kuei and the other revolutionaries in the Liangshan army. Sung Chiang has said that the 108 of them have united in a group by the will of Heaven, so they must live or die together. They are sworn brothers and they must treasure brotherhood above everything else. Since he is the "eldest" brother, everyone should listen to him. If any of the revolutionaries should disobey his words, he threatens to put him in solitary confinement or behead him.

With a view to realizing his desire for capitulation, Sung Chiang sneaks into the capital to the emperor's mistress, a courtesan called Li Shih-shih, asking her to speak on his behalf. Kao Chiu, a favourite minister in the court, is the Liangshan army's bitter enemy and is also one of the representatives of the corrupt officials in the novel. But when Kao Chiu is captured while leading his troops in an attack on Liangshan, Sung Chiang falls on his knees begging for Kao's forgiveness. He gives Kao Chiu a lot of money and other valuables and entreats Kao to speak to the emperor in his favour. After much haggling, Sung Chiang finally surrenders with all his men and arms to the emperor and replaces the banner bearing the words "carrying out the right way on behalf of Heaven" with another one saying: "Follow the will of Heaven and protect the state."

After his surrender, Sung Chiang willingly serves as the vanguard in the campaign to suppress Fang La and other peasant insurgent forces. In recognition of his service, the emperor appoints Sung Chiang commissioner of an administrative district in charge of both military and government affairs. Later, Tsai Ching, Kao Chiu and other treacherous ministers in a joint conspiracy put poison in the wine offered by the emperor to Sung Chiang. Knowing that he will soon die after drinking the wine, Sung Chiang calls in Li Kuei and let him drink poisonous wine so that Li Kuei will also die and never cause trouble again. He explains away in a talk with Li Kuei: "I am going to die though, I am innocent. I'd rather let the court deal unfairly with me. But I will remain loyal and never turn against the court." After Sung Chiang's death, the emperor bestows on him the title of marquis and builds him a temple on Liangshan with sacrificial offerings every year. The authors of the novel said in praise: Sung Chiang is a paragon of loyalty and righteousness, and he ends up in great glory.

"Water Margin" — Novel and Folklore

There were stories about the Liangshan peasant insurgents in the literary and art performances in the

Southern Sung Dynasty (1127-1279) and in the dramas of the Yuan Dynasty (1279-1368). It is believed that these stories were pieced together and published as a novel under the title *Water Margin* by Shih Nai-an and Lo Kuan-chung towards the last years of the Yuan Dynasty and in the early years of the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644).

Throughout the Ming and Ching (1644-1911) Dynasties, and later in the old China under the rule of the Kuomintang reactionaries, this novel *Water Margin* was very popular among the landlord and capitalist classes.

In Chinese feudal society, the landlord class always applied the dual counter-revolutionary policy of alternating armed suppression with buying over and bringing about internal disintegration in dealing with the peasant revolutionary forces. At the later stage of feudal society, however, the central governments of the landlord class tended more consciously to apply the counter-revolutionary policy of buying over and disintegrating the peasants' revolutionary armed forces. The emergence of *Water Margin* and its wide circulation were a reflection of this policy in literature and art.

Some people of the landlord class in the Ming and Ching Dynasties did ban the novel for a period. They considered it a challenge to the dignity of the emperor that *Water Margin* should spread the idea that outlaws could be permitted to surrender; to them the right thing to do was to suppress outlaws by armed force and kill them all. But whether *Water Margin* was used to advantage or was banned, it only reflected the controversy within the landlord class itself over the tactics to be used.

During the period of democratic revolution in China, Lu Hsun (1881-1936), chief commander of the proletarian cultural revolution of his time, criticized the reactionary nature of the novel for propagating capitulationism. He said: "*Water Margin* makes it quite clear that because they were not against the emperor, they accepted the offer of amnesty and enlistment when the government troops arrived and set out to fight other brigands for the state — brigands who did not 'carry out the right way on behalf of Heaven.' They were lackeys after all." ("The Evolution of Roughs.") But for a long time in the past practically all the appraisals of *Water Margin* in literary and art as well as educational circles in our country have run counter to Lu Hsun's viewpoint and advocated the revisionist viewpoint.

Recently, the Chinese people, acting in accordance with Chairman Mao's instruction, are using *Water Margin* as teaching material by negative example to distinguish capitulationists and are unfolding an in-depth criticism of the novel.

The Immense Strength of Co-operation

MARX said: "When numerous labourers work together side by side, whether in one and the same process, or in different but connected processes, they are said to co-operate, or to work in co-operation." (*Capital*.)

Socialist co-operation marks a brand-new stage in the history of the development of co-operation in human society. Socialist public ownership of the means of production has not only fundamentally changed the nature of co-operation but opened up an unprecedented broad road for it. With the deepening of the socialist revolution in China, our productive forces have been further liberated and co-operation has developed to a still higher stage. Since the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution began in 1966, the scope of socialist co-operation which takes many forms has been enlarged, thereby creating ever greater productive forces. The industrial development in our country's biggest metropolis Shanghai serves as a good illustration.

During the nine years from 1966 to 1974, the total amount of state investment for capital construction spent on Shanghai's industry was only about 5 per cent of the total amount of funds it accumulated for the state in the same period, while the progressive annual increase of its total output value averaged 9.2 per cent. Since the beginning of the 1970s, the amount of funds

Shanghai has accumulated annually for the state has surpassed the original value of the fixed assets of the city's industry under ownership by the whole people. Whether in the setting up of a number of new industrial departments, or in the successful trial-production of many advanced and precision products, the popularization of new advanced techniques, the technical transformation of old enterprises and the building and putting into operation of major capital construction projects, socialist co-operation has played a significant role.

Creating New Productive Forces

In expounding the role of co-operation, Marx pointed out: "Not only have we here an increase in the productive power of the individual, by means of co-operation, but the creation of a new power, namely, the collective power of masses." (*Capital*.)

In China today, socialist co-operation is playing a tremendous role in raising and creating productive forces.

Take Shanghai's textile industry as an example. Basically, no new mills have been built since liberation, and over 80 mills have, according to the needs of the state, either been moved to other places or readjusted to turn out other products. Notwithstanding a decrease of 25 per cent in spindles, 18 per cent in looms and 12 per cent in the number of workers and staff members, the industry's total output value in 1974 was nearly five times that of 1949. What did they rely on to achieve this? The answer is they gave full play to the superiority of the socialist system by carrying out socialist co-operation on a large scale and constantly going in for mass technical innovations within the trade. What they actually did was, within a certain period, they pooled all possible efforts to solve one or two outstanding problems in order to promote production, just like concentrating a superior force to annihilate the enemy in a battle.

In 1970, spinning frames in the whole city were renovated, with the result that per 1,000 spindle-hour output jumped from 35 to 43 kilogrammes. In the next year, the city concentrated its efforts to expand the production of synthetic fibres and succeeded in raising the productive capacity by 100 per



Products manufactured by a small glassware factory in Shanghai are supplied to dozens of factories and scientific research institutes.

cent. The number of high-efficiency automatic broad-width looms increased 2.6-fold in 1972 as a result of a boost in production. Thanks to co-operative efforts in the years 1973-74 to develop the production of dacron fibres, output of dacron prints in 1974 was 43 times that of 1965. In the last two years machines for printing and dyeing, silk textile and colour weaving have been renovated, thereby raising the proportion of high-grade textile products to over 50 per cent. In the 26 years since the founding of New China, the amount of funds accumulated by Shanghai's textile industry for the state is 62 times the amount of investment made by the state for its capital construction.

In the last few years, more than 20 branches of industry in Shanghai, including those in making steel, motor vehicles, tractors, refrigerators, daily utensils, medical appliances, refractory materials, insecticides and electroplates, have followed the example of textile industry in bringing the strength of mass co-operation into full play. Technical transformation has been expedited and there has been a marked change in the means of production and in the quality and quantity of their products.

Shanghai's medical appliances industry has 11,000 workers and staff members, and two-thirds of the factories are small ones in the lanes. Before the Great Cultural Revolution, they mainly turned out general products such as scalpels, scissors, syringes and stethoscopes. In 1972, the city's leading departments concerned broke down the barriers of different trades and organized over 300 factories, hospitals, colleges and scientific research institutes to join in a common effort to change the backward state of this industry. The upshot was that nearly 300 kinds of precision medical appliances were successfully trial-produced in the last four years, including electronic linear accelerators for treating cancer and cobalt-60 therapeutic machine, each of which weighs over a dozen tons, and micro-surgical instruments such as thinner-than-hair needles for suturing blood vessels. Thus what could not be done by one trade was quickly achieved through the co-operation of several trades.

Thanks to socialist co-operation, Shanghai has with only a few additional factories set up many new industrial departments for producing, among other products, cinema projectors, TV sets, electronic computers, lighting apparatus using new light sources, and highly effective insecticides with low toxicity. Before the Great Cultural Revolution, there was almost no such industry which manufactured TV sets in Shanghai. Beginning in 1970, some instruments and meters plants and factories making toys, mouth-organs, electric light sockets, clothing and fountain pens were organized to make use of part of their manpower and materials to produce TV parts which were then assembled into TV sets. Today there are 35 factories in Shanghai producing TV sets with the help of over 100 units. So Shanghai, without building any new factory, now has the

capacity of turning out 100,000 TV sets and 100,000 picture tubes every year and making complete sets of equipment for television stations. In addition, a contingent of more than 6,000 people specialized in making TV sets has been trained.

Keeping the Interests of the Whole in Mind

In sharp contrast to the relations of forced labour and the state of anarchy characteristic of capitalist co-operation, socialist co-operation reflects in essence a new type of socialist relations of production with close co-operation between the labouring people. With the realization of public ownership of the means of production, the working people have become their own masters. This, coupled with a unified socialist planned economy, has opened up a broad road for developing socialist co-operation.

In the historical period of socialism, however, there are still class struggle and the struggle between the two roads. Shanghai's experience proves that to develop socialist co-operation on an extensive scale, it is necessary to take class struggle as the key link, keep to the Party's basic line, deepen the criticism of the revisionist line of Liu Shao-chi and Lin Biao and overcome such erroneous ideas as departmentalism, the thinking that techniques are private properties, and preferring to do light work and shirking the heavy.

The Shanghai No. 1 Chemical Engineering Equipment Plant makes two major products. One is the three-roll lapping machine. Much material but little labour is required to make such machines which are high in output value. The other is the tooth-paste filling machine. Less material is required to make these machines, but the work-hour spent in making one such machine is 15 times that of the former while the output value for every work-hour is only one-fifth of that of the former. Early last year, the workers' theoretical group of this plant paid a visit to the Shanghai Tooth-Paste Factory and learnt that it urgently needed nine tooth-paste filling machines in order to realize automation in production. If this were achieved, the tooth-paste factory would be able to boost production by 30 million yuan, economize on labour force equivalent to 120 workers and save 1,800 square metres of space. Should the chemical engineering equipment plant undertake to make these nine machines, its own plan of increasing output by 300,000 yuan might be affected. What should be done? The plant's Party branch organized the workers and staff members to discuss the question. Should they help the tooth-paste factory boost production at their own expense? After criticizing the revisionist line in running enterprises, the workers pledged that they would do everything possible to help the tooth-paste factory increase production by 30 million yuan even if their own plan of increasing output might be affected. As it turned out, they not only made the nine machines

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Five Years of Continual Backsliding

—From the Soviet revisionists' 24th congress
to their 25th congress

by Hsiao Lou

FIVE years have gone by since the Soviet revisionists held their 24th congress in 1971. To give the current 25th congress a shot in the arm, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has in recent months been shamelessly bragging about their so-called "achievements" obtained since the 24th congress. What have the Soviet revisionists done in the past five years and what are the results?

Five-Year Plan on the Rocks

The 9th five-year plan adopted by the Soviet revisionists at the 24th congress has gone on the rocks. This fact which is known to all shows that the militarization of the national economy has brought serious consequences to the Soviet economy; it reveals the extremely decadent nature of Soviet state monopoly capitalism and completely explodes the lie of "high-speed" development and the "welfare plan" trumpeted by Brezhnev and company at the 24th congress. Let's look at the facts.

The basic targets of the national economy all came a cropper. The national income merely attained the target set in the five-year plan for 1974; that is, it took five years to accomplish the tasks set for four years.

The production of consumer goods was astonishingly low. Statistics show that the gross output value in the production of consumer goods only came to about 89 per cent of the target and there is a serious shortage of many important consumer goods on the market.

Agriculture showed a decline. In the five years, the average annual total output value of agriculture was far short of the target. Grain production was even worse, showing a decrease in output in four of the five years with the average annual output coming only to about 91 per cent of the planned quota. In the "disastrous" year of 1975, in particular, even the official figures given out by the Soviet authorities showed that grain production met only two-thirds of the planned target. If we reckon on a per-capita basis, grain output was even lower than in 1913 when the tsars ruled. The amount of grains imported during the 9th five-year plan was five times that of the 8th five-year plan period.

The people's standards of living are low. According to reports in the Soviet press, one-quarter of the total population are now living below the level "guaranteeing the lowest standard of material life." Retail prices of major foodstuffs and other goods have

been constantly rising and exorbitant taxes and miscellaneous levies are continually on the increase. According to what the Soviet revisionist authorities themselves have published, every Soviet employee paid, on an average, 157.6 rubles in taxes in 1973 as against 84.1 rubles in 1960 — an increase of 87.4 per cent.

Debts have piled high. Incomplete figures show that since Brezhnev came to power in 1964, the Soviet Union has borrowed more than 20,000 million U.S. dollars from the Western countries, more than 80 per cent of which were secured in the period of the 9th five-year plan.

Such examples are numerous and are quite revealing.

However, it should be pointed out that there is indeed "high-speed" development of certain projects in the Soviet Union and these are the munitions industry and certain related heavy industries, which have all developed like a malignant growth. It is estimated that in the Soviet Union today, about 60 per cent of the industrial enterprises are directly or indirectly involved in arms production and they employ some 3.5 million people. During the 9th five-year plan, the output of the machine-building industry, of automatic meters, instruments and tools and of computer technology — all linked with arms production — have grown by 70, 80 and 300 per cent respectively. According to an estimate by Western countries, the Soviet Union has surpassed the United States in expenditures on military research since 1973.

The Soviet Union's all-out drive for arms expansion and war preparation inevitably reduces the people's consumption, sacrifices agriculture and light industry and brings about a serious lopsided development of the national economy. The result: a huge industry but a very weak agriculture, with heavy industry, particularly the machine-building industry, steadily expanding while production in light industry is extremely poor; technology in the arms industry has developed rapidly while technology in industries producing goods for civil use is backward; there is a large number of nuclear weapons while the people's standards of living are on the decline; and more and more investments are made in capital construction centred on expanding military might while there is a steady fall in the effects of investments in all fields. Such a situation was

particularly pronounced during the period of the 9th five-year plan.

The decadent nature of state monopoly capitalism determines that the Soviet revisionists' 9th five-year plan is simply impossible to fulfil. They want to tighten the monopoly and control by the bureaucrat state and at the same time boost the incentive for profits. This is in itself an insurmountable contradiction. The contention for the right over profits between the central monopoly clique and the local monopoly cliques and between the capitalist cliques in the various enterprises and the central and local monopoly cliques has brought with it much in-fighting and a host of contradictions. To seek profits, accounts are often falsified and embezzlement and theft as well as extravagance and waste are rampant within the enterprises, while new technology is not being fully utilized. In particular, the labouring people who are unwilling to sweat for the bureaucrat-monopoly capitalists, resist or fight back by work stoppages, slowdowns and other forms of struggle. All this has caused complete failure to the state plan — the chief means of the Soviet revisionists to implement monopoly and control.

Facts fully show that the past five years are five years of failure for the Soviet revisionists' 9th five-year plan, of bankruptcy for their "welfare" slogan, of stepped-up militarization of the national economy and of ever-aggravating economic difficulties.

Internal Contradictions Sharpen

At the 24th congress, Brezhnev bragged that efforts would be made "to further develop socialist democracy," that "harmony" in the relations and "rock-firm unity" between the "various classes, social strata and big and small nationalities" in the Soviet Union were maintained. But facts have proved the exact opposite.

In the last five years when it has become increasingly isolated and its rule more and more feeble, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has doffed the guise of "developing socialist democracy" and steadily strengthened its fascist dictatorship. Its armed forces, which are used to suppress the people at home and perpetrate aggression and expansion abroad, have in recent years grown rapidly from over three million to more than 4.2 million. Its intelligence agency K.G.B. (the State Security Committee) and the Ministry of the Interior, whose power has considerably increased, have made their way into every nook and corner. They have armed their secret agents and spies with sophisticated detection and interrogation equipment and up-to-date monitoring and telecommunications devices. Its "psychiatric hospitals" have become places of political persecution with increasing intensity. What is more, the Soviet revisionists have in the last few years expanded and set up many auxiliary organizations to enforce their fascist dictatorship. They have expanded the so-called "voluntary pickets" and "supervisory groups," which are directed against the people, and set up pickets and operative de-

tachments for various specialized fields. In addition, they have established many "mass" organizations exclusively controlled by secret and police agencies. The main task of such organizations as "public committees," "law-breaking prevention committees" and "public and police social security stations" is to deal with persons holding "views and habits incompatible with" Soviet revisionist rule.

However, the Soviet people have not been cowed by the ruthless fascist rule of terror. Discontent and resistance on the part of the Soviet people have been on the rise in recent years. It is reported that underground organizations and secret publications have emerged continually in the last five years. In Kiev, Rostov, Lvov, Dnepropetrovsk, Dnieprodzerzhinsk, Vitebsk, Tbilisi and many other cities, workers' strikes and demonstrations have taken place while slowdowns have swept the country's towns and villages. Despite strict ideological and organizational control, the broad masses of Party members have never ceased in their struggle. During the two years beginning March 1973 when "Party membership cards were renewed," an estimated total of nearly one million "passive members" charged with "alien thoughts" were purged. Protests by many intellectuals against the Brezhnev clique's reactionary rule have gradually become a component part of the Soviet people's struggle.

Sharpening contradictions among the various nationalities have become another serious problem confronting the Soviet revisionists. Brezhnev and company are stepping up the implementation of the Great-Russian chauvinistic policy under the deceitful slogan of "a new historical entity of the people." From Transcaucasia to the Central Asian region, from the Baltic coast to the shores of the Black Sea, there have been large-scale struggles waged over the past five years by the people in various union republics against Great-Russian chauvinistic oppression and assimilation of nationalities. This has been proved by the big purges carried out one after another by the Brezhnev renegade clique in these republics. For instance, large-scale "ideological rectification" and organizational purges have been carried out first in the Georgian, then in the Ukrainian and Armenian Republics since 1972; mercilessly persecuting and crushing the cadres and masses and removing the first secretaries of the central committees of the revisionist party in these three republics. Discontent is rife among the people and resistance struggles have surfaced one after another in these union republics.

Social problems have become more serious than ever in the last five years. Speculation is rampant and bribery has become a common practice, while theft, embezzlement, prostitution, alcoholism, the taking of drugs and juvenile delinquency are quite commonplace.

Class contradictions and contradictions among the nationalities are reflected in the upper stratum of the

ruling clique, thereby aggravating internal strife and rocking its rule.

It is clear that the last five years have witnessed the continuous strengthening of the dictatorship of social-fascism and the further isolation of the Brezhnev renegade clique. And in these five years the working people of all nationalities in the Soviet Union have waged indomitable struggles to re-establish the dictatorship of the proletariat.

"Peaceful Programme" — A Flop

The notorious "peaceful programme" was dished up by Brezhnev at the 24th congress. Since then, the Soviet revisionists have linked up all their acts of aggression abroad with this "programme." In fact, what the Soviet Union has done in the last five years in the international arena precisely shows that it is not "seeking lasting peace," but stepping up its contention for world hegemony under the smokescreen of "detente." Far from "opposing the threat of a new world war," it is trying its utmost to create the danger of a new war; instead of "supporting" national-liberation movements and the revolutionary struggles of the people of various countries, it stoops to anything in carrying out infiltration, interference, subversion and sabotage in a vain attempt to dominate and enslave the world's people.

Contention between the Soviet Union and the other superpower in the last five years has spread all over the globe. The intranquillity in Europe, the Middle East, South Asia, southern Africa and other regions of the world invariably is tied up with the expansion and infiltration by the Soviet social-imperialists. After many years of preparations, they concocted a so-called European security conference which was actually a European insecurity conference. While clamouring about "materialization of detente," "the irreversibility of detente," and "supplementing political detente by military detente," they have deployed and reinforced their forces and replenished their armaments in Eastern Europe. They have stirred up troubles in Southern Europe and in the Balkans, engaged in feverish infiltration in Portugal and other countries and strengthened their military dispositions in Northern Europe, thereby aggravating and complicating the situation in Europe. While mouthing disarmament, they have piled up more and more nuclear and conventional weapons, rapidly increased the number of troops and continually raised their military expenditures which have in the last few years outstripped those of the United States to make the Soviet Union the leading nation of the world in this field. They have conducted global military exercises, and warships of their huge navy prowl the waters of the world to make a big show of their strength. By signing so-called "treaties of friendship and co-operation," they have grabbed military bases abroad and, through so-called military and economic "aid," they have stepped up their plunder of some countries and tightened their political and military control over them. They regard some revisionist political parties as their special detach-

ments in pushing their social-imperialist policies. They brazenly supported India in dismembering another sovereign state. They resort to blackmail and intimidation to refuse to return the four northern Japanese islands which they have occupied. Now, flouting public opinion the world over, they have blatantly interfered in the internal affairs of Angola. This is a concentrated exposure of the gangster features of the ferocious social-imperialists and is a very good footnote to the essence of their "peaceful programme." In short, this overly ambitious superpower assumes a menacing offensive posture in its contention with U.S. imperialism for world domination; it is more adventurous and it has become the most dangerous source of a new world war.

But madness does not mean real strength. The more places to which it stretches its tentacles, the more nooses it puts around its own neck. More and more people in the world today are clear about its expansionist and hegemonic features. Numerous facts over the past five years have pointed up the plight of the Soviet social-imperialists who have run up against stone walls and found themselves in a bad fix. The fraud of detente they have cooked up to conceal their contention with the United States has been exposed by more and more people. At the so-called strategic arms limitation talks, the Soviet Union and the United States, each with its own ulterior motives, are locked in both overt and covert struggles, both refusing to make concessions. The Soviet-U.S. trade agreement, which was once flaunted as having made "fruitful contributions" to the strengthening of Soviet-U.S. relations, has been declared null and void. Despite ceaseless preparations, the Soviet revisionists have so far failed to convene the conference they have set their mind on holding, to be attended by various European parties. The absurd theory of "peaceful transition" which they advocate has gone bankrupt in what they call a "model" Latin American country.

Following the expulsion of 105 Soviet spies by the British Government in September 1971, large numbers of Soviet secret agents and spies have been exposed in various parts of the world in the past few years. The tens of thousands of Soviet advisers and military personnel sent to Egypt to control that country were forced to pack up and go home. Since the October War in the Middle East, the traitorous features of the Soviet revisionists in betraying the liberation struggle of the Arab and Palestinian people have been more and more bared. The great victory of the Cambodian people put to shame the Soviet revisionists who, as counter-revolutionary double dealers, had throughout maintained friendly relations with the Lon Nol clique. Their agitation for the establishment of an "Asian collective security system" aimed at dominating Asia met with little response. The Soviet revisionists have aroused fresh discontent among some East European countries for limiting the supply of raw materials and fuel to them, forcing up prices and intensifying the plunder of capital and manpower in these countries. All these have

given headaches to the Brezhnev renegade clique and caused internal strife.

It can thus be seen that the past five years were years in which the Soviet revisionists engaged feverishly in aggression and expansion and intensified their contention for world domination; they were also years in which the "peaceful programme" has gone bankrupt and the Soviet social-imperialists have become more isolated in the international arena.

Bankruptcy of "Developed Socialism"

The Soviet revisionists formally flaunted the banner of "developed socialism" at their 24th congress. Now what is their so-called "developed socialism"?

People may recall that at the 22nd congress, Khrushchov dished up the slogan of "basically building communism within 20 years" between 1961 and 1980, which was nothing but a bluff. When he gave that dud cheque, Brezhnev was his accomplice. Later Khrushchov's "goulash communism" went bankrupt; this, coupled with other reasons, finally toppled this clown. Taking over the mantle from Khrushchov, Brezhnev took down the tattered banner of "all-round construction of communism" and replaced it with the banner of "completion of developed socialism" in an attempt to cover up the bankruptcy of sham communism and the reality that the Soviet Union has moved from capitalist restoration to social-imperialism. The so-called "all-round construction of communism" and the "completion of developed socialism" are as like as two peas. The only difference is that since Brezhnev came to power the pace of all-round restoration of capitalism has been accelerated and the degree of monopoly by state monopoly capitalism and of capital concentration has been steadily increased, with the result that contradictions and difficulties are developing in depth.

Brezhnev and his ilk also have a political motive in trotting out the so-called "developed socialism." They prattle that a "developed socialist society" has "a corresponding political superstructure—a state of the whole people which replaces the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat." Obviously, they are creating a theoretical basis for the fallacy of a "state of the whole people" which has already been completely repudiated. It seems as if the state of the whole people is the "result conforming to the laws" of "developed socialism" and, since there is the "completion of a developed socialist society," the fallacy of a state of the whole people is viable. Their aim is, in reality, to cover up the harsh fact that, under the signboards of the state of the whole people and democracy of the whole people, the Soviet Union today is practising a fascist dictatorship.

The Soviet revisionist renegade clique is also using the fallacy of "developed socialism" to serve its social-imperialist policies of aggression and expansion, the argument being that "developed socialism" is necessarily linked with "socialist integration." Brezhnev and company say that "developed socialism" makes all countries

"economic and political life highly internationalized" and demands a "more perfect form of socialist internationalism" to suit the needs; they also claim that implementation of economic integration "is the most important factor in establishing a developed socialist society" and so on and so forth. What they have said boils down to this: Since the Soviet Union has "established a developed socialist society," it has every reason to control and plunder the other members of the "big community" in the name of integration while the other member countries in the "big community" will have to be Soviet social-imperialism's appendages if they want to build "developed socialism." Acting on this fallacy, the Soviet revisionists have not only energetically worked for economic integration but have taken a step further in putting forth and bringing about ideological integration, military integration and diplomatic integration. The objective is to exercise all-round control over its partners in the "big community." At present, the Soviet Union is wooing and inveigling some Asian, African and Latin American countries to join the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance, an integration organization. Doesn't this mean that the Soviet Union which has "established a developed socialist society" also has reason to stretch its aggressive talons to all parts of the world with "integration" as a tool? It is thus clear that the so-called "developed socialism" is only a euphemism for social-imperialism, social-fascism, state monopoly capitalism and hegemonism.

With nothing much left up its sleeves, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has concocted the "theory of developed socialism." Such action is aptly described by what Lenin said: "The old word socialism had been desecrated by the traitors to socialism." (*The Third, Communist International*.) The clique's action, however, can in no way save it from utter failure. Countless facts over the past five years and the as yet unhatched new constitution which the Soviet revisionists have worked for a long time to sum up and embody "developed socialism," all prove that Brezhnev and company are extremely weak and poor politically and theoretically.

* * *

In short, the five years since the Soviet revisionists' 24th congress show that, whether in theory or in deeds and in domestic or international affairs, Soviet social-imperialism with its wild ambitions is outwardly fierce but inwardly feeble, is beset with difficulties at home and abroad and is on the decline. It is sliding down in accordance with the law that imperialism will inevitably perish. "Flowers fall off, do what one may" is a Chinese verse which aptly portrays the plight of the Soviet revisionists. Like imperialism and all other reactionaries, "revisionist Soviet Union is a paper tiger too." History will show that Soviet social-imperialism which is out on a limb will sink ever more deeply in insoluble political and economic crises. With the third world as the main force, the people of the whole world including the people of the Soviet Union, will raise still higher the banner of anti-imperialism, anti-colonialism and anti-hegemonism and march forward valiantly.

Soviet Spies — Objects of Hate And Abhorrence

REPORTS by the press of West European countries of scandals about Soviet revisionists' espionage activities came thick and fast recently. France and Belgium disclosed that they had expelled a large number of Soviet spies in the past few years. In the Federal Republic of Germany, a film was made of the criminal activities of agents of the Soviet State Security Committee (K.G.B.) and shown to the public on television. The Danish Government has sternly condemned frequent intrusions into Denmark's coastal waters by Soviet spy ships for reconnaissance. K.G.B. agents have become objects of hate and abhorrence.

The mass of material disclosed by the Western press shows that the Soviet revisionists are engaged in cloak-and-dagger work in every nook and cranny and their talons have reached out everywhere. In France, Soviet "covert activities have never ceased." In the Netherlands, the number of K.G.B. operatives is "ten times the number of the C.I.A. men" of the United States. In the Federal Republic of Germany, the Soviet Union has through blackmail, money, naked threats and intimidation recruited no less than 10,000 people to act as its spies. In Italy, the K.G.B. "has about 90 K.G.B. agents and almost a thousand informants" collecting intelligence on the security and defence systems of Italy and NATO. Luxembourg, which has an area of only 999 square kilometres, has long been regarded by the Soviet revisionists as their spy base in continental Western Europe because of its proximity to Brussels, where the headquarters of NATO is located. They make use of the thick forests along the border for passing on intelligence and crossing the national boundary. In neutral Austria, Switzerland and Sweden, the number of Soviet agents has increased enormously. The Soviet revisionists have stopped at nothing to carry out subversive activities. On the Iberian Peninsula, they have gone to great lengths to provide their agents with funds and arms. In the Balkans, they give support to the criminal activities of the conspiratorial elements in Yugoslavia. In the North Sea, they send planes and ships to spy on the oil-drilling platforms of other countries and carry out harassing activities.

To step up their arms expansion and war preparations and contend for world hegemony, the Soviet revisionists have spared no efforts to secure huge foreign loans to import Western technology. Their appetite, however, is insatiable. So they send their spies to steal what they do not have the money to buy. This is a "new task" for the Soviet espionage setup. The British paper *Daily Express* not long ago revealed that "several Western intelligence services are now convinced that a new

section of the K.G.B. has been set up to practise industrial espionage in multinational companies." When the Soviet Union cannot buy from the West new industrial techniques from private companies at a price that suits it, "the Russians are perfectly prepared to steal them." In this respect, the Soviet revisionists keep an eye, in particular, on nuclear development, computer technology and chemical industry. Their spy networks crisscross the Federal Republic of Germany, the Netherlands, Switzerland and other countries. According to the head of F.R.G. security affairs, 60 per cent of Soviet espionage activities in the F.R.G. are directed at industrial corporations. In 1971 the West prohibited the export of electronic computers to the Soviet Union, but such computers on their way from the Netherlands to the F.R.G. were transferred on to a Moscow-bound plane.

All this shady business has been carried out while the mealy-mouthed Soviet revisionists are chanting such nice words as "detente," "strengthening European security and good-neighbourly relations and co-operation" and "mutual trust" to lull the people. The grandiloquent "Final Act" of the European security conference, lauded to the skies by the Soviet revisionists, has been heavily laced with such phrases as "peaceful co-existence," "non-intervention in internal affairs" and "respect for the rights inherent in sovereignty." But such tricks to hoodwink others have been seen through by more and more people. Political circles and public opinion in West European countries have pointed out that what the Soviet Union calls "peaceful coexistence" and "non-intervention in internal affairs" actually means subversion and expansion against other countries. Therefore, "when the Russians talk at length about non-intervention in the affairs of other countries, their statements are absolutely fraudulent." A Western journal said that "under the smokescreen of detente" the Soviet K.G.B. is intensifying its activities in a way comparable to Soviet arms expansion. The F.R.G. producer of the TV documentary on Soviet spies, despite threats from the Soviet revisionists, said that the documentary is meant to prove that the Soviet Union has stepped up the building of a espionage network under the cover of "detente."

According to the hegemonic principle practised by Soviet social-imperialism, it can blatantly carry out subversion, intervention, infiltration and expansion in other countries but other countries are not permitted to come out and oppose it. Should anyone expose its plots, it would label him as "an enemy of detente" and "a saboteur of peace and co-operation." When the commander-in-chief of the Swedish armed forces pointed out that

North European countries faced a "Soviet threat" because the Soviet Union had set up a base in the vicinity of the Barents Sea for collecting intelligence, he was accused of "aggravating tension in Northern Europe." When the British media reported on Soviet espionage activities in the North Sea oilfields, it was maligned as "obstructing" the development of "good relations" between the Soviet Union and Britain. When the TV documentary on Soviet espionage activities was shown in the F.R.G., Moscow complained and attacked it as a deliberate attempt to exacerbate relations between the two countries. According to this weird logic, any country which wants to "develop good relations" with the Soviet Union and to "ease tension" must meekly wink at Soviet espionage activities, throw wide open its doors and let Soviet ships and planes move freely in its territorial waters and air! The leader of the British Conservative Party Mrs. Thatcher and others recently made speeches exposing the fact of Soviet military expansion in Europe and its wild ambitions for world dominance and calling on the West European and British public to beware of the "grave threat" from the Soviet Union. In a hysterical outburst of fury, the Kremlin hurled out protests and invectives, attacking Mrs. Thatcher as an "anti-Soviet and anti-detente" "cold-war warrior." What heinous crimes indeed! But the vicious Soviet attack drew an indignant reply from British political circles and the press. Some Members of Parliament and newspapers pointed out: When the Soviet ambassador complained, people should ask how many acts of provocation the Soviet espionage organization has committed on British soil and territorial seas. Some people demanded that an investigation into these acts be made! The question is really not difficult to answer as the facts are all there for everyone to see. For example, the British Defence Ministry recently disclosed that, on the average, British planes had once every other day intercepted and turned back Soviet aircraft which had in-

truded into Britain's airspace. These Soviet aircraft were mainly on reconnaissance missions over northern Britain. Soviet spy ships are often on the prowl in the northern parts of the Irish Sea. They spy on British submarine bases and keep under constant surveillance the missile-testing range at Aberporth and NATO defence facilities on the southern coast of Scotland. Soviet spy ships are rampant not only at the North Sea oilfields but in the English Channel as well. In October last year there were as many as 40 to 70 huge Soviet trawlers operating near the Channel, one of which intruded into the 12-mile territorial sea of Britain and was seized by a British warship. Not long ago a Soviet so-called "factory-ship" collided with a freighter. Soviet trawlers immediately came to the scene and formed a protective cordon, forbidding others to go to the rescue. It is quite obvious what this skulduggery meant.

In 1971 the British Government expelled 105 Soviet spies and televised the details of their covert operations. Last year the British Government caught a Soviet-paid agent trying to hand over to the Soviet consulate information on Britain's Vulcan strategic bomber. The *New York Herald Tribune* recently revealed that the Soviet espionage organization has drawn up a secret plan "to destroy vital installations in the West European countries at the outset of a war." One part of the plan had Britain as its target.

The Soviet revisionists' espionage and subversive activities in the various West European countries are part of their frenzied ambition to dominate Europe and contend for world hegemony. They are bent on carrying on such activities and yet they do not allow others to expose them. This is of course impossible. No threat, abuse or subterfuge of any kind, as the British press has pointed out, can seal people's lips. Soviet spies' inevitable fate is like that of rats scurrying across a street with everyone shouting: "Kill them! Kill them!"

(Continued from p. 4.)

interference, especially Soviet interference, achieve accommodation and unity among the three organizations in Angola and build their own country into a new and really independent, united and unified Angola."

The Foreign Minister said that the Chinese Government and people will, as always, resolutely support the Zairese Government and people in their just struggle against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism.

Engulu Baangampongo Bakokele Lokanga said in his speech: We hold that the problem of Angola is very simple. If what the Zairese National Executive Council supports is the Angolan people's struggle to shake off the Portuguese domination and

win their liberation, our support is without any calculation. We cannot admit that the Angolan people who have gone through protracted struggle are now subjugated to the domination of Russian imperialism. In the face of the Russian-Cuban coalition and their aggression against Angola, we are obligated to react and take actions to liberate the Angolan people.

The independence of Angola, he continued, was obtained through the tireless efforts of all the sons and daughters and the various national-liberation movements of Angola. The problem of Angola should be solved by the Angolan people themselves. The Russians and Cubans must quit Angola and must return the Angolan

territory to the Angolan people and let the sons and daughters of Angola establish among themselves relations of fraternity, concord, peace and cooperation.

He reiterated: So long as the Russians and Cubans continue their aggression against Angola, we will never admit and recognize the Movement of the People's Liberation of Angola.

The Zairese Commissioner of State for Political Affairs praised the sincere and selfless friendship existing between the peoples of Zaire and China.

Talks were held between Foreign Minister Chiao Kuan-hua and Commissioner Engulu Baangampongo Bakokele Lokanga during the delegation's stay in Peking.

ROUND THE WORLD

"RRUGA E PARTISE" (ALBANIA)

Self-Reliance — A Basic Marxist-Leninist Principle

Rruga e Partise, organ of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour, recently carried a signed article entitled "The Principle of Self-Reliance Must Be Applied Everywhere in Economic Development." The article stressed its importance to socialist revolution and construction and the great practical significance to educate the masses in the spirit and requirements of this principle. It refuted revisionist fallacies on this question.

"The Albanian Party of Labour and Comrade Enver Hoxha," the article said, "have repeatedly stressed that decisive factors in the revolution, construction and the defence of socialism are internal factors, the immense power of the people under the leadership of the Party, and the manpower, material resources and finance of the country."

"The principle of self-reliance is one of the basic principles which will play a permanent and all-round role in ensuring successes and victories in the revolution, socialist construction and the defence of socialism," it added.

"The principle of self-reliance has profound political, ideological, economic and social contents," the article pointed out. "It applies to all realms and is helpful to the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, to the establishment of confidence in the triumph of socialism over capitalism, to the establishment, development and steady perfection of socialist mode of production and to the revolutionization of ideas and behaviour of the broad working masses."

The article went on to say: "The modern revisionists oppose this principle, describing it as 'sliding to narrow nationalist position,' 'departing from proletarian internationalism' and 'pursuing a closed-door

policy in a small area of a given country.' Of course, all this nonsense has its general goals against Marxism and revolution.

"In so doing they attempt to legalize the notorious 'theory of limited sovereignty' which constitutes a constant menace to national dignity and freedom and independence of the people. Experience has proved that the economic integration carried out by the Soviet Union in revisionist countries today has all the characteristics of neo-colonialism.

"The principle of self-reliance is a militant principle which embodies revolutionary spirit, preparedness and determination so that the Albanian people can fight, work and live under all conditions; no matter how complicated they may be, and stand up to all difficulties and hardships and successfully overcome them with confidence in sure victory."

"The principle of self-reliance," the article said, "does not in the least exclude, but, on the contrary, includes various forms of internationalist solidarity, mutual help and support. Doubtlessly, internationalist solidarity, mutual help and support are of importance."

BANGLADESH

Condemning India's Hegemonic Action

The Ganges is a major river flowing through India into Bangladesh. The sharing out of the river water has been a longstanding issue in the relations between India and Bangladesh. Several years ago, India arbitrarily built the Farakka Barrage 11 miles away from the Bangladesh border to divert a flow of 40,000 cubic metres out of 55,000 cubic metres per second during the dry season to the harbour of Calcutta, to the great detriment of Bangladesh.

Negotiations have taken place on many occasions between the two

governments on this question which, however, remains unsolved because of India's unreasonable stand.

India and Bangladesh reached a provisional agreement on April 18 last year, providing for the specific quantum of water to be diverted from April 21 to May 31 of 1975; any further diversion beyond that period should be subject to prior consultation between the two governments. However, India continued using the Farakka Barrage to divert water from the Ganges without any consultation with the Bangladesh Government.

India's arrogant and hegemonic action naturally has been condemned by the Bangladesh people and world public opinion.

B.M. Abbas, Adviser to the Bangladesh President and Chief Martial Law Administrator, said on February 11 in an interview with Bangladesh News Agency (B.S.S.) correspondents that the Bangladesh Government has officially drawn the attention of the Indian Government to the adverse effects on Bangladesh caused by India's unilateral withdrawal of water from the Ganges.

In an editorial on February 13, the *Bangladesh Times* stressed that though time and again India gave assurances that nothing would be done with Farakka that would be detrimental to the Bangladesh people, its latest action did not match those oft-repeated fine assurances.

LATIN AMERICA'S PUBLIC OPINION

Soviet Union — An Out-and-Out Expansionist

It is now known to the whole world that the Soviet social-imperialists have crudely interfered in the internal affairs of Angola and provoked and expanded the civil war there. The development of the situation in Angola is being closely watched by the people and officials of Latin American countries. The Soviet revisionists' criminal acts of interference in Angola have enabled them to see more and more clearly that the Soviet Union is an out-and-out expansionist.

The Brazilian paper *O Estado de Sao Paulo* asked in an article: If a simple trailer like *Alcatraz* could sail directly from Luanda in Angola to Salvador in Brazil, can't modern Soviet warships do the same? A signed article carried by *La Republica* of Costa Rica on January 29 said that some members on the delegations of Latin American countries to the United Nations expressed the fear that after Angola, "the same tactics and the same troops would also be used in Latin America." It added that the Soviet Union would have recourse to various tactics in an attempt to establish regimes under its control "in all places where the people are divided and vigilance is weakened." It is natural, therefore, that Latin American countries and people are keeping an eye on Soviet moves in the South Atlantic and on the development of the Angolan situation. They are also studying how to strengthen their defences in the South Atlantic so as to cope with Soviet military expansion.

Tongue in cheek, the Soviet revisionists allege that they "side with the force representing the national interests of the Angolan people and striving to shake off colonialism in Africa." They claim again and again that they "do not seek anything in Angola," "military bases" included, nor do they want to "carry out military expansion in Africa." However, the Latin American press has exposed this fraud, pointing out that the Soviet revisionists are expansionists and interventionists, pure and simple. The Mexican paper *El Nacional* said in a commentary that these Soviet allegations are a mockery of world public opinion and that there is hardly any fact to prove that the deeds of the Soviet Union are consistent with its words.

Prensa Grafica, a Salvadorian paper, pointed out in an article that Soviet intervention in Angola is "for the same purpose of world domination as in other regions." The Jamaican paper *Gleaner* said in an editorial: "There is no doubt that Russia wishes a client state strategically placed in Africa." Both *Es-*

trela de Panama and Surinam's *Fa Sien Paw* pointed out that Soviet meddling in the internal affairs of Angola is aimed at turning it into a "new colony."

The Argentine paper *No Transar* held that the Soviet Union harbours "expansionist ambitions" in Angola because of its important strategic position and rich natural resources. It added that the Soviet Union has shipped arms to Angola to "defend the interests of the social-imperialists in this part of Africa."

Latin American officials and papers strongly oppose any outside intervention in the internal affairs of Angola and hold that the Angolan people should be allowed to realize national unity and solve their own problems.

SOVIET SOCIAL-IMPERIALISM

Flirting With South Korea

The leader of the Soviet delegation to the recent 12th Winter Olympic Games suggested to the south Korean delegation that it go to the Soviet Union for "friendly" competitions after the conclusion of the Games. So the Soviet social-imperialists are striking up a new "friendship" with the south Korean authorities!

The Soviet social-imperialists have been carrying on, overtly or covertly, with the south Korean Pak Jung Hi clique for quite some time. Last September, when south Korea sent 16 athletes to the Soviet Union to take part in world wrestling and weight-lifting tournaments, they were given a "warm welcome" and an unusual reception.

Such relations between the Soviet Union and south Korea have in recent years developed from "exchanges" in the fields of sports, culture and trade to "cordial meetings" and "friendly talks" between diplomatic officials of both sides. Indications are they tend to grow closer and closer. As early as in August 1973, Soviet Ambassador to the United States Dobrynin held "talks" with the former south Korean "am-

bassador" Kim Dong Jo. In May 1974, the Soviet consul general in San Francisco had "dialogues" with south Korean "ambassador" Pyong-Choon Hahm. In 1975, the Soviet Embassy in France officially invited the Pak Jung Hi clique's "counsellor" to attend a social function in the Soviet Embassy. In October last year, the Pak Jung Hi clique sent an official to Moscow to convey the message that it was ready to "establish diplomatic relations" with the Soviet Union at any time. The Soviet authorities, according to a report by the south Korean news agency, were also considering the matter. These contacts between the Soviet Union and south Korea have won the "plaudit" of the Pak Jung Hi clique which said that "improvement in the relations between Seoul and Moscow is encouraging." From these dirty deals one can easily see how despicable the features of the Soviet social-imperialists are in sabotaging the Korean people's cause of reunifying their fatherland.

The Soviet social-imperialists are abettors of the Pak Jung Hi clique in its criminal action to undermine and obstruct the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea and co-conspirators in the attempt to create "two Koreas." The independent and peaceful reunification of Korea, however, is an inevitable trend and conforms to the aspirations of the Korean people. It is a trend which cannot be obstructed by U.S. imperialism or Soviet social-imperialism. The just struggle of the Korean people for the independent and peaceful reunification of their fatherland is bound to triumph and the Soviet social-imperialists' plot will surely meet with ignominious defeat.

CORRECTIONS: In our issue No. 7, 1976, page 5, right-hand column, line 8 from the bottom, the word "Overloads" should read "Overlords." In issue No. 8, the unit of the item "milk" as shown in the table in the left column of page 16 should read "litre."

ON THE HOME FRONT

Achievements by Science Students

THIS year's Peking University science graduates have achieved remarkable successes.

Since entering the university three years ago, the worker-peasant-soldier students have adhered to the principle that "education must serve proletarian politics and be combined with productive labour" and made big advances in striving to be both politically conscious and professionally competent under the leadership of the university Party committee. Giving first place to a firm and correct political orientation, they have conscientiously studied works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and by Chairman Mao and criticized the

bourgeoisie and revisionism. Tempered in class struggle and the struggle between the two lines, they have raised their level of political consciousness and many of them have been admitted into the Chinese Communist Party.

These graduates are imbued with the good idea of serving the people. When an earthquake occurred in Yunnan Province's Chaotung area in 1974, the worker-peasant-soldier students of the seismology and geology speciality rushed there and immediately plunged into rescue work. Regardless of their own safety, they inspected stricken places, found places of refuge for the masses, rescued class brothers and sisters and collected firsthand information on

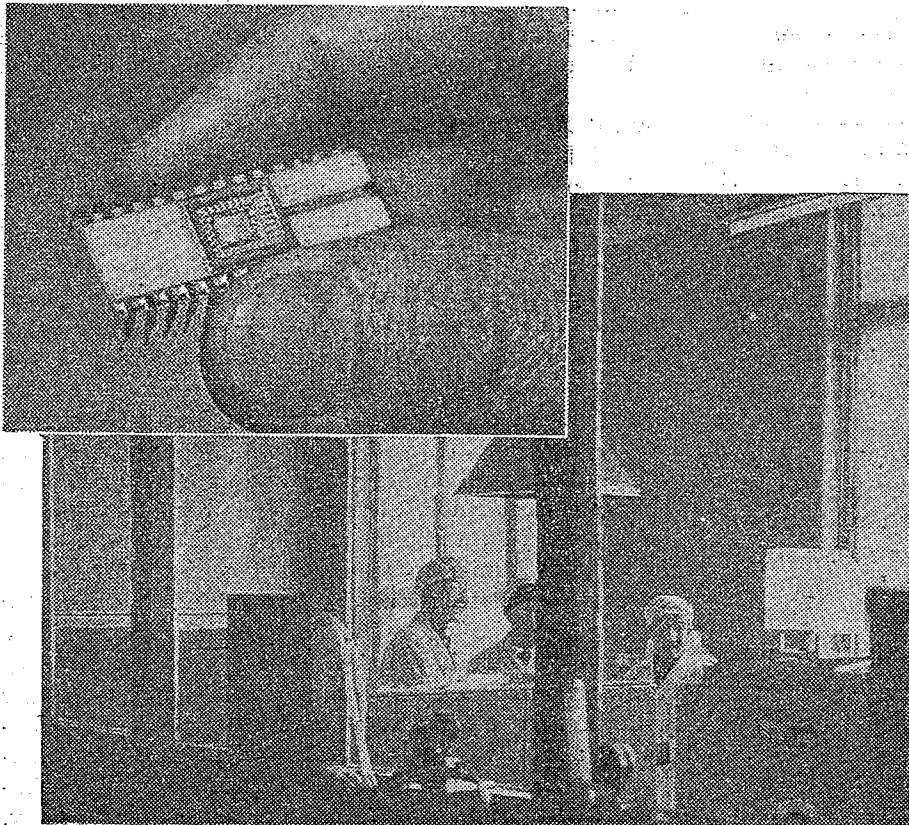
the structure of the earth's strata that caused the earthquake.

Together with their teachers, five students last year joined a scientific research group for surveying geothermic resources in Tibet. They travelled more than 18,000 kilometres and investigated 117 thermic centres in 33 counties on a plateau averaging 4,000 metres above sea level. On the northern slope of the Kangirdisi Mountains, two students twice climbed over a mountain pass 6,000 metres above sea level in stormy weather. After eight days' herculean efforts, they found and surveyed a boiling hot spring located at the highest altitude in the world.

Integrating theory with practice, the students have paid attention to enhancing their ability to analyse and solve problems. Of their scientific research items completed, 105 were up to advanced standards at home and some reached the advanced world levels. Ninety-five of them have been applied in socialist construction. For instance, students in the radio department were entrusted by the Peking Water Works with the task of studying the automation and telemechanization of the city's water supply. Under the guidance of teachers, they together with the workers took a little over seven months to make a complete set of equipment which has proved satisfactory in its test run.

Students studying solar physics in the astronomy department discovered the correlation between the magnetic changes in individual sunspots and the eruption of solar flares in sunspot groups and evolved a new thesis on the correlation between the magnetic field value of sunspots and the flow of solar particles. This is of high reference value to the study of the physics of the solar activity zone.

Students of the biochemistry speciality improved the old technological processes for producing insulin. They extracted trypsin, chymotrypsin and other new products from pancreatic waste, filling a gap in China's pharmaceutical industry. In addition, they came up with new theoretical views on the destruction of enzymat-



Worker-peasant-soldier students and teachers of Peking University, with the help of workers, successfully developed a 1,024-bit MOS random-access memory for use in various kinds of computers. Nearly 5,000 transistors are arranged on a chip one-fourth the size of a finger nail.

Top: The random-access memory.

Bottom: The simple workshop built through self-reliance to develop the memory.

ic activity by highly concentrated ethyl alcohol and the separation and purification of enzymes.

A Mechanized Lake Saltern

THE Chilantai Saltfield in the Ningsia Hui Autonomous Region has been transformed into China's first big mechanized lake saltworks. Major production processes — the raking up of salt from evaporating pans, transportation, drying, piling up and decalcifying — have all been mechanized. In addition, a railway

line linking the saltern with the Paotow-Lanchow Railway has been completed together with necessary ancillary facilities. In Chilantai today, there is a network of railroads and highways, heaps of salt look like small hills and the humming of machines can be heard everywhere. Its output in two days now well surpasses the pre-liberation annual figure.

Chilantai, 120 square kilometres in area, is one of China's large inland salt lakes. Salt produced there, known as "chiyen" or "tachingyen,"

has long been famous in China for its large grains and high degree of purity. Besides sodium chloride, the brine contains large quantities of magnesium chloride, calcium sulfate and sodium sulfate, all fine raw materials for the chemical industry.

While its transformation was under way, Chilantai kept overfulfilling state quotas for salt production every year. Since 1967 it has produced more than 2.8 million tons of crude salt and accumulated 2.5 times the amount of funds invested in it by the state.

(Continued from p. 14.)

for their fraternal factory but also fulfilled their own plan of increasing production.

In the first half of last year, the Shanghai Scientific and Technical Experience Exchange Centre organized some factories to pool their efforts to improve the wire electrode cutting machine for processing dies. Some people from certain factories hesitated. They thought they had nothing to gain, for some factories organized were small ones and the participants were apprentices. Guided by the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the workers launched a mass revolutionary criticism of this erroneous idea. They said: "Co-operation is not business transaction. To think only about one's own unit is departmentalism which is enlarged individualism." In this way, those who originally did not want to take part enhanced their understanding and changed their attitude. Displaying the communist style, they selflessly swapped experience and techniques with others. Tangible results were gained in only two months.

Now, the militant slogan "Do away with departmentalism and foster the viewpoint of keeping the interests of the whole in mind" has been translated into action by people going in for mass socialist co-operation.

Centralized Party Leadership

Since socialist co-operation is mass activity involving various trades, departments and enterprises, it can be successfully developed only under the centralized leadership of the Party.

Party organizations at all levels in Shanghai always explain to the cadres and masses the Party's line and policies as well as the political and economic significance in accomplishing the tasks of co-operation. At the same time they pay great attention to developing the communist new ideology and new style of work that have emerged among the masses so as to overcome the old ideas and resist the "bourgeois wind."

In organizing mass co-operation, the Shanghai municipal Party committee, while stressing unified leadership, sees to it that enthusiasm is brought into full play from all sides. In building the Shanghai General Petrochemical Plant, a major capital construction project which needed mass co-operation throughout the city and energetic support from many parts of the country, the municipal Party committee mapped out an overall plan and organized all departments concerned to assume full responsibility for the tasks entrusted to them in line with their specialized fields. The city's 23 industrial bureaux, 23 designing units and nearly 100 factories, which undertook various tasks for the project, actively co-operated and helped one another. This ensured the rapid construction of the petrochemical plant, with quality guaranteed.

To help the workers and staff members acquaint themselves with and show concern for the situation as a whole so as to develop socialist co-operation in a still better way, all departments concerned, under the unified leadership of the Shanghai municipal Party committee, hold every year thousands of meetings where reports on the current situation are given and experiences are exchanged; in addition, there are exhibitions and lectures on various new techniques. They also organize visits to advanced units and make arrangements for mobile teams to give technical demonstrations. Centres for exchanging the technical know-how and workers' cultural palaces have also been set up, with large numbers of workers and technicians taking part in their activities. To closely co-operate with the work mentioned above, various scientific and technical information organizations and research institutes publish reference materials and show films on science and technology. Party organizations at all levels always encourage the masses to bring to light problems still existing in co-operation so as to solve them with collective wisdom and strength and help the less advanced units catch up with the advanced ones. All this has created favourable conditions for mass socialist co-operation in Shanghai.