International Labour Day Celebrated

Militant Call by Third World Countries

From Wage-Slaves to Masters Of the Plant
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International Labour Day Celebrated

THE working class and other working people of Peking, who are carrying out the struggle to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, warmly celebrated May 1, International Labour Day, in the company of Party and state leaders. Filled with revolutionary pride, they acclaimed the great victory of Chairman Mao’s revolutionary line and the great victory of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, and they expressed the determination to carry the struggle of criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius through to the end and resolutely support the Third World countries and the people of the whole world in their united struggle against the two hegemonic powers. Unite to win still greater victories.

May 1 this year was ushered in amid an excellent situation. The movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, personally initiated and led by the great leader of the Chinese people Chairman Mao, was developing in depth. The weather was fine, flowers were blooming and red banners fluttered everywhere in the capital. There was a huge portrait of Chairman Mao at the centre of the red wall of the majestic Tien An Men Gate. The huge portraits of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin stood on the east and west sides of Tien An Men Square. The Internationale, The East Is Red, The Three Main Rules of Discipline and the Eight Points for Attention and other revolutionary songs resounded throughout the city.

Five hundred thousand workers, peasants, soldiers and revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals gathered at the capital’s Working People’s Palace of Culture and five other parks to celebrate May Day. Huge slogans bearing the words “Unite to win still greater victories” were prominent in all the parks. There were sports exhibitions at the major sports grounds, and the theatres and cinemas put on special festival programmes. Celebration activities took place in factories and villages. The masses enthusiastically cheered: “Long live Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought!” “Long live the victory of Chairman Mao’s revolutionary line!” “Long live the great, glorious and correct Communist Party of China!” and “Long live our great leader Chairman Mao! A long, long life to Chairman Mao!”

Chinese Party and state leaders who joined the capital’s masses in the celebration activities included Chou En-lai, Wang Hung-wen, Yeh Chien-ying, Chu Teh, Chang Chun-chiao, Chiang Ching, Yao Wen-yuan, Li Hsien-nien, Teng Hsiao-ping, Chen Hsi-lien, Chi Teng-kuei, Hua Kuo-feng, Wang Tung-hsing, Wu Teh, Su Chen-hua, Ni Chib-fu, Chen Yun, Li Fu-chun, Hsu Hsiang-chien, Nich Jung-chen, Ngapo Ngawang-Jigme and Chou Chien-jen, as well as Vice-Chairmen of the National Committee of the Chinese People’s Political Consultative Conference Teng Tai-yuan, Shen Yen-ping and Hsu Teh-heng. Comrades Li Teh-sheng, Wei Kuo-ching, Hsu Shih-yu, Chen Yung-kuei, Wu Kuei-hsien and Saifudin took part in the mass celebrations in Shenyang, Nanning, Kwangchow, Taiyuan, Sian and Urumchi respectively.

Among the guests from foreign countries attending the celebrations were Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia and Chairman of the National United Front of Cambodia, and Madame Sihanouk; Samdech Penn Nouth,
The great variety of festival activities vividly reflected the revolutionary atmosphere of unity in struggle in the deepening movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius. Under the unified leadership of the Party committees, the workers, peasants and soldiers and revolutionary masses of Peking have conscientiously studied Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and, taking the Party’s basic line as their guide and linking with the major issues of right and wrong in the current class struggle and two-line struggle, they have criticized in a more profound way Lin Piao’s counter-revolutionary crimes of following Confucius’ “restraining oneself and returning to the rites” and his revisionist line. They have also profoundly criticized the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius — the ideology of the reactionary moribund classes — and dealt telling blows to the reactionary ideological trend of negating the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, taking a hostile attitude to socialist new things and trying to restore capitalism. This has further heightened their consciousness of class struggle and the two-line struggle, stimulated their revolutionary spirit and strengthened revolutionary unity.

The several hundred amateur propaganda troupes of workers, peasants and soldiers, children and youth troupes and professional cultural troupes performing in the parks took as their main theme the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius. They gave a variety of performances, including plays, songs and dances, music and chugyi (balladry and story-telling), to express their determination to carry the struggle to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius through to the end. Many items warmly praised socialist new things including the combination of the old, the middle-aged and the young in the leadership at various levels, the proletarian revolution in education, the revolution in literature and art and in health work, cadres going down to grass-roots units to participate in physical labour and educated youth settling in the countryside.

As the people celebrated the red-letter day, glad tidings of victorious advances in socialist construction kept pouring in. Under the impetus of the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, the capital’s gross output value of industry for the first four months of this year was 12.5 per cent higher than for the same 1973 period which had already set a record in history. Rural people’s communes on Peking’s outskirts gathered in a bumper harvest last year; this spring they did their ploughing and other production work at a faster pace and with better quality than last year. Goods on sale in the capital were plentiful.

In celebrating May Day, the workers, peasants and cadres pledged to take the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius as a great motive force for grasping revolution, promoting production and other work and preparedness against war, raising the mass movement In agriculture, learn from Taching, in industry, learn from Taching, increasing production and practising economy and fulfilling and overfulfilling this year’s national economic plan.

Joyfully celebrating the festival together with the masses were commanders and fighters of the People’s Liberation Army units stationed in Peking, members of the people’s militia in the capital as well as those who had performed meritorious service in the self-defence, counter-offensive battle of the Hisha Islands, the latter having arrived in the capital recently. They pledged to carry on the struggle to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius in depth, enhance preparedness against war, heighten their vigilance, defend the motherland and be ready at all times to destroy enemy intruders; they also expressed the determination to liberate Taiwan Province which is the sacred territory of the motherland.

Many Taiwan-born compatriots, Hongkong and Macao compatriots and patriotic overseas Chinese in Peking were at the festivities. The people in the capital warmly welcomed their participation in celebrating the festival.

The festival activities were filled with the spirit of proletarian internationalism. Huge streamers bearing the words “The proletariat and oppressed people and nations of the whole world, unite!” were seen at every celebration site. The working
class and other working people in the capital gave a rousing welcome to comrades and friends from the Third World and other countries who had come for the celebrations. They thanked the people of various countries for giving support to the Chinese people, and expressed their own firm support for the Third World and the people of various countries in their struggle against colonialism, imperialism and hegemonism. When comrades-in-arms from Albania, Korea, Viet Nam, Romania and Cambodia appeared at the celebration sites, they were warmly applauded by the holiday-makers, including members of the people's communes named for Sino-Albanian, Sino-Korean, Sino-Vietnamese, Sino-Romanian and Sino-Cambodian friendship. Many friends from Asia, Africa and Latin America sang and danced with their hosts. All told, more than 5,000 guests from over 80 countries and regions took part in the celebrations.

Also attending the celebrations in Peking were Members and Alternate Members of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party currently in Peking; Members of the Standing Committee of the National People’s Congress; Members of the Standing Committee of the National Committee of the Chinese People’s Political Consultative Conference; responsible members of the various departments under the C.P.C. Central Committee; leading members of the various departments under the State Council; leading members of the various general departments, services and branches of the P.L.A. and leading members of the Peking Units and Peking Garrison; responsible members of the Peking Municipal Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and leading members of the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee; as well as responsible members of the trade union, youth and women’s organizations of Peking municipality.

Others taking part in the May 1 activities included P.L.A. combat heroes, model workers and peasants, advanced workers, and representatives of educated youth who have settled in the rural areas and Red Guards; personages from scientific, technical, educational, cultural, art, health, sports and other circles.

**Nationwide Film Festival of Model Revolutionary Theatrical Works**

Ten colour films produced on the basis of model revolutionary theatrical works are showing throughout China in a drive to further popularize these model revolutionary theatrical works. This film festival, from May 1 to 23, is being held when an excellent situation prevails in the deep-going movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius.

The films shown by the cinemas and projection teams in town and countryside are Taking Tiger Mountain by Strategy, The Red Lantern, Red Detachment of Women, The White-Haired Girl, Shachipang, Song of the Dragon River, On the Docks, Raid on the White Tiger Regiment and two others, as well as the four colour feature films that were produced after the example of the films of the model revolutionary theatrical works: Fiery Years, Bright Sunny Skies, Pine Ridge and Fighting Flood.

Created under the guidance of Chairman Mao’s revolutionary line in literature and art, the model revolutionary theatrical works are great achievements of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. They warmly praise Chairman Mao’s proletarian revolutionary line and give prominence to propagating invincible Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought; they are exerting an ever wider and deeper influence on the revolutionary people in their hundreds of millions. The staging of this nationwide film festival during the struggle to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius will once again provide vivid education in ideology and political line for the workers, peasants and soldiers and is of great importance to studying and applying the historical experience of class struggle and the struggle between the two lines provided by the model revolutionary theatrical works and, in connection with major issues of right and wrong in the current struggle between the two classes and two lines, to deepening the criticism of Lin Piao’s reactionary programme, which was patterned on Confucius’ “restraining oneself and returning to the rites.” It is also of great importance to alerting people against the resurgence of the sinister revisionist line in literature and art and arousing them to combat it, and to continuously consolidating and developing the gains of the proletarian revolution in literature and art and popularizing the model revolutionary theatrical works.

Departments concerned all over the country have organized the cinemas and film projection teams to put the stress on rural areas and grass-roots units so as to better meet the pressing demands of the workers, peasants and soldiers for seeing these films and learning from them.

A number of scientific, educational and newswreel documentaries reflecting the new achievements and new situation on the industrial, agricultural and other fronts are also being shown during this film festival.

**China and Gabon Establish Diplomatic Relations**

A joint communiqué on the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and Gabon was signed in Libreville on April 20 by Wang Peng, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of China to Mauritania, for the Government of the People’s Republic of China and El Konigle Okumba D’Okwateaque, Minister Delegate to the Presidency of the Republic in Charge of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation, for the Government of the Republic of Gabon.

The communiqué said: "The Government of the People’s Republic of China and the Government of the Republic of Gabon, in conformity with their mutual interests and the desire expressed by each of the two countries, have decided by agreement, following friendly consultations, to establish diplomatic relations at ambassadorial level and to exchange ambassadors.

"The Government of the Republic of Gabon recognizes the Government (Continued on p. 13.)"
Militant Call by Third World Countries

The general debate of the special U.N. General Assembly session was held from April 10 to 24, with representatives of more than 100 countries taking the floor. In the course of the debate, representatives of numerous Third World countries, high in spirit and strong in morale, firmly demanded a complete change in the current international economic relations based on inequality, control and exploitation, and resolutely called for immediate action to establish a new international economic order. This militant call fully testifies to the new upsurge in the unity and awakening of the Third World.

Indignant Condemnation, Just Demand

One of the outstanding features of the general debate is that the Third World countries' representatives, citing numerous irrefutable facts and figures, vehemently condemned imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism for their crimes of enslaving, exploiting and plundering the Asian, African and Latin American peoples by various means. As a result of the criminal activities of the imperialists, colonialists and neo-colonialists, the yawning gap between the rich imperialist countries and the poor developing countries has become ever wider, serious calamities were inflicted upon the people of the Third World countries and the road to development of the national economies of many Third World countries was blocked.

Representatives from many African countries pointed out that Africa possesses 53 kinds of the most important basic minerals and metals needed by the countries of the world for industrial development, has very rich coal deposits and a share of 40 per cent of the world’s water resources. However, the continent’s industry is backward and the African people are under-employed, deprived of their legitimate rights and subjected to humiliation.

The imperialists, the superpowers in particular, have used exchange of unequal values as a means of ruthlessly exploiting the developing countries. This was borne out by numerous facts cited by the representatives of the Third World countries in their speeches in the general debate. They pointed out that for years, the prices of the agricultural and mineral products exported by the developing countries have remained un-

changed or even dropped drastically, while the prices of manufactured goods they imported from the developed countries have increased two or even ten times. Such shocking exploitation makes it extremely difficult for many Third World countries to develop their national economies and improve the living conditions of their people.

After all, who feeds whom and who relies on whom. Exposing the facts of the exploitation by the imperialist countries, representatives of some Asian, African and Latin American countries exploded the myth that imperialism has been rendering assistance to the developing countries. The representative of Qatar, an oil-producing country, pointed out that for each U.S. dollar paid by consumers in the major oil-importing countries for buying oil, oil-producing countries often get less than 10 cents, with the remainder going into the coffers of oil corporations or of the governments of oil-importing countries through taxation. The Iraqi representative disclosed that in 1973 alone seven major trans-national oil corporations netted profits of more than 8,000 million U.S. dollars, which greatly surpassed the total investment of these corporations in the Middle East from 1954 to 1970. Algerian President Houmediene pointed out in his speech that in the period 1965-70, the transfers of profit effected by foreign companies out of the developing countries amounted to 23,000 million U.S. dollars. Albanian Foreign Ministe. Nesti Nase put it well when he said that the U.S. imperialists and Soviet social-imperialists have never given and will never give a single dollar or a single ruble as “aid” to the developing countries without considering beforehand their own political, military, economic and other interests.

The numerous awakened Third World countries can no longer tolerate this unreasonable and unjust situation lingering on. Their representatives at the session voiced in explicit terms their firm demand that their countries exercise effective control and enjoy full sovereignty over their respective natural resources, that international trade be done on fair and reasonable terms, that measures be taken to administer and to control the activities of the trans-national corporations, that all countries, big or small, be equal in international economic relations . . . in a word, they are determined to break down the unreasonable economic relations and
establish new, equal and reasonable international economic relations.

A Momentous Struggle in Refutation of The Two Superpowers

With a guilty conscience, the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, were mortally afraid of the special session. During the debate, the representative of one superpower advocated that all countries “are part of a single international economic system” and must effect “interdependence.” He threatened the Third World countries by saying that they should not unite and should not push their “claims beyond the limits.” The representative of the other superpower harped on the worn-out tunes of “detente,” “disarmament” and “maintenance of peace and international security,” asserting that the “preservation and consolidation of world peace” is the “main prerequisite” for the development of economic cooperation. He stated that his country will never accept “the false concept of dividing the world into ‘poor’ and ‘rich’ countries.” Speaking in the way a socialist-imperialist did, he asserted that “the interests of all states should be fully safeguarded,” etc., at the session.

These fallacious assertions by the two superpowers are in striking contrast with the strong desire of the Third World countries to get rid of colonialist and imperialist oppression and exploitation and safeguard national independence and sovereignty.

In his speech at the session, President Houari Boumedienne declared: “For the countries of the Third World, the problem of international security can be approached only in terms of the liberation of peoples and respect for the independence of nations.” He stressed: “Today, international relations are dominated by a many-faceted worldwide confrontation pitting the forces of liberation against the powers of domination and exploitation.” Albanian Foreign Minister Nesti Nase in his speech noted that the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, preached “interdependence” and “co-operation,” but in practice followed “an out-and-out neo-colonialist policy” towards the developing countries.

The superpowers can fool nobody with their demagoguery, nor can they with their arrogance and threats intimidate into submission the people of the Third World countries who have already stood up. The representative of Tanzania stated clearly from the U.N. General Assembly rostrum: “There can be no permanent coexistence between poverty and affluence, . . . development and underdevelopment.” He pointed out that the present underdevelopment of the Third World is an outcome of the colonialist system and the result of imperialist exploitation. The representative of Syria said in his speech: “The direct confrontation between the peoples and colonialism, racial discrimination and apartheid, foreign aggression and occupation, neo-colonialism, imperialism and Zionism remains an incontestable reality in our epoch.”

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The representatives of many smaller Third World countries displayed dauntless courage in the face of the tyrannical superpowers. The representative of Equatorial Guinea whose population is no more than 300,000, raised that country’s clear voice at the session. He declared: “The poor countries are waging a fierce struggle against the rich countries. This is a ruthless struggle in which the rich countries are trying to perpetuate their hegemony at the expense of the interests of the poor countries. “We must reject every sort of subordination and dependence and any kind of interference, be it political or economic,” he stated.

On the morning of April 15 the representative of one superpower openly opposed the raw materials producing countries of the Third World getting organized and attacked the Arab countries for using oil as a weapon to wage struggles. That afternoon the representative of Guyana, whose population is only over 700,000, gave a tit-for-tat reply. He pointed out that the developed countries must not be surprised that “the developing states speak as a group and with one voice.” “We did not create the category of the poor, they did,” he said.

Mutual Support and Unity in Struggle

Representatives of many Third World countries warmly acclaimed on the U.N. platform the example of a struggle in unity by Arab countries that used oil as a weapon to strike heavy blows at the Zionists and their supporters, thus greatly boosting the morale of the Third World people and deflating the arrogance of the imperialists. They praised this act as having opened the eyes of the people, raised the confidence of the people of the Third World to wage struggles, enabled them to see the strength of their unity and “exploded the myth of the invincibility of those who have wilfully manipulated the world.” They pointed out that only in unity can the Third World countries cope with the imperialist monopolists who have colluded with each other to plunder the Third World. The Peruvian and Gabonese representatives stressed that other raw material suppliers should follow the example of the oil-producing countries and set up organizations of the raw material exporting countries to form a united front. President Boumedienne appealed to the session: “The action that should be placed on the Third World agenda is to extend what has been achieved by the oil-producing countries in order to include all the basic raw materials produced by the developing countries!”

To smash imperialism’s scheme of sowing dissension and sabotaging unity in the Third World, many developing countries demonstrated at the session the spirit of mutual understanding and co-operation and aspirations for unity in struggle. Some oil-producing countries expressed their readiness to help other developing countries overcome economic difficulties. On their part, some non-oil-producing developing countries expressed solidarity and support for the struggle of the oil-producing countries. The Cameroonian Foreign Minister told the session: “We hail the victories won
by the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries in this battle. For us these victories are a precious experience, an example and a source of hope.”

With ulterior motives, some developed countries created public opinion inside and outside the session, alleging that blame for the serious inflation in the capitalistic world was on the Arab countries which had increased oil prices. They did this to sow discord among the developing countries. However, this fallacy was refuted at the session by representatives of many Third World countries, including many non-oil-producing countries. They pointed out that over a long period in the past when oil prices had been frozen, inflation in the Western countries had worsened year by year, and that only less than 1 per cent of the increase in the price index of the developed countries was due to the increased oil prices, while the average rate of inflation in these countries in 1973 was as high as around 12 per cent. Going straight to the heart of the matter, the Malian representative said: “Third World countries are not responsible for the discredited monetary devaluation and inflation.”

The solidarity of Third World countries was praised by the representatives of many countries at the session.

The Guinean representative stressed that the developing countries should be more united than ever. They should not “wait for the industrialized countries and should “co-ordinate their efforts,” he said.

Led by Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping, the Chinese Delegation stood firmly on the side of the Third World countries at the session, fighting shoulder to shoulder with them. Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping in his speech said: “China is a socialist country and a developing country as well. China belongs to the Third World.” “The Chinese Government and people warmly endorse and firmly support all just propositions made by Third World countries.” The speeches by members of the Chinese Delegation were warmly acclaimed by representatives of the Third World countries.

Countries want independence, nations want liberation, and the people want revolution — this historical tide is surging forward. The just desire of the Third World demanding a change in the status quo and the establishment of a new order is being translated into a mighty force.

(Hsinhua dispatch, April 23)

At Special Session of U.N. General Assembly

Third World Demonstrates Unity And Strength

BEGINNING April 10, the general debate at the Special Session of the U.N. General Assembly on Raw Materials and Development ended April 24. Most of the more than 100 speakers were from Third World countries. The awakening Third World demonstrated its unity and strength in the debate.

In their speeches, representatives of Third World countries seriously and justly accused colonialism, imperialism and hegemonism of exploitation and plunder, raised the strong demand for protecting state sovereignty and developing their national economies and reforming the existing international economic relations which are extremely inequitable. The Third World countries’ forceful voice of justice virtually reduced the superpowers, which insist on hegemonism, to a position of being in the dock, desperate and isolated.

A report on speeches by representatives of some countries at meetings from April 10 to 16 appeared in the last issue of this magazine. Following are highlights of speeches by representatives of some other countries at the April 17-24 sessions.

April 17. In his speech at the morning session, Mohammed Saleh Mote’a, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the People’s Democratic Republic of Yemen, said that “the root of the current international economic crisis lies in the inequitable economic relations of the colonial era. Although outright colonialism is mostly a relic of the past, neo-colonialism remains to be the obstacle to the economic emancipation and progress of the developing countries. Our international economic order today is a reflection of the political and economic relations established at a time when most of the developing countries did not exist as independent states and which, by all its elements, perpetuates inequality.”

Having strongly condemned the activities of the multinational corporations, he held that the new principles of international economic relations “should re-emphasize the legitimate right of every country to exercise effective control over its natural resources, in-
cluding the right of nationalization.” “The developing countries whose natural resources and manpower have been exploited by the colonial powers should establish a common front to ensure their accelerated economic and social development.”

Lebanese Foreign Minister Fouad Naffah in his speech emphasized that “the international economic order calls for a fundamental revision, because it is no longer suitable for the conditions of our time. . . . This system comports with such shocking inequalities and disparities that it is no longer conceivable to prolong it any longer.” He said, “The essential rights, needs and interests of the developing countries should henceforth be taken into greater consideration.”

Togolese Foreign Minister Joachim Hunlede who spoke in the afternoon pointed out that the present world economic order shows itself to be an unjust and outdated system which has ceaselessly impoverished the poor countries and enriched the rich ones. This economic situation constitutes the major obstacle to development and progress for all the Third World countries.

Abdul-Aziz Khalifa, Minister of Finance and Petroleum of Qatar, pointed out that the present international economic order serves the interests of the developed countries at the expense of the interests of the developing countries. And one of the most serious factors is the unequal exchange of raw materials exported by the developing countries for manufactured goods imported from the developed countries. He stressed the need to change this situation.

Sheikh Mohammed Bin Mubarak Al-Khalifa, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Bahrain, pointed out: For a long period of time “the oilfields have been tapped and oil produced in a manner that is geared to the requirements of the developed countries, and at a price that has suited the economies of those countries with little or no reference to the needs and economies of the producing countries.” He noted that such conditions must be rectified, adding that compensation had to be made for the inflation which had been imported from the developed countries for so long — the increase in the price of oil could only follow upwards the price of other commodities and manufactures. The Bahrain Foreign Minister also pointed out the imperative need to reform the international monetary system. He said, “The developing countries have no alternative but to rely on their own efforts in order to create favourable conditions for development.”

Felix Dias Bandaranaike, Sri Lanka’s Minister of Public Administration, Local Government and Home Affairs and concurrently Minister of Justice, said: “Our political aim must be the progressive reduction of the wide disparity in living standards between the developed and the developing sections of the world, the affluent and the needy.” In his opinion, what is required is the establishment of a permanent international arrangement or mechanism which would ensure a proper equilibrium and balance between the prices obtained by developing countries for the raw materials, primary products and manufactures exported by them on the one hand and the prices paid by them for commodities, manufactures and technology imported from the developed countries on the other.

April 18. John Malecela, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Tanzania, said that the present state of underdevelopment in the Third World is a product of the colonial system and imperialist exploitation. “We should strive to establish a new economic order based on the principles of sovereign equality of states, self-determination of peoples and non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries,” he stressed.

Alluding to the plea repeatedly made by a superpower’s representative at the session against turning this assembly into a session of “confrontation,” Malecela said that there can be no permanent coexistence between poverty and affluence, development and underdevelopment. The world of the hungry billions have had enough of this poverty, and it is high time this world body takes measures to overcome the legitimate grievances of the exploited. He emphasized that there shall be an end to the present inequitable economic relationship.

Primo Jose Esono Mica, Equatorial Guinea’s Permanent Representative to the United Nations, stressed that there is now a sharp struggle between the poor countries and the rich. “The rich countries attempt to perpetuate their hegemony over the poor countries at the expense of the latter.” The Third World countries now want “a true economic independence, want to eliminate foreign monopolies and to control and exploit their national resources to the benefit of their peoples,” he said. “We Third World countries are obliged to safeguard our dignity and to enrich and consolidate this independence through the effective exercise of national sovereignty against all hegemony.” “It is necessary to establish a new world economic order,” he pointed out.

Burundi Foreign Minister Artemon Simbananiye said, “The political leaders of the developed countries have never ceased telling their compatriots that the aid to the developing countries has cost state resources dearly. But they have never published the statistics relating to the massive transfer of capital from the underdeveloped countries to the industrialized countries which prove that it is the poor countries that aid the development of the rich countries.”

He said: The prices of raw materials and foodstuffs have till now been fixed according to the machineries which operate to our detriment and to the sole benefit of the rich countries. We must put an end to this state of things without further waiting in order that surface and underground riches profit in the first place their producers and possessors.

He demanded that the U.N. special session solemnly reaffirm and further expound the principle of the sovereignty of the states over their natural resources.
Baba-Car Ba, Minister of Finance and Economic Affairs of Senegal, noted that “the accelerated industrialization of the rich countries has only been made possible by the exploitation at low price of the raw materials which the Third World possessed or are possessing.”

The rise in the price of petroleum and reduction of its sales, he said, have in the end “demonstrated how fragile were the economies of the rich countries which depended basically on big quantities of raw materials originated from the Third World.”

The Third World countries, he noted, have become aware of their own strength and their need of solidarity. He said: “Taking shape among the Third World countries is a new solidarity which opts not for the redistribution of profits but for the exploitation of new resources and the establishment of a new form of financial assistance.”

Charles-David Ganao, Foreign Minister of the People’s Republic of the Congo, said that the rich countries have become richer and the poor countries poorer under the present unequal international economic system. He pointed out that the so-called aid of the developed countries “is more and more used as a means of domination and blackmail.” He held that unions of raw material-producing countries after the example of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries should be encouraged.

Sudanese Foreign Minister Mansour Khalid denounced the obdurate resistance of the privileged nations to a change in the present unequal and unreasonable international economic relations.

Reynaldo Galindo, Permanent Representative of El Salvador to the United Nations, maintained that the new scheme of international economic relations should be established in the interests of the developing countries that export raw materials. He stressed that it is necessary to recognize the permanent sovereignty of each country over its natural resources.

April 19. Nskalije Aloys, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Co-operation of Rwanda, emphatically pointed out that colonialism is one of the major causes of under-development. “The price for manufactured goods soared scandalously while that for raw materials dropped steadily. The developing countries have time and again denounced such exploitation of man by man,” he said.

Ahmed Ezzeldin Hilal, Minister of Petroleum and Mineral Wealth of Egypt, said that the striking thing is that it is taken for granted that balance of payments of developed countries should have a surplus; but, when some developing countries start to have surpluses, then this is regarded as a catastrophe for the whole world. When the prices of primary commodities, like wheat and food products of which developed countries export a great share, skyrocket, no one comments. If developing countries ask for equitable and just prices for their exports, then they are accused of endangering and disrupting the world economy. “Such a state of affairs should no longer be tolerated,” he stressed.

Said Al-Ghubash, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs of the United Arab Emirates, stressed the urgency of co-operation among developing countries, pointing out that to break up the solidarity of developing countries is in fact to subject them to an intolerable exploitation by the powerful industrial countries and their international companies.

Sarangi Penjor, Permanent Representative of Bhutan to the United Nations, stressed that “what is really needed is to terminate a long exploitative period of colonialism and neo-colonialism in the Third World.”

P.O. Etiang, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs of Uganda, said that “while the rich developed nations have continued to amass wealth, the poor developing nations can hardly obtain the basic necessities of life.”

He pointed out that “aid,” which has been viewed as “charity” from the rich countries to the poor ones, has perpetuated the old colonial heritage of master-and-servant relationship which has greatly compromised the political independence of the recipient countries. Such “aid,” tied with political strings as it necessarily has to be, has often been given without due consideration for the national priorities of the recipient countries. The terms under which “aid” has been given has been such that the burden of external indebtedness of recipient countries continues to increase in geometrical progression, he noted. He stressed that there must be a recognition of “the right of all nations to exercise permanent sovereignty over their natural resources.”

Hassam Kellani, Syrian Permanent Representative to the United Nations, stressed that “the direct confrontation between the peoples and colonialism, discrimination and apartheid, foreign aggression and occupation, neo-colonialism, imperialism and Zionism remains an incontestable reality in our epoch.” “It is certain that the security of all countries, especially those of the Third World, will be ineluctably realized through economic liberation, an end to oppression and exploitation by monopolies and the establishment of genuine national independence,” he said.

P.J. Patterson, Jamaican Minister of Industry, Commerce and Tourism, said that it is necessary to establish a new international economic order with a view to correcting the present inequitable international economic relations to guarantee an adequate flow of real income to the developing countries, arising from the proper exploitation and use of their resources.

April 22. Mubashir Hasan, Minister of Finance, Planning and Development of Pakistan, said that “some nations are affluent and others are impoverished as a result of the cumulative effect of the eras of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.”

“Over the last few decades the developing countries have struggled successfully for their political in-
dependence. They are now struggling for their economic emancipation," he stressed.

Njoroge Mungai, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Kenya, said that "developing countries have been suffering for a long time from the effects of unfavourable terms of trade." He held that stable and equitable prices for the commodities of the developing countries on the markets of the developed countries should be ensured.

Abdullah Malikyar, Chairman of the Afghanistan Delegation, said: "We earnestly hope that the legacies of the colonial era and alien domination which still persist in certain parts of the world are terminated on the basis of self-determination and the free will of the people."

Zenon Rossiaides, Permanent Representative of Cyprus to the United Nations, pointed out that a measure of economic independence for the countries newly free from colonialism was required to ensure that the independence was complete. He stressed that there was also need for industrialization and agricultural improvements in the developing countries, on the basis of permanent sovereignty over their natural resources.

April 24. In his speech, Foreign Minister D. Doraltu of Chad pointed out that at present "the rich become richer while the majority of mankind pass from the state of poverty to that of misery." He said: Those who have been reduced to slavery "have revolted. They no longer allow some persons to own all the property while others have nothing."

"According to the verifications made by several African states," he continued, "the assistance accorded by the industrialized powers was not designed to contribute to the development of the economy of the recipient countries. They apply a whole set of economic measures which impose their way on others and keep the people of the recipient countries subjected to their pressure."

He stressed that the developing countries "had to fights still more fiercely against new forms of oppression." It is time that the politics and economy of the Third World cease to be controlled by others. It is also time that foreign monopolies stop obstructing the progress of the Third World countries and stop imposing on it the character of lopsided single economy."

He expressed the hope that "the Third World countries which are forced to suffer from an increasingly aggravated economic backwardness, misery and famine, will unite to form a complete unit with one soul, so as to eliminate the current system of exploitation and establish a more independent economy."

Qais Al-Zawawi, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs of the Sultanate of Oman, stressed that "what is required now is a search for laws and rules to govern the relationship among nations and to narrow the gap between the rich and the poor. These efforts must recognize the right of every nation (1) to own and control its raw materials as well as its strategic economic sectors, (2) to control foreign enterprise within its borders and (3) to participate in setting the bases and the rules that organize international economic relations."

Kamel Maghur, Permanent Representative of the Libyan Arab Republic to the United Nations, said in his speech: The monopolist enterprises operating in the developing countries exploited the natural resources of these countries for the sole purpose of increasing their profits. The industrial countries have not confined themselves to the support of their monopolist corporations when these have meddled in the domestic affairs of the developing countries; more than that, they continue to obstruct the exercise of sovereignty by the peoples over their natural resources.

(Continued from p. 7.)

of the People's Republic of China as the sole legal government representing the entire Chinese people.

"The two governments have agreed to develop friendly relations and co-operation between the two countries on the basis of the principles of mutual respect for state sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit and peaceful coexistence."

Warmly greeting the occasion, Renmin Ribao published an editorial on April 30. It said: "We have always maintained that countries, big or small, should be equal. We consider that all countries or nations have their strong points and that they should learn from one another, and make up for one another's deficiencies. We firmly oppose the hegemonism and power politics of the big powers in which the big bully the small, the strong oppress the weak and the rich oppress the poor. It is precisely on this basis that we have established diplomatic relations with the great majority of African countries.

"The Government of the People's Republic of China is the sole legal government representing the entire Chinese people. Taiwan Province is an inalienable part of China's territory. The people of Taiwan are our close compatriots. We are determined to liberate Taiwan. The compatriots in Taiwan will surely return to the embrace of the motherland."

The editorial pointed out: "China and the African countries all belong to the Third World. The Chinese people and the African people, who have supported and encouraged each other in the course of the protracted struggle against imperialism, colonialism, hegemonism, Zionism and racism, have forged a profound friendship. We are happy that diplomatic relations are established between China and Gabon which enables China to have a new friend in Africa. We are deeply convinced that with the joint efforts of the two sides, the friendly relations and cooperation between the two countries and the friendship between the two peoples will develop steadily in the years to come."
LEAVING aside their economic plunder, exploitation and intervention in many Third World countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America, from the Soviet revisionists’ economic relations with the “fraternal countries” of their “family” — the East European CMEA (Council for Mutual Economic Assistance) members — over the last ten years or so, it is not difficult to discover that what Mr. Gromyko “condemned” international monopoly capital for in his speech is exactly what the Soviet revisionists themselves have been going all out to achieve in Eastern Europe. They not only are “far from clean” “in this respect,” but also have a dirty record of hegemonism and neo-colonialism.

Truth About “Economic Integration”

As is known to all, the Soviet revisionist leading group has been working overtime to push “economic integration” within the CMEA in the last ten years or so. The “international division of labour” imposed by the Soviet revisionists on the East European countries in the name of “integration” has even outdone, in arbitrariness and futility, what was done by the old-time imperialists. It is openly against “artificially restricting the process of expanded reproduction within the framework” of the East European countries, and demands that they “readjust” their “economy” according to the “international division of labour,” thereby unabashedly interfering in the internal affairs of these countries. The “principle of sovereignty” and the “spirit of equality” have no place in the “international division of labour” advocated by the Soviet revisionists. They maintain that the Soviet Union should “play the leading role” because “this is decided not only by the high potentiality of the Soviet economy and science but also by its role in the system of economic relations among the fraternal countries.” In line with the Soviet revisionists’ need for “economic integration,” the other countries are required to effect not only “specialization of their enterprises and sectors,” but also “specialization of their whole national economy” in order to pave the way for establishing a unified “world socialist economic complex” and determining anew the economic “position” of various countries. This is a brazen attempt to reduce the other countries to Soviet economic appendages.

As a result of such an “international division of labour,” the Democratic Republic of Germany has been forced in recent years to convert 60 textile mills into electric motor plants, forsake its traditional aircraft, tractor and big cylinder car manufacturing, and restrict its ferrous metallurgical industry. Czechoslovakia has stopped developing its oil and manganese extraction industries. Hungary has abandoned production of trucks and vessels of 1,500 tons upwards and its traditional radio manufacturing industry and switched over to other industries assigned to it according to the “division of labour.” Bulgaria has been forced to reduce acreage sown
to grain and, as required by the “division of labour,” place stress on growing fruit, vegetables, tobacco and other farm produce. The East European countries have thus been virtually relegated to Soviet processing plants and supply bases for stipulated commodities. In the name of “international division of labour,” the Soviet revisionists concentrate on building warships to meet the needs of military expansion, while Poland, the G.D.R. and Hungary have to use the greater part or even the whole production capacity of their shipbuilding industry to build non-military ships and their equipment for the Soviet Union. The Soviet revisionists themselves produce the main parts for electronic computers and cars, while some East European countries are required by the “division of labour” to turn out spare parts and other auxiliaries to be assembled by the Soviet Union. Gromyko said that the “international division of labour” imposed by imperialism “on economically underdeveloped countries” has reduced these countries to an “economically subordinate position.” One may ask the Soviet revisionist gentleman, isn’t your so-called “international division of labour” precisely intended to place the East European countries in such a “subordinate position”? Facts have proved that your so-called “principle of sovereignty” is sheer nonsense!

For more than the last decade, the Soviet revisionists have always demanded that the East European countries “co-ordinate” their national economic plans with the plan of the Soviet Union in accordance with the Soviet revisionists’ need to “re-arrange their economies and to integrate them.” This is in fact designed to put the economic plans of these countries entirely in the Soviet economic orbit. The Soviet revisionists have “co-ordinated” the four five-year plans of the Soviet Union and the East European countries from 1956 to 1975. “A complex programme for economic integration” for 20 years was worked out in 1971. According to this “programme,” the “total volume of output and varieties of products, the volume of international transport and investments” of the East European countries are all “objects for co-ordination.” Apart from the “co-ordination” of state plans, the Soviet revisionists have set up many standing “organizations for international economic co-operation” in the CMEA. Through these supra-national organs they exercise direct control over such key economic sectors of the East European countries as finance, industrial production, power and transport. While ferociously trampling on the sovereignty of other countries and unreasonably depriving other countries of the right to map out their national economic plans independently, the Soviet revisionists have talked glibly about Soviet opposition to the “use of the economy as a lever to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries.” What is this if not out-and-out hypocrisy?

**Soviet Revisionists’ Masterpiece**

Even more ludicrous is the Soviet professed opposition to “exchange of unequal values and the notorious ‘scissors’ gap.” Everyone knows that this practice is the masterpiece of the Soviet revisionists in dealing with the East European countries.

In the past decade or so, the Soviet revisionists have mercilessly squeezed the East European CMEA member states like a heavy press through Soviet control of their foreign trade, first of all, a monopoly on raw material and fuel supplies to these countries, and through buying cheap and selling dear as well as exchange of unequal values. They sell machinery, equipment and fuel to Eastern Europe at prices higher than those in the international market. According to official Soviet revisionists’ data, crude oil exported by the Soviet Union to the G.D.R., Hungary, Poland and Czechoslovakia from 1960 to 1967 was priced more than twice that sold to the F.R.G., Switzerland, Italy, France, Japan and Spain in the same period. Compared with the prices of Soviet exports to the F.R.G., the Soviet revisionists squeezed 3,900 extra million rubles from the East European CMEA member states through the export of petroleum, iron-ore, pig iron, anthracite and ginned cotton from 1961 to 1971. Apart from selling dear, they pushed down as much as possible the prices of industrial and agricultural products imported from the East European countries. Their greed is insatiable! According to data from various sources, the prices of machines and equipment the Soviet Union imported from Eastern Europe are 10-50 per cent lower than those in the world market. For instance, a locomotive made in a East European country can be exchanged for 3,400 tons of oil in the world market but it can only get 1,300 tons of oil when sold to the Soviet Union. The prices of certain lathes and milling machines of the G.D.R. are shaved down 25-30 per cent when sold to the Soviet Union. About 50 per cent of Bulgaria’s farm produce is exported annually to the Soviet Union at much reduced prices. Open dissatisfaction with this was voiced in the Bulgarian press not long ago. According to Western estimates, Soviet revisionist exploitation of the East European CMEA member states from 1955 to 1965 by buying cheap and selling dear came to 15,100 million U.S. dollars.

It is crystal clear that the history of economic relations between Soviet revisionism and the East European CMEA member states in the last 10 years or so is a dirty record of Soviet control, interference and exploitation of these countries. Since the Soviet revisionists have behaved in this way towards their “fraternal” countries in the “community,” there is no need to mention their action towards the Third World countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America. No matter how Mr. Gromyko tried to flatter and deceive the Third World countries with empty talk about the “principle of sovereignty” and the “spirit of equality,” he can never “expound and prove” to these countries what he called “fundamental difference” between social-imperialism and old-line imperialism in enslaving and plundering other countries. It is absolutely impossible for the Soviet revisionists to deceive others by their false label of “socialism.”

*(A commentary by Hsinfu Correspondent, April 24)*

May 3, 1974
Workers of China

From Wage-Slaves to Masters Of the Plant

by Chang Hung-kun

MAY 1, International Labour Day, the festive day of unity in struggle of the proletariat and other working people of the whole world, has arrived once again. As a veteran worker who had my fill of suffering in the old society, I cannot help feeling very elated and excited whenever I think of the stirring militant words “We have been nought, we shall be all” in The Internationale and the wise prophecy in the Manifesto of the Communist Party: “The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win.”

Two Different Worlds

I began working in 1942 in the old China which was under the rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism and when we workers were nothing and had nothing, nothing but our chains. In the short span of 25 post-liberation years, tremendous changes have taken place.

I clearly remember the scene in December 1948 when we were liberated. The Shihchingshan Iron and Steel Plant, the Shoutu Iron and Steel Company’s predecessor, was a mess. There were rubble and weeds everywhere. Of its two blast furnaces, one was dead with a charge of iron solidly buried inside it by the Japanese invaders and the chimney was the home of several families of crows.

The plant was a bureaucrat-capitalist enterprise started in 1918 by the northern warlords for waging civil war. In its first 19 years the plant never turned out a piece of iron. The Japanese imperialists occupied it in 1938 and turned it into an instrument for their war of aggression against China. They enlarged the plant to some extent, but the level of production was extremely low, with an annual peak output of only 63,000 tons of pig iron. After the Japanese surrender in 1945, the Kuomintang ran it for three years and only in the third year managed to put out 36,000 tons of pig iron. In the 30 years of reactionary rule before liberation, the plant produced a total of 280,000 tons of pig iron. Though it was called an iron and steel plant, it never turned out an ounce of steel.

Shoutu Iron and Steel today is a modern iron and steel complex complete with production processes from mining and smelting to rolling. There are now some six dozen plants, mines, transport, research, prospecting and other departments with a total staff of more than 90,000.

Shoutu Iron and Steel is a scene of great activity. The whine of blowers, the ringing of bells announcing another heat of steel, the thud of the forging machines all merge. At night the sky is red with the blast furnaces, converters and electric furnaces at work. There is the roar of the blooming and rolling mills as they hammer out a stream of billets and rolled steel of different types and shapes. Our company now mines its own ore and makes pig iron, steel and rolled steel as well as high precision steel tubes and special steels.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has been a great impetus to production. The company has built a new, large open-strip iron mine which has enabled it to produce five times as much ore in 1973 as it did in 1965, the year before the start of the Great Cultural Revolution, and made us self-sufficient now in iron-ore and treated powdered ore. From 1971 to 1973 the annual average increase in output of ore was 22.5 per cent, steel 13.5 per cent and iron 11.7 per cent. Last year, one blast furnace alone turned out more than twice the total amount of pig iron produced by the Shihchingshan plant in all its first 30 years’ history before liberation.

Production has shot up and a fundamental change has taken place in the lives of us workers.

The threat of unemployment has been removed for good.

Like most of my working-class brothers in the old society, I went through all the suffering brought on by unemployment. I still remember those miserable days in early 1946 when the Kuomintang was in power and there was a slump. A lot of us were thrown out of work. The stars were still overhead when we had to wait in a line in the cold every morning outside the plant for a ticket for a day’s work there. At the most, a hundred to two hundred tickets were handed out to the thousands waiting around. Those who didn’t manage to get work that day pounded the pavement, hunting for any odd job or begging in the street.

No worker gets sacked in our socialist enterprises today. In fact, production is expanding all the time and
more and more jobs are being continuously created. Take the iron foundry I work in today. We have 1,300 working against the 200 or so at the time of liberation. Quite a number of workers' wives have found employment, repairing roads, building houses and doing other ancillary jobs. Technical innovations and automation have greatly increased labour efficiency, but in our society this does not lead to unemployment.

Originally, we had to have about five dozen men for each shift to tend the blast furnace, whereas now we need only seven men. Iron smelting used to be heavy manual work. We had to break up the ore with huge sledgehammers and everything from charging to tapping was done manually. It's all handled by machines now and some processes have become automated. Those displaced are shifted to enlarging production. Our company has set up many new production departments and metallurgical enterprises are going up all the time throughout China, and they all need manpower.

The days of hardship are gone for ever.

I came to Peking in 1942 from Tientsin when the Japanese conscripted a lot of us to work here. They put us all behind barbed wire, made us work more than 12 hours a day and fed us bark, husks, bean residue from the oil presses and mouldy grain. We got no wages for more than a year. We wore clothes made out of discarded sacks. Even those who became "full-fledged" workers got only a miserable pittance which did not go far, what with inflation and high prices and the high rent for the most decrepit housing. How could anyone support a family with what he earned in those days? Niu Yung-shun, the present leader of a shift at the No. 2 blast furnace, and his father worked with us in those days. But even with both working they could not support their family of six. One of his younger brothers, a sister and his mother died of poverty and hunger.

Today Niu Yung-shun has a family of seven and lives decently in one of the houses the company has put up for us. Besides himself and his wife, a son and a daughter are also working. Prices are stable, food costs and rent are low, as are the other things one needs every day. Rent takes up only 5 per cent of Niu's wages. They're quite comfortable. Watches, bicycles, sewing machines, radio sets and all the things you find in the other workers' homes, they've got them all.

Chang Hung-kun, author of the article (centre), discusses production problems with other workers.

We don't have to worry about sickness, old age, birth, death and accidents now. Everything is well looked after.

Before liberation, the plant's owners didn't give a damn if you fell sick or were laid up because of an accident. The plant's clinic in those days only treated the foremen and the high salaried. I remember the outbreak of cholera there in the summer of 1943. The dead workers were thrown into the four lime pits not far from the plant. Those who fell down dead or were on their last legs were dragged and tossed into those pits. I was one of those who got thrown in while there was still life in me. I came round and managed to crawl out and get away. Niu Yung-shun's father in those days worked on scaffolding, doing the job high above the ground without so much as a single safety device. One day he fell and was taken into a shed where he lay unconscious for four days and nights.

Today we have a five-storey well-equipped hospital and all our medical expenses are free. Every plant has its own clinic. The government pays great attention to production safety. Workers are provided with all sorts of safety devices and equipment and those working in high temperatures get extra for a richer diet. But despite all these safety precautions accidents sometimes do happen. In November 1959 one of our workers at the blast furnace, Liang Haol-chia, got hurt while tapping a charge of iron. He sustained burns on 78 per cent of his body. The plant's leadership rushed him to one of the best hospitals in Peking for treatment. Workers and P.L.A. men donated blood and skin grafts when they heard of this. Our company built a special bed for him so that he would be more comfortable. He was in hospital five months. Now he's working as a furnaceman and
is a member of the revolutionary committee of the plant.

The Workers Are Masters

The biggest change is in the status of workers. In our country under the dictatorship of the proletariat the working class is the leading class and the workers are masters of the factories and of the state.

Three of our company’s veteran workers attended the Ninth National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party in 1969 as delegates, and last year we sent two veteran workers from our company as delegates to the Tenth Party Congress. One is steelmaker Ma Haiao-liu who is now an Alternate Member of the Central Committee of the Party. In socialist enterprises like ours the leadership, management and workers are politically and socially equal, although they have different jobs to do. Since the start of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the leadership has paid greater concern than ever to maintaining close ties with the masses and totally relying on the working class to run enterprises. The plant has stipulated that cadres, engineers and technicians and management staff must do a day’s manual labour each week and that plant management must have worker participation.

The Party and Government have paid particular attention to training cadres and technicians from among the workers. We have over a thousand engineers and technicians and directors of workshops and larger departments who once were ordinary workers. Five of the six Party committee members of our iron-smelting plant were rank-and-fillers. Deputy secretary of the Party committee Lu Hsing was a furnaceman before liberation. A vice-chairman on the plant’s revolutionary committee and concurrently a member of the plant’s Party committee, Kuo Chun-lin is responsible for overall production. He was a blast furnace worker before liberation. Deputy secretary of the Party committee Chou Tien-wen is a new worker who joined us in 1964. An ordinary worker like myself has been made master furnaceman in charge of the four blast furnaces in our plant. The Party organization sent me to study in a technical school for over a year to raise my cultural and technical levels.

Because we workers are the masters of the country and of the enterprises, work is no longer just a means of earning a living. No more is it an irksome burden, but a glorious task we have undertaken. Take the blast furnace workers for example. Before liberation we were always hoping for more stoppages of the blast because that meant less work. Now that is the very thing we fear, for we know that every minute the furnace blast stops means a ton or two less iron for the country. So we do our best to prevent this happening.

One of our workers said: “Before, we worked to live, now we work to make revolution. We think of the whole country and the whole world now and not just our family or our plant. We see into the next several decades and centuries and not have our sights just on what’s under our noses. What we have before us is not only fulfilling production quotas but the great historical task of eliminating the system of exploitation of man by man from the face of the earth.”

Revolution and Continuing the Revolution

How did such a tremendous change come about? Before liberation we hoped day and night that everything would change one day. We hated the system and we wouldn’t put everything into our work. We’d sabotage machinery and beat up the foremen and so on in our struggle. The rule of the reactionary classes came and went—northern warlords, Japanese aggressors and the Kuomintang—but we workers went on living in deep misery and suffering. Only the political party of the proletariat— the Chinese Communist Party led by Chairman Mao—through violent revolution, destroyed and smashed the old state machinery and set up the dictatorship of the proletariat, and only then did the working class of China topple the old order and did we stand up on our feet with heads high.

The establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, however, does not mean the revolution has come to an end. The great teacher Lenin pointed out: “The transition from capitalism to Communism represents an entire historical epoch. Until this epoch has terminated, the exploiters inevitably cherish the hope of restoration, and this hope is converted into attempts at restoration.” Our great leader Chairman Mao has also pointed out: “Socialist society covers a considerably long historical period. In the historical period of socialism, there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, and there is the danger of capitalist restoration.”

As soon as it came to power, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique turned the bourgeoisie’s “hope of restoration” into “attempts at restoration,” and turned the first state under the dictatorship of the proletariat in the world into a dictatorship of the bureaucrat-capitalist bourgeoisie, hurling the working class of the Soviet Union back into the abyss of suffering from exploitation and oppression.

Hence, under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat we must continue the revolution. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution carried out in China and the movement of criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius now under way throughout the country are both aimed at consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and preventing a restoration of capitalism. Right now in every factory, mine and workshop of our company, workers and cadres are holding large and small criticism meetings and writing wall newspapers and big-character posters to criticize Lin Piao’s copying Confucius and scheming for a restoration.

We workers firmly declare: “Lin Piao wanted to restore capitalism, but we will do all we can for socialism. Lin Piao wanted retrogression, we must press forward.” The onward surge of history cannot be arrested. “Let each stand in his place! The Internationale shall be the human race.” The future belongs to the working class!

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Struggle Between Restoration and Counter-Restoration In the Course of Founding the Chin Dynasty

—in relation to social basis of polemics between the Confucian and Legalist schools

by Lo Ssu-ting

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

II

In this prolonged, tortuous and repeated struggle between the landlord class and aristocratic slave-owners, Chin Shih Huang carried on with the endeavours of Shang Yang and Fan Sui and became the mighty emperor who accomplished the unification of the whole of China under feudal rule.

After he succeeded his father in 246 B.C., the struggle to establish a dictatorship of the landlord class developed to a new stage. He took two measures which were of strategic significance. First, he eliminated the clique headed by Lu Pu-wei and this ensured victory in the war for unification and the founding of the Chin Dynasty. Second, he carried out the revolutionary measure of “burning books and burying Confucian scholars alive,” which consolidated the political power of the landlord class. These two historical events were a continuation of the protracted struggle between the new emerging landlord class and the declining slave-owning aristocracy in the State of Chin, and of the struggle between restoration and counter-restoration in Chin which had gone on for 150 years after Shang Yang’s reform.

Lu Pu-wei was a representative not of the landlord class but of the slave-owning aristocrats. In Chi, Chu and four other states towards the end of the Warring States Period, their prime ministers all came from aristocrats of the ruling house. Only the State of Chin appointed large numbers of officials from among persons coming from other states and such landlord class intellectuals as Fan Sui, Tsai Tse and Li Ssu (?-208 B.C.) who fled to Chin because they could not remain in the six other states. At that time the slave-owners engaged in handicraft production and commerce were still quite powerful in Chin and constituted the most important social base for restoration activities. According to Szu ma Chien’s Historical Records, Wuchih Lo in the State of Chin, a widow called Ching in Pa (the eastern part of present-day Szechuan Province) and the House of Chuo in Shu each had 1,000 slaves and each was “as rich as a ruler.”

The most famous representative of this social force was Lu Pu-wei. A “big merchant of Yangch’ai” (now Yuhline County in Honan Province), he had 10,000 slaves and had accumulated “fabulous wealth.” This big slave-owner became the prime minister of Prince Chuanghsiang of Chin, Chin Shih Huang’s father, as a result of political speculation. Lu’s ascent to power had the support of the clique of aristocratic slave-owners in the State of Chin and was the result of the slave-owning class’ restoration activities at that time.

After assuming power in Chin, Lu Pu-wei vigorously pushed a reactionary political line for restoring the slave system. Economically, he bitterly opposed Chin’s traditional policy of “strengthening the fundamental and weakening the trivial (trade).” He raved that “the fundamental” meant not “planting and cultivation,” but “filial piety” and “good character.” His purpose was to try to defend the interests of the slave-owning class and undermine the economic base of the landlord class—the feudal agricultural economy. In the field of culture and ideology, Lu recruited a group of intellectuals dissatisfied with the new system to compile a book entitled Lu’s Almanac in a vain attempt to oppose and replace the thought of the Legalist school that held the dominant position in Chin.

The appearance of Lu’s Almanac represented a new trend in the class struggle and the polemics between the Confucian and Legalist schools at that time. Because the forces of the moribund slave-owning class were daily declining towards the end of the Warring States Period, the status of the Confucian school represented by Confucius and Mencius as a “prominent school” had become shaky and was in a state of disintegration. On the other hand, with the steady growth in strength of the new emerging landlord class there appeared such outstanding representatives of the Legalist school as Hsuan Tzu (c.313-238 B.C.) and Han Fei (c.280-332 B.C.). Therefore, it was impossible to openly raise the banner of the Confucian school in Chin; what one could do was to take an eclectic stand and peddle the sinister stuff of the Confucian school under the signboard of “miscellaneous school.”

Lu’s Almanac claimed to have assimilated the doctrines of all schools of thought, but in essence it made the thinking of the Confucian school its core and absorbed some Taoist ideas. The Confucian school preached that
the old order under the rule of the slave system should not be changed, while the Taoist school trumpeted that it was unnecessary and impossible to establish the new order of feudal rule. Though they used different phraseology, in essence both schools sought to safeguard the rule of the declining old slave-owning aristocracy.

Liu's Alhmanac was a big hodgepodge of all sorts of ideas of the slave-owning class. It advocated the “benevolence” and “righteousness” of the Confucian school and took in such ideas as governing by not interfering in anything. Its fundamental goal was retrogression and a return to the old order and restoration of the slave system as advocated by the Confucian school.

Chin Shih Huang faced a serious struggle against the clique of aristocratic slave-owners headed by Lu Pu-wei as soon as he ascended the throne. As the chief representative of the new emerging landlord class, the aristocratic slave-owners naturally found in Han Fei's Legalist school, thinking an ideological weapon to oppose restoration. Both Han Fei and Li Ssu were Huan Tan's disciples. It was recorded that when Chin Shih Huang read Han Fei's writings, he commented: “If I could see the author and be with him, that would be my greatest pleasure!” In the second year after he personally took over power, Chin Shih Huang dismissed Lu Pu-wei from office by following Han Fei's principle that “high officials are not exempt from punishment for crimes, while the common people are not denied rewards for good deeds” and the policy advocated by Han Fei that “prime ministers must come from local officials and brave generals from the ranks.”

After he was dismissed from office, Lu refused to repent and continued to collude secretly with the old nobles of the six other states in China and plotted a rebellion. When this was exposed, he committed suicide for fear of punishment in 235 B.C. The elimination of Lu's influence marked the further consolidation of the rule of Chin's landlord class. Fourteen years later, Chin Shih Huang unified the whole of China in 221 B.C. and founded a centralized feudal empire. This was a great victory for the new emerging landlord class and the thought of the Legalist school, and marked the end of slave society in China and its entering into feudal society.

"Burning books and burying Confucian scholars alive" was the result of a polemical over whether to uphold the centralized system of establishing prefectures and counties or to restore the system of establishing hereditary nobles to rule their domains under the slave system. This was a fundamental question concerning the state system and the nature of political power. Those who represented the interests of the aristocratic slave-owners in this incident were those Confucian scholars stubbornly clinging to Confucianism.

After the founding of the Chin Dynasty, the forces of the slave-owning aristocrats in the State of Chin, basically collapsed in the political and economic fields. But they still exercised a fairly big influence in the ideological field because large numbers of Confucian scholars had infiltrated government organs and cultural departments. According to historical records, many of the court's 70 royal academicians were Confucianists, and there were also famous Confucian scholars like Kung Fu living in different places. Some were highly dissatisfied with the new system and provoked a new controversy concerning the way the Chin Dynasty should go.

The first to come out in this controversy was Prime Minister Wang Wan. Taking the stand of the aristocratic slave-owners, he proposed the restoration of installing hereditary nobles to rule their domains. Taking the stand of the Legalist school, Minister of Justice Li Ssu firmly opposed turning back the wheel of history. If the system of hereditary nobles were restored, he pointed out, the princes and dukes would attack one another like enemies and the former situation of division and chaotic fighting under slave society would be restored. After summing up the historical experience of the struggle between restoration and counter-restoration in the State of Chin, Chin Shih Huang approved Li Ssu's opinion which upheld unification and opposed division. He resolutely adopted the system of dividing the local administrative areas into prefectures and counties and "divided the country into 36 prefectures," each embracing a number of counties. The prefectures and counties were governed by officials appointed by the central authorities. Thus, Chin Shih Huang founded a feudal empire with centralized power.

However, the overthrown class was reluctant to quit the stage of history of its own volition. Through their agents in the organs of state power in the Chin Dynasty, the aristocratic slave-owners continued to fan up public opinion and assail the system of setting up prefectures and counties. At a banquet in Hsien Yang Palace in 213 B.C., royal academician Chunyu Yueh who took the stand of the Confucian school came out with the statement: "I have never heard of a state able to last long which did not take the past as the teacher." His open advocacy of restoring the slave system of the Yin and Chou Dynasties touched off another big debate in the court.

In this argument Li Ssu resolutely refuted the theory of the Confucian school which "used the past to attack the present." He stressed that the political system for different periods could never be the same without the slightest change and that there was no way out by going back. He pointed out that "these scholars do not take the present but the past as the teacher so as to slander the present government," and that they should be suppressed because they were creating public opinion for staging a restoration.

The Confucianists, he also pointed out, paralyzed their learning, "found fault with government orders according to their school of thought when these orders were issued, refuted them in their hearts when they stayed in government office and openly negated them when they went to the public." As this would inevitably threaten the stability of the landlord class' political power, Li Ssu called for exercising dictatorship by the landlord class over the slave-owning class in the ideol-
logical and cultural spheres, and he put forward the proposal of “burning books” and prohibiting “unofficial schools of thought.” His proposal was approved by Chin Shih Huang who ordered the confiscation of the “Confucian classics and works of other schools of thought” and the prohibition of “recounting the past to the detriment of the present,” and decreed that “a distinction should be drawn between black and white so as to clarify the sole school to be revered.” This was the so-called “book-burning” incident.

Faced with imminent total destruction, the reactionary slave-owning aristocrats resorted to a last-ditch action. With Liu and Hou as their representatives, the Confucian scholars vilified the “rule of law” as “indulgence in authority by penalty and killing,” attacked the centralized power as the result of Chin Shih Huang’s “obstinate decision” and “greed for power,” and spread rumours to hoodwink the people. To consolidate the newly established reactionary Confucian scholars engaged in activities to restore the slave system and “buried alive” 460 Confucian scholars in Hsien-yang.

The state machinery has always been an instrument with which one class oppresses another class. “Burnings books and burying Confucian scholars alive” was a necessary measure of dictatorship adopted by the landlord class to consolidate the new political power that had been established at the time. Precisely as Chairman Mao has pointed out: “To overthrow a political power, it is always necessary first of all to create public opinion, to do work in the ideological sphere. This is true for the revolutionary class as well as for the counter-revolutionary class.”

As early as during the reign of Duke Hsiao of Chin, Shang Yang had proposed “burning Confucian classics to give prominence to the laws and decrees” so as to consolidate the fruits of reform. In his debate with the Confucians, Han Fei of the Legalist school advanced the proposal of “disbanding their gang.” Because the struggles at that time were waged mainly in the political and economic fields and the contradictions and struggles in the ideological field were not as sharp and outstanding as at the time of Chin Shih Huang, all the Chin rulers before him did not take firm steps to suppress Confucian thinking by law. After summing up the experience of repeated struggles between restoration and counter-restoration in the course of founding the Chin Dynasty, Chin Shih Huang gradually came to know the reason why “the new sovereign cannot be held in reverence without burning the six Confucian classics.” Therefore, he put into effect the policy of “burning books and burying Confucian scholars alive.”

The above shows that the incident of “burning books and burying Confucian scholars alive” was not because of Chin Shih Huang’s “cruel” nature, but it was an inevitable development of the class struggle of that time. He “cherished literature more than the other rulers” and was not “bent on slaughtering the literati.” Based on historical records alone, eight of the 70 royal academicians in the Chin Dynasty were not buried alive. Some of these scholars held different political views, but they still could “lazily devote themselves to writing” because they did not take part in behind-the-scenes conspiracies.

However, the Confucian scholars who stubbornly stuck to the stand of the declining slave-owning class were different from the Confucian scholars in general. They took part in secret activities to stir up trouble and adopt an extremely hostile attitude towards the new feudal power. They made up the extreme Right wing of the Confucian scholars. Unless they were severely suppressed, it would be impossible to consolidate the economic position and state power of the new emerging landlord class and the whole of China would have been thrown back to slave society. Therefore, “burning books and burying Confucian scholars alive” was a self-defence measure which Chin Shih Huang was compelled to take in the face of the attacks by the aristocratic slave-owners, and historically it was a revolutionary action in defence of the new relations of production.

Progressive thinkers in Chinese history generally hailed this revolutionary action. The great poet of the Tang Dynasty Li Po* said: “The Chin emperor conquered the whole of China, what a heroic deed that was!” The bourgeois revolutionary Chang Tai-yen** clearly pointed out that Chin Shih Huang “neither left out ordinary men in giving rewards nor shielded his intimates in enforcing punishment” and would not kill an official without reliable evidence.” Chang Tai-yen also said that if there had been proper successors to the Chin Dynasty throne, the prosperity of the many previous ancient sage emperors and wise kings would have been surpassed by this dynasty.

But reactionaries in the past and agents of the landlord and capitalist classes and of imperialism, revisionism and reaction such as Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao all cursed Chin Shih Huang and extolled the Confucians. Historical facts show that the appraisal of Chin Shih Huang and Confucius has always involved a prolonged class struggle in the ideological field.

III

Chairman Mao has pointed out: “In past history, before they won state power and for some time afterwards, the slave-owning class, the feudal landlord class and the bourgeois were vigorous, revolutionary and progressive; they were real tigers. But with the lapse of time, because their opposites — the slave class, the

* Li Po (701-762) was a famous Tang Dynasty poet whose writings were compiled into Collected Works of Li Tai-po.
** Chang Tai-yen (1869-1936) was a native of Yuhang County in Chekiang Province. A modern bourgeois revolutionary, he was active in the revolutionary struggles against imperialism and feudalism in his early years. Divorced from the masses and gradually yielding to decadence in his late years, he concentrated on lecturing and thus became isolated from the times.
peasant class and the proletariat — grew in strength step by step, struggled against them and became more and more formidable, these ruling classes changed step by step into the reverse, changed into reactionaries, changed into backward people, changed into paper tigers. And eventually they were overthrown, or will be overthrown, by the people.” The fact that the landlord-class rulers changed from revering the Legalist school and opposing the Confucian school to revering the Confucian school and opposing the Legalist school corresponded to the course of historical transformation in which the landlord class, as Chairman Mao has pointed out, changed from revolutionary to reactionary and from advanced to backward.

The Chin Dynasty was the first dynasty founded by the landlord class in Chinese history. Soon after this exploiting class seized political power, its class contradictions with the peasants sharpened. Led by Chen Sheng and Wu Kuang, the first great peasant uprising in China’s history finally broke out and overthrew the rule of the Chin Dynasty, promoting the progress of history and demonstrated the tremendous strength of the oppressed and the exploiters in creating history. Precisely as Liu Tsung-yuan* pointed out in “On Installing Hereditary Nobles to Rule Their Domains”: Chin’s fall “should be attributed to the people’s hatred and not to the system of prefectures and counties.”

In the course of the founding of the Han Dynasty there were also debates between those who upheld feudalism which was progressive at the time and those who preached going back to slavery. A Confucian scholar advised Liu Pang to adopt the system of installing hereditary nobles to rule their domains and even made ready the seals for the noble ranks. But under the persuasion of his counsellor Chang Liang, Liu Pang finally came round to realizing that retrogression was a dead end. He cursed this Confucian scholar in anger, saying: “You childish Confucianist! You almost spoiled my endeavours!”

The Chin Dynasty’s system was followed by the Han Dynasty. By the time of Emperor Wu of the Han Dynasty, the rebellion of Wu, Chu and five other states** had been crushed and the crucial moment of a restoration of the slave system had passed. Thus, the contradictions between the landlord class and the peasant class which had existed from the beginning of the Han Dynasty rose to the position of prime importance. The landlord class by then had gradually changed from a real tiger to a paper tiger and had lost the vigorous and revolutionary character it possessed when it was a progressive class.

Under such historical conditions, the hypocritical and conservative Confucian thought which advised people to be content with their status was more favourable to feudal rule than the Legalist thought which openly advocated the dictatorship of the landlord class and reforms. The result was “banning all other schools and revering only the doctrines of Confucius.” From then on, the remoulded Confucian theories were made to serve its new master — the landlord class — and Confucianism became the ruling ideology of later feudal society.

* Liu Tsung-yuan (773-819), a native of Hotung (now Yungchi County in Shansi Province), was a noted materialist thinker and writer in the Tang Dynasty who politically gave active support to the reformers of his time. His writings were compiled into Collection of Liu Ho-tung’s Works.

** Having founded the Han Dynasty, Liu Pang abolished all the princes of other families while successively conferring the title of prince on the sons of his own family. These semi-independent prince states later became increasingly powerful. The most powerful seven states, including Wu and Chu, joined forces to stage a rebellion in 154 B.C. These states were abolished after the rebellion was put down.

By analysing the struggle between restoration and counter-restoration in the course of the founding of the Chin Dynasty, we can see that the replacement of one social system by another takes a tortuous road stained with bloodshed and sacrifice and there may even be temporary retrogression and partial restoration. However, the law of historical development is irresistible and the new social system will eventually replace the old one. Though Chin Shih Huang had died a long time ago, his system continued throughout feudal society. The Tang Dynasty materialist thinker Liu Tsung-yuan said: This system “will continue up to a hundred generations after the Han Dynasty.” The materialist thinker Wang Fu-chih of the Ming-Ching Dynasties pointed out: “The system of prefectures and counties lasts for 2,000 years and cannot be changed.” Their comments tally with the historical facts.

“Were Nature sentient, she too would pass from youth to age.

But in man’s world seas change into mulberry fields.”

No reactionary force can prevent history from advancing! Under the leadership of the great leader of the Chinese people Chairman Mao, we have founded today socialist New China under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and are continuing our socialist revolution and construction and striving to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and develop the cause of socialism. This also cannot be retarded by any reactionary force. “The socialist system will eventually replace the capitalist system; this is an objective law independent of man’s will.” We have enhanced our faith in this truth through studying the historical experience of class struggle.

Although Chin Shih Huang has been denounced by past and present reactionaries at home and abroad, including the Soviet revisionists and Lin Piao and their ilk, he had his historical merits. He was an expert in laying more stress on the present than on the past, a person who thoroughly and effectively put the thought of the Legalist school into practice, and a statesman of the landlord class who accomplished and defended the unification of China. This is the conclusion of history.

(A slightly abridged translation of an article published in “Hongqi,” No. 11, 1973)

Peking Review, No. 18
ALBANIA

Welcoming Cambodian Comrades-in-Arms

The Delegation of the National United Front of Cambodia and the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia, with Khieu Samphan, Member of the Political Bureau of the N.U.F.C. Central Committee, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of National Defence of the R.G.N.U.C., and Commander-in-Chief of the People’s Armed Forces of National Liberation of Cambodia, as head and Teng Sary, Special Adviser to the Office of the Deputy Prime Minister of the R.G.N.U.C., as the deputy head, paid an official and friendly visit to Albania at the invitation of the Council of Ministers of the People’s Republic of Albania and the General Council of the Albanian Democratic Front from April 20 to 26.

During the visit, the Cambodian delegation was warmly welcomed by Mehmet Shehu, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People’s Republic of Albania, B. Balluku, Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Minister of National Defence and workers, students, members of agricultural co-operatives and government cadres. On April 22, Enver Hoxha, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour, met Khieu Samphan, Teng Sary and other delegation members and had a cordial conversation with them. On the same day the masses of Tirana assembled to warmly welcome the Cambodian delegation.

An Albanian-Cambodian joint statement was signed in Tirana on April 25 by the Delegation of the National United Front of Cambodia and the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia and the Delegation of the People’s Republic of Albania after formal talks. The Albanian side reaffirmed its unreserved and complete support for the Cambodian people’s armed struggle. The Cambodian side praised the Albanian people’s achievements in their socialist construction and in defending revolution.

CAPITALIST COUNTRIES

Workers’ Strikes in Past Year

The workers’ movement in the capitalist countries has gained new momentum since last year’s May 1, International Labour Day. Since then class contradictions in the capitalist countries have further sharpened. The broad masses of workers have gone on strike again and again, opposing exploitation and oppression by the monopoly capitalist groups and demanding wage increases and better working and living conditions. The working masses’ struggles have dealt monopoly capital heavy blows.

The United States. Over 110,000 Chrysler workers downed their tools from last September 14 to 23, bringing production to a standstill.

There was further development in workers’ strikes from the beginning of 1974. One hundred thousand independent truckers persisted in a 12-day strike in February. Twenty-one thousand West Virginia miners struck from the end of February to mid-March. From early March, over 10,000 San Francisco municipal workers and about 8,000 sugar refinery workers and 6,000 pineapple plantation workers in Hawaii separately went on strike.

Britain. Some 270,000 coal miners persisted in their ban on overtime work starting November 12, 1973 and again held a nationwide strike from February 10 to March 11 this year. Twenty-nine thousand train drivers were on a work-to-rule strike from last December 12 to February 26. Since April 15, 1.25 million engineering workers have fought a nationwide struggle against overtime work. Fifty thousand government and local government functionaries also have persisted in a ban on overtime work since April 22.

Italy. Six hundred thousand workers and staff members in the chemical industry held a 24-hour strike last December 19 when chemical, rubber, plastic, pottery and glass factories were all closed down.

This year has seen more frequent struggles by Italian workers. Two hundred thousand Fiat workers downed their tools on January 25. Over 1.6 million workers in many industrial cities went on strike on February 7. There was a nationwide strike of about one million workers in the chemical, metallurgical, engineering, textile and food industries on February 20. On February 27, 13 million Italian labouring people held a nationwide general strike.

F.R.G. One hundred and fifty thousand public utility workers staged the biggest nationwide strike in the history of the country from February 10 to 13. Taking part were workers and staff members in communications and transport, post, telephone, city sanitation and other departments as well as in theatres, hospitals and airports.

From March 6 to 28, more than 50,000 metal workers in Eremen and Bremerhaven went on strike.

France. A strike on a nationwide scale took place last December 6. On January 21 this year, 18,000 coal miners in Lorraine area laid down their tools in protest against the docking of part of their wages.

Australia. Four hundred thousand metal workers held nationwide strikes on March 13, 18 and 25. In April, 18,000 dockers at 43 ports and over a hundred thousand construction workers went on strikes several times.

Japan. For over a decade, Japan’s workers have every year launched spring strikes which last many days. In the first and second high tides of this year’s spring strike—March 1 and March 26—hundreds of thousands and more than 2 million workers took part respectively. The third high tide which began on April 9 had, by the 11th, expanded into a nationwide general strike involving over 6 million workers.
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