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Foreign Minister Chi Peng-fei Condemns Israeli Aggression

On October 8, Foreign Minister Chi Peng-fei, on behalf of the Chinese Government and people, most sternly condemned Israel for launching massive aggression against Egypt, Syria and the Palestinian Guerrillas and voiced firm support for the heroic Arab and Palestinian peoples in their struggle against Israeli aggression.

The Chinese Foreign Minister made this statement when he met with Egyptian Ambassador to China Salah Al-Atrash and Syrian Ambassador to China Jabr Al-Atrash and Head of the Mission of the Palestine Liberation Organization in Peking gave Foreign Minister Chi an account of the military aggression by Israeli Zionism against Egypt, Syria and the Palestinian Guerrillas, and how the armymen and civilians of Egypt, Syria and Palestine rose in heroic resistance. They pointed out that the military aggression by Israel was a premeditated act.

They declared that defying sacrifices and all difficulties, the people of the Arab countries and Palestine will firmly resist Israeli aggression, carry on their just struggle against Israeli Zionism through to the end.

Chinese Representative Condemns Israeli Zionists at Security Council Meeting

In his speech at the October 8 U.N. Security Council meeting discussing the Middle East situation, Chinese Representative Huang Hua strongly condemned Israeli Zionists for their fresh military aggression against Arab countries. He declared that the Chinese Government and people firmly support the armymen and civilians of Egypt, Syria and Palestine in their heroic resistance to Israeli aggression.

He pointed out, “With the connivance and support of the superpowers, the Israeli Zionists have been frantically pursuing a policy of aggression and expansion over a long period. They have not only maintained the occupation of large tracts of Arab territories they illegally seized during the 1967 war of aggression, but flagrantly launched on October 6 fresh military attacks on a large scale in expanded aggression against Egypt, Syria and the Palestinian Guerrillas. This is a serious provocation not only to the entire Arab people but to those countries and peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America and the rest of the world who uphold justice. The Chinese Government and people express great indignation at and most strongly condemn these new acts of aggression committed by the Israeli Zionists.”

He continued, “With the support of other Arab countries, the armymen and civilians of Egypt, Syria and Palestine are heroically resisting Israeli aggression and have dealt blows at its aggressive arrogance. It is perfectly just for them to rise in resistance to the invading enemies on their own sacred territories. The Chinese Government and people admire them for their bold and just action and express firm support to them.”

Huang Hua noted, “Since 1967, the United Nations has adopted a series of resolutions, calling for or demanding Israeli withdrawal from the large tracts of Arab territories it illegally occupied during its war of aggression in 1967. To date, who has ever seen Israel withdrawing even an inch from the illegally occupied Arab territories? In Paragraph 1 of Article 1, the U.N. Charter expressly provides for the suppression of acts of aggression.” “What has the United Nations done for the suppression of Israeli acts of aggression?” he asked. “Today when the Egyptian, Syrian and Palestinian armymen and people are courageously resisting the Israeli aggressors in face of the fresh aggression by the Israeli Zionists, some..."

October 12, 1973
Firm Support for Egypt and Syria In Their Resistance to Israeli Military Aggression

On October 6, 1973, Israeli forces launched a surprise armed attack in three dimensions along the entire frontal positions of Egypt and Syria. This is the most massive Israeli military aggression since the 1967 Middle East war. Egypt, Syria and the Palestinian Guerrillas have risen to strike back and fighting is now going on. The Chinese people are strongly indignant at this act of aggression on the part of Israel and condemn it most sternly. We firmly support the Arab countries and people in their struggle against aggression.

The current large-scale armed aggression by the Israeli Zionists has long been premeditated. They attacked Syria with a huge air force on September 13 this year. This was followed by intense military groupings and busy military deployments in Syria’s Golan Heights, in Egypt’s Suez Canal Zone and on Lebanon’s southern frontier. Following its October 6 armed assault, Israel immediately mobilized its reserves and shifted its economy into a war-time orbit, clamoring that this was the beginning of total war. The Israeli aggressor’s intention apparently is to realize new territorial expansion and impose their will on the Arab countries once again by means of war.

The reason why they dare to be so rampant and take another war adventure is that they have the support and connivance of the superpowers. U.S. imperialism has all along been backing Israeli Zionism and providing it with a constant flow of massive military aid. While claiming its “consistent support” for the struggle of the Arab people, Soviet revisionist social-imperialism has allowed large amounts of Soviet Jews to emigrate to Israel as manpower support. It is also prepared to restore diplomatic relations with Israel. Soviet revisionism which has given the Arab countries some arms restrains them from recovering their lost territories and tries in every way to bind the limbs of the Arab countries and people. Soviet revisionism and U.S. imperialism are contending and colluding with each other in the Middle East, leaving the Middle East question unsettled for a long time; they also exploit the situation to preserve their spheres of influence and expand them. Israel’s unbridled aggression is exactly the logical result of this policy of the superpowers.

In the face of Israel’s fresh military aggression, the governments of the Arab countries and people, with hatred for the common enemy, have all demonstrated their solidarity with and support for Egypt and Syria in their just struggle to resist Israeli aggression. The governments of many Arab countries have declared that they resolutely stand on the side of Egypt and Syria, giving the latter political, moral and material support. This fully reflects the strong determination of the Arab people to strike back in militant unity against Israeli aggressors.

The Israeli military aggression is a serious provocation not only against the Arab people but also against the people of the Asian, African and Latin American countries and the people of the whole world. All countries and people who love peace and uphold justice simply cannot tolerate this outrage on the part of Israel and its backers and they demand that Israeli aggression be checked immediately. The occupied territories of the Arab countries must be liberated and the national rights of Palestine restored. It is our belief that with the support of the people the world over, the Arab countries and people, closing their ranks further and persevering in fighting, will surely surmount all sorts of difficulties on their road of advance and win still greater victories in the struggle against aggression.

(“Renmin Ribao” Commentator, October 8)

Peking Review, No. 41
Confucius — A Thinker Who Stubbornly Upheld the Slave System

by Yang Jung-kuo

WHAT manner of man was Confucius, revered by China’s reactionary ruling class as the “sage” for more than 2,000 years?

Lenin pointed out: “The categorical requirement of Marxist theory in investigating any social question is that it be examined within definite historical limits.” (The Right of Nations to Self-Determination.) To analyze Confucius from the historical-materialist viewpoint, one must put him in the context of the class struggle of his time and see which class standpoint he took and which class interests his ideology served.

Confucius’ Political Standpoint

Born in the State of Lu, Confucius (551-479 B.C.) was a descendant of the declining slave-owning clan aristocracy of the Yin Dynasty (c. 16th century-11th century B.C.). His times coincided with the late Spring and Autumn Period (770-476 B.C.). Owing to ruthless exploitation and oppression by the slave-owners, the slaves frequently rose in resistance. Instances of such rebellions may be cited. The slaves building city walls in the State of Chen staged an uprising in 550 B.C. The “artisans” (mostly handicraft slaves) of the royal household of Chou rebelled in 520 B.C. The handicraft slaves of the State of Wei encircled and attacked Duke Chuang of Wei in 478 B.C. and eight years later they drove Marquis Cheh out of the country. The slaves’ resistance by fleeing and armed uprisings shook the rule of the slave-owning aristocracy to its foundations, with the slave system wobbling and tottering and the burgeoning feudal forces in the ascendant. Therefore, the struggle between slaves and slave-owners and between the rising landlord class and the declining slave-owning aristocracy constituted the main class contradiction and class struggle of that time.

On which side did Confucius stand? The question may be answered by the examples below.

Under the impact of the class struggle waged by the slaves and other sections of the population at that time, changes began to take place in the system of land ownership. In the Yin Dynasty (c. 16th century-11th century B.C.) and Western Chou Dynasty (c. 11th century-770 B.C.) when the slave system prevailed, all land in the country was crown-land, the property of the monarch (the royal household) — the biggest slave-owner and chiefstay of the aristocrats. The dukes (the ducal households), ching (ministers), ta fu (senior officials) and lesser slave-owners had land allotted to or bestowed on them for their use, but did not own it. Such land, therefore, was called “public land.” By the middle of the Spring and Autumn Period, some of the new feudal landlords had grown strong enough to reclaim more and more private land which might also be bought and sold. The royal household and the ducal households refused at first to sanction the private land but were later compelled to levy a tax on such land in order to replenish their dwindling purses, and so feudal private ownership of land came to be recognized. The State of Lu where Confucius grew up started collecting a land tax in 594 B.C. As far as land ownership was concerned, this marked the transformation from the slave system to the feudal system. From this emerged new relations of production, and there appeared landlords, tenants and land-holding peasants who came from among the commoners. Individual economy began to develop.

In Lu, representing the newly rising forces were three families, the House of Chisan, the House of Mengau and the House of Shusun. In 562 B.C. they divided part of the land under the ducal household into three shares and each got one. The Chisuns adopted a new system of collecting land tax. Twenty-five years later, the three families further divided land of the ducal household, this time into four shares. Following the example of the Chisuns, the Mengsuns and Shusuns also switched to the land tax system and thus changed the relations of production. This was an offensive launched by the developing feudal system against the collapsing slave system, and was a progressive change.

What was the attitude of Confucius in this matter?

He took the view that the Chisun, Mengsun and Shusun families, being slave-owners and senior officials,
had overstepped their authority and were undermining the traditional slave system that had existed since the Yin-Shang Dynasty. How could this be tolerated? Therefore, he did all in his power to weaken the influence of the three families so as to uphold the rule of the slave-owning ducal household of the State of Lu.

It was Confucius’ disciple Jan Chiu who at the time helped the Chisuns carry out the reforms. Greatly enraged, Confucius denounced Jan Chiu as betraying the “code of the Duke of Chou,” that is, the rules and regulations in the slave society. (The 11th year of Duke Ai, Tso Chuan or Tso Commentary.) He also denounced his disciple Jan Chiu and urged his other disciples to “beat the drum and set upon him,” to close in and attack Jan Chiu. (“Hsien Chin,” The Analects of Confucius, hereafter abbreviated as Analects.)

Which system did Confucius uphold and which did he oppose? The answer is very clear.

There were similar cases in the State of Chi. To oppose the corrupt slave-owning aristocracy that ruled Chi at that time, Tien Cheng-tzu (as Tien and Chen were the same family name in ancient China, he was also called Chen Cheng-tzu), a representative of that state’s newly rising forces, won over the people by using a big dou (a Chinese unit for dry measure) in lending grain and using a small dou in measuring the repaid grain. Eventually, in 485 B.C., he killed Duke Chien, chief of the slave-owning aristocrats in Chi. Confucius was dead against this and he pressed Duke Ai of Lu to send a punitive expedition against Tien Cheng-tzu. Duke Ai flinched, knowing that he was no match for Chi.

The third instance: Confucius opposed the casting of tripods with laws inscribed on them.

Owing to the frequent resistance by the slaves and the emergence of the feudal forces at that time, the slave system could no longer be preserved by the rule of “rites.” It had to be replaced by the rule of “law.” The rites under the slave system in fact stipulated the relative rank or status of slave-owners and slaves. The slave-owners ruled over the slaves and their will was law. They could oppress and exploit the slaves and even kill them at will. Absolute obedience without resistance was expected from the slaves. This was known as the rule of “rites.” But the slaves were very disobedient and their resistance was reported everywhere. Some people who saw this trend and were in favour of progress realized the necessity of changing the old method of rule. Some articles of law, they maintained, must be drawn up to govern the relations between aristocrats and slaves and set certain restrictions on slave-owners. These articles were called the “penal code.” which was inscribed on tripods at that time for everybody to see. The process was called “casting penal tripods” and the code later developed into law — part of the superstructure in feudal society. Advocates of the rule of law in later times were the “legalists,” representing the newly rising feudal forces.

Confucius was firmly opposed to this thing. When word came that the people of the State of Tsin had cast an iron penal tripod in 513 B.C., his reaction was one of furious disapproval. When aristocrats mixed with slaves, he commented, how could the aristocrats display their dignity and greatness? That would remove all difference between the noble and the lower orders, and in that case how could a state under the slave system maintain itself? (The 20th year of Duke Chao, Tso Commentary.)

The fourth instance: Confucius killed Shaocheng Mou.

All his life Confucius wanted to be an official to put into practice his reactionary political ideal. But not until 497 B.C. did he become minister of justice and acting prime minister of the State of Lu for only three months. Seven days after coming into office, he arrested and executed Shaocheng Mou, a noted reformer of Lu.

A “hundred schools of thought” entertained during the Spring and Autumn Period and the Warring States Period (475-221 B.C.). Thinkers representing different classes founded their own schools of thought and debated with each other. Both Shaocheng Mou and Confucius took in disciples and lectured in the State of Lu but their two schools of thought were diametrically opposed to each other. The killing of Shaocheng Mou by Confucius was, in fact, a manifestation of the class struggle at that time. Let us see how Confucius pronounced the crimes of Shaocheng Mou. (“Tso Yu” in Hsun Tzu.)

Confucius said: Anyone found guilty of one of the following crimes should be put to death.

1. He who was bent on taking ventureous actions because he was acquainted with the changes in the ancient and modern times and understood the development of things;

2. He who did not follow the orthodox way prescribed by the slave system, but obstinately took the road of so-called reforms;

3. He who talked blantly about the reasons for such reforms;

4. He who knew a lot of the decadent and unstable phenomena under the rule of the slave system;

5. He who used upright and just words to describe why the slave system should be opposed.

Shaocheng Mou, said Confucius, did all these five things and therefore must be executed. Basing himself on these five charges, Confucius pronounced the accused guilty on the following counts:

1. Gathering a crowd to form an association;

2. Propagating heretical views;

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3. Confusing right and wrong.

The reforms advocated by Shaocheng Mou conformed to the historical development of the time and went well with the people's aspirations. When Shaocheng Mou was killed by Confucius, even Tzu-kung — one of Confucius' disciples — thought it wrong. Shaocheng Mou was loved and respected by the people of his day who praised him as an outstanding personage.

These instances should suffice to conclude that Confucius obstinately stood on the side of the declining slave system and resolutely opposed reforms advocated by the newly rising feudal system.

In the Spring and Autumn Period, 52 slave states had become extinct and the slave system was steadily collapsing. In these circumstances Confucius put forward his political slogan: "Revive states that have been extinguished, restore families whose line of succession has been broken, and call to office those who have retired to obscurity." ("Yao Yueh," Analects.) What he wanted was to resurrect the slave states that had been destroyed, restore the authority of the slave-owning aristocracy and turn over the reins of government again to the slave-owning aristocrats who had already declined. This was an out-and-out reactionary political slogan for a return to the old. But Confucius took these as "his duty," vowing to work for their realization "until his dying day." The masses found him very annoying and a door-keeper cursed him for not knowing the times. ("One who knows the trends cannot be turned back and still wants to do it." "Tisien Wen," Analects.) He was also cursed for being a reactionary character going against the times. Confucius and his disciples in attendance went canvassing everywhere and were hounded and attacked by the masses in some places, so they had to turn tail like "homeless dogs." It was a fitting punishment for Confucius who sided with reaction.

Confucius' Thought — "Benevolence"

The core of Confucius' thought was "benevolence" which origin can be traced to the ideology of the slave-owning class of the Yin and Western Chou Dynasties.

Benevolence was advocated by the slave-owning rulers of the Yin and Western Chou Dynasties to consolidate unity within the slave-owning class and the rule of the slave-owning aristocracy. The Chinese character jen, which may be rendered into English as "benevolence," was found by archaeologists on oracle bones. The slave-owners promoted benevolence because they wanted to promote affinity and unity among their kind. At the same time, they wanted to hoodwink the enslaved labouring people, make them obedient to their rule and prevent them from staging rebellions. (The people cherish only him who is benevolent," Part 3 of Tai Chia in "The Books of Shang," The Book of History.) Didn't the Duke of Chou — the "sage" whom Confucius most worshipped — pronounce himself that he was benevolent and obedient to his ancestors? (Chun T'ing in "The Books of Chou," The Book of History.) From their point of view, as long as every member of the slave-owning class loved one another and was obedient to their clan ancestors, the rule of the slave-owning aristocrats could be consolidated. Therefore, their conclusion was that "exercising benevolence among relatives" was "treasure." ("Tan Kung," The Book of Rites.) This shows the tremendous importance the slave-owners attached to benevolence.

Confucius made a systematic deduction of this benevolence and elaborated its meaning. According to his interpretation, benevolence included filial piety, brotherly duty (proper behaviour towards elder brothers), loyalty, forbearance, the accurate defining of concepts, virtue and wisdom. An analysis of their contents shows what class interests the Confucian ideology served.

Confucius concluded that filial piety and brotherly duty were the fundamentals of benevolence.

Why? This was because under the slave system ancient society was ruled by the clan aristocracy. The slave-owners as a ruling class belonged to the same clan and had common ancestors. Confucius thought that the sharp contradictions and strife among the slave-owners would lead to the collapse of their rule. Therefore, he pointed out that so long as all the slave-owners showed filial respect to their ancestors and parents, the slave-owners would be united vertically. By brotherly duty he meant mutual affection and love among brothers, which would unite the slave-owners horizontally. With the slave-owners united both vertically and horizontally, there would be no offending against one's superiors and no stirring up of trouble and the rule of the clan slave-owning aristocracy could thus be made secure. At the same time, the prevalence of filial piety and brotherly duty among the slave-owners would exert such an influence on the slaves as to make them incline to kindness ("The morality of the people inclines to kindness," "Hsueh Erh," Analects) and completely submissive to the rule of the slave-owners.

So-called loyalty and forbearance were meant entirely to serve the slave-owners' interests. By loyalty Confucius meant loyalty of the slaves to their owners, loyalty of the senior officials and vassals to the duke, and loyalty of the duke to the monarch of Chou — the aim of which was to consolidate the rule of slave-owners at different levels. In advocating forbearance, he said: "Do not do to others what you do not want others to do to you." ("Yen Yuan," Analects.) Forbearance as such was meant to be shown only to the declining slave-owners, but never to the slaves. A descendant of the declining slave-owning aristocracy, Confucius was obliged to take up what were considered mean jobs such as managing granaries and livestock-breeding in his youth. Thus he could be very sympathetic to persons in stations of life like himself. He proposed that one should not be too particular about the declining slave-owners. ("Do not expect one man to be capable of everything." "Wei Tzu," Analects.)
should one abandon them as long as they had done nothing seriously wrong. “Old friends should not be neglected” within the slave-owners’ community, they should be united to prevent the slaves from staging rebellions.

As mentioned above, the Spring and Autumn Period was an era of great changes, an era of the new feudal forces rising to power, like the Chisuns in the State of Lu and the Tiens in the State of Chi. By attacking the reactionary rule of the slave-owning aristocracy, they had changed the original relations of production and destroyed the rule by “rites” under the slave system. These forces, according to Confucius, were not following the benevolent way because they had failed to suppress their desire and restrain their actions. He exhorted the method known since the Yin and Western Chou Dynasties—“subdue oneself and return to ritual.” (“Confucius declared: The ancient record says that to subdue oneself and return to ritual means benevolence.” Tso Commentary.) Confucius told his disciple Yen Yuan: “If (a ruler) could subdue himself and return to ritual, all under heaven would submit to his benevolence.” As long as the slave-owners could all control their desire and action and return to the rule by rites, their rule would be done and obeyed by the slaves. And this was called “all under heaven would submit to his (the ruler’s) benevolence.” The rule of the slave-owners could thus be secured and prolonged.

Therefore, Confucius clamoured for “accurately defining concepts.” (“Tzu Lu,” Analects.)

What did he mean by “accurately defining concepts”? He meant to use subjective concepts to define and delimit objective realities.

That was because, under the savage rule of the slave-owners, the frequent slave uprisings, the rise of the emerging feudal forces and the continuous changes in the relations of production had brought serious disorder to the slave society (“the rites decayed and music ruined”). Political and military orders could not be issued from the supreme ruler of the slave-owners—the monarch of Chou. The power of the dukes of the various states was not stable either, and in some states it fell into the hands of the senior officials and vassals. On the other hand, people like Shaocheng Mou were rallying the people to assemble and form associations freely and criticizing the authorities at will. The situation was such that “the king is not a king, the minister not a minister, the father not a father and the son not a son.” If this state of affairs continued, how terrible would be the outcome? So Confucius made up his mind to use the subjective concepts of the slave-owning class since the times of the Yin and Western Chou Dynasties to define and delimit the changing social realities. He hoped to restore by this method the original order—“the king is a king, the minister a minister, the father a father and the son a son”—in a vain attempt to prop up the collapsing rule of the slave-owning aristocracy.

With this in mind, it was said, he wrote a history of his time called The Spring and Autumn Annals. According to Mencius, the book gave the “rebellious ministers and villains” the creeps. Proceeding from the viewpoint of accurately defining concepts and rank, it set out to reverse the realities in a changing society and restore the old order. Mencius exalted Confucius as a man who wrote The Spring and Autumn Annals to set right the confused concepts and rank and thereby exercised the supreme authority on behalf of the monarch of Chou, that is, consolidating the rule of the slave system. Therefore, said Mencius, this was a matter of exceptional importance and worth special mention. (“Duke Wen of Teng,” Pt. 2, Meng Tzu or Mencius.)

In fact, this was nothing but another instance of the diehard standpoint of Confucius.

This was also the meaning and purpose of the benevolence advocated by Confucius.

By “virtue” or “exercising government by means of virtue,” Confucius did not mean good government for the enslaved labouring people because it was applied only to the slave-owning class. An article entitled “Li Lun” (On Rites) in Hsuan Tzu said: “Those who live in the town are mainly officials and gentlemen [big and small slave-owners]; the people [slaves] mostly live outside the town.” A statement at the time went like this: “It is by virtue by which those in the middle states are cherished; it is by punishment that the wild tribes around are awed.” (The 23rd year of the Duke of Hsi, Tso Commentary.) Here the middle states meant the towns. In other words, virtue could only be applied to the big and small slave-owners residing in the town; nothing but punishment should be applied to the enslaved labouring people residing outside of the town. Using a whip to deal with the labouring people—this was how the slave-owners “exercised good government”!

For Confucius benevolence also included “wisdom”—that is, knowledge. He spared no effort to spread the notion that “only the wise men of the upper class and the stupidity of the lower orders cannot be changed.” (“Yang Hsü,” Analects.) In other words, the “sages” of the slave-owners were the talent of the upper class and the slaves were merely lower-class servants. The former were endowed with absolute wisdom and the latter with crass stupidity; the status of these two classes could never be changed. Where did the knowledge of a genius come from? He said: “Those who are born with the possession of knowledge are the highest class of men.” (“Chi Shih,” Analects.) The knowledge of a “sage,” he considered, was endowed by nature and did not come from practice. In this undisguised way Confucius advocated idealist aprirism and the reactionary fallacy that “heroes are the makers of history.”

Confucius, therefore, despised productive labour. When his disciple Fan Chih expressed the desire to learn something about farm labour, he flew into a rage.
These were things done by slaves, Confucius bellowed, I wouldn’t have anything to do with it. He abused Fan Chih as a “mean man.” (“Ts’u Lu,” Analects.) But how did the labouring people answer him? An old peasant was weeding his field when Confucius passed by. He described Confucius as a parasite “whose four limbs do not toil and who does not know the difference between the five grains” and who lived on the labour of others. (“Wei Ts’u,” Analects.) This is the most correct appraisal of Confucius.

Confucius babbled about benevolence, but he excluded the slaves and other enslaved labouring people from his benevolence. As he saw it, the slaves were meant to be pushed around and enslaved and they should never be allowed to know the why and wherefore (“The people can be heaved to do things, but cannot be made to have knowledge.” “Tai Po,” Analects). He reviled them by comparing them to “birds and beasts” whom no slave-owning aristocrats cared to associate with. (“Wei Ts’u,” Analects.) He looked down upon women in particular. Both men and women slaves, he believed, were very hard to keep and deal with and therefore should be kept at a distance. (“Yang Hua,” Analects.) According to Confucius, there might be slave-owners who lacked benevolence; but the slaves and enslaved labouring people could never have benevolence (“The Master said: Gentlemen, and yet not always benevolent, there have been, alas! But there never has been a mean man and, at the same time, benevolent.” “Hiien Wen,” Analects).

It is clearly all rubbish when Confucius said that “benevolence is to love all men.” He never meant to love all people (including the slaves); he reserved his love exclusively for the slave-owning class. He talked about “overflowing in love to all” which seemed love for the general public. Owing to social changes, the character *chung* (all) had by that time lost the meaning it once had in the Yin-Shang Dynasty and the earlier years of the Western Chou Dynasty when it embraced the slaves. In Confucius’ time this character denoted only “teachers of royal or ducal houses” and “ministers” (Cheng Hsuan’s explanatory note in “Chu Li,” The Book of Rites); therefore, what Confucius loved was the slave-owning class alone.

Chairman Mao has pointed out: “As for the so-called love of humanity, there has been no such all-inclusive love since humanity was divided into classes. All the ruling classes of the past were fond of advocating it, and so were many so-called sages and wise men, but nobody has ever really practised it, because it is impossible in class society.” (Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art.) We must never be deceived by Confucius. Though he moulded such high-falutin phrases as “conduct oneself well with relatives,” “give credit to the deeds of ministers,” “select men of virtue,” “employ the capable” and “supervise the beloved,” all these “benevolent measures” were enforced only within the slave-owning class and “not applied to the people.” (“Ta Chuan,” The Book of Rites.) The slaves were excluded because they existed only to be enslaved, whipped and slaughtered.

From the simple analysis given above, we may conclude that despite the extravagant talk by Confucius about “benevolence, righteousness and virtue,” all his ideas essentially served the interests of the collapsing slave-owning class of aristocracy.

At that time, Hsun Tzu and legalists such as his disciple Han Fei opposed Confucianists and took the progressive stand of the feudal class. The struggle between the Confucian school and the Legalist school before the Chin Dynasty (221-207 B.C.) was an expression of the class struggle on the ideological front at that time.

Taking the standpoint of the collapsing slave-owning aristocracy, Confucius opposed the emerging feudal forces. The essence of his thought was to uphold the rule of the slave-owning class and prove that the labouring people could only be exploited, enslaved and ruled. In other words, what he wanted to prove was “exploitation is justified and rebellion is a crime.” Therefore, the latter-day exploiting classes — feudal landlord class or the bourgeoisie — felt quite free to oppose Confucius and shout “Down with Confucius’ shop” before they came to power. But once they had seized political power and turned reactionary ruling classes themselves, they would make use of Confucius’ thought to deceive the labouring people and serve the interests of their own reactionary rule. That was why they had praised Confucius as the “most holy sage” for more than 2,000 years. Only by taking the proletarian standpoint and applying the Marxist historical-materialist viewpoint can we expose the reactionary character of Confucius.

Chairman Mao has taught us: “Contemporary China has grown out of the China of the past; we are Marxist in our historical approach and must not lay off our history. We should sum up our history from Confucius to Sun Yat-sen and take over this valuable legacy. This is important for guiding the great movement of today.” (The Role of the Chinese Communist Party in the National War.)

In appraising a historical figure from the Marxist viewpoint, we must first analyse the class contradictions and the class struggle at his time, and then examine whether, under the conditions of historical development, he stood on the side of the progressive classes and advocated reform or on the side of the reactionary classes and advocated conservatism. The task of Marxists is to constantly propel history forward. What we affirm is only that which has played a progressive role in history; as to things reactionary and conservative we must firmly negate and criticize them. Criticism of Confucius’ reactionary thought is therefore helpful to taking part in actual class struggle, and especially to grasping the class struggle in the ideological sphere of the superstructure.

October 12, 1973
Explanatory Notes

"Dividing the Ducal Household’s Land Into Three Shares"

During the period of China’s slave system, the supreme ruler was the monarch called Tien Tzu (the Son of Heaven) — the king. His family and his property, such as land and slaves, were described as the “royal household.” (At that time both household and family meant clan units owning slaves, and a household was a bigger unit than a family.) The king allotted land to the dukes of the various states, and the family of a duke together with its property was called a “ducal household.” In the Spring and Autumn Period, the “royal household” and “ducal households” represented the reactionary forces of the collapsing slave-owning aristocracy.

The House of Chisun, the House of Shusun and the House of Mengsun in the State of Lu, which were representatives of the newly rising feudal landlord class, possessed huge tracts of private land. Because they adopted a rent collecting measure which was then a new form of exploitation, many slaves fled to their domains and became their tenants. All these three families had their own armed forces and their strength gradually surpassed that of the ducal household. The State of Lu started to collect tax from private land in 594 B.C. Though private land became legitimate after assessment for taxation, it had to pay a land tax which had been non-existent. The struggle between the public and private sectors intensified. In 562 B.C. the three families counter-attacked the ducal household of Lu, divided up part of the latter’s land into three shares and each took one. This was known as “dividing the ducal household’s land into three shares” in history. These families adopted different methods on the land acquired: The Chisuns adopted the system of collecting tax, the Shusuns retained the slave system and the Mengsuns used both with some reforms. The tax-collecting method of the Chisuns got better results. Twenty-five years later, the three families further partitioned land under the ducal household of Lu. This time it was four shares. Since the Chisuns controlled the power of the state, they got two shares while the other two families each got one. Hence the term “dividing the ducal household’s land into four shares.” The three families all collected land tax. The newly rising feudal forces were steadily strengthened, but they controlled the political power of Lu only after having struggled against the reactionary old forces of the slave-owners for more than a century.

Confucius Killed Shaocheng Mou

Confucius became minister of justice (an officer for trying robbery and thievery cases) and acting prime minister of the State of Lu in 497 B.C. Originally he held that if one ruled well there was no need of killing. (“Yen Yuan,” Analects.) But seven days after coming to office, he killed Shaocheng Mou and exposed the corpse for three days so as to intimidate the reformists. This showed how vicious and cruel Confucius was!

Many ancient books recorded this incident but they said little about who Shaocheng Mou was and what his ideas were. Some researchers pointed out that a general idea of this incident and some clues could be obtained from the charges Confucius levelled at Shaocheng Mou.

The family name Shaocheng was the name for an ancient petty official in charge of trade, as there was the habit of taking the name of an official position as one’s family name in ancient times. In the Spring and Autumn Period there were contradictions between the newly rising handicraftsmen and businessmen on the one side and the slave-owning aristocracy on the other. In accusing Shaocheng Mou, Confucius used the character pi which was a derogatory designation for merchants. Therefore, the thinking of Shaocheng Mou might represent the interests of the newly rising handicraftsmen and businessmen, which inevitably were opposed to those of the slave-owning aristocracy that Confucius represented.

In other usages of the Confucian school, pi also meant punishment and law. Therefore, Shaocheng Mou’s thinking might be the forerunner of the legalists who ranged themselves against Confucianists.

In his Lan Heng (Critical Essays), the materialist philosopher Wang Chung of the Han Dynasty (206 B.C.-220 A.D.) said: Both Shaocheng Mou and Confucius took in disciples and lectured in the State of Lu at the same time. On several occasions Confucius’ disciples left to attend Shaocheng Mou’s lectures and only one disciple, Yen Yuan, always remained with Confucius. This showed that Shaocheng Mou’s ideas must be very attractive.

Because the execution of Shaocheng Mou by Confucius was infamous, latter-day Confucianists — beginning from the idealist philosopher Chu Hsi of the Sung Dynasty (960-1279) — did all they could to deny this incident and describe it as a fabrication. But this incident was first recorded in Hsun Tzu, a book prior to the Chin Dynasty (221-207 B.C.), and then mentioned by noted historians and historical books of the Han Dynasty such as Shih Chi (Historical Records) by Szu-ma Chien and Shuo Yuan (Collection of Episodes) by Liu Hsiang. Confucianists of later times could not deny this fact.
Soviet Revisionists’ “Disarmament” Proposal: Cheap Propaganda

— A commentary by Hsinhua Correspondent

The Soviet Delegation to the 28th Session of the U.N. General Assembly recently put forward a draft resolution on so-called “reduction of the military budgets,” requesting the “permanent members of the U.N. Security Council to reduce their military budgets by 10 per cent in the next fiscal year as compared with 1973” and to “use a part of the funds thus saved for providing assistance to developing countries.” The Soviet Delegation sanctimoniously proposed that the draft resolution be included in the agenda of the current session of the General Assembly as an “important and urgent item.” The adoption of this proposal by the General Assembly, the Soviet Delegation alleged, would mean an “important practical step towards slowing down the arms race” and boasted that this shows the deep concern of the Soviet Union for the developing countries and so on and so forth.

Old Stuff With a New Label

This draft resolution of the Soviet revisionists is nothing new. In the ten years when Khrushchev was in power, the Soviet revisionists repeatedly put forward similar proposals on “disarmament.” In 1958, the Soviet Union formally proposed at the 13th Session of the U.N. General Assembly that the four powers, the United States, Britain, the Soviet Union and France, cut their military expenditures by 10-15 per cent to provide “assistance” to the “under-developed” countries. In 1962, the Soviet Union and the United States put forward a “joint declaration on turning the funds saved from disarmament to peaceful purpose.” At “the meeting for general disarmament and world peace” in July of the same year, Khrushchev clamoured for the diversion of 8-10 per cent of the total military spending throughout the world to providing assistance to the newly established national states.” In 1964, at the meeting of the 18-nation Disarmament Committee held in Geneva, the Soviet Union dashed up a memorandum proposing that “agreement to be reached” among nations on the reduction of military budgets by 10-15 per cent.” In fact, the trick of cutting military expenditure was not an invention by Khrushchev. Way back in 1939 at the Peace Conference at The Hague, the foreign minister of tsarist Russia put forward a proposal for keeping the status quo of armed forces and military budgets for a term of five years. Besides, since the 1950s, some old-line imperialist countries have repeatedly come up with various kinds of proposals on the reduction of military expenditure. The recent disarmament proposal of the Soviet revisionists is merely old stuff with a new label, a repeat performance of sham disarmament by Khrushchev and the old tsars.

Military Spending Grows With “Disarmament”

The military budget is in fact a national defence secret in every country. Since the Soviet Union has proposed to cut military expenditure by 10 per cent, then first of all one may ask how are military budgets to be assessed? What after all is the Soviet Union’s military spending every year? True, the Soviet Union published its military expenditure every year. But it is an open secret that those figures are completely deceptive. The actual military spending of the Soviet Union is many times bigger than what the figures tell. Khrushchev as good as admitted that. According to official Soviet figures, Soviet military expenditure in 1959 was over 9,300 million rubles, or about 10,000 million U.S. dollars. In September of the same year, in a television speech in the United States, Khrushchev admitted that the annual Soviet military expenditure “approached 25,000 million U.S. dollars,” or some 2.5 times the figure published. The Washington Post reported that two economists in Leningrad disclosed that “Soviet defence spending is four or five times greater than officially acknowledged.” The London-based International Institute for Strategic Studies estimated that the annual Soviet military spending in recent years amounted to 70,000 or 80,000 million U.S. dollars. What a discrepancy between this and the official Soviet figure of 17,900 million rubles (some 20,000 million U.S. dollars)! In these circumstances, how is the 10 per cent reduction of military expenditures to be calculated? No wonder that soon after the Soviet Delegation put forward the 10 per cent reduction proposal at the General Assembly, a Western diplomat remarked: “How in the world will we be able to find out how much the Soviets are spending for defence?”

For years the Soviet revisionists have been hawking disarmament day in and day out and dishing up proposals every year, while their military spending rose higher and higher and their hegemonic ambitions kept on swelling. Brezhnev has openly clamoured that “the question of national defence is placed first of all our work” and that a “large amount of funds” “will be spent on national defence” so that Soviet “defence capacity (would) be maintained at the highest level.”
Take for example the much watered down official figures of Soviet military expenditure: In 1958 when the Soviet Union proposed at the 13th Session of the U.N. General Assembly that the four powers including the United States and Britain cut their military expenditure by 10-15 per cent, the officially acknowledged Soviet military spending was 9,300 million rubles; but by 1964 when the Soviet Government put forward a memorandum at the Geneva conference of the 18-nation Disarmament Committee on the reduction of military expenditure, the official figure of Soviet military expenditure rose sharply to 13,300 million rubles. In six years, Soviet military expenditure, far from being reduced, had gone up by 40 per cent! This year, when the Soviet Union once again came out with its old proposal on reduction of military expenditure by 10 per cent at the current session of the General Assembly, its military expenditure, according to the budget report of the Soviet minister of finance, has remained at an all-time high of 17,900 million rubles, an increase of 90 per cent over that of 1958. Could this be the "sincerity" of the Soviet Government about disarmament?

**Frantic Arms Expansion and War Preparations**

The huge military expenditure of the Soviet Union is the inevitable result of its frenzied arms expansion and war preparations in the scramble for world hegemony. During the past ten years and more, the Soviet Union has spent billions of U.S. dollars on nuclear weapons alone. At present, the number of Soviet intercontinental ballistic missiles is over 40 times that of 1960. The number of Soviet nuclear submarines armed with ballistic missiles in 1972 increased five times as compared with that of 1968. The tonnage of the Soviet navy has nearly doubled in the past ten years. It is about 3 million tons. According to statistics, in 1970 alone, the Soviet Union spent 3,000 million U.S. dollars on the construction of warships, which surpassed the expenditure of the United States for the same purpose in the same year. The Soviet revisionists are stepping up their nuclear armaments, vigorously conducting underground nuclear tests, trial-producing missiles with multiple independently-targeted warheads, and improving the quality of their strategic weapons. Recently the Soviet newspaper Krasnaya Zvezda has openly declared that "to make every effort to strengthen the combat capability of the Soviet armed forces" has become "one of the most important tasks" of the Soviet Union, and that the Soviet Union "is prepared to wage a war using any kind of arms." The Soviet revisionists' frantic arms expansion and war preparations inevitably increase their military expenditure. Reduction is out of the question.

Obviously the Soviet revisionists' latest proposal on reducing military expenditure is a big fraud. Their aim is to create a false sense of "detente" and lull the vigilance of the people of the world so as to cover up their intensified arms expansion and contention for world hegemony. They are also attempting to deceive some people by means of this and to whitewash their ugly features already revealed to the Third World in order to veil their penetration and expansion there. That is why the Soviet revisionists' proposal was greeted with scorn by representatives of many countries as soon as it was dished up. A representative of an African country hit the nail on the head by pointing out: "This was Khrushchev's disarmament fraud." Another African representative said that the Soviet proposal was a "deliberately designed trick." Some Western diplomats also regarded the Soviet proposal as a mere "propaganda move."

(October 3)

**Struggle Against Superpowers' Maritime Hegemony — A New Development**

The Latin American, African and Asian countries gained new ground this year in their struggle against the superpowers' efforts to establish maritime hegemony. An increasing number of these countries are taking a common stand against the superpowers' attempts to encroach on their sovereignty over territorial waters and plunder their maritime resources.

**Oceans — Stamping Ground of Rivalling Superpowers.**

Oceans have always been a bone of contention between the superpowers. With Soviet revisionist social-imperialism busy flexing its muscles everywhere following the fast growth of its naval force, and the outbreak of an energy crisis in the United States, the two superpowers' scramble for important strategic areas on the seas and oceans and for maritime resources is becoming fiercer than ever. They are both contending and colluding with each other with a view to gaining dominance over the oceans. Their warships and ocean-going fishing fleets unscrupulously intrude into the territorial waters and coastal areas of the Third World countries, violating their sovereignty, robbing them of their resources, and threatening their security. Soviet fish haul in far-away oceans per annum in the last ten years accounted for three-fourths of its total catch, reaching even 86.6 per cent in 1970. This shows the frenzy with which Soviet social-imperialism is plundering...
the fishing resources of the Third World countries. This
overweening arrogance of the superpowers has sparked
off strong resistance.

**Defending 200-Nautical-Mile Territorial Sea Rights.** In
their struggle against the superpowers' maritime hegemony, many Latin American, African and Asian coun-
tries have extended the scope of their territorial waters, delimiting their fishing zones and taken other measures
to protect their maritime resources this year. To de-
end the 200-nautical-mile limit of their territorial sea rights and jurisdiction, nine Latin American countries
—Chile, Peru, Ecuador, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Argenti-
na, Panama, Uruguay and Brazil—have kept up
their struggle against the encroachments by the fish-
ing vessels of the superpowers. Last January, Peru
and Ecuador captured and fined U.S. fishing vessels
which had intruded into their territorial waters for
illegal operations. Early this year Mexico and Argent-
ina proclaimed decrees banning operation of foreign
fishing vessels in their territorial waters. The Mexican
navy has increased patrols in the territorial waters of its
country for this purpose.

In Africa, following the extension of their terri-
torial waters or fishing zones by Senegal, Gabon and
Nigeria in 1973, Morocco, Guinea, Ghana and Tanzania
have taken similar steps in 1973. This has brought to
ten the number of African countries which so far have
set the limits of their territorial seas or fishery zones
at over 12 to 200 nautical miles.

In Asia, the people and public opinion in Pakistan
have strongly denounced Soviet trawlers' repeated in-
trusions into Pakistan's coastal waters for plunder and
other illegal operations. The Pakistan Government is
sued a presidential proclamation on March 21 this year
extending Pakistan's exclusive fishery zone to 50 naut-
ical miles from the coast line.

**Preliminary Results of Bilateral Talks.** In their struggle to defend maritime rights, littoral states of the
Third World have increased mutual consultation and
co-ordination in pressing their respective claims on is-
ues relating to territorial waters in order to take con-
certed actions in coping with the hegemonism of the
superpowers and their schemes to sow discord among
these countries. Some Latin American countries which opt for 200-mile territorial or patrimonial waters have
achieved preliminary results in their bilateral talks.
Such talks were held between the foreign ministers of
Uruguay and Costa Rica, Chile and Colombia, Uruguay
and Colombia, and Peru and Mexico in 1972 on the law
of the sea and joint communiques were issued following
the talks. Argentine and Mexican foreign minis-
ters held talks in February this year. In a joint state-
ment they reaffirmed their stand for sovereignty over
resources within 200 miles off their coasts and expressed
the hope that the Latin American countries further
develop their friendly relations and co-operation and
take unified views and co-ordinated actions on prob-
lems concerning the law of the sea. A joint state-
ment supporting the 200-mile thesis was issued by

Venezuelan President Rafael Caldera and Peruvian Pres-
ident Juan Velasco last February during the former's
visit to Peru.

**Questions on the Law of the Sea Discussed at Regional
Meetings.** Many regional meetings have been held in
Latin America and Africa to thrash out problems con-
cerning the law of the sea. To this end, nine Latin
American countries which stand for 200-mile territorial
waters held an experts meeting in San Salvador, capital
of El Salvador last February. The meeting reaffirmed in
a communiqué that the littoral countries have the
exclusive right to exploit or conserve their natural
resources within 200 nautical miles off-shore. The meet-
ing "identified common denominators for a joint Latin
American position. There was general agreement about
the necessity of recognizing the 200-mile thesis as an
indispensable basis for reaching permanent accord of
a universal character on off-shore rights,'" the com-

muniqué said.

Latin American delegates to the United Nations
held their first consultative conference on the issues of
the law of the sea in March 1973 for working out a
common Latin American policy. Two months later,
the 41-Nation Organization of African Unity held its
21st ministerial council meeting to co-ordinate the
positions of African states at the U.N. Conference on
the Law of the Sea scheduled for 1974. After that,
the 10th assembly of African Heads of State and Gov-
ernment adopted the O.A.U. Declaration on the Issues
of the Law of the Sea," which says the African states
recognize the right of each coastal state to establish
an exclusive economic zone up to the 200-mile limit of
the territorial sea and that in such zones the coastal
states shall exercise permanent sovereignty over all the
living and mineral resources.

**Refuting the Fallacies of the Two Superpowers.** To
date, there are 60 countries in Latin America, Africa
and Asia which advocate the idea of 200-mile territorial
water limits, patrimonial seas, exclusive economic zones
or fishery zones. Although differences of views exist
among these countries on the question of territorial
waters, they take a common stand in safeguarding
national sovereignty, protecting maritime resources and
opposing the superpowers' maritime hegemony.

At the first and second sessions of the U.N. Sea-
Bed Committee, many small and medium-sized coun-
tries refuted the absurd arguments of the Soviet
delegate concerning the extent of territorial waters,
exclusive economic zones, the so-called "free passage"
of straits and "oceanic freedom of scientific researches,"
as well as the unreasonable stand taken by the U.S.
delegate on this question. The Peruvian delegate
pointed out that the 200-mile thesis is shared today by
many countries of the five continents. The law of the
sea can no longer be the powers' instrument of politi-
cal, economic and military domination, he added.
The Pakistan delegate said that the breadth of the
territorial sea has to be larger than 12 nautical miles,
that the continental shelf should extend to the distance

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of 200 miles from the coast, and that each littoral state should have the right to establish an economic zone beyond its territorial sea. The Senegalese delegate declared that the Soviet draft on the article on fishing was intended to deprive the poorer states of their rights over exclusive economic zones and was therefore unacceptable to his delegation. It was reported that the Soviet draft submitted to the fourth session of the U.N. committee on preparations for the conference on the law of the sea last year went so far as to provide that the territorial sea or fishery zone of each coastal state “shall not exceed 12 miles.” The draft absurdly stipulates that “in the areas of the high seas directly adjacent to its territorial sea or fishery zone (not exceeding 12 miles),” “a developing coastal state” may annually reserve to itself “part of the allowable catch of fish” and “shall notify the size of the reserved part of the catch to the International Fisheries Organization whose competence covers the particular area.” On the other hand, the Soviet draft provides that the superpowers may have free access to what is called by them the “high seas” (which in fact mean the territorial seas of other countries) for large-scale fishing operations. In explaining his draft, the Soviet delegate had the cheek to say that it has “taken into consideration” the “priority” of the coastal countries. The draft fully reveals the true features of the Soviet revisionists’ maritime hegemony.

Soviet Revisionist Social-Imperialism:

Every Inch a Hegemonic Sea Power

by Hsiang Ming

Of late, spokesmen of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique have seized every opportunity to deny that the Soviet Union today is a hegemonic sea power. This, they say, is a false impression, a slander, poles apart from the actual situation.

But, as Lenin had said, “We judge a person not by what he says or thinks of himself but by his actions.” What is one to infer from all the things Soviet revisionist social-imperialism has been doing? Are these not the very acts of a hegemonic sea power? Trying to explain things away, the Kremlin’s revisionists say: No, they are not. To this, we say: Let the facts speak for themselves.

Soviet Revisionist and Imperialist Doctrine

The quest for maritime hegemony is an important part of the social-imperialist policies pursued by Soviet revisionism. Whoever controls the seas dominates the world. This is the power logic and tenet of imperialism. At the turn of the century, Alfred Thayer Mahan* who advanced a “sea power doctrine” preached that world domination could be achieved by command of the seas, which, in turn, could be effected only by recourse to naval strength.

Today, Soviet revisionism has taken over in toto this theory of its imperialist progenitors. One recalls the days when Khrushchev was at the helm. In a sanctimonious statement he seemed to have made out a case of scrapping surface vessels because, he said, they were outdated, good only as targets for rocket-propelled nuclear weapons. But in actual fact Soviet revisionism has been spending huge sums on a fantastic building programme of surface ships of all types, and the more so since Brezhnev came to power. To step up its aggression and expansion overseas, and to contend with the other superpower, Soviet revisionism has greatly accelerated the pace of its naval expansion, turning a naval force mainly for off-shore defence into a formidable fleet with striking power on distant seas. S.G. Gorshkov, Admiral of the Fleet of the Soviet Union, in an open statement said that a powerful navy is the only thing to protect the national interests outside a country’s territory and without a powerful navy it is impossible to keep its place as a permanent world power. When such a claim is put forward to protect what is called national interests beyond a country’s limits, is it not rubbish typical of the Soviet efforts to justify expansion on the seas?

That Soviet revisionism, inheriting and carrying on the gunboat policy of old-time imperialism, is out to expand its navy with a vengeance, especially its ocean-going fleets, is for all to see. Over the last decade, Soviet naval craft has nearly doubled in tonnage. The construction of ocean-going vessels of all types, including aircraft carriers and nuclear submarines, is being stepped up. Following the expansion of its naval strength, Soviet fleets now cruise not only in the Pacific and the Atlantic, but in the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean as well. To date, in addition to its four permanent fleets, namely, the Black Sea Fleet, the Baltic Fleet, the North Sea Fleet and the Pacific Fleet, the Soviet Union has a permanent flotilla and task force in the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean. In recent
years, Soviet naval ships have been plying here and there as a projection of Soviet power, sailing into the waters around 60-odd countries, including the Sea of Japan, the Persian Gulf, the waters off the coast of West European and North European countries, the Caribbean and the Gulf of Mexico. Soviet revisionist social-imperialism is carrying out maritime expansion in a frenzied bid for sea hegemony. This is a living reality in the present-day world, and by no means a "false impression."

**Bid for Maritime Hegemony**

The Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean, a passage way where the three continents of Europe, Asia and Africa meet, are rich in oil and other strategic materials, and have become the major objectives of Soviet revisionism's maritime expansion. There was no Soviet naval presence in these waters until 1964 when its warships started prowling the Mediterranean. In the summer of 1967, taking advantage of Israel's war of aggression against the Arab countries, Soviet revisionism sent a big naval force into the Mediterranean in the name of lending support to the Arab countries fighting aggression. For a time its warships, more than 60 in all, outnumbered the U.S. Sixth Fleet in the Mediterranean. At the beginning of 1988, the Soviet navy made its first appearance in the Indian Ocean, the third biggest ocean in the world, where it has since established a permanent fleet and has been looking for naval bases. What merits attention is that Brezhnev has gone out of his way to defend the Soviet intrusion into the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean. He did not blush when he insisted that since the constant presence of the U.S. Sixth Fleet in the Mediterranean has been regarded as normal and a matter of course, the presence of Soviet fleets in the Mediterranean, the Indian Ocean and other seas must also be regarded as a matter of course. This, he argued, is in conformity with the principle of equal security for both sides. Fine "equal security" indeed! What he meant to say is this: If one superpower is free to do that, why can't the other superpower do the same? Nothing reveals more clearly than these words of Brezhnev's that Soviet revisionism is bent on contending for maritime hegemony.

In trying to find excuses for Soviet expansion in the Mediterranean and other waters, the Kremlin's propagandists have truly cudgelled their revisionist brains. According to Pravda, the presence of Soviet warships in the Mediterranean is only natural, and in the geographical sense as well. The argument of Izvestiya is even more fantastic: The Soviet Union is a Mediterranean power; we are certainly not there as guests, it declared. There are 17 countries along the Mediterranean coasts, and by no stretch of the imagination can the Soviet Union be placed among them. The Soviet Union a Mediterranean country? How come? It stands to reason that the Mediterranean Sea belongs exclusively to countries washed by the Mediterranean. Today, the Soviet Union, which is no Mediterranean country at all, is there only as an interloper, or, as a Chinese saying has it, performing a farce of "a gate-crasher supplanting the host." Who has bestowed on Soviet revisionism the prerogative as overlord in the Mediterranean?

**A Pipe Dream of the Old Tsars**

In bidding for maritime hegemony, Soviet revisionism is dreaming the pipe dream of the old tsars. Ridding the high-horse, one Soviet admiral once said: Our century-old dream has now come true. Soviet warships today sail to wherever place our national security interests call for. These few words gave the show away.

A century back in the 1870s tsarist Russia was under the reign of the Romanovs. It is common knowledge that one of the schemes of the old tsars was to build up Russian hegemony from land to sea, or, in the words of Frederick Engels, a colossal "Slavic empire" extending from the Elbe to China, from the Adriatic to the Arctic. To this end, tsarist Russia made strenuous efforts to expand its navy in seeking maritime power. To the seas, said Peter I, is what Russia needs. A monarch, he added, with just an army is a man with only one hand, and becomes a man with the use of both limbs only when he has a navy as well. The activities of tsarist Russia's navy then were, however, confined to the Baltic, the Black Sea and the Sea of Japan. Today, in contrast, the activities of the Soviet navy extend to the Seven Seas. Small wonder that Soviet revisionism is talking loud about its century-old dream having come true. But by saying so, hasn't it branded the stamp of expansionism of the Romanovs on its own cheeks?

Moreover, the wild ambition of the present-day tsars has outstripped that of the old tsars in every respect. The new tsars are engaged in arms expansion and war preparations both on and under the seas, setting up nuclear weapons and various military installations and clambering that Soviet nuclear submarines equipped with guided missiles are the mistress of the seas. They conduct military exercises on the seas, carry out espionage activities and sea-borne reconnaissances on a global scale, seek and demand bases overseas, and try to gain control over the waterways of other countries. On the questions of maritime rights and the right of territorial seas, they push power politics. They bully the small and medium-sized countries at will and ignore their sovereign rights by accusing countries which have set the limit of their territorial waters beyond 12 nautical miles of having "violated" the law of nations. Flaunting their naval strength, they send big fishing fleets into the territorial waters and exclusive economic zones of other countries to grab their fishing resources with unbridled license. Fish, they said, can only live for a limited period of time and will perish needlessly if other people are not allowed to catch them. These lame excuses to rob other countries of their fishing resources are in fact nothing but an extension of Brezhnev's "theory of limited sovereignty" from the land to the

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sea. Who else but a hegemonic sea power can be so blustering?

Road to Destruction

Karl Marx had put it well, “There is something in human history like retribution; and it is a rule of historical retribution that its instrument be forged not by the offended, but by the offender himself.” Over the last few centuries, empires which enslaved other countries and commanded the seas, had collapsed and declined one by one, transforming themselves into their opposites. The world situation today has undergone great changes. One or two superpowers cannot have the final say on affairs on and under the sea. The maritime hegemony pursued by the superpowers who slight and encroach on other countries’ sovereignty has provoked a growing number of countries to resist and oppose them. Some Latin American countries have initiated the struggle for maintaining a 200-nautical-mile limit for their territorial waters, while a number of Mediterranean countries have come out with the cry “the Mediterranean Sea belongs to the Mediterranean countries.” Sri Lanka and other countries in the Indian Ocean take a just stand on making the Indian Ocean a “zone of peace.” The struggle of many small and medium-sized countries to defend their own maritime rights and oppose the superpowers’ maritime hegemonism is one against aggression, plunder and control. This is a formidable historical current in the present-day world, which will submerge any and every thing in its way and roll on. The more frenzied Soviet revisionism is in its quest for maritime hegemony, the more it bares the true colours of social-imperialism — and so invites the people of the world and a growing number of small and medium-sized countries to rise and make a common stand against it. This will pave the way for the destruction of Soviet revisionism. This is an irrevocable law.

* Alfred Thayer Mahan (1840-1914), U.S. naval officer and founder of the imperialist “doctrine of sea power.” His theory can be summarized as follows: Sea power is the decisive factor that determines the course of a nation’s history; maritime power is the main factor in the pure material factors contributing to national ascendency and prosperity whereas a powerful fleet and a developed network of naval bases are what is necessary to secure the command of the sea. The “doctrine of sea power” as advocated by Mahan is a reflection of the imperialist ambition to scramble for colonies and spheres of influence and for world hegemony.

Flourishing Woodcut Art

by Li Hua

Among the many branches of art flourishing in China today, woodcut is attracting some notice.

At the 1972 National Art Exhibition commemorating the 30th anniversary of the publication of Chairman Mao’s Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art, many of the over 300 works of graphic art from various parts of China were noted for their fine ideological content and high artistic level. Graphic art works were also well received at this year’s art exhibitions in Kwangtung, Anhwei, Szechuan and other provinces.

People’s Life and Struggle Portrayed

Guided by Chairman Mao’s revolutionary line in literature and art, graphic art is making steady progress. In the past few years, the artists, tempered in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, took various aspects of the socialist revolution and productive labour as their subject matter. From different angles they tried to bring out the mental outlook and moral fibre of the workers, peasants and soldiers.

The life of the people is an inexhaustible source of artistic creation. By skilful manipulation of their medium woodcut artists portray significant characters and incidents in real life to reflect the spirit of the times. People are inspired by these works of art to work harder for a better future. Here are samples from the past few years.

Light From Date Orchard is rather unique in that there are no characters in the engraving. The lamp-light streaming through the windows of a cave-dwelling to fall on a world of snow is fraught with associations. Date Orchard in Yanan, northwest China, was where Chairman Mao lived and worked during the difficult war years of the 40s. The orange light from the cave-dwelling window intimates that the people’s great leader is still at work. Date Orchard was done by the well-known graphic artist Ku Yuan in 1972, who had produced many fine woodcuts in Yanan during the anti-Japanese war. Neatly executed, it is a stirring piece of work reflecting the people’s feelings for Chairman Mao.

The Great Stream of Oil Flows On takes the oil industry as its theme. From exploration and drilling to the processing of oil, China developed its oil industry
independently and relied on its own efforts. Its successes have inspired many woodcut artists. The engraving was done by veteran artist Huang Pi-mo. In the distance is an oil refinery where pipes zigzag their way to the riverside in the foreground. A loaded tanker, its funnel belching smoke, is about to sail. The use of folk wood-block printing technique gives the woodcut a local flavour.

*Autumn Harvest in the North*, a woodcut in colour by Chao Mei, presents a picturesque scene of tractors and horse-carts shuffling among a sea of ripe sorghum. This picture reflects the joy of peasants at harvest time.

Quite a number of woodcuts depict the images of workers, peasants and other working people, especially outstanding ones. *Steaming Hot* by oil worker Chu Yi-min of Kwangtung shows two cooks carrying hot meals to an oil-refinery building-site. *Watching Over the Rice Seedlings* by Wang Wei-pao shows a girl studying how to control pests in the fields. Since the Cultural Revolution, millions of middle school graduates in cities and towns have gone to the countryside after leaving school. This picture shows their life and their dedication to work in the rural areas. A set of woodcuts entitled *The Slaves Create History* was produced in 1972. It consists of 10 works including *Flames, Smashing the Chains, Masters of the Country and First Generation of Workers*, describing the Yi people of the Liangshan region in southwest China, who are building a new happy life under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party after the abolition of the serf system.

**Varied Forms and Styles**

China's woodcut artists are guided by Chairman Mao's policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom; weeding through the old to bring forth the new" and "making the past serve the present and foreign things serve China." By inheriting and carrying forward the fine traditions of China's ancient graphic art as well as learning from foreign graphic art, the artists have turned out a variety of works in different forms and styles. They range from serial picture stories to book illustrations and small decorative woodcuts, from finely executed postage stamp designs to posters in bold strokes. There has been an increasing number of big works which are more suitable to depicting thriving industrial and agricultural production and other revolutionary themes. New themes have been introduced to traditional New Year pictures and the style is now healthy and unadorned.

*Light From Date Orchard.* by Ku Yuan

Multifarious styles with different local colour and the individual styles of the artists have achieved greater effect. With the replacement of oil by water-colours, Kiangsu wood-block printing produces an effect of traditional brush work and gives a lyrical and realistic feeling. Woodcuts of Kwangtung Province are noted for their sharp black and white contrast, while the black and white Szechuan woodcuts are distinguished by their simplicity of composition as well as delicacy and poetry of line.

Professional and amateur artists of northeast China have a style all their own—bright colours with heavy and bold strokes. Some artists of this region are good at employing rich colours or at delineating expression, others are noted for their strong decorative effect. From the way of cutting, some are intricate, some bold and simple, others plain and concise or fresh and gay.

**A Long History**

Unlike linocut, lithograph, etching and copper plates, woodcut is the most common form of graphic art in China with a history of over a thousand years.

The exquisite wood-engraving (868 A.D.) on the frontispiece of "The Diamond Sutra" unearthed in Tunhuang, northwest China, one of the magnificent sites of ancient Chinese culture, is considered a fine specimen of early extant woodcuts.

Towards the end of the 16th century in the Ming Dynasty, coloured wood-block printing had come into wide use to illustrate operas, novels and even scientific books.

In the 18th century, i.e., in the middle of the Ching Dynasty, coloured wood-block New Year pictures became popular with the people. Known for their bright
colours and simple lines with an individual style, these New Year pictures which impart an auspicious air still enjoy great popularity today.

However, the art of woodcut steadily declined as a result of the stagnation of the feudal society and the introduction of Western printing techniques, which supplanted the use of wood-blocks in producing books and other reading matter.

Modern Chinese woodcut, which came under the influence of European creative woodcut*, gained a new lease of life under new historical conditions.

From 1929, Lu Hsun, the great man of letters and thinker, began publishing European woodcuts in the magazine he edited. He also organized woodcut exhibitions, brought out albums of selected works by foreign artists, and ran woodcut courses to train young artists. He was the man who sowed the seeds for modern woodcut art in China.

Lu Hsun lived at a time when China was under imperialist aggression and the dark rule of the Kuomintang reactionaries. This in addition to frequent natural disasters reduced the working masses to dire poverty. Revolutionary struggles of the people surged forward in various parts of the country under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party. Lu Hsun called on the artists to turn modern woodcut as known in Western Europe “into a weapon of people’s revolution,” to mirror the revolutionary struggles of the masses and expose the ugly features of the enemy.

Militant Tradition

It was Lu Hsun who initiated the militant tradition of modern Chinese woodcut. The many fine works by foreign artists he introduced to China were a source of inspiration, encouraging the people to take part in the struggle against the reactionaries.

Supported and encouraged by the Party organizations, many woodcut artists in the revolutionary armies, in the rear base areas and in the liberated areas, used their medium in the 30s and 40s in the service of the War of Resistance Against Japan and the War of Liberation. Large numbers of woodcuts were created during this period.

The publication of Chairman Mao’s Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art in 1942 laid down a correct line for the development of China’s revolu-

*The term “creative woodcut” was used by Lu Hsun to denote the new rising modern woodcut of the 30s, so as to distinguish it from traditional Chinese “woodcut reproduction.” The latter are reproductions of paintings and mostly served as book illustrations. Here the painting is done by an artist and the engraving by a craftsman. In the case of “creative woodcuts” the drawing, engraving, printing are all the work of one man, the artist himself, his creative spirit being expressed at every step. Hence Lu Hsun called it “creative woodcut.”
people and for attacking and destroying the enemy," it has made active contributions to the victory of China's revolutionary wars.

During the war years, the artists, by going into the midst of the people's life, gradually departed from mere copying of Western works and formed their own style and acquired maturity in the way of expression.

Woodcuts are a great favourite with the people in China today. They can be found in art exhibitions, on wall newspapers in factories, villages, schools, army units and government offices, in newspapers and periodicals and books as well as in people's homes.

Graphic art is blossoming. Nurtured with patience and care by Lu Hsun 40 years ago, the art of woodcut has borne rich fruit in the new revolutionary era.

First Generation of Workers.
From the set "The Slaves Create History" by Szechuan artists

Workers, Peasants and Soldiers Studying Philosophy

Dialectics in Blast Furnaces

by Shih Kang

A PPLYING Chairman Mao’s philosophical thinking since 1971, we workers and staff members of the No. 3 blast furnace of the iron-smelting plant under Peking's Shoulu Iron and Steel Company have given production a big push forward. We have been able to achieve this by making a breakthrough in the traditional way of stressing the passage of coal gas in metallurgy and creating the work method which combines passage with control.

Breaking Through the High Yield "Barrier"

There is this saying among us iron-smelters: "Bigger blast means higher temperatures and higher output of iron." It is a descriptive way of saying air volume determines output from a blast furnace. In order to raise output of pig iron, we began in May 1971 to progressively raise the pressure of the blast in the furnace. From 1,900 cubic metres of air per minute we gradually increased the volume to 2,100 cubic metres and daily output went up step by step from 1,400 tons to 1,700 tons.

But when the volume of air went beyond 2,100 cubic metres, a trumpet-like cavity appeared in the centre of the burden which we gave the name of the "funnel." Large quantities of not fully utilized gas escaped through this funnel. This affected ore melting and output. So we were forced to reduce the volume of air until conditions returned to normal. Then we increased the air volume and the funnel reappeared, and we had to cut down the air volume again. This 2,100-cubic-metre-per-minute volume appeared to be the barrier which blocked high output from our blast furnace.

Could this barrier be overcome to increase output? people queried.

Some said that it was the same old story. The high pressure brought the funnel in a blast furnace, and you could do nothing about that. Some disagreed, saying: "Never mind about the old story. We can change that. If the charging method were improved, more air might be introduced."

This idea gave us a clue. We began analysing the various ways we had formerly charged the furnace. They were all aimed at improving the flow of the current of gas through the layers of the burden and thus preventing the formation of a funnel. This was in

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line with the traditional concept of stressing the smooth flow of gas in metallurgy. In the past this concept had effectively prevented funnelling, but when the volume of air exceeded 2,100 cubic metres it became not so effective in preventing funnelling.

Chairman Mao has taught us: "The principal and the non-principal aspects of a contradiction transform themselves into each other." In the past in looking at the contradiction between passage and control of gas current, we only saw passage as the principal aspect. We failed to notice that when the volume of air went past 2,100 cubic metres, control is transformed from the non-principal aspect of the contradiction into the principal aspect. Therefore, all we thought about was connected with passage and never tried to combine passage with control by improved charging.

Can we allow free passage of coal gas and at the same time enable the layers of the burden to exercise control of gas and thereby prevent funnelling by combining passage with control? We thought of the ordinary coal stove we used for cooking. When we want the heat up we use a poker to stoke the fire and this achieves the same purpose as passage in our furnace. When the fire grows too hot we often shovel ashes to damp down the flame and this is equivalent to our control. If we apply this to our furnace, can we while boosting the input of air make appropriate changes to the layers of the burden so as to prevent a powerful gas current from making a funnel just like damping down the flame of a stove?

We studied this teaching of Chairman Mao's: "All contradictory things are interconnected; not only do they coexist in a single entity in given conditions, but in other given conditions, they also transform themselves into each other." And our understanding advanced a step. When the condition is such that a greater volume of air may blow out a funnel, the structure of the layers of the burden must be changed to increase the degree of control over the flow of coal gas. And when the control is so great that normal flow of gas may be obstructed, this provides the possibility of further raising the volume of air. Blowing transformed into damping and damping into blowing — this reflects the two contradictory aspects which under certain given conditions can be transformed into each other.

**New Charging Method**

In June 1971 we began experimenting with the method which combines passage with control.

The main constituents of the charge are coke and ore. The ore tends to hamper the flow of gas while coke helps its passage. Coke and ore must be put into the furnace in a fixed ratio. Therefore, to check the flow of gas we could not simply increase the amount of ore or reduce that of coke with regard to the burden as a whole. Under such a condition, how were we going to strengthen the burden's ability to control the gas flow and thus combine passage with control? Only by better methods of charging could we solve this problem.

“We can put the enemy who is in a strong position strategically into a weak position in campaigns and battles.” This strategic thinking set forth by Chairman Mao gave us food for thought. In the past every charge was poured in with a fixed proportion of ore and coke. Compared with the powerful gas current, not only the burden in the furnace as a whole but every layer of the burden was in a weak position. In relation to the control of gas, the burden was in a weak position not only as a whole or strategically but also in its parts, that is, in "campaigns" or "battles." Could we reverse their positions in some "campaigns" and "battles," so as to boost the burden's ability to check the flow of gas?

We finally worked out a new charging method combining passage of gas with control and evolved a new work method by analysing the formation of the funnel 53 times, undertaking some 700 examinations in the changes of air volume and pressure and comparing the over 7,000 data on the distribution of gas current.

To better combine passage with control and blowing with damping, our new charging method takes eight charges as a unit. The first six charges have both ore and coke, and the last two charges which are put in the blast furnace together have only ore. The coke originally contained in these two charges have been evenly distributed among the first six charges. Thus the six charges containing more coke are light layers which facilitate the passage of coal gas. The last two charges, which have no coke and are put in the furnace together, form a heavy layer that helps control the gas current.

This new charging method enables the stack to form a charge column containing two kinds of layers—every six light layers standing between two heavy layers. This plays the role of control-passage-control with regard to the gas current. The old charging method stressing passage has been replaced by the new one combining passage with control.

The new method not only strengthens the checking of the gas current but facilitates its passage. This is because the light layers with a higher proportion of coke are less resistant to the flow of gas and obviously help its flow, and the heavy layers containing no coke clearly control the flow of gas, making the gas go more evenly and steadily through the burden, increasing the contact between gas and ore and attaining fuller use of gas.

The new work method combining passage with control is an important breakthrough in the traditional smelting system which stresses the passage of gas. It helps us make new achievements in metallurgy. With the air volume increased from 2,100 cubic metres to 2,200 and 2,300 cubic metres per minute, daily output has also jumped from 1,700 tons to 1,800, and then from 1,900 to more than 2,000 tons.
ROUND THE WORLD

"THE DAILY GLEANER" (JAMAICA)

Hypocritical Is the Word for Soviet Proposal

While a party to SALT (Strategic Arms Limitation Talks), the Soviet Union is piling up non-stop its armaments. This being the case, the Soviet proposal at the current session of the U.N. General Assembly for a 10 per cent cut in the military spending of the five permanent members of the Security Council and the use of part of the funds thus saved to aid the developing countries is just as hypocritical as "crocodile tears." This was pointed out editorially by The Daily Gleaner of Jamaica on September 29.

"The Soviet Union," the editorial said, "which has for so long shut itself off from co-operation with the rest of the world and has been notorious, even infamous, for its treatment of small countries, is in no position to complain if fellow members on the Security Council meet Mr. Gromyko's suggestion of a 10 per cent cut in military budgets for "aid of poorer countries" with some scepticism."

The editorial added, "The huge U.S.S.R., stretching from Central Europe through Siberia to the Pacific Ocean, which has been so busy securing its frontiers and has in the process swallowed up half a dozen small independent states, thus destroying their separate existence, should not be surprised if its neighbours look upon its sudden concern for the poorer small countries as being somewhat in the nature of "crocodile tears," not to be taken seriously."

This Soviet proposal, the editorial said, was aimed at weakening its adversaries while making the Soviet Union, now enjoying a military superior position, appear in "a charitable and humanitarian light."

BRITAIN

No Unilateral Forces Cuts By West

The Soviet Union is still engaging in a big disarmament programme and, therefore, the West cannot make unilateral cuts in forces, said British Foreign Secretary Douglas-Home on September 28 in New York when he was interviewed by the Columbia Broadcasting System.

"The essential thing I think one comes back to," he stressed, "is that the cuts ought not to be unilateral. One must get from the Russians compensating reductions in forces. Otherwise you do upset the balance and nothing could be more tempting to an aggressor, of course, than the knowledge that your opposite number is weak." He added that on the reduction of armament, NATO had "to be extremely careful."

Speaking of the East-West disarmament talks and the forthcoming M.B.F.R. (Mutual and Balanced Forces Reduction) conference, the British Foreign Secretary believed that "nothing could be more dangerous than upsetting the balance which is very precarious in the NATO alliance as against the Warsaw Pact." He cited U.S. President Nixon as having said many times in NATO that the U.S. won't make unilateral cuts in its forces in Europe.

Referring to the European "detente," the British Foreign Secretary noted that on this question the Soviet Union "want to be content with broad declarations and intentions to live together." But, he said, on the part of the Soviet Union, there has been "enough of declarations and good intentions to live together. They don't mean very much any more."

U.S.A.

25,000 School Teachers on Strike

Some 25,000 elementary and secondary school teachers in the United States struck lately for higher pay and better working conditions.

In Michigan, teachers in Detroit and 35 other school districts walked out on September 4 and 5. In Detroit alone, the number of teachers on strike was 10,500.

The strike campaign swept nine states, including Rhode Island and New York. In Youngstown, Ohio, 1,000 teachers ignored a court's back-to-work order and continued their strike beginning on September 4.

Despite statutes forbidding teachers' strikes in all the states but four, strike action has taken place many times in recent years, with 145 strikes in the public school system last year.

The strikes are mainly over the living and working conditions of the elementary and secondary school teachers which are being seriously affected by the nation's inflation and daily growing financial crisis. Many teachers complained that they have not had a raise for a long time because of the government's wage freeze.

Zaire

"Limited Sovereignty": Imperialism's Theory

"Today, if only the Czechs want to lift the tips of their fingers, there will be Soviet armoured cars, military occupation. What does the notorious limited sovereignty mean? It means imperialism," said President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire at a mass rally in Kinshasa on September 16.

At this meeting attended by 150,000 people, the Zairian President said, "It is abnormal that people condemn the United States for its military intervention in Indochina but keep silent about the military

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New Electronic Computer

CHINA has made its first one million operations per second electronic computer with integrated circuits in Peking. In operation for over 3,000 hours during the past half year and more it has proved stable in performance and of good quality. It will be employed in petroleum prospecting.

Research and manufacture of third generation electronic computers with integrated circuits in China had a late start, following some seven or eight years' experience in making those with vacuum tubes and transistors.

This computer was built completely from materials made in China. The main specifications for its components and equipment are up to the designed standards. The achievement marks another big advance in China's electronic computer technology.

The makers of this computer are teachers and students of Peking University's electronic computer specialty, workers and technicians of the Peking Telecommunications Equipment Plant and technicians and operators of the department for which the computer was made. Makers and users worked in close co-operation, made studies and investigations all over the country, solicited opinions and learnt from experience gained in designing similar products. A relatively good draft design was collectively decided on. More than a hundred factories and enterprises in Peking, Shanghai, Tientsin, Nanking and Huhhot provided components, devices and equipment for it to ensure smooth progress in manufacture.

This computer has a word length of 48 bits, a storage capacity of 130,000 words and 22 pieces of peripheral equipment of nine types. In trial use, an operator in a dozen seconds solved 200 simultaneous linear equations which would have taken 100 persons a whole year to do. Good results were also achieved in dozens of applications including weather forecasting and handling seismic data.

More Radios and Television Sets

All provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions in China are now turning out radio sets and 28 of them are producing television sets. Colour television sets are also being trial produced.

Progress has been particularly rapid in industrially advanced Shanghai, Peking, Kiangsu and Liaoning. Even developing frontier provinces and regions like Tibet and Sinkiang have become producers of radios.

According to statistics put out by departments concerned, in the first half of this year, the output of radios was 83 per cent, and television sets 88 per cent, above the same period last year. Many new types of radios have appeared, increasing from 180 kinds early last year to over 260 kinds. Meanwhile, pocket-size thick film hybrid circuit radios, all-frequency band a.m.-f.m. (amplitude and frequency modulation) radios, all-transistor black-and-white television sets and large screen television sets with projecting kinescopes have also been trial-produced and manufactured. Quality has improved markedly as quantity and variety increased.

Not long ago, the leading department of the electronics industry organized an investigation group to go to the plateau regions in Sinkiang to monitor news broadcasts, together with P.L.A. men guarding the frontiers and peasants and herdsmen of the national minorities, to find out how well the radios work. They found they could hear Peking clearly despite complicated geographic and climatic conditions. Important functions such as sensitivity and selectivity have reached fairly high levels.

Over the past year, production costs for 52 types of radio sets have been slashed by an average of 17.6 per cent, and sales prices, lowered again and again, have been cut by an average of over 25 per cent. With the steady improvement of the people's living standards, sales of radios and television sets have gone up markedly, with more than twice as many transistor radios sold in 1972 as in 1971. The increase was particularly great in the vast countryside. Rural areas around Peking last year bought eight times as many radios as in 1971. Fifty-six per cent more TV
sets were sold in 1972 than in the previous year.

**Sixty-Million-Year-Old Fossil Mammals Found**

MAMMALIAN fossils dating back more than 60 million years were discovered in the red beds in southern China by the Institute of Vertebrate Paleontology and Paleoanthropology of the Chinese Academy of Sciences from 1970 to 1973.

These discoveries were made in Chenshan and Hstancheng Counties in Anhwei Province, Taiyu County in Jiangsi Province and Chaling County in Hunan Province. Earlier, such fossils were discovered in Nancihung County in Kwangtung Province in 1952.

The new discoveries provide important palaeontological material for dating and subdividing the red beds of south China. They also offer important data for studying many theoretical aspects of the history of life, including the origin, evolution, migration and dispersal of archaic mammals.

These fossils belong to the paleocene, the first epoch of the cenozoic era or the “age of mammals,” which is the most recent period in the history of the earth and dates back about 60 to 70 million years. The paleocene epoch is important in the history of the evolution of mammals. At the beginning of this epoch mammals had replaced dinosaurs which had just become extinct. Most of the ancestors of the major groups of mammals appeared for the first time or evolved rapidly during the period. Among them were primates which include man, ape and monkey.

Mammalian fossils of the paleocene age are rare in the world. Up to the present the greatest number of them have been discovered in the western part of North America. Some discoveries have also been made in a few other places. Most of the unearthed fossils belong to the late paleocene.

Mammalian fossils of the late paleocene age had been discovered in Sinkiang in 1959, the first time in this country. The new mammalian fossils recovered in provinces of China south of the Yangtze River belong to the middle and late paleocene age. They represent more than 30 forms of mammals not as yet discovered in other parts of the world and include some important discoveries. For instance, there are new primitive hoofed mammals (nontungulates) which were formerly considered to be distributed mainly in South America, several forms of a type of primeval mammal (named technically as anagalidae) which have been found only in Asia, some others which show close resemblance to rodents, rabbits and hares, and a group of primitive clawed mammals with chisel-like incisors (lildodonts). All these are close to the earliest representatives of the respective mammalian groups. The fossils of the step-crested toothed beasts (bemalamba) found in Kwangtung, Anhwei and Hunan Provinces represent a type of extinct large clumsy hoofed animals (primitive amblypoda) different from those of other regions and show some more primitive features.

The characteristics of the paleocene mammalian assemblages of China show that they appear on the whole to be quite different from those known in other regions. Scientists believe that Asia was at that time at least partially separated from Europe and North America by bodies of sea water which barred the freer communication of land mammals.

(Continued from p. 3.)

people, under the pretence of fairness, are pointing their fingers at this or that, instead of supporting and praising their resistance. Some people even made the preposterous proposal that Egypt and Syria withdraw to their positions prior to their counter-attack against the aggressors. Is this not an open encouragement to acts of aggression and permission for the Israeli aggressors to perpetuate their occupation of Arab territories?"

He went on, “Overly and covertly conniving at and supporting the Israeli policies of expansion and aggression, the two superpowers have directly inflated the aggressive arrogance of the Israeli Zionists. In energetically advertising the fallacious argument about the so-called ‘detente,’ their purpose is none other than to lull the will of the Arab and Palestinian people to fight against aggression. Driven beyond the limit of their forbearance by the fresh military aggression launched by the Israeli Zionists, the army and civilians of Egypt, Syria and Palestine this time have broken through the situation of ‘no war, no peace’ deliberately maintained by the superpowers in the Middle East, and have taken courageous and bold actions for resistance to and expulsion of the aggressors. This reflects a new awakening of the Arab countries and the Palestinian people. Even though they might yet encounter some temporary difficulties and setbacks in the struggle against aggression, we are convinced that so long as they persevere in struggle and strengthen their unity, they will certainly recover their lost territories and enable the Palestinian people finally to attain their national rights.”

(Continued from p. 21.)

occupation of Czechoslovakia by the U.S.S.R., for Czechoslovakia has been occupied militarily till this day and the Soviet Union has imposed on it ‘the theory of limited sovereignty’ since 1968.”

He said, “Why don’t we condemn the U.S.S.R. in the same way? Why do we limit ourselves to condemning one country and treating it as the only imperialist?”

“I know that my remarks about Soviet imperialism do not please the Russians,” the President went on, “that my talks with Yasser Arafat and the Arab leaders do not satisfy the Israelis and that my talks with Prince Sihanouk do not suit the Americans. But we are not to please these people. If they are not pleased, it is their business. As to us, we always go straight: neither to the left nor to the right.”

October 12, 1973
THE TENTH NATIONAL CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA
(DOCUMENTS)

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  (Delivered on August 24 and Adopted on August 28, 1973)

- Report on the Revision of the Party Constitution
  — Wang Hung-wen
  (Delivered at the Tenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China on August 24 and Adopted on August 28, 1973)

- Constitution of the Communist Party of China
  (Adopted by the Tenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China on August 28, 1973)

- Press Communique of the Tenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China
  (August 29, 1973)

- Press Communique of the First Plenary Session of the Tenth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China
  (August 30, 1973)

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