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Chairman Mao, the great leader of the Chinese people, on the afternoon of February 1 met and had a cordial and friendly conversation with His Excellency President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan.

Present on the occasion were Premier Chou En-lai and Comrades Wang Haifung and Tang Wen-sheng.

Chinese Foreign Ministry Spokesman's Statement

The spokesman of the Chinese Foreign Ministry issued a statement on January 27, firmly supporting the solemn stand of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia and sternly condemning the Thai reactionaries for stepping up their criminal military collusion with the Lon Nol clique. The statement reads:

"On January 19, the authorities of Thailand signed a so-called 'border security agreement' with the Lon Nol-Sirik Matair traitorous clique of Phnom Penh. The spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Thailand openly clamoured that under this 'agreement' Thai troops have the right to enter Cambodian territory in so-called 'hot pursuit' of the people's armed forces of national liberation of Cambodia. This is a brazen act of aggression and war provocation on the part of the Thanom-Praphas clique against the Cambodian people.

"The Ministry of Information and Propaganda of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia issued a statement on January 21, sternly condemning the Thanom-Prapas clique for its criminal military collusion with the puppets in Phnom Penh and its scheme of expanding the war of aggression against Cambodia. The Chinese Government and people express their firm support to the just stand of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia.

"The reactionaries of Thailand have long become accomplices of U.S. imperialism in the aggression against Viet Nam and Laos. In 1970 reactionary troops of Thailand stealthily moved into the territory of Cambodia. The so-called 'border security agreement' signed now is but a cloak for 'legalizing' further and open invasion of Cambodia by the accomplice troops of Thailand. This shows that the reactionaries of Thailand have been bound even more tightly to the U.S. imperialist war chariot of aggression and have become additional cannon-fodder for the U.S. aggressors' scheme of 'using Asians to fight Asians.' Whoever plays with fire will be consumed by fire. The U.S. imperialists, who have employed more than one million of their aggressor troops and accomplice and puppet troops in their aggression against Indochina, have been badly battered by the three Indochinese peoples. If the reactionaries of Thailand do not draw a lesson from their defeats on the battlefields in Viet Nam and Laos but obdurately persist in setting themselves against the three Indochinese peoples and doggedly serve U.S. imperialism, they will certainly eat the bitter fruit of their own making and be severely pun-

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ished by the people of Thailand and the three Indochinese peoples.

"The Chinese people are watching closely the development of the situation in Indochina. Resolutely following the teachings of our great leader Chairman Mao, we shall exert every effort to support the peoples of Cambodia, Viet Nam and Laos in their just struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation till the complete liberation of the whole of Indochina."

Armymen and People Learn From Each Other

Activities in which the people support the army and the latter cherish the people take place annually all over the country from the New Year to Spring Festival. On January 3, 1972 the State Council and the Military Commission of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China issued a circular calling on the nation to carry out a movement to support the army and give preferential treatment to families of revolutionary armymen and martyrs and to support the government and cherish the people.

During this year's movement an upsurge in which the nation learns from the People's Liberation Army and the Liberation Army learns from the people of the whole country has emerged. Commanders and fighters of many army units exchanged experience and gains in studying the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and Chairman Mao's works with people from all walks of life. Leading members of many army units called on Party and government organs in the localities where they were stationed to gather opinions about their units. Leading cadres of the Party and government organs also went to the local army units to canvass the latter's opinions and called on the families of armymen and martyrs.

Commanders and fighters in an artillery regiment stationed on Peking's outskirts formed many groups to visit dozens of nearby villages in the first few days of the year. Together with commune members, they studied the New Year's Day editorial by Renmin Ribao, Hongqi and Jiefangjun Bao, and discussed the excellent situation at home and abroad and the question of how to carry out this year's tasks. The Chinwei Commune on Shanghai's outskirts invited fighters from a company known for maintaining the revolutionary tradition of arduous work and plain living to give reports about their experience.

The Chinese People's Liberation Army is an army of the people founded and commanded by Chairman Mao. The people are our army's source of strength and guarantee of victory. Fighting north and south, the People's Liberation Army has liberated the whole country with the exception of Taiwan Province. It has played the role of the pillar of the dictatorship of the proletariat in defending the motherland and during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, thereby winning the warm love of the people throughout the country. During the protracted revolutionary struggle, the Liberation Army and the people have established relations like those of fish to water and maintained the tradition of carrying out the movement to support the army and cherish the people every year. This movement has strengthened army-people and army-government unity and promoted their learning from each other.

Chinese Personnel Return From Dacca

All members of the Chinese Consulate-General in Pakistan's Dacca and Chinese engineers and technicians on an aid mission in the Dacca area left the city on January 24 and arrived in Peking the next day.

The Chinese Government had decided to close the Chinese Consulate-General in Dacca immediately after Indian aggressor troops, with the vigorous support of social-imperialism, occupied Dacca on December 18, 1971. In accordance with this decision, the Chinese Consulate-General there discontinued consular functions on December 17.

The returnees were warmly welcomed at the Peking Airport by members of the departments concerned.

Condolences on Comrade Chen Yi's Death

The political parties, governments, mass organizations and friendly personalities of many countries and regions have cabled or written to the Chinese quarters concerned to express their condolences on the death of Comrade Chen Yi.

Albanian Ambassador to China Comrade Xhorxhi Robo met Comrade Chiao Kuan-hua, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs, and on behalf of the Albanian Party of Labour, the Albanian Government, Comrades Enver Hoxha, Mehmet Shehu and other leading comrades of the Party and state expressed his sympathy to the Chinese Communist Party, the State Council and the People's Liberation Army as well as Comrade Chen Yi's family.

Besides those already listed in Peking Review, No. 3, messages of condolence were also received from:

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Thailand, the Delegation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Indonesia, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Burma and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Malaya;

Phoumi Vongvichit, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Lao Patriotic Front; and

General Gaafar Mohamed Nimeri, President and Prime Minister of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan; Mohsin Al Einy, Premier and Foreign Minister of the Yemen Arab Republic; Major Marlen Ngouabi, President of the People's Republic of the Congo; Jens Otto Krag, Prime Minister of Denmark; and Prince Souvanna Phouma, Prime Minister of Laos; as well as the Foreign Ministers of Somalia, France, Iran, Sudan, Yugoslavia, Peru, the Netherlands,

(Continued on p. 15.)

Peking Review, No. 5
President Bhutto Visits China

President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan paid a state visit to China from January 31 to February 2.

Peking, bathed in sunshine after a snowfall, was filled with an atmosphere of friendship between the people of China and Pakistan. The warm welcome given President Bhutto and the other distinguished Pakistan guests showed the Chinese people's firm support to the Pakistan people in their just struggle against foreign intervention and aggression and for safeguarding state sovereignty.

Among the Chinese leaders at the airport to welcome the distinguished visitors were: Chou En-lai, Premier of the State Council; Yeh Chien-ying, Vice-Chairman of the Military Commission; Li Hsien-nien, Vice-Premier of the State Council; Li Teh-sheng, Director of the General Political Department of the Chinese People's Liberation Army; Kuo Mo-jo, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress; Wu Teh, Vice-Chairman of the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee; and Chi Peng-fei, Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Premier Chou En-lai on February 1 gave a grand banquet at the Great Hall of the People to warmly welcome President and Begum Bhutto, all the distinguished Pakistan guests of the presidential party, the crew of his special plane and the accompanying newsmen.

Premier Chou and President Bhutto spoke at the banquet. Cambodian Head of State Samdech Norodom Sihanouk who attended the banquet on invitation made an impromptu speech.

Premier Chou En-lai's Speech

At the welcoming banquet, Premier Chou said: "The Chinese Government and people are consistently opposed to the imperialist and expansionist policy of aggression and resolutely support the people of all countries in their just struggle to safeguard state sovereignty and territorial integrity. We have always held that a country's internal affairs, including its nationality problems, should be handled only by its own people and no foreign country has the right to interfere, and that disputes between states should be settled by the two parties concerned through peaceful consultations and there should be no resort to force. Using Pakistan's internal nationality problem as a pretext and relying on the support of social-imperialism, the Indian Government has grossly interfered in Pakistan's internal affairs, and even employed massive troops for armed aggression, the military occupation of East Pakistan and the forcible dismemberment of Pakistan, thus crudely trampling upon the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, the U.N. Charter and the norms guiding international relations. We pointed out more than a month ago that the fall of Dacca was definitely not a 'milestone' on the road towards victory for the Indian aggressors, but the starting point towards their defeat. By pushing power politics and an expansionist policy, the Indian Government has not only seriously violated peace in the subcontinent, but also intensified its contradictions with its neighbouring countries and aggravated the scramble between the two superpowers in this area, thus further arousing the strong dissatisfaction and resistance of the peoples of South Asia, including the Indian people, and giving rise to still greater upheaval in the subcontinent. We can say with certainty that by its doings the Indian Government is lifting a rock only to drop it on its own feet and will eventually eat the bitter fruit of its own making and meet with ignominious defeat."

In conclusion, Premier Chou said: "In their struggle against foreign aggression, the people of Pakistan have enjoyed the sympathy and support of the people of various countries. The Chinese Government and people resolutely support the Pakistan Government and people in their just struggle in defence of state sovereignty and territorial integrity and against foreign aggression and interference, and resolutely support the people of Kashmir in their just struggle for the right to national self-determination. We firmly maintain that the resolutions of the U.N. General Assembly and the Security Council should be respected and implemented and that the Indian Gov-

Distinguished Pakistani Guests Accompanying President Bhutto on His Visit

Begum Nusrat Bhutto, wife of President Bhutto; Air Marshal A. Rahim Khan, Commander-in-Chief of the Pakistan Air Force, and his wife Begum Rahim Khan; Lieutenant-General Gul Hassan, Commander-in-Chief of the Pakistan Army; Rear-Admiral H.H. Ahmed, Acting Commander-in-Chief of the Pakistan Navy; Mahmud Ali, Adviser to the President for Political Affairs; M.M. Ahmed, Adviser for Foreign Loans and Consortium; Aziz Ahmed, Secretary-General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Sultan M. Khan, Foreign Secretary; Rafi Raza, Special Assistant to the President; Members of the National Assembly Khurshid Hassan Mir, Sardar Khair Buksh Khan Marri, Talibul Maula and Colonel Habib Khan; Ahmad Yar Khan, Khan of Kalat; and Faiz Ahmad Faiz.

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Hosts and guests enter the banquet hall.

ermment should withdraw its armed forces from Paki­
stan territory and cease its military provocations
against Pakistan. We believe that the Pakistan peo­
ple, strengthening their unity and making concerted
efforts under the leadership of President Bhutto, will
certainly be able to overcome their temporary diffi­
culties and win victory in their struggle.”

President Bhutto’s Speech

In his speech, President Bhutto expressed thanks
for the warm hospitality given the Pakistan Delegation
in China. He said that since her independence,
Pakistan has been subjected to armed aggression by
India on three separate occasions and that on the last
occasion “the conspiracy against the integrity and ter­
ritorial unity of my country was a deeper and broader
one. And as such we have suffered from a terrible
military reversal. A part of my country is under
Indian military occupation. We have been subjected
to the use of brutal and naked force. And whilst this
has not yet been over, we are now being subjected to
diplomatic coercion from certain countries.”

He declared: "The people of Pakistan are deter­
minded to arrive at a settlement between the two parts
of Pakistan but that settlement must be left to the people
and the leaders of the two parts of Pakistan without
foreign interference and without foreign occupation.”

He pointed out: “All we seek for is the
implementation of the United Nations resolutions
both in the General Assembly and in the Security Council. India might have won
a temporary military victory which is a passing phenomenon. But Pakistan has won
a great political victory which is a permanent
factor and that great political victory is that
the whole world, that is, 105 countries of
the world in the United Nations supported
Pakistan’s cause as being just, right and
won.”

In conclusion, he declared: “Our stay in
China has been productive, useful, construc­
tive and successful and we leave China
tomorrow with greater confidence in our
struggle assured by the fact that unquali­
fiedly we have the support of 800 million
people of this great country who have stood
by us and will continue to stand by us.”

Samdech Sihanouk’s Speech

Samdech Sihanouk said: “It is a great
symbol to have ourselves unite at such a
banquet because, as Prime Minister Chou
En-lai has said so well we, China, Pakistan
and Cambodia, are the victims of injustice,
the victims of some powers who want to im­
pose upon our third world, our Asia, our
Africa, our Latin America, their rules which
are against the principle of self-determina­
tion, of equality among peoples and of
peaceful coexistence.”

He said: “The reason why we stand side by side
with Pakistan is because we cannot accept the prin­
ciple of interference by foreign countries in the affairs
of a sovereign state. Sovereign state must not be
divided. We cannot accept to be divided, and that is
the reason why we support Pakistan.”

“As our respected and beloved President Zulfikar
Ali Bhutto has said so well in his speech a few minutes
ago, foreign occupation, foreign interference in our
affairs are quite temporary, not permanent, but justice
will prevail in the last round of our fighting. Peoples
cannot accept to be divided. So I am sure that Cam­
bodia will become again a united country. Taiwan
will be united to its motherland, the People’s Re­
public of China. East and West Pakistan will be
united,” Samdech Sihanouk concluded.

On February 2, President Bhutto and Premier Chou
signed a joint communique (full text on p. 7). That
same day President and Begum Bhutto gave a farewell
banquet. When the distinguished visitors left Peking,
more than 100,000 people lined the streets to bid them
a warm farewell.

Peking Review, No. 5
At the invitation of the Government of the People's Republic of China, Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, President of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, accompanied by Begum Bhutto, Members of the National Assembly, other political leaders, and a high-level official delegation, paid a state visit to the People's Republic of China from January 31 to February 2, 1972.

The President of Pakistan and his party were accorded an enthusiastic reception and they were pleased to witness this demonstration of warmth of sentiments of the people of China for the people of Pakistan.

The President of Pakistan met the great leader of the Chinese people, Chairman Mao Tsetung, and the Prime Minister of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, Mr. Chou En-lai and conveyed to them sincere appreciation for the support given by China to Pakistan and the admiration of the people of Pakistan for the remarkable progress made by China under Chairman Mao's brilliant leadership.

The President had detailed exchange of views with Prime Minister Chou En-lai on the Indo-Pakistan conflict and its aftermath, major international issues and the further consolidation of friendly relations and cooperation between China and Pakistan. The discussions were held in a friendly and cordial atmosphere. They were fully satisfied with the results of the discussions.

I

The President and the Prime Minister strongly condemned the naked aggression committed by India against Pakistan and the occupation of Pakistan's territory by her in blatant defiance of international law, the United Nations Charter and the Bandung Principles. They called upon the international community to take serious note of the grave consequences that must ensue for the world order if a country imposes its will on another neighbouring country by the use of military force involving armed aggression.

II

The President reiterated that future relations between the two parts of Pakistan should be established through negotiations between the elected leaders of the people without foreign intervention or influence and that Indian forces must withdraw from East Pakistan to enable such negotiations to take place in an atmosphere free from coercion or intimidation. He urged all states to refrain from taking any precipitate action that would not only frustrate the objective but would, in effect, legitimize Indian aggression. The Prime Minister expressed his understanding of and respect for the above stand of Pakistan.

III

The President and the Prime Minister agreed that the countries in South Asia as elsewhere should coexist in peace and amity. They expressed their conviction that there can be no tranquility in the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent unless India vacates territories under her military occupation in implementation of the resolutions of the U.N. General Assembly and the Security Council dated 7th and 21st December, 1971 respectively. The United Nations must ensure strict observance of the ceasefire and the withdrawal of forces to their respective territories and to positions which respect the ceasefire line in Jammu and Kashmir. They noted with gratification that the members of the third world in general and the Islamic countries in particular are supporting the Government and the people of Pakistan in their struggle to preserve their national independence and territorial integrity against foreign aggression and interference in their internal affairs.

IV

The President and the Prime Minister expressed grave concern over the fate of Pakistani prisoners of war and civilians in East Pakistan who are in the hands of Indian occupation forces. They called upon India to fulfill her obligations under the Geneva Conventions and repatriate these persons without further delay. The President expressed readiness to repatriate Indian prisoners of war and other civil and military personnel from East Pakistan now in West Pakistan in order to assist in the rehabilitation of East Pakistan. The President and the Prime Minister further expressed their earnest hope that the atrocities being perpetrated against innocent civilians in East Pakistan would cease immediately.

V

The President and the Prime Minister held that the international situation is developing in a more and more favourable way for the peoples of the various countries. The President expressed his desire for peace in South Asia and for friendly relations with all neighbouring countries based on the Bandung Principles. They firmly support the peoples of the Indochinese countries.
in their just struggle for national liberation, the Palestinian people and the Arab peoples in their just struggle against imperialism and for the restoration of their legitimate rights, and the Afro-Asian peoples in their just struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism.

VI

The President and the Prime Minister noted with satisfaction the developments of economic co-operation between the two countries. The Prime Minister stated that in order to help the development of the national economy of Pakistan, the Chinese Government has decided to change into grants the four loans which have already been provided to Pakistan and are being utilized, and the repayment period of the loan provided in 1970 shall be deferred for 20 years. The Prime Minister further expressed the Chinese Government's readiness to provide Pakistan with fresh loans on similar terms when that loan has been utilized.

“Renmin Ribao” Editorials:

**It Is Impermissible to Legalize India’s Invasion and Occupation of East Pakistan**

After having dispatched troops to invade and occupy East Pakistan and imposed “Bangla Desh” on Pakistan at the point of the bayonet with the encouragement and support of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism, the Indian Government is making a big outcry that “Bangla Desh” has become a “reality.” Singing the same tune as the Indian reactionaries, Soviet revisionism has tried hard to advertise that the situation in East Pakistan is “returning to normal.” This was followed up by the Soviet Government’s announcement of its recognition of “Bangla Desh” in accordance with the so-called “principle of national self-determination.” This claptrap of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism and Indian expansionism is a typical argument to legalize aggression.

What kind of “fait accompli” is the so-called “Bangla Desh” after all? The whole world can see that it has been created by the Indian Government through naked aggression and subversion with the support of Soviet revisionism. By putting up the signboard of so-called support to “national self-determination,” Soviet revisionism cannot cover up in the least the essence of the issue. Pakistan is a sovereign state whose national question at home is the affair of the Pakistan people themselves. It should and can only be solved by the Pakistan people themselves and brooks no interference by any foreign country. A Pakistan leader once said that the Pakistan Government had made mistakes and very serious mistakes indeed in the past in handling the question of East Pakistan. But this can only be solved by Pakistan itself. It does not mean that Soviet revisionism is allowed to support India in sending troops to occupy East Pakistan and impose a so-called solution on Pakistan by force from outside. If “self-determination” is permitted, then there is no need to dispatch troops; since troops have been dispatched, then there is no self-determination. What Soviet revisionism has done has nothing to do at all with national self-determination, but is national determination by others. This is precisely a crude violation of the principle of national self-determination.

Many countries in the world have their national question today. If the logic of Soviet revisionism and Indian expansionism is followed, does it not mean that wherever national question exists any foreign country can send troops there to introduce from outside a so-
called "government" of "national self-determination" it has created? In that case, will not armed intervention and aggressive wars occur everywhere in the world? How then can there be national independence, state sovereignty and territorial integrity for all countries of the world? How then can there be national self-determination without foreign interference?

If the logic of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism and Indian expansionism were tenable, then couldn't India, which invaded and occupied East Pakistan by making use of the so-called "national question," invade and subvert other countries on the same or a similar pretext? More than 10 years ago, the Indian reactionaries engineered a counter-revolutionary rebellion in China's Tibet and created a so-called question of "Tibetan refugees" after coercing tens of thousands of inhabitants of Tibet to go to India. They have since used this as a pretext for carrying out repeated subversive activities against China's Tibet. The Indian reactionaries recently unleashed Dalai, chieftain of the Tibetan rebels, to make an outcry about "restoring" "independence" and "freedom" to Tibet. This exposes once again the Indian expansionists' ambition to carve off Tibet from China.

National oppression does not exist at all in China's Tibet. On the contrary, one million serfs there have been emancipated and have become masters of the land. It is in India that sharp national contradictions and oppression really exist. As is known throughout the world, the Nagas, Mizos, Sikhs and other nationalities there are carrying out just struggles against national oppression. Even so, we do not consider that other countries can engage in armed intervention there. If the measures used by the Soviet revisionists and Indian expansionists towards Pakistan were adopted, then couldn't other countries also send troops to India to foster "national self-determination" and create a country of Nagas, a country of Mizos and a "Sikhistan"?

While talking about supporting "national self-determination" and "national liberation," Soviet revisionist social-imperialism is doing quite the opposite. With regard to the liberation struggle by the oppressed nations, it has always carried out a policy of sham support but real betrayal, or no support at all. A single example will suffice here. Well over one million Palestinian people have been driven out of their homeland by the U.S.-Israeli aggressors. They have the full right to take up arms to fight for the restoration of their national rights and for returning to their homeland. But the Soviet revisionists have repeatedly shouted about a so-called "political solution" and made behind-the-scenes deals with the other superpower, trying by every means to obstruct and sabotage the Palestinian people's armed struggle against the U.S.-Israeli aggressors. Recently, the Soviet revisionists openly sent a so-called "goodwill" delegation to Israel for sinister activities. Having done things like this, how can they be expected to support the Palestinian and other Arab peoples in their struggle against the U.S.-Israeli aggressors?

The Soviet revisionist social-imperialists and the Indian Government are making big efforts to embellish the situation in East Pakistan as "returning to normal," and "Bangla Desh" as a "fait accompli." This reminds one of the situation more than three years ago when the Soviet revisionist social-imperialists sent hundreds of thousands of troops to occupy Czechoslovakia and, after they "had the situation under control" with tanks and guns, they declared that the situation there had "returned to normal." In the recent case, their aim is to hide from the people the fact of the sanguinary occupation of East Pakistan by the Indian troops. The Soviet revisionists have supported India in its aggression against Pakistan, put East Pakistan under the bayonets of Indian aggressor troops and made the Pakistan people suffer from a foreign invader's occupation of their territories. Can all this be called "normal"? If the so-called "fait accompli" brought about by armed aggression could be called "normal," then does it not mean that Israel's occupation of large tracts of Arab territories and the occupation of the territories of many countries in the world by U.S. imperialism could also be called normal? According to this logic, whenever a country has invaded and occupied the territory of another country through its military power and created a fait accompli, such aggression should be recognized as legal. This is nothing but the imperialist theory that might is right.

It must be pointed out in particular that the U.N. General Assembly adopted by an overwhelming majority of 104 votes a resolution calling for a ceasefire and troop withdrawal by India and Pakistan and that the Security Council also adopted a resolution demanding withdrawal of the armed forces of both sides to their respective territories. The Indian Government has undertaken obligations to withdraw its troops from East Pakistan. However, protected by the Soviet revisionists, it disregards the U.N. resolutions. The Indian Foreign Minister even had the cheek to talk about "obligations" they "cannot shirk" and that Indian "troops have to remain there." What sort of "obligations" they "cannot shirk"! To put it bluntly, with the backing of this superpower, the Soviet Union, and obdurately sticking to its course of action, the Indian Government is determined to legalize its aggression and occupation, and turn East Pakistan into a new Indian protectorate.

Soviet revisionist social-imperialism and Indian expansionism are swollen with arrogance, thinking that they have got the upper hand on the South Asian subcontinent. But they had better not rejoice too soon. When the Indian aggressors occupied Dacca we said: The fall of Dacca is definitely not a so-called "milestone" towards victory for the Indian aggressors, but the starting point of endless strife and their defeat on the South Asian subcontinent. The development of the situation will further prove the correctness of this conclusion.

February 4, 1972
Important Proposal for Promoting Peaceful Reunification of Korea

COMRADE Kim Il Sung, Head of State and Premier of the Cabinet of the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea, in his talks with Japanese newsmen on January 10, 1972, put forward an important proposal for promoting the peaceful reunification of Korea, which calls for a peace agreement between north and south Korea and, under the condition of withdrawal of the U.S. imperialist aggressor troops from south Korea, a drastic cut in the armed forces of both north and south Korea, as well as north-south political negotiations to strengthen contacts and ties between the north and south and to solve the question of the reunification of Korea. This proposal expresses the profound aspirations of the 40 million Korean people and is of immense significance to realizing peaceful reunification of Korea, easing tension on the Korean Peninsula and safeguarding peace in Asia. The Chinese Government and people fully and firmly support this proposal.

The root-cause of the failure to realize a peaceful reunification of Korea and eliminate tension on the Korean Peninsula lies entirely in the U.S. imperialist policy of aggression against Korea. Since the armistice in Korea, U.S. imperialism has consistently refused to withdraw its aggressor troops from south Korea completely, and has turned it into its military base and colony. It vigorously fosters the south Korean puppet clique and augments south Korea’s military strength; it has ceaselessly engineered armed provocations against the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea and done everything possible to obstruct and sabotage the peaceful reunification of Korea. All the actions of U.S. imperialism in Korea run utterly counter to the Korean people’s national aspirations and basic interests and seriously threaten peace and security in Asia; they are therefore resolutely opposed by the Korean people and sternly denounced by the people of all countries in the world.

The Government of the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea has always advocated and has made unremitting efforts for the independent, peaceful reunification of Korea without foreign interference. The stand for peaceful reunification of Korea was reaffirmed in the 8-point programme of national salvation put forward by the Supreme People’s Assembly of the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea last April and in the statements of Korean government leaders. It is warmly supported by the Korean people in the north and south and widely backed by public opinion in various countries. Thanks to the positive efforts of the Government of the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea, the obstacles set up by the U.S.-Pak Jung Hi clique have been broken through, preliminary talks are being held between the Red Cross Organizations of north and south Korea, and a favourable atmosphere has been created for promoting peaceful reunification of Korea. However, U.S. imperialism and its henchmen are extremely afraid of the tremendous influence engendered by the peace efforts of the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea. They have gone so far as to trumpet a fictitious “threat of southward aggression from the north” and proclaimed a “state of emergency,” using this as a pretext to frenziedly suppress and persecute the south Korean people who urgently demand peaceful reunification of their fatherland. Such criminal acts have aroused stiffer resistance from the south Korean people.

Premier Kim Il Sung’s peace proposal has effectively exposed the lies and pretenses fabricated by the Pak Jung Hi puppet clique. It once again demonstrated before the world’s people the sincere desire and solemn stand of the Government and people of the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea with regard to eliminating tension on the Korean Peninsula and to their efforts for the peaceful reunification of Korea. This proposal points out the correct way to realize the peaceful reunification of Korea. U.S. imperialism must withdraw all its aggressor troops from south Korea and completely stop its interference in Korean affairs. The peaceful reunification of Korea is an internal affair of the Korean nation that can be settled only by the Korean people themselves. If the Pak Jung Hi clique unreasonably rejects this peace proposal, it will only completely reveal itself as an enemy of the cause of peaceful reunification of Korea and of Korea’s national interests.

The will of the Korean people for realizing the peaceful reunification of Korea is unshakable. No obstruction and sabotage by U.S. imperialism and the south Korean puppet clique can prevent the sacred cause of peaceful reunification of Korea from attaining final victory.
In his January 25, 1972 television speech, U.S. President Nixon trotted out a so-called “8-point proposal” for the settlement of the war in Viet Nam and Indochina. He asserted that “it is a plan to end the war now” and “a settlement that is fair.” In effect, it is only a new U.S. imperialist stratagem for persisting in its aggression in Viet Nam and the whole of Indochina and prolonging and intensifying its war of aggression.

As stated in Nixon's “8-point proposal,” the United States will withdraw all its forces from south Viet Nam within six months on condition that the U.S. prisoners of war are released, the south Viet Nam puppet regime maintained and a so-called “ceasefire” realized. This means that the Indochinese people have to lay down their arms and stop their war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation, and so on and so forth. This is absolutely preposterous! U.S. imperialism had no justification at all in sending large numbers of troops to wage a war of aggression in Viet Nam. It should have withdrawn all its aggressor troops from south Viet Nam unconditionally. What right or reason does it have to put forward this or that condition for troop withdrawal? Pounded by the heroic Vietnamese people's iron fists, the U.S. aggressor troops have suffered irreversible defeats. The only way out for them is to withdraw lock, stock, and barrel without any tricks. Nixon, however, has now put forth an agglomeration of treacherous and unreasonable conditions for troop withdrawal and demands that the Vietnamese people accept them. This is absolutely impossible.

Nixon's “8-point proposal” says that the “political future of south Viet Nam” will be left for the south Vietnamese people “to decide for themselves.” However, what he termed “to decide for themselves” means nothing but a so-called “free election” under the control of a Nguyen Van Thieu puppet regime without Nguyen Van Thieu. The result of such an “election” could only be the same as the fake election held in south Viet Nam last October, that is, to allow continued rule by the U.S. imperialists' henchmen so that their colonial rule may be retained in south Viet Nam. The south Vietnamese puppet regime is a tool of U.S. imperialism for its aggression against and enslavement of the south Vietnamese people. It has committed towering crimes of selling out the national interests and slaughtering south Vietnamese people. To achieve genuine self-determination, the south Vietnamese people can never tolerate the continued existence of this puppet regime. U.S. imperialism is trying to impose on the south Vietnamese people a puppet regime which has long been spurned by them, while talking glibly about leaving the south Vietnamese people “to decide for themselves.” Such a trick fools nobody.

It is very clear that with the so-called “8-point proposal” for the settlement of the war in Viet Nam and Indochina Nixon wants in fact to insist on the war “Vietnamization” plan. Whether the fighting is done by Americans or Vietnamese are used to fight Vietnamese, it is the U.S. imperialist war of aggression against Viet Nam. Obsturally insisting on “Vietnamization,” Nixon is persisting in the war of aggression. This is a far cry from “ending the war.”

Pleased with his own ruses, Nixon loudly advertises his “8-point proposal,” but in fact what he is doing precisely reflects the weakness and predicament of U.S. imperialism. Since its inauguration, the Nixon government has been continuously expanding the war of aggression and suffering disastrous defeats in Indochina. Of late, the U.S. aggressors have suffered one heavy defeat after another on the Indochinese battlefield. They have been severely punished by the Vietnamese people for their barbarous bombing of north Viet Nam which has aroused strong opposition from the American people and the people of the world. U.S. imperialism is beset with difficulties at home and abroad and finds...
its days getting more and more difficult. It is under such circumstances that the Nixon government tries to use the so-called “peace plan” to mislead the American people and world opinion, shirk its criminal responsibility for prolonging and expanding the war of aggression against Viet Nam and shamelessly blackmail and threaten the Vietnamese people.

However, no U.S. imperialist scheme can succeed. Neither peace fraud nor military blackmail can save it from complete failure. U.S. imperialism must promptly and unconditionally withdraw all its aggressor troops from south Viet Nam and put an immediate end to its war “Vietnamization” plan, support of the Nguyen Van Thieu puppet clique and all war acts against Viet Nam, including bombing attacks and military provocations against north Viet Nam. The 7-point peace proposal put forward by the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam is the correct way to solve the Viet Nam question. The Viet Nam question can only be settled by the Vietnamese people themselves, and the Indochina question can only be settled by the people of the three Indochinese countries.

The Chinese Government and people firmly support the 7-point peace proposal of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam. So long as U.S. imperialism persists in its aggressive war against Viet Nam and Indochina, we shall resolutely support the fraternal Vietnamese and other Indochinese peoples to carry out the war of resistance against U.S. aggression and for national salvation through to the end. We firmly believe that the Vietnamese people, strengthening unity and fighting shoulder to shoulder with the Lao and Cambodian peoples, will certainly be able to completely defeat the U.S. aggressors and their running dogs and win final victory in their war of resistance against U.S. aggression and for national salvation.

(January 29)

Commentary on U.S. President’s Messages

U.S. President Richard Nixon recently gave Congress his annual “State of the Union Message” and “Budget Message.” Although Nixon in these messages tried to embellish U.S. imperialism’s actual situation with a host of empty fine phrases, he still was unable to cover up its present insuperable crises and daily decline. At the same time, the two messages show that, with its ability unequal to its ambition, U.S. imperialism is still trying to continue its desperate struggle by strengthening reactionary rule at home and clinging to aggression and expansion abroad in an effort to change the situation in which it is beset with domestic and external difficulties.

Nixon had to admit in his messages that “the world has changed greatly.” He deplored that the U.S. “international economic position has been slowly deteriorating.” In the United States, he said, there are “growing weakness” and “mounting” inflation, and the workers’ strikes have become “one of our most . . . perplexing economic problems” and “there is an honest division of opinion” among U.S. ruling circles. Nixon declared that he would “deal seriously” with these “challenges,” but he could not offer any real solutions. Both messages fully demonstrate that the development of events has become more and more unfavourable to U.S. imperialism.

Nixon presented the United States as “a force for justice,” “a force for progress” and “a force for peace” in the world and boasted once again that he would “build a generation of peace.” But the messages themselves gave the lie to these high-sounding phrases. From them, particularly from the foreign policy announced, it can be clearly seen that U.S. ruling circles, unconcerned to their failure, are still clinging to the policies of aggression and war.

First, the messages put forward an extensive plan for arms expansion. Direct U.S. military spending for fiscal 1973 will reach 78,300 million dollars, an increase of 7,800 million over that of the previous year. Nixon stated that the United States must “preserve the sufficiency of our strategic nuclear deterrent,” with emphasis on developing U.S. “strength at sea” and must strengthen its “general purpose forces.” He said the reason why the United States wanted to step up arms
expansion and war preparations was to deal with “a contingency” in Asia or elsewhere in the world, and it was also because “we cannot ignore the fact that others are going forward with major increases in their own arms programs.” This shows that U.S. imperialism wants to keep on suppressing the revolutionary struggles of the peoples of various countries and intensify the armament race with the other superpower in their contention for world hegemony.

Second, Nixon declared that the United States will “help other nations develop the capability of defending themselves.” That is to say, it will continue to arm the reactionary forces of various countries, to vigorously carry out “Vietnamization,” “Laotianization,” and “Khmerization” in Indochina, to step up the revival of Japanese militarism as its instrument of aggression in the Far East, and to continue to support the Zionists’ forcible occupation of Palestine and aggression against Arab countries in the Middle East. In a word, it means that the United States supplies money and guns and the reactionaries of various countries supply the men, so as to continue to push the “Nixon doctrine” of “using Asians to fight Asians” and “using Africans to fight Africans.”

Third, it was emphasized in the messages that “we [the United States] will faithfully honour all of our treaty commitments.” As is well known, to carry out expansion all over the world, U.S. imperialism has entered into a series of aggressive treaties. To “faithfully honour” the “commitments” in these treaties means that it will continue to infringe upon the sovereignty of other countries, occupy their territories by force, retain its control over many areas and foster a handful of reactionaries repudiated by the people, thus antagonizing the peoples of various countries.

Fourth, in the messages Nixon further asserted that the United States “will act to defend our interests whenever and wherever they are threatened any place in the world.” This is a typical superpower logic of aggression. The so-called defence of U.S. “interests” is obviously a pretext for the United States to carry out intervention and aggression against other countries at any time and in any place.

Nixon said that the United States has “learned many lessons” in Viet Nam. But he added that the United States wanted to do neither “too much” nor “too little” and that if it “should now withdraw from all or most of its international responsibilities,” this “would be to make a dangerous error.” What a strange argument! How can an immediate end to this unpopular and hopeless war of aggression be an error? This shows that the U.S. Government has not really learned any lessons from the failure in its war of aggression in Viet Nam. Even though Nixon considered that the United States was doing neither “too much” nor “too little,” it is bound to meet with still more disastrous defeats so long as it persists in the war of aggression in Viet Nam and the rest of Indochina.

While stepping up its expansion abroad, U.S. imperialism will inevitably intensify attacks on the people at home. Nixon asserted that the American people, whether they like it or not, have to accept the “strong medicine” of a budget with huge deficits. He also vilified all strike struggles as “irresponsible” and urged the American people to maintain “discipline.” This clearly shows that the U.S. Government wants to increase exploitation and oppression of the American people in order to maintain its reactionary rule at home.

U.S. imperialism is riddled with insuperable contradictions at home and abroad. The measures put forward by Nixon in his messages are nothing but deceitful tricks. The rapid decline of U.S. imperialism is inseparably linked with its frantic aggression and expansion abroad. Since the U.S. Government insists on continuing its policies of war and aggression, it must meet with fiercer opposition from the people the world over, thus further sharpening the political, economic and social crises at home. To step up arms expansion and war preparations and ease the economic crisis, the Nixon government drew up a budget with the largest postwar deficit (receipts, 220,800 million; outlays, 248,300 million; deficit, 25,500 million). This will only aggravate the U.S. financial crisis and sharpen internal class contradictions. Despite his deceitful and empty promises and threats to curb strikes, Nixon cannot prevent the American revolutionary mass movement from surging forward. The “new economic policy” through which the U.S. Government shifts its economic crisis on to other capitalist countries and its call for “competing more effectively” can only result in widening the contradictions between the United States and its “allies” and promoting the trend among other countries to jointly resist the United States. All this will certainly make things tougher and tougher for U.S. imperialism.

The U.S. President said in his messages that the United States is at “a turning point in the history” of the country. This turning point, however, is definitely not the beginning of “a new era” as U.S. ruling circles imagine, but the new awakening of the American people. The situation in the United States today is one in which “the gale is raging and the storm is about to burst.” The struggle of the world’s people against U.S. imperialism is surging forward irresistibly. The further decline and decay of U.S. imperialism are inevitable.
China's Position on Racial Discrimination in Some Areas of Africa

— Foreign Minister Chi Peng-fei's letter to U.N. Secretary-General

Chi Peng-fei, Foreign Minister of the People's Republic of China, addressed a letter to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Kurt Waldheim, on January 27, stating the position of the Chinese Government on the racial discrimination which exists in some areas of Africa. The letter follows:

I have received the letter addressed to me on December 20, 1971 by Mr. Adam Malik, President of the 26th Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, and the enclosed resolution 2784 (XXVI) of the U.N. General Assembly of December 6, 1971 and message from the President of the U.N. General Assembly to the heads of state or government.

I would now state the position of the Chinese Government on the racial discrimination which exists in some areas of Africa.

The Chinese Government holds that racial discrimination and apartheid, which exist in southern Africa and in other areas, are the products of the policy of colonialism and imperialism. The struggle against racial discrimination is closely bound up with the struggle against colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism. The people of some areas of Africa, who are engaged in a struggle against racial discrimination, can achieve national liberation and eradicate the evil of racial discrimination only by overthrowing colonialist rule through their own struggle. Their struggle is wholly just, and they should be given energetic moral, political and material support by all countries that uphold justice.

Proceeding from the above position, leaders of the Chinese Government on many occasions as early as in the 1950s, when the People's Republic of China had just been founded, cabled the African National Congress of South Africa and other nationalist organizations in support of the African people and other non-white people in South Africa in their struggle for fundamental human rights and against racial discrimination. In order to support the South African people in their just struggle against racial discrimination and for national liberation, the Chinese Government long ago decided not to have any diplomatic contacts with the white colonialist authorities in South Africa and as from July 1960 severed all economic and trade relations with them. The Chinese Government has strictly adhered to this just stand ever since. At the same time, leaders of the Chinese Government have on many occasions expressed firm support for the struggle for national independence of the people of Namibia who are under the rule of the South African white racist regime.

The Rhodesian white racist regime is a direct outcome of the British colonialist policy. The Chinese Government has always firmly supported the people of Zimbabwe in their just struggle against colonialist rule and racial discrimination and for national independence. On November 14, 1965 the Chinese Government issued a statement strongly condemning the so-called “independence” declared by the Rhodesian white colonialist authorities with the connivance and support of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. On December 30, 1971 the Chinese Permanent Representative on the United Nations Security Council Huang Hua denounced the fraud engineered by the British Government of “agreement” on the “settlement” of the British-Rhodesian dispute. In order to support the just struggle of the people of Zimbabwe, the Chinese Government has always refrained from having any diplomatic contacts with the Rhodesian white racist regime and long ago severed all economic and trade relations with it, direct or indirect.

The Portuguese Government has stubbornly maintained its colonialist rule in Africa, waged colonialist wars and even brazenly made armed invasion into independent African countries; the Chinese Government has exposed and condemned this on many occasions. On November 25, 1970 the Chinese Government issued a statement, which strongly condemned Portugal for its act of dispatching mercenary troops to invade the Republic of Guinea with the support of the United States and exposed the barbarous policy of racial discrimination pushed by Portugal in its colonies in Africa. The Chinese Government firmly supports the peoples in the Portuguese colonies of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) in their armed struggle against the Portuguese colonialist rule and for national independence.
It must be pointed out that it is with the political and economic support of a handful of countries such as the United States and Britain that the white racist regimes in South Africa and Rhodesia and the Portuguese Government are carrying out in Africa their ruthless colonialist rule and barbarous policy of racial discrimination. This handful of countries are even directly or indirectly supplying arms to the South African, Rhodesian and Portuguese colonialist authorities and directing them to form a "military alliance" so as to jointly suppress the just struggle of the people in southern Africa.

The Chinese Government considers that, in order to uphold the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter, the United Nations should actively support the just struggle of the people of southern Africa against colonialism, neo-colonialism, imperialism and racial discrimination and for national liberation and condemn the South African, Rhodesian and Portuguese ruling colonialist authorities and the U.S., British and other governments which support them behind the scenes. But for a long time in the past, because of the obstruction and sabotage of the imperialist, colonialist and neo-colonialist forces, the United Nations has not been able to play the role as it should, and this state of affairs should not continue further. For the elimination of racial discrimination and colonialist oppression, the

Chinese Government is ready to work jointly with all countries within or without the United Nations that uphold justice and with the people of South Africa, Namibia, Zimbabwe and the Portuguese colonies who are suffering from racial discrimination and colonialist and neo-colonialist oppression.

Enclosed herewith are four official documents of the Chinese Government supporting national independence and opposing racial discrimination (see note).

I shall be grateful if Your Excellency will kindly have this letter and its annexes circulated as official documents of the United Nations and distributed at the Security Council meetings scheduled to be held in Addis Ababa.

Note:


(Continued from p. 4.)

and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen.

The General Office of the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs was authorized to issue an announcement on January 28 to express thanks for the messages of condolence on Comrade Chen Yi's death from government departments, political parties, mass organizations and friendly personalities of many countries as well as some of the diplomatic corps in China.

Puerto Rican Socialist Party Delegation

The Puerto Rican Socialist Party Delegation headed by the party's General Secretary Juan Mari Bras ended a ten-day visit to China on January 28.

While in Peking, the delegation was met by Yao Wen-yuan, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, and feted by Wang Kuochuan, a leading member of the Chinese People's Association for Friendship With Foreign Countries.

On January 25, General Secretary Juan Mari Bras gave a report on the struggle by the people of Puerto Rico to win national independence. His report was warmly applauded.

The General Secretary said in his report that Puerto Rico has been for a long time a colony, first of Spain and then of U.S. imperialism. U.S. imperialism, in particular, has subjected the people of Puerto Rico to cruel suppression and exploitation and set up air and naval bases in the country. The Puerto Rican people have waged a heroic struggle against U.S. imperialist colonial rule and for national liberation. Developing greatly both in scope and in strength since 1959, the struggle has entered a new stage.

Wang Kuochuan said in his speech that the Puerto Rican people's struggle for national independence is an important component part of the Latin American people's revolutionary struggle against U.S. imperialism and that so long as they unite and persist in struggle, the Puerto Rican people will surely win final victory. Wang Kuochuan expressed the Chinese people's firm support for the Puerto Rican people's struggle.
WRITTEN by Karl Marx 96 years ago, the Critique of the Gotha Programme is a programmatic work of Marxism which is a model for uncompromising principled struggle against opportunist lines.

In it Marx penetratingly criticized Lassalle's opportunist line and further explained the principle of proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. In carrying out education in ideology and political line, re-reading this brilliant work and learning the historical experience in the struggle between Marxism and revisionism enables us to increase our ability to distinguish genuine from sham Marxism, deepen our criticism of the revisionist fallacies of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique and Liu Shao-chi and other swindlers, and heighten our conscious implementation of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and policies.

"Fair Distribution" Hoax

Paragraph by paragraph and sentence by sentence, Marx criticized the Gotha Programme which abounds with reactionary Lassallean fallacies. Lassalle was a traitor and scab hidden in the ranks of the German workers' movement. He claimed to be a disciple of Marx but was in reality the most vicious enemy of Marxism. He vigorously spread such opportunist trash as "equal right," "fair distribution" and "undiminished proceeds of labour" in a vain effort to deceive the proletariat and replace the proletarian programme with a bourgeois programme, to change the nature of the proletarian party and lead the proletarian revolution down the foul road of reformism so as to safeguard the capitalist system. Lassalle's opportunist nonsense was beaten to a pulp by Marx's criticisms and tossed on the rubbish heap of history long ago.

However, the struggle between Marxism and opportunism has never stopped in the past century. The renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-chi and his gang are exactly the same as Lassalle. They rave that socialism is just "bigger distribution" and "getting more" and, like the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, they misrepresent socialism as "welfarism." Turning their backs on class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat, they talk in the abstract about distribution without going into the question of who owns the means of production. In fact, they are apologists for the exploiting classes and want the landlords and capitalists to "get more" and obtain a "bigger distribution" while the labouring people live in poverty and privation.

Marxism holds that a certain system of distribution relies on a certain mode of production. To observe and handle the distribution question, one cannot depart from ownership of the means of production and the nature of the social system. In Critique of the Gotha Programme, Marx scientifically explained the relations between distribution of the means of consumption on the one hand and the ownership of the means of production and the social system on the other. He pointed out: "Any distribution whatever of the means of consumption is only a consequence of the distribution of the conditions of production themselves. The latter distribution, however, is a feature of the mode of production itself." In other words, the kind of ownership of the means of production determines the system of distribution of the means of consumption. The decisive question is which class controls the means of production.

In the conditions obtaining under capitalism, the means of production are in the hands of the landlords and capitalists, so the power of distribution of the means of consumption is in their hands. The social wealth created by the proletariat and other labouring people is seized by the landlords and capitalists. The system of private ownership of the means of production is the root cause of the poverty of the proletariat and other labouring people. Only by abolishing private ownership of the means of production can the proletariat and other labouring people get out of their poverty-stricken position of enslavement and exploitation.

Contrary to the Marxist viewpoint, historically, "vulgar socialism (and from it in turn a section of the democracy) has taken over from the bourgeois economists the consideration and treatment of distribution as independent of the mode of production and hence the presentation of socialism as turning principally on distribution." Its representatives, and Lassalle was one of them, maintain that "the capitalist mode of production is very good and can continue to exist but the capitalist mode of distribution is very bad."

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so it must wither away.” Lassalle trumpeted that with “fair distribution,” the labouring people would be able to do away with poverty. This is a reactionary fallacy to fool the labouring people, cover up class exploitation, safeguard capitalist private ownership and oppose proletarian revolution.

Under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, Liu Shao-chi and other swindlers again came up with this reactionary theory in a disguised form, asserting that “contradictions between the relations of production and the productive forces in a socialist society are mainly manifested in the question of distribution.” This was a futile effort to use the so-called “contradiction in distribution” to negate class contradictions and class struggle. Openly negating the fundamental differences between the socialist system and the capitalist system, they put forth the reactionary programme of “making the people rich and the country strong”—a programme which had been in operation many times in the period of the dictatorship of the landlords and the bourgeoisie, and opposed the socialist principle of distribution, the socialist system of ownership and the dictatorship of the proletariat, thus creating public opinion for the restoration of capitalism.

**Bourgeois “Way of Ruling a Country”**

In this brilliant work Marx pointed out: “Between capitalist and communist society lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into the other. There corresponds to this also a political transition period in which the state can be nothing but the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat.” After long years of struggle, the Chinese people, under the leadership of our great leader Chairman Mao and the Communist Party of China, overthrew Chiang Kai-shek’s reactionary rule and established the socialist state under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Socialist ownership, i.e., state ownership and collective ownership by the labouring people, has replaced private ownership by the landlords and the bourgeoisie, and fundamental changes have taken place in the people’s position in production and in their mutual relationships and the mode of distribution. From slaves in the old society, the proletariat and other labouring people have become masters of the country. Exploitation by the landlords and the bourgeoisie has been eliminated and the socialist principle of distribution—“from each according to his ability, and to each according to his work”—has been realized. The socialist system has opened a broad vista for the growth of the productive forces and made possible the rapid development of China’s industrial and agricultural production at a rate never known in the old society. The material and cultural life of the proletariat and other labouring people has been improved step by step on the basis of the development of production, and it is getting better and better. This is a far cry from the old society in which they could not keep body and soul together.

Facts have eloquently proved that “only socialism can save China” and that “the present social system of our country is far superior to that of the old days.” (On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People.)

Standing things on their head and vilifying and cursing China’s thriving socialist construction, Liu Shao-chi and other swindlers trotted out the slogan of “making the people rich and the country strong” to oppose the socialist revolution and socialist construction. Their aim was to completely negate the necessity and superiority of the socialist system under the dictatorship of the proletariat and deny that the establishment of our socialist system has opened the road leading to the ideal society of the future, thereby invoking the dead soul of the old system under which the toiling people were fleeced. They wanted to take a road diametrically opposed to socialism, that is, the capitalist road.

“Making the people rich and the country strong,” talked about so much by Liu Shao-chi and other swindlers, has always been a slogan of the exploiting classes. To cover up the evils of the exploitation system, the landlords and the bourgeoisie invariably describe their wealth accumulated through exploitation as the “people’s wealth.” In Chinese history, theorists serving the landlords and the bourgeoisie put forward political propositions similar to that of “making the people rich and the country strong” to meet the needs of the reactionary ruling classes. Some bourgeois reformists in the late Ching Dynasty also talked about “making the people rich,” meaning increasing the wealth of the bourgeoisie. Chiang Kai-shek, the political representative of the landlords and comprador-bourgeoisie once shouted that he wanted to build “a prosperous, strong and happy country.” By “prosperous, strong and happy,” he meant suppressing and exploiting the labouring people by bloody reactionary rule and building and maintaining the shameful and rotten landlord-bourgeoisie “paradise.” This series of fallacies of “making the people rich and the country strong” has always represented the interests of the landlords and the bourgeoisie, serving them in building and safeguarding their rule.

During the period when they were in the ascendant, the landlords and the bourgeoisie used such a slogan to win their ruling positions and consolidate their ownership of the means of production. After they had gained this position, the slogan was again used to cover up their exploitation, benumb the people and quell their resistance. By talking about “making the people rich and the country strong” they meant instituting private ownership of the means of production, making the exploiting classes richer and richer and ruthlessly exploiting and suppressing the proletariat and other labouring people. And this they described as the “way of ruling the country.”

Picking the reactionary shop-worn slogan of “making the people rich and the country strong” out of all rubbish of the feudal landlords and bourgeoisie about
the “way of ruling a country,” Liu Shao-chi and other swindlers vainly tried to fundamentally change our Party’s basic line and policies throughout the historical period of socialism, to change the socialist system, overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism, thus returning our country to the old semi-feudal and semi-colonial road.

To slander the socialist system and advocate the reactionary slogan of “making the people rich and the country strong,” Liu Shao-chi and other swindlers also opposed accumulation under the socialist system. This represents an anti-Marxist viewpoint aimed at destroying the socialist system of ownership.

**Principle of Socialist Accumulation Cannot Be Violated**

In criticizing Lassalle’s fallacy of “undiminished proceeds of labour,” Marx penetratingly explained the principle of distribution of the total social product, pointing out that distribution is not “undiminished,” but must be preceded by deductions. Marx said: From the total social product must be deducted: First, cover for replacement of the means of production used up. Secondly, additional portion for expansion of production. Thirdly, reserve or insurance funds to provide against accidents, dislocations caused by natural calamities, etc. In addition, before the remaining part of the total product, intended to serve as means of consumption, is divided among individuals, the following deductions have to be made: First, the general costs of administration not belonging to production. Secondly, that which is intended for the common satisfaction of needs, such as schools, health services, etc. Thirdly, funds for those unable to work, etc. Distribution of consumer goods among individuals is possible only after making all the above-mentioned deductions. Here, Marx advanced the principle of the distribution of the total social product and explained the truth that accumulation is the source of expanded reproduction. Deductions must be continuously made from the total social product to increase social accumulation if production is to continue and develop and society to advance. If the total product is distributed and “the most important progressive function of society, accumulation, is taken from society” (Anti-Dühring), then not only will it be impossible to expand reproduction but even to maintain simple reproduction will also be impossible, and the life of the society will come to a standstill.

Opposing accumulation under the socialist system and a series of our Party’s policies of ensuring socialist accumulation, such as practising strict economy, combating waste, hard work and arduous struggle, and building our country through diligence and frugality, Liu Shao-chi and other swindlers were extremely reactionary. They completely turned class relations upside down and negated the distinction between socialist and capitalist accumulation and social systems which are totally different in nature. Capitalist accumulation is used by the bourgeoisie to preserve its reactionary rule and further exploit the proletariat so that it can make maximum profits. Such accumulation is built on the extreme poverty and the corpses of the proletariat and “comes dripping, from head to foot, from every pore, with blood and dirt” (Capital).

Absolutely contrary to capitalist accumulation, socialist accumulation belongs to the proletariat and other labouring people themselves. It means that “what the producer is deprived of in his capacity as a private individual benefits him directly or indirectly in his capacity as a member of society.” Socialist accumulation in our country has fully demonstrated the superiority of the socialist system.

Thanks to our adherence to the principle of socialist accumulation under the leadership of Chairman Mao and the Central Committee of the Party, the cause of socialist construction in China has made rapid headway. In a period of two decades or so, semi-feudal and semi-colonial old China, a backward country which suffered poverty and disaster, has been transformed into a vigorous great socialist country which has taken its first step on the road to prosperity. From their own experience, the proletariat and other labouring people deeply realize that only by continuously and gradually increasing social accumulation in accordance with the Party’s policies can the country be prosperous and the people well off and improvements made in the life of the individual. It is bad for the exploiting classes when the proletariat has abolished the system of exploitation and possesses its own social accumulation. But this is excellent for the working people. While sabotaging state property and socialist accumulation, Liu Shao-chi and other swindlers distorted historical facts in a futile effort to negate the 700 million Chinese people’s great achievements in socialist construction and to attack the socialist system. This was nothing but the cry of vampires wailing over the unsuccessful attempts to restore exploitation by the landlords and the bourgeoisie.

Chairman Mao long ago clearly pointed out: “The general policy guiding our economic and financial work is to develop the economy and ensure supplies.” (Economic and Financial Problems in the Anti-Japanese War.) “On the question of the distribution of income, we must take account of the interests of the state, the collective and the individual.” (On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People.) Chairman Mao’s teachings are the only correct principle for correctly handling the relations between production and distribution and between accumulation and consumption. They are in complete accord with the Marxist principle expounded in Critique of the Gotha Programme and diametrically opposed to all revisionist fallacies. They embody both the interests of the state and the collective and take into account those of the individual; they reflect the long-term interests of the masses of the people and take into consideration their immediate interests. But Liu Shao-chi and other swindlers were against the socialist principle of distribution. They opposed socialist accumulation by advocating from the Right...
socialism means "bigger distribution" and "getting more." At the same time, from the "Left" they obstructed the implementation of the Party's policy of from each according to his ability and to each according to his work. What will be the result if their reactionary logic is acted upon? It will be the liquidation of socialist accumulation by the state and the collective and the cause of socialist construction, that is, liquidation of the personal savings of the labouring people. Liquidation of accumulation by the state and the collective is bound to lead to the emergence and growth of private accumulation of a capitalist nature, which in turn is sure to lead to the degeneration of the socialist system of ownership and the restoration of private ownership. The result will be that members of the bourgeoisie will be "getting more," and have a "bigger distribution" and "more enjoyment" while the labouring people will again be flung into poverty by the restoration of the capitalist system. Quite obviously, what Liu Shao-chi and other swindlers advocated was in fact intended to undermine the economic base of socialism and create conditions for their restoration of capitalism.

China's First 6,000 H.P. Diesel Locomotive

CHINA'S first 6,000 h.p. diesel hydraulic locomotive trial-produced by the Peking February 7 Locomotive and Rolling Stock Plant recently started its run on the Peking-Kwangchow Railway.

Built more than 70 years ago, the plant mainly did repair work on steam locomotives and goods wagons. To meet expanded railway transport, workers there produced two 600 h.p. diesel locomotives according to a prototype in 1958. From then on, they had planned to make more powerful diesel locomotives.

But the capitalist roaders in the plant implemented Liu Shao-chi's revisionist line and slandered the workers' revolutionary spirit as "trying to do things they can never achieve." The capitalist roaders led the technical personnel on to a road divorced from proletarian politics, the masses and practice, and let them design behind closed doors. The technicians spent full two years designing a 3,000 h.p. diesel engine and trial production did not come off because the design was divorced from practice.

During the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, a Mao Tsetung Thought propaganda team of the People's Liberation Army entered the February 7 plant. It led the masses to criticize the capitalist roaders and supported the workers to boldly trial-manufacture more powerful diesel locomotives while they fulfilled the state production plans.

The workers were keen on this task. In less than a year they made a 3,000 h.p. diesel engine and thus provided the power equipment for producing bigger diesel locomotives. Then a three-in-one group, including workers, cadres and technicians, was formed to design China's first 6,000 h.p. diesel locomotive. All the designing was completed in 45 days.

The plant next faced the problem of how to manufacture the locomotive: Should it ask the state for equipment and wait for assistance from other plants? Or should it rely on its own efforts?

Following Chairman Mao's teaching "On what basis should our policy rest? It should rest on our own strength" and after analysing the plant conditions, the Party committee and revolutionary committee there decided they should support the workers' opinion to make the locomotive through self-reliance. A mass movement to manufacture it spread throughout the plant.

Workers in the locomotive repair workshop first made a 1,700-mm-long broach with a 160-mm diameter for processing huge work pieces. But a 100-ton broaching machine was still needed.
running, the big broach was steadily raised up. The seconds went by and the processing was successfully finished in 55 seconds. When the work piece was checked and declared up to the required standard, cheers sounded through the whole shop.

There is one workshop where the equipment and technical conditions were the poorest among all the workshops. Its main task was to repair or make use of the old and discarded equipment and material from all the other shops. During the battle to make the diesel locomotive, workers in this workshop produced such indispensable parts as intercoolers, radiators and fine filters from old and discarded material.

The workshop which was to make the body frame for the locomotive does not have adequate equipment and neither are there many workers. Undaunted by difficulties, the workers came to live in the workshop and worked day and night to renovate the old equipment and manufacture new machines. During more than 40 days of hard work, they adopted more than 80 technical innovations and turned out a fine-quality body frame.

Despite its insufficient equipment, the February 7 plant made more than 90 per cent of the parts by displaying its revolutionary spirit of self-reliance.

The workers set strict demands on quality during their trial production of the 6,000 h.p. diesel hydraulic locomotive and established a strict examination system for every single part.

After finishing the designing, the three-in-one designing group worked on the gross power balance of the locomotive and found out that the power transmitted to the wheel axles was several horsepower less than what the original design called for. To make this correction, hundreds of blueprints which had taken over a month to draw up had to be revised. But the time set for handling in the blueprints was imminent. Some people thought since this was the first trial-manufactured locomotive revision was unnecessary, and improvements could be made when it formally went into production. Disagreeing with this opinion, the designing group said: “Precisely because this is the first one of its kind in our country, it must be very accurate and not even one horsepower can be deducted.” The group worked several days and nights to revise all the related blueprints.

Together with the workers, a young technician designed a coupler which can automatically adjust temperature and speed. When the trial-produced coupler was being tested, everything was all right except for oil leaking. While the locomotive was running at a high speed in its trial run, he and a young worker crawled near the hot radiator and into the cooling chamber where a veritable gale was blowing from the electric fan there to keep the temperature down. They crouched in the chamber to observe the running of the coupler and look for the causes of oil leaking. After some 100 observations and repeated study, they found the causes and improved the structure accordingly.

When the locomotive was assembled and making its run, the workers and technicians of the February 7 plant conducted comprehensive tests for more than a year. Many improvements were incorporated. The plant is now creating conditions to start batch production of this type of locomotive.
THE Chiliying People's Commune in Hsinhsiang County, Honan Province, is among the earliest communes set up in China. On August 6, 1958, the third day after the commune was established, Chairman Mao came to Chiliying on his inspection tour and had a look at the experimental cotton fields, the machine-repair workshops, nurseries and homes of respect for the aged and had a good talk with the commune members. All this tremendously encouraged the poor and lower-middle peasants. Soon afterwards, Chairman Mao issued his great call "People's communes are fine" to the whole of China.

Remarkable Changes

Great changes have taken place in Chiliying in the last 13 years. The Yellow River once passed through this region, and there were large tracts of saline and alkaline land, and Chiliying always had long dry spells or waterlogging. Since the commune was set up, members have worked hard digging machine-operated wells, dredging rivers and building and improving drainage and irrigation canals. They diversified their economy and built fields giving stable and high yields despite drought or waterlogging. As a result, farm production went up rapidly.

Though it was hit by serious natural adversities in 1971, Chiliying had a good harvest. Per-mu yield of ginned cotton was 161 jin and grain more than 800 jin—2.5 and 4 times those of 1957, the year before the commune was established.

Chiliying is thriving. The peasants' dream of "lighting the lamp without kerosene and cultivating the land without oxen" has become a reality. Farm work has been mechanized or semi-mechanized. High and low voltage wire has been installed both in and outside the villages, and electric power is used in drainage and irrigation and in processing agricultural and side-line products. Every household has the benefit of electric lighting and radio diffusion.

Commune members' standard of living is going up day by day. Every family has surplus grain and most members have bank deposits. There are some 120 sewing machines and 110 bicycles in a brigade of 180 households.

Line Decides Everything

How did Chiliying bring about such a great change? Chairman Mao said: "The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything." Chiliying has fully proved this.

The Chiliying Commune has a population of 50,000 and over 90,000 mu of cultivated land. After Chairman Mao's inspection, the cadres and masses were determined to make their commune a success. The following few years saw rapid changes in Chiliying.

Not long afterwards, however, Liu Shao-chi's agents there attacked and persecuted those cadres who adhered to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, deliberately withholding production tools, fertilizer and farm insecticides for the experimental cotton fields in an attempt to undermine production and negate the superiority of the people's communes.

Having seen through the plots of Liu Shao-chi and his agents, Chiliying's poor and lower-middle peasants resolutely supported the revolutionary cadres. They organized a special team to carefully plant cotton. Their efforts enabled cotton output to increase continually.

In 1961, Liu Shao-chi and his kind pushed the revisionist line of san zi yi bao (meaning the extension of free markets and of plots for private use, the promotion of small enterprises with sole responsibility for their own profits or losses, and the fixing of output quotas on a household basis). They closed down many brigade-run enterprises and tried to lead the commune back on to the capitalist road.

The poor and lower-middle peasants firmly resisted san zi yi bao. They adhered to production by the collective and rebuilt the brigade-run factories. All this made production advance continuously.

(Continued on p. 23.)
BRITAIN

Miners on Strike

The nationwide general strike by 280,000 British coal miners which started at midnight January 8 entered its fourth week on January 29. A number of power stations, heat and power plants, coal storages and schools had to stop operations or close because of the coal shortage. The daily loss for the British National Coal Board was between 1,400,000 and 1,700,000 pounds, a harsh blow for the British monopoly capitalists.

Among British workers, coal miners are the most ruthlessly exploited. The casualty rate for those over 45 stands at 12 per cent, and their income is below the average worker's wages. The British press has revealed that 80,000 out of 280,000 coal miners live below the level of subsistence defined by the British Government.

In the past ten years, the number of miners has been reduced by more than 200,000, and those working are more and more seriously threatened by ever soaring prices and continuous fall in real wages. In the second half of last year, therefore, they began demanding, among other things, that the National Coal Board, the coal monopoly body, raise their wages, but their demands were rejected by the authorities. Driven beyond the limit of endurance, they decided to hold the general strike to fight back.

Because it had a quantity of stocks of coal on hand, the Coal Board ignored the workers' demands or promised to make only a small adjustment. Confronted with this, the miners picketed coal storages, power stations and ports in many areas to prevent the monopoly capitalists from undermining the strike by transporting coal or oil. The National Coal Board then tried to intimidate the strikers by closing down more collieries and firing more miners, but in vain.

The continued coal miners' strike has won the active support of the workers and employees in other trades and students. More than 12,000 employees of the Coal Board in various places started their strike on January 17, paralysing many of the board's offices. Oil truck workers in the Midlands, stevedores in Wales and England, railway workers in Scotland and England and workers in electricity and other trades in many other places—all supported the striking miners by refusing to transport oil and coal or work extra hours for monopoly capital and donating money, thus demonstrating the British working class' spirit of unity in struggle.

The three-week-old coal miners' strike has brought bigger and bigger losses to the British monopoly capitalist class. Coal in stock in southern Wales, Lancashire, Yorkshire and the Midlands will soon run out while oil in some London power stations is almost used up. Enterprises requiring huge amounts of coal, such as iron and steel, are seriously threatened.

While the miners went on general strike, the workers in the automobile and aircraft industries also started their struggle against the cruel exploitation by monopoly capital and for wage increases.

Beginning early last year, the British workers held one strike after another. Several million workers in large, medium-sized and small cities launched many massive struggles in the past year. The new year has seen the wave of strikes continuing to surge forward in Britain. This fully shows the decay of British capitalism and the ever sharpening domestic class struggles.

WESTERN EUROPE

Common Market to Be Enlarged

Negotiations for the accession of Britain, Denmark, Ireland and Norway to the West European Common Market reached full agreement on January 18. The treaty on their accession was signed in Brussels on January 22 by the representatives of the four countries and those of the six original Common Market members: France, Italy, West Germany, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg. This is a new step by the West European countries in joining forces against the hegemony of the superpowers, especially against U.S. control and interference in Western Europe.

Britain and the three other countries will become members of the Common Market from January 1, 1973, if the treaty has been ratified by the parliaments of the ten.

Britain and the three other countries applied to join the Common Market as far back as the early 1960s, but no agreement was reached because of the conflict of interests and the multiple contradictions among the West European countries. Intensified contention and collusion in Europe between the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, in the past few years have increasingly threatened the West European countries' vital interests. This promoted their unity in resisting the two superpowers.

Formed in 1958, the Common Market has been used by West European monopoly capital to step up exploitation of the working people as well as to strengthen economic rivalry with the United States. To date, tariffs have been removed between its members and, on the whole, their industrial and agricultural products flow freely between them. At the same time, unified tariff barriers have been set up against non-member countries. An economic and monetary union and the issue of a unitary European currency in 1980 to confront the U.S. dollar is planned by the original six. They are also stepping up co-operation in political and foreign affairs. A summit meeting of the enlarged Common Market is planned this year. Consolidation and development of the Common Market has thrown up many obstacles for the two superpowers in their
Influenced by Liu Shao-chi's revisionist fallacy that "production comes first" before the Great Cultural Revolution, the leadership of the commune always paid attention to farmland but neglected ideological work among commune members. Thus the masses' enthusiasm had not been fully brought into play and output failed to continue to increase.

During the Great Cultural Revolution, members of the commune Party committee have raised their consciousness of the struggle between the two 'lines' and strengthened political and ideological work among the masses. As a result, the commune members' outlook changed and production increased by a wide margin.

Commune members greatly raised their political consciousness after carrying out education in ideology and political line. The new ideology and spirit of farming for the revolution and showing concern for the collective and the state has taken root in the masses.

Once, members of a production brigade went to a state purchasing station to deliver and sell cotton. Mistaking 62 jin of cotton for 520 jin, the man in charge of weighing paid more than was due. When the brigade's cadres and members found this out, they immediately returned the extra money.

In the last few years, many people's communes have asked the Chillying Commune to send members to pass on their experience in planting cotton. Although they were very busy in production, they invariably sent skilled people who were also good in ideology to help other communes and brigades. In the last four years, more than 1,300 expert cotton-growers have been sent to fraternal units.

Per-mu wheat yield in one of the commune's brigades has hit the 1,000 jin mark. Setting aside part of the seeds for its own needs, the brigade every year gives all the selected seeds of improved strains to other communes and brigades in exchange for wheat of poorer quality for its own consumption. Some people remarked: "You stand to lose, since your fine seeds produce more flour." But the members replied: "So long as other brigades can raise their wheat production, we don't mind."

Advancing Towards a Higher Target

The Chillying Commune has had great success in production. But the members are not complacent; they are working hard to find ways for even higher output.

A scientific research group in the Chillying Brigade has made new progress in combating cotton aphides. A considerable amount of labour power had been devoted to destroying aphides after the seedlings emerged from the soil. Usually, preventive measures had to be taken five or six times before the aphides were destroyed. Later, as a result of the use of insecticides for a long time, the aphides gradually became immune to the insecticides. After repeated experiments, the research group found a way of combating aphides by soaking seeds in concentrated solutions of insecticide to increase the cotton seedlings' resistance. In 1971, average per-mu ginned cotton yield on the brigade's 20 mu of experimental plot rose to 260 jin while the yield on the large tracts of cotton fields was more than 170 jin per mu.

The Chillying Commune has also evolved its own method of close-planting cotton. The old way was to cultivate 3,000 to 4,000 plants for each mu. One brigade experimented in cultivating 7,000 plants for each mu on a small scale and got 200 jin of ginned cotton for every mu. The experience was applied to a large area the next year also with 7,000 plants on one mu. By strengthening field management, the brigade got a good cotton harvest of 176 jin of ginned cotton for each mu. This experience was rapidly popularized throughout the whole commune. Taking measures suited to their own conditions, the various brigades in the commune cultivated 6,000 to 8,000 plants a mu. Their efforts paid off handsomely, and the commune's cotton production went up sharply.

February 4, 1972
## Radio Peking

### English Language Transmissions

(Some of the frequencies listed below are used for summer or winter only. Specific changes will be announced in our broadcasts.)

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