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Historical Experience in the Struggle to Criticize Confucius During the May 4th Period

— Commemorating the 55th anniversary of the May 4th Movement

Newly Built Takang Oilfield
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CHAIRMAN Mao Tsetung on the evening of May 18 met His Beatitude the President of the Republic of Cyprus Archbishop Makarios and the other distinguished Cypriot guests accompanying the President on his visit to China.

They were John Cl. Christophides, Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Mrs. Christophides; Patroclus Stavrou, Permanent Undersecretary of State to the President; Ambassador George Pelaghias, Chief of Protocol, Chief Inspector Nicos Thrassvoulou, A.D.C. to the President; Mrs. Nitsa Christodoulou, Secretary; and George Lantitis, chief cameraman of C.B.C.

Chairman Mao extended a warm welcome to the distinguished Cypriot guests from the Mediterranean region. President Makarios expressed the hope that his visit would contribute to further strengthening the already existing friendly relations between Cyprus and China.

Chairman Mao greeted the distinguished guests from Cyprus with handshakes. He then had a cordial and friendly conversation with President Makarios.

Present at the meeting and the conversation were Premier Chou En-lai, Vice-Chairman Wang Hung-wen, Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping, Assistant Foreign Minister Wang Hai-jung, as well as Tang Wen-sheng and Chang Han-chih.
President Makarios Visits China

ARCHBISHOP Makarios, President of the Republic of Cyprus, arrived in Peking by plane on the evening of May 17 for an official visit to China at the invitation of the Chinese Government.

President Makarios and his party, including John Christophides, Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Mrs. Christophides, were warmly welcomed at Peking Airport by Chinese leaders Teng Hsiao-ping, Chen Hsi-lien, Chi Teng-kuei, Wu Teh, Hsu Hsiang-chien and Ngapo Ngawang-Jigme met President Makarios and the Cypriot guests accompanying the President on his visit.

Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping was host the same evening at a grand banquet given in the name of Premier Chou En-lai to welcome the distinguished guests. Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping and President Makarios spoke at the banquet which was filled with an atmosphere of friendship. (For excerpts of their speeches see pp. 6 and 7.)

During the Cypriot guests' stay, Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping held talks with President Makarios in an amicable and friendly atmosphere.

President Makarios and his party began their visit to south China on May 21. On the morning of May 20, the last day of their stay in Peking, they toured the Great Wall and Ting Ling (one of the Ming tombs) and afterwards visited the Peking Spare-Time Sports School.

That evening, President Makarios gave a grand farewell banquet at the Great Hall of the People. Both President Makarios and Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping made enthusiastic speeches at the banquet.

President Makarios is warmly welcomed at Peking Airport.
President Makarios said: During my stay here I experienced the friendly feelings of the Chinese people. I interpret these feelings towards me as reflecting the friendship between our two countries. He pointed out that his meetings and talks with Chinese leaders in an atmosphere of friendship and understanding will pave the way to closer co-operation between China and Cyprus. Concluding his speech, President Makarios cheered in Chinese: "Long live the Chinese people!" "Long live Chairman Mao Tsetung!"

In his speech, Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping said that President Makarios' visit is a major event in the relations between our two countries and has made an important contribution to further developing the friendship between the peoples of China and Cyprus and the friendly relations and co-operation between our two countries. He requested that the distinguished guests, upon their return home, convey to the people of Cyprus the Chinese people's cordial greetings and high respect.

Malaysian Prime Minister Razak to Visit China

The Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of Malaysia have mutually agreed in principle upon the establishment of diplomatic relations. At the invitation of Chou En-lai, Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, His Excellency Tun Abdul Razak bin Datuk Hussein, Prime Minister of Malaysia, will pay an official visit to the People's Republic of China from May 28 to June 2, 1974 to formalize this agreement of the two governments to establish diplomatic relations.

Five-Nation Table Tennis Friendship Tournament in Peking

More than 100,000 table tennis fans saw the Five-Nation (China, Korea, Japan, Sweden and Yugoslavia) Table Tennis Friendship Tournament (May 14-18) at the Shoutu Gymnasium in the capital's western suburbs.

Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping met on the evening of May 15 leaders of the visiting table tennis delegations—Kim Dal Son of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Momoi Shobata of Japan, Erik Extergren of Sweden, and Lazlo Matserc of Yugoslavia. Afterwards, the Vice-Premier watched the game with the delegation leaders.

The sportsmanship resulting from "friendship counts more than competition" and the players' indomitable spirit and fine performances during the five-day friendship tournament were highly praised by the spectators.

Results of the tournament were as follows:

Spring Export Commodities Fair Closes in Kwangchow

China's 1974 Spring Export Commodities Fair closed in success in Kwangchow on May 15. The month-long fair received over 25,000 visitors, including foreign friends from more than 100 countries and regions, overseas Chinese and compatriots from Hongkong and Macao. China's foreign trade corporations concluded a great number of export and import contracts with businessmen from various parts of the world in line with the principles of equality, mutual benefit and exchange of what one has for what one needs. Opinions of the people of other countries about Chinese export commodities were canvassed.

More friends in trade circles from Third World countries and regions attended the fair than in the 1973 autumn fair and the volume of business transactions concluded with them at the latest fair surpassed any previous session.

Chemical products, metals, machinery and instruments were among the best sellers at the fair. Demand for China's traditional export commodities was too great to be met fully.

While the fair was on, visitors saw the more than 40,000 articles on display and pictures and models of a number of advanced units in China. They also visited factories and people's communes in Kwangchow and its suburbs.

Chinese Representative Speaks At World Health Assembly

The Chinese delegation with Huang Chia-szu as chief representative attended the 27th World Health Assembly which opened in Geneva (Continued on p. 9.)
We are very glad that His Beatitude Archbishop Makarios, President of the Republic of Cyprus, has come to our country on an official visit at the invitation of the Chinese Government, bringing to the Chinese people the sentiments of friendship of the people of Cyprus. I am entrusted by Premier Chou En-lai to be host at the banquet this evening. On behalf of Chairman Mao Tsetung, Acting Chairman Tung Pi-wu, Premier Chou En-lai and the Chinese Government and people, I express our warm welcome to His Beatitude President Makarios and all the other distinguished guests from Cyprus.

Cyprus is a Mediterranean country with a long history. The people of Cyprus have a glorious revolutionary tradition of combating imperialism. They waged a protracted and heroic struggle, and finally shattered the yoke of colonialism and won independence in 1960. We greatly admire the outstanding role His Beatitude President Makarios played in this struggle. In recent years the Government and people of Cyprus have continuously achieved new successes in their cause of defending state sovereignty, safeguarding national independence and building the country. In international affairs, Cyprus pursues a policy of non-alignment, persists in opposing imperialism and colonialism and supports the national-liberation movements in Asia and Africa and the struggle of the people of the Arab countries and Palestine against Israeli Zionism aggression. It has thus made contributions to the cause of unity of the Third World countries and people in combating imperialism. We sincerely wish the Government and people of Cyprus still greater victories on their road of advance.

At present, the development of the international situation is most favourable to the peoples of the world and unfavourable to imperialism, and the superpowers in particular. The numerous countries of the Third World and their people have appeared on the international arena as the main force combating colonialism, imperialism and hegemonism. Their just struggles and those of other peoples of the world, in mutual support and co-ordination, are pounding away at the old world with the momentum of a torrential tide and forcefully propelling the advance of history. The superpowers have suffered repeated setbacks, but they will never be reconciled to them, nor will they give up their wild ambitions for world hegemony. Their aggression and contention for hegemony are the cause of world intransigency today. Beset with troubles at home and abroad, they are both having a very hard time, yet they are stepping up their contention ceaselessly. Historical experience shows that so long as imperialism and social-imperialism exist, there will be no genuine detente or so-called “lasting peace” in the world.

At present, taking the situation as a whole, Europe is the focus of the contention between the superpowers. And the Mediterranean is also an arena of contention and rivalry between the two hegemonic powers. In recent years, social-imperialism has even preposterously claimed to be a Mediterranean country and made the Mediterranean an important strategic area in its contention with the other superpower for Europe as well as for the Middle East and for maritime hegemony. It keeps sending additional warships there to make a show of force and grab military bases. The fierce contention and tense confrontation of the two superpowers are a direct threat to the independence, sovereignty and security of the Mediterranean countries. However, wherever there is aggression there is struggle against aggression. The tyrannical acts of the superpowers have aroused the strong dissatisfaction and opposition of the large number of Mediterranean countries and their people. These countries and their people demand one after another that the fleets of the superpowers should withdraw from the Mediterranean and that the Mediterranean should belong to the Mediterranean countries. This gives expression to the general desire of the countries and people in this region to combat imperialism and hegemonism. A just cause enjoys abundant support while an unjust cause finds little support. Their call of justice is winning more and more extensive sympathy and support. The Chinese Government and people pledge it their firm support and are convinced that the just struggle of the Mediterranean countries, including Cyprus, and their people in defence of state sovereignty and national independence will certainly win still greater victories.

China is a developing socialist country; like Cyprus, she belongs to the Third World. We are glad to see that, since the establishment of diplomatic relations in 1971, the friendly relations and co-operation between our two countries have steadily developed on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, and the mutual understanding and friendship between our two peoples have continuously increased. The current visit to China by President Makarios is adding a new chapter to the history of the friendly relations between our two countries. We believe that His Beatitude the President’s visit will certainly make a useful contribution to further developing friendly co-operation between China and Cyprus and the friendship between our two peoples as well as strengthening the cause of unity of the Third World countries and people in combating imperialism.
President Makarios’ Speech

(Excerpts)

MY long-standing dream to visit the People’s Republic of China, a great country with the most ancient civilization and tradition, has come true. It is indeed a great pleasure and privilege for me to be in this historic country. The warm welcome and lavish hospitality accorded to me and my party by the Government and the people of China have deeply touched me.

First of all I wish to pay homage to your great and inspired leader, Chairman Mao Tsetung, whose radiating personality is dominating the world scene and who has put his personal imprint on present-day China. With his wisdom, his vision, his courage, his philosophical thinking and his revolutionary spirit he has brought about radical changes, transforming China into a dynamic country playing a most important role in world affairs. As he said in one of his poems: “The true way that governs the world of men is that of radical change.”

Cyprus is geographically far away from China and also very small, particularly when compared with your vast country. This, however, has not been a factor impeding the establishment and development of friendly relations between our two countries. Our friendship is based on certain fundamental principles serving the well-being of mankind and world peace, principles to which both our countries are dedicated.

China is a very big country and Cyprus one of the smallest in the world and in this respect no true parallel can be drawn. Nevertheless, they have some things in common: They have both been the cradles of ancient illustrious civilizations which have considerably influenced the course, and shaped the destinies of mankind throughout the ages. From this tradition they draw inspiration for their drive for new achievements and new conquests in all fields of life. Moreover, both our countries have been through common experiences in that they have suffered great misfortunes and adversities throughout their long history as a result of foreign domination, interventions and attacks. But they both faced their vicissitudes with courage and perseverance and are striving for a happier future in progress, prosperity and peace.

The people of China look to the future with justified confidence. Their achievements during the past 25 years make them feel proud and strengthen their will to continue their efforts to shape their country in the way their leader Mao Tsetung envisioned it when he launched this great revolution, “to see”—as your great leader so aptly put it—“the land of Hibiscus wholly illuminated by the light of dawn.”

After an interval of dignified isolation, China has emerged as a giant on the international scene and is sending her messages to the whole world. Her role in international problems is always of decisive importance. Her presence is felt, more than ever, all over the world, assuming historic dimensions in the world political situation.

We in Cyprus are following with great interest the achievements of the Chinese people in all fields and China’s attitude towards world problems, the solution of which could promote international peace. Like China we subscribe to the view that permanent peace cannot be established as long as there are remnants of colonialism, racial discrimination, social injustice and economic gap between developed and developing countries. All countries, small or big, are entitled to freedom and prosperity in peace. Small countries in particular should feel secure and free from pressure by more powerful countries. In this respect, I would like to recall the declaration by China’s representative to the United Nations that his country would be the champion of the existence and well-being of small countries which were threatened by far superior forces and powers.

Cyprus was greatly heartened by this declaration. We are a small country which is being threatened with intervention. It is because of these foreign interventions that the Cyprus problem, of the nature of which you are aware, has been complicated. Foreign conflicting interests in Cyprus impede the peaceful solution of our problem on a democratic basis. We are continuously threatened and pressures are being brought upon us to accept a solution contrary to the will of our people and contrary to its interests. We are determined, however, not to yield to threats and pressures. We shall resist all those, who are trying to impose a solution to our problem serving their own interests. We are certain that in our resistance and in our struggle to assure an independent, sovereign and unitary state, we are not alone. We have the support of all countries dedicated to democratic principles.

Once again, Mr. Vice-Premier, I express my warm thanks for the opportunity I was given to visit China and to get first-hand knowledge of its progress and achievements under the enlightened leadership of Chairman Mao Tsetung. I am looking forward to see as much as I can of your historic country.

May 24, 1974
Communique on President Senghor's Visit to China

Following is the full text of the communique on the visit of President of the Republic of Senegal Leopold Sedar Senghor to the People's Republic of China.

At the invitation of the Government of the People's Republic of China, His Excellency the President of the Republic of Senegal and Madame Leopold Sedar Senghor paid an official visit to the People's Republic of China from May 6 to 13 and then from May 16 to 18, 1974.

His Excellency the President and Madame Leopold Sedar Senghor were accompanied on the visit by Mr. Assane Seck, Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Mme. Seck; Mr. Babacar Ba, Minister of Finance and Economic Affairs; Mr. Adrien Senghor, Minister of Rural Development and Water Conservancy; Mr. Aly Dioum, Ambassador to China; Mr. Andre Coulbary, Ambassador; Mr. Cheikh Leye, Ambassador and Chief of Protocol; Mr. Ahmed Fall, Lieutenant-Colonel, Private Chief of Staff of the President of the Republic; Mr. Birane Wane, Captain, Aide-de-camp of the President of the Republic; Mr. Aristide Mensah, Doctor; Mr. Ady Niang, Chief of the Credit Service of the Central Bank of the States of West Africa; Mr. Pierre Kama, Director of Foreign Trade; Mr. Ibrahima Sy, Division Chief of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as well as other officials of the Presidency of the Republic, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Information.

During their stay in China, His Excellency the President and Madame Leopold Sedar Senghor and the personalities accompanying them visited factories, a university, a people's commune and celebrated historical and cultural sites in Peking, Shanghai, Shenyang and Tachai, where they were accorded a warm welcome and friendly hospitality by the Chinese Government and people.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung met His Excellency President Leopold Sedar Senghor, and they had a cordial and friendly conversation.

Premier Chou En-lai, Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien and His Excellency President Leopold Sedar Senghor held friendly talks on further developing the friendly relations and co-operation between China and Senegal as well as on the situation in Africa and international issues of common interest. The two sides expressed satisfaction at the results of the talks.

The two sides hold that at present the international situation is excellent. Countries want independence, nations want liberation, and the people want revolution — this historical trend is surging forward irresistibly. The Third World is awakening and growing in strength day by day. It constitutes the main force in combating colonialism, imperialism and hegemonism and is playing an ever greater role in international affairs. The recent special session of the United Nations General Assembly to study the problems of raw materials and development has demonstrated the might of a united struggle of the Third World against hegemonism. In this regard, the two sides firmly support the just demand of the Third World countries for a thorough change in the iniquitous economic relations that exist between nations today and for the establishment of a new order in this sphere. They firmly support the exercise of complete sovereignty by the developing countries over their natural resources. They firmly support the efforts of these states to establish organizations of countries exporting diverse raw materials for a united struggle against colonialism, imperialism and hegemonism. The two sides reaffirm their support for the expansion of trade between countries of the Third World and the development of mutual economic and technical assistance among them.

Both sides hold that relations between states should be based on the Five Principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit and peaceful coexistence. All countries, big or small, rich or poor, should be equal. Big nations must not bully small ones, strong nations must not oppress weak ones, and rich nations must not plunder poor ones. The affairs of each country should be managed by its own people, and international affairs should be settled by all the countries through consultations on an equal footing.

The two sides are glad to note that an excellent situation prevails in Africa's united struggle against imperialism. The great African peoples are ceaselessly winning new victories in their just struggle to safeguard and win national independence, develop the national economy and culture, protect their natural resources and maritime rights and oppose imperialism, colonialism, racism, Zionism and hegemonism. The two sides hail the glorious birth of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau amidst armed struggle. They firmly support the peoples of Mozambique, Angola, Zimbabwe, Namibia, Azu- nia and other territories in their just struggle for national independence and liberation. The two sides are firmly convinced that the valiant African peoples, relying on their united struggle, will surely surmount
the difficulties on their road of advance and finally win independence and liberation for the whole of Africa.

The two sides firmly support the just struggle of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam for the thorough implementation of the Paris Agreement and in defence of the achievements of revolution. They firmly support the struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation carried on by the Cambodian people under the leadership of the National United Front of Cambodia with Head of State Samdech Norodom Sihanouk as its chairman and the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia. They firmly support the restoration of the legitimate rights of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia in the United Nations and all the organizations related to it and the expulsion of the representatives of the traitorous Lon Nol clique. They firmly support the Lao people in their just struggle to achieve national concord and build a peaceful, independent, neutral, democratic, unified and prosperous Laos. They firmly support the just struggle of the Korean people for the independent and peaceful reunification of their fatherland. They firmly support the just struggle of the peoples of the Arab countries and Palestine against Israeli aggression and against imperialism and hegemonism. The two sides are convinced that so long as Israel does not evacuate the occupied Arab territories and the national rights of the Palestinian people are not restored, the peoples of the Arab countries and Palestine will not cease their struggle.

The Chinese side congratulates the Senegalese Government and people on the gratifying successes they have achieved under the leadership of President Leopold Sedar Senghor in consolidating national independence and developing the national economy in spite of the natural calamities that hit the country in recent years.

The Senegalese side congratulates the Chinese Government and people on the successes they have achieved under the leadership of Chairman Mao Tse-tung in socialist revolution and socialist construction and in China's economic development.

The two sides consider as satisfactory the development of the friendly relations and co-operation between China and Senegal. The Agreement on Economic and Technical Co-operation and the Trade Agreement signed in 1973 between China and Senegal are being successfully implemented. With a view to further enhancing the friendly relations between the two countries, the two sides have held consultations on cultural and scientific co-operation concerning the exchange of teachers and students, the exchange of information, television and cinema films, and books and documentation as well as the organization of sports competitions. The two sides point out that it is useful to carry out cultural and scientific exchanges between China and Senegal in a planned way; the specific items of exchange will be discussed later on through diplomatic channels. They are convinced that the continuous development and strengthening of the friendly relations and co-operation between China and Senegal based on the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence are in conformity with the common desires and the fundamental interests of the two peoples and beneficial to the Third World's cause of unity against imperialism and hegemonism.

The two sides note with satisfaction that the visit to China by His Excellency the President of the Republic of Senegal and Madame Leopold Sedar Senghor has been crowned with complete success and has made a positive contribution to the friendship between China and Senegal.

May 18, 1974

(Continued from p. 5.)

on May 7. Huang Chi-chun spoke at the May 9 meeting.

He pointed out in his speech that the most essential condition for the people of the Third World to develop national health services and improve the people's health is to rid themselves of aggression and oppression by imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, combat great-power hegemonism and power politics, win and safeguard national independence and develop the national economy independently and by relying on the broad masses of the people. "For many countries, especially for the Third World countries, if they want to develop their national economy and health services independently and self-reliantly, they must persevere in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism," he noted.

The Chinese representative stressed: The World Health Organization should serve the Third World and its people, consider their opinions and try its best to satisfy their wishes and demands. This should be the main orientation of the work of the World Health Organization.

Huang Chi-chun said that the Chinese people firmly support the Arab and Palestinian people in their just struggle against Israeli Zionism.

He added that the World Health Organization should actively provide aid to the national-liberation movements in southern Africa, which are fighting heroically for independence and liberation.

Referring to the application of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau for admission to the World Health Organization and the application of Namibia to be an associate member, he said that the assembly should warmly welcome them and immediately approve their applications.

The Chinese representative told the assembly how China builds her health services in the rural areas. He went on to say that the Chinese delegation would strive for positive results at the assembly.

The World Health Assembly on May 16 adopted separate resolutions

(Continued on p. 21.)
Historical Experience in the Struggle to Criticize Confucius During the May 4th Period

— Commemorating the 55th anniversary of the May 4th Movement

by Shih Chung

The revolutionary dawn of the May 4th Movement broke 55 years ago over semi-colonial and semi-feudal China, a land enveloped in darkness. This marked the development of China's anti-imperialist and anti-feudal bourgeois democratic revolution to a new stage and the beginning of the stage of the new-democratic revolution led by the proletariat.

To divide up colonies among themselves, the imperialist countries called a conference in early 1919, shortly after the end of World War I, for sharing the spoils. At this so-called Paris Peace Conference, they truculently rejected China's reasonable demand that the special rights held by imperialism in Shantung be abrogated. When the news reached China, the Chinese people who had long been subjected to oppression by the imperialist and feudal forces were greatly infuriated. This gave rise to the great May 4th Movement that erupted like a volcano.

On May 4 that year, patriotic students in Peking held a rally in front of Tien An Men Gate, followed by a mammoth demonstration, demanding "upholding state sovereignty in the international arena and punishing the traitors at home" and calling for overthrowing imperialism and the traitorous government. The movement soon spread to other parts of the country. Beginning June 3, workers in Shanghai and other places walked off their jobs and staged demonstrations in quick succession. Like a giant, the working class stood in the van of the struggle against imperialism and feudalism and displayed its powerful strength. Under the impact of the actions of workers and students, shops shut down in the major cities. Thus the May 4th Movement burgeoned into a nationwide revolutionary movement participated by the proletariat, the petty bourgeoisie and the bourgeoisie.

Reasons for Attacking the Confucian Shop First

As this movement developed, a gigantic struggle to criticize Confucius took place under the reverberating revolutionary slogan "Down with the Confucian Shop." With Marxism-Leninism as its weapon, the new cultural force of the proletariat rallied all the allies that could be united with to courageously attack the Confucian Shop, exposing the hypocrisy of benevolence, righteousness and virtue it peddled and vehemently denouncing its man-eating ethical code and the "Three Cardinal Guides and Five Constant Virtues."* With the advanced intellectuals and the broad masses of young students putting out progressive publications, shouts of "Down with the Confucian Shop" sounded up and down the land. The spearhead of the struggle to criticize Confucius was directed squarely at imperialist and feudal culture, shaking the politico-ideological foundation of reactionary rule.

Why did the proletariat, once it appeared on the political scene, pound hard at the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius before everything else on the cultural and ideological fronts?

Chairman Mao has pointed out: "A cultural revolution is the ideological reflection of the political and economic revolution and is in their service." (On New Democracy.) The struggle to criticize Confucius during the May 4th Movement period met the specific needs of the proletarian-led new-democratic revolution which thoroughly and uncompromisingly opposed imperialism and feudalism. The "Down with the Confucian Shop" struggle was essentially a political and ideological struggle by the proletariat and the broad masses against imperialism and feudalism.

As an ideological system in the service of restoration and retrogression, the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius went against the tide of history from the time

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*The "Three Cardinal Guides" refer to the three reactionary ethical and moral principles set forth by Tung Chung-shu (179-104 B.C.), a representative of the Confucian school in the Western Han Dynasty. They were: Subjects should be guided by the sovereign, the son should be guided by the father and the wife should be guided by the husband. That is to say, the sovereign, father and husband have absolute authority, while the subjects, sons and wives could only obey. These principles were said to be the will of the heaven. The "Five Constant Virtues" refer to the five so-called eternal principles, namely, "benevolence, righteousness, propriety, knowledge and honesty." These were the moral concepts for supporting and adjusting the "Three Cardinal Guides."
of their appearance. Later, the reactionary and declining ruling classes all used these doctrines as an ideological and theoretical weapon to preserve or restore their reactionary rule. The doctrines of Confucius and Mencius thus became the worst shackles of the mind obstructing the masses of the people from making revolution and going forward.

All China was sealed in the foul atmosphere of revering Confucius and restoring the old order on the eve of the May 4th Movement. The bourgeois-led Revolution of 1911 had sent the last Ching Dynasty emperor packing, but the foundation of feudal rule had not been demolished, nor had the task of opposing imperialism and feudalism been fulfilled. China still remained under the rule of imperialism and feudalism. In the short span of several years from the Revolution of 1911 to the eve of the May 4th Movement, two imperialist-backed counter-revolutionary restoration harlequinsades were enacted in China—the first by Yuan Shih-kai, chieftain of the northern warlords, the second by another feudal warlord Chang Hsun.

The two began with creating counter-revolutionary opinion in a big way and spreading ideas about restoration and retrogression. Both Yuan Shih-kai who dreamt of ascending the throne and Chang Hsun who tried to reinstate the dethroned Emperor Hsuan Tung clamoured that “the present is worse than the past” and called for returning to the past. To this reactionary end, they made revering Confucius and studying the Confucian classics an important means to bring about restoration and retrogression. Yuan Shih-kai promulgated a decree for worshipping Confucius in June 1913. The following year saw the adoption in January of two separate resolutions on worshipping Heaven and Confucius by the “political conference,” an organ controlled by Yuan Shih-kai, and the holding in September of a noisy ceremony to “worship the sage Confucius.” In 1915, he issued an order to the effect that the study of the Confucian classics be resumed in all primary and middle schools. This was followed in January 1916 by a farrago of restoring the monarchy. Yuan Shih-kai’s short-lived performance lasted only 83 days and the curtain dropped amidst condemnation by the entire people. In 1917, Kang Yu-wei, chieftain of the Protect-the-Emperor Party, ganged up with the feudal warlord Chang Hsun and once again the farrago of revering Confucius and attempting at a restoration was staged. While clamouring for the inclusion of Confucianism as the “national religion” in the “constitutions,” they worked overtime to spread the fallacy that “China owes its existence to Confucianism; without Confucianism, there would have been no China.” Thus with the “Confucianist Society,” “Worship-Confucius Society” and similar organizations mushrooming, demons and monsters danced like mad and ran amuck for a time.

Meanwhile, the imperialists also turned to the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, using them as a “stepping stone” to invade China and enslave the Chinese people for ever. U.S. imperialist element Gilbert Reid and his ilk spared no effort in trying to sell Confucianism. He advocated that Confucianism and Christianity should be mutually harmonized, respected, inspired and supplemented so as to prevent the rise of disturbances in society, by which he meant to oppose the revolution of the Chinese people. Hermann Keyserling, a special agent of the old tsars in the field of culture, frantically shouted himself hoarse that only by revering Confucius could China bring about a revival of the ancient principles lest people’s hearts should be captivated by revolution. In these words, he expressed his bitter hatred for the revolutionary cause of the Chinese people.

Historical experience shows that the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius not only serve as an ideological tool for the feudal rulers to oppress the Chinese people but also a political means for the imperialists to invade China. As Chairman Mao incisively pointed out: “Imperialist culture and semi-feudal culture are devoted brothers and have formed a reactionary cultural alliance against China’s new culture.” (On New Democracy.)

Long years of revolutionary struggle enabled the Chinese people to come to see the link between the worship of Confucius and restoration and between the worship of Confucius and selling out the country. They arrived at a deeper and deeper understanding of the fact that the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius were in the service of imperialism and the feudal classes and therefore had to be done away with. To deprive the reactionaries of their ideological weapon and smash the mental fetters binding the people, it was necessary to oppose Confucius. Precisely because of this, the slogan “Down with the Confucian Shop” put forward during the period of the May 4th Movement voiced the common wishes of the people in their hundreds of millions. It was through this struggle to criticize Confucius that the idol which the reactionaries in the past lauded as sacrosanct was toppled, the mask of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius torn off and their ferocious nature exposed. This made for the emancipation of the people’s minds and gave a powerful impetus to the development of the new cultural movement, the workers’ and peasants’ movements and the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution as a whole.

Chairman Mao spoke highly of the great significance of opposing the old stereotype and old dogma as advocated by the Confucian Shop during the May 4th Movement when he pointed out: “If there had been no fight against the old stereotype and the old dogmatism during the May 4th period, the minds of the Chinese people would not have been freed from bondage to them, and China would have no hope of freedom and independence.” (Oppose Stereotyped Party Writing.) This scientific thesis profoundly reveals the relationship between the struggle to criticize Confucius and the Chinese revolution and points to the importance of carrying out a revolution in the cultural and ideological spheres. According to the
doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, people must believe that oppression and exploitation are justified and to rebel is unjustified, and the oppressed people must "follow the conventional rules and regulations" and never rise in revolution. The "Down with the Confucian Shop" struggle during the May 4th Movement, however, smashed these ideological chains, reversed the old verdict that "it is unjustified to rebel" against reactionaries and urged people to fight in resistance to the old world, thus opening bright prospects for the victory of the thoroughgoing anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolutionary struggle.

The emancipation of the mind paved the way for the spread of Marxism-Leninism in China. In the past, the dignity of Confucius brooked no offence, Confucianism was regarded as unalterable principles, the old ethical code and virtues were beyond question and "any deviation from the Confucian canon" was considered the most heinous crime. Thanks to the struggle to pull down the Confucian Shop, people's blind faith in it was destroyed and the young people were fired with enthusiasm to seek the truth and find an ideological weapon for making revolution. After the start of the May 4th Movement, therefore, a mass ideological movement to study and spread Marxism-Leninism was launched in China. Organizations devoted to the study and dissemination of Marxism-Leninism such as the "Society for the Study of Marxist Theories" and "Society for the Study of Socialism" came into being one after another, and the Manifesto of the Communist Party, Socialism: Utopian and Scientific and other Marxist classics were published, while reading material and articles popularizing Marxism-Leninism came off the press in even greater numbers. A number of intellectuals with some rudiments of communist ideology applied Marxism-Leninism to make a forceful criticism of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. Not only did they bare the ugly features of the old stereotype and old dogma as such, but they also spread Marxism-Leninism in the course of criticizing these doctrines.

Beginning with "Down with the Confucian Shop," quite a number of people at that time broke with the traditional ideas as represented by the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, gradually accepted Marxism-Leninism and embarked on the revolutionary road. The "Down with the Confucian Shop" struggle during the May 4th Movement thus promoted the spread of Marxism-Leninism and paved the way — both in ideology and in the matter of cadres — for the founding of the Communist Party of China.

Only the Proletariat Can Thoroughly Smash the Confucian Shop

As early as in the May 4th period, our great leader Chairman Mao was foremost in the battle to destroy the Confucian Shop. In April 1918, he formed the "Hsinmin Society" which was a revolutionary organization aimed at transforming China and the world. After the outbreak of the May 4th Movement, he edited the famous Hsiangch'ing Review and other revolutionary publications, founded the "Culture Bookstore" and inaugurated the "Marxist Study Society" with a view to advancing the revolution and disseminating Marxism-Leninism. Meanwhile, with Hunan Province as a base and the "Hsinmin Society" as the core, he organized and led people of all strata in the struggle against imperialism and feudalism. In carrying out these revolutionary activities, Chairman Mao attached great importance to the struggle on the ideological and cultural fronts.

Armed with Marxism-Leninism, he pinpointed and exposed the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius for what they were — an autocratic ideology used by the reactionary ruling classes to oppress and enslave the people for more than two thousand years and a reactionary tool in the hands of the imperialists and their lackeys the feudal warlords to do the same. For the people to shake off oppression and enslavement and win complete emancipation, it is essential to smash smite the yoke of the ethical code imposed by Confucius. Chairman Mao pointed out: Following the Russian October Revolution, Marxism-Leninism was introduced into China and this became an irresistible rising tide. But only by overthrowing the ideological rule of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius could Marxism-Leninism be spread and the people roused to carry out a thoroughgoing anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution. Closely combining the criticism of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius with the struggle against imperialism and feudalism, he directed the spearhead of attack against imperialism and the semi-colonial and semi-feudal social system. In promoting the spread of Marxism-Leninism in the course of such criticism, he represented the correct line and orientation in the struggle to criticize Confucius during the time of the May 4th Movement.

Taking part in the "Down with the Confucian Shop" struggle were communist-minded intellectuals as well as revolutionary intellectuals of petty bourgeois or bourgeois origin. However, it was with the stand and the political aim of different classes that they joined the ranks of this struggle, and they gradually became divided as a result of the development of the revolutionary movement. Some kept moving forward and persisted in the struggle thanks to their constant efforts to remodel their ideology in the course of struggle, others fell behind and turned passive, still others became turncoats.

Lu Hsun (1881-1936), the chief commander in the "Down with the Confucian Shop" struggle during the May 4th period, made a devastating and wide-ranging criticism of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. Upholding the political orientation of opposing imperialism and feudalism in a thoroughgoing and uncompromising way, he closely linked the criticism of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius with the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal struggle and conscientiously
studied Marxism-Leninism while engaging in struggle. He was strict in dissecting himself politically and kept remoulding his world outlook and thus came to the realization that “the future belongs solely to the rising proletariat.” So he was able to keep in step with the times, stand in the forefront of the struggle, persevere in the struggle to criticize Confucius and step by step became a staunch communist fighter. Chairman Mao said: “Lu Hsun was a man of unyielding integrity, free from all sycophancy or obsequiousness; this quality is invaluable among colonial and semicolonial peoples. Representing the great majority of the nation, Lu Hsun breached and stormed the enemy citadel; on the cultural front he was the bravest and most correct, the firmest, the most loyal and the most ardent national hero, a hero without parallel in our history. The road he took was the very road of China’s new national culture.” (On New Democracy.)

In striking contrast to Lu Hsun was Wu Yu (1871-1949), a representative of the bourgeois intellectuals. Though he joined the ranks of the “Down with a Confucian Shop” struggle during the May 4th period and even gained some fame for a time, his criticism of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius was far from thoroughgoing for he took the stand of the bourgeoisie and used its political programme in criticizing them. As the revolution advanced and his illusions of a bourgeois republic vanished, he threw away the slogan “Down with the Confucian Shop” and turned into a notorious opium smoker, degenerated and downhearted. Chen Tu-shi (1880-1942), a representative of the bourgeoisie who had sneaked into the revolutionary ranks of the proletariat, posed as “opposing Confucius” during the May 4th period. But because he obstinately clung to the bourgeois stand and feared and opposed the people’s revolution, he switched from “opposing Confucius” to revering Confucius when he pushed a Right opportunist line, and clamoured for a “reappraisal” of the “value” of Confucius. In the end, he became a faithful running dog of imperialism and the landlord and capitalist classes.

As for Hu Shi (1891-1962), a man of letters belonging to the comprador-bourgeois class, he had long been a worshipper of Confucius. In the early stage of the May 4th Movement he had been swept into the torrents of the struggle to destroy the Confucian Shop, but he joined the revolution merely as an opportunity to make some political capital for himself. Because he stood on the side of the comprador-bourgeoisie, he could only make a sham criticism of Confucius. That is why he did not at all get to the heart of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius; instead, he went in for what he called “reforming” the “literary forms.” With the deepening of the revolution and in the face of the wide dissemination of Marxism-Leninism and the upsurge of the workers’ and peasants’ movements, he soon dropped the mask of opposing Confucius and showed his true colours as a worshipper of Confucius. By provoking a debate on “problems and ‘isms,’” he clamoured for “studying problems more and talking less about ‘isms’” and openly opposed applying Marxism-Leninism to guide the Chinese revolution. Later he worked hard for the imperialists by giving them advice and suggestions and wanted them to “conquer the hearts of the Chinese nation” with the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. Thus he fully exposed himself as an imperialist flunky who revered Confucius, worshipped everything foreign and sold out the country.

The historical experience of the struggle to criticize Confucius during the May 4th period testifies that only the proletariat and the new cultural revolutionary force led by it can criticize Confucius in an earnest way, and that one can criticize Confucius in a thoroughgoing way only by adhering to the proletarian stand and world outlook. Without emancipating all mankind, the proletariat cannot achieve its own final emancipation. To achieve its immediate revolutionary goal and its ultimate ideal of communism, the proletariat must make a most radical rupture with all antiquated traditional ideas. Therefore, the historical task of smashing the Confucian Shop can only be thoroughly accomplished by the proletariat. The deepgoing development of the struggle to criticize Confucius is bound to lead to the expansion and consolidation of the revolutionary ranks of the proletariat and the maturing of large numbers of new revolutionary people nurtured by Marxism-Leninism. The history of the struggle to criticize Confucius in the period of the May 4th Movement has proved this.

Criticism of Confucius — A Long-Term Task

The “Down with the Confucian Shop” struggle during the May 4th period was a great revolution on the cultural and ideological fronts in modern China. As Chairman Mao pointed out: “The cultural revolution ushered in by the May 4th Movement was uncompromising in its opposition to feudal culture; there had never been such a great and thoroughgoing cultural revolution since the dawn of Chinese history. Raising aloft the two great banners of the day, ‘Down with the old ethics and up with the new!’ and ‘Down with the old literature and up with the new!’, the cultural revolution had great achievements to its credit.” (On New Democracy.) Naturally, the struggle did not end there. The struggle between opposing and worshipping Confucius continued after the May 4th Movement. Representatives of the various reactionary classes inevitably used the “Confucian Shop” trash to make repeated counter-attacks against the proletariat and the revolutionary people, trying to reverse the verdict on Confucius and his rubbish that had long been discarded by the May 4th Movement. From Chiang Kai-shek, the autocrat and traitor to the people, to the traitor Wang Ching-wei, from the renegade, hidden

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traitor and scab Liu Shao-chi to the renegade and traitor Lin Piao, all without exception worshipped and knelt before the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius; the imperialists and social-imperialists who supported these reactionaries also revered Confucius. The more moribund and decadent they became, the more frantically they paid homage to Confucius. This is the law of class struggle. So long as there is class struggle, there will be the struggle between opposing and worshipping Confucius; therefore the struggle to criticize Confucius is a long-term task.

Chairman Mao said long ago: "This task was merely begun in the period of the May 4th Movement, and a very great effort—a huge job of work on the road of revolutionary remoulding—is still necessary to enable the whole people to free themselves completely from the domination of the old stereotype and dogmatism." (Oppose Stereotyped Party Writing.)

In China, revolutions led by the proletariat have always been accompanied by criticism of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. And it is precisely in their continuous struggle to repudiate the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius that the proletariat and revolutionary people have pushed the revolution forward. For more than half a century since the May 4th Movement, in the periods of the new-democratic revolution and the socialist revolution, Chairman Mao, in close connection with the struggle against domestic and foreign reactionaries and against "Left" and Right opportunist lines within the Party, time and again repudiated the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius and those who worshipped Confucius. He carried out those criticisms politically and ideologically with the dialectical and historical materialist world outlook. These criticisms formed important contents in the two-line struggles within our Party. The brilliant theses criticizing Confucius written by Chairman Mao in the course of struggles are an important summary of the historical experience of the struggle between Marxism and revisionism and of the historical experience of the struggle between the proletarian world outlook and the bourgeois world outlook. They are our ideological weapon in the deep-going movement to criticize Confucius in connection with the criticism of Lin Piao.

Chairman Mao has said: "The May 4th Movement, however, had its own weaknesses. Many of the leaders lacked the critical spirit of Marxism, and the method they used was generally that of the bourgeois, that is, the formalist method." (Oppose Stereotyped Party Writing.) These weaknesses made it impossible for many people at that time, in their struggle against Confucius, to make a scientific analysis of the class relations in history and to expose the class content of the struggle between the Confucian and Legalist schools. They failed to make a Marxist study of the progressive role of the Legalist school in history, and of Legalist school writings in its struggle to criticize the Confucian school. Today, hundreds of millions of workers, peasants, soldiers, revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals are earnestly studying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought while criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius. There has already emerged many activists who are all of vigour and are able to make criticisms and analyses by applying the Marxist stand, viewpoint and method. In the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, the Party calls on us to earnestly apply the weapon of Marxism, "read and study conscientiously and have a good grasp of Marxism" and make a serious study of the current situation and history, so that we will make big progress in our study.

The movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius is the continuation and development of the struggle to criticize Confucius led by the proletariat since the May 4th Movement. If the "Down with the Confucian Shop" struggle in the period of the May 4th Movement was to beat back the adverse current of restoration stirred up by imperialism and feudal warlords, clear the way for the widespread dissemination of Marxism-Leninism and victoriously carry forward the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal new-democratic revolution, then today we must criticize Confucius in a deep-going way in order to uphold Marxism and oppose revisionism, continue the revolution under the proletarian dictatorship, do away with the pernicious influence of Lin Piao's revisionist line, consolidate and expand the achievements of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and expedite the advance of socialist revolution and construction. The "Down with the Confucian Shop" struggle during the May 4th period raised the curtain on the new-democratic revolution. The current extensive and deep-going struggle to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius will guarantee greater successes in socialist revolution and construction. Therefore, this struggle is a strategic task of far-reaching historic as well as immediate significance. With the victorious development of the revolution, the people will have a deeper understanding of its importance.

Conditions today in criticizing Confucius differ greatly from those of the time of the May 4th Movement. We have gone through the new-democratic revolution and more than 20 years of socialist revolution, especially the Great Cultural Revolution. We have the wise leadership of Chairman Mao and the sharp ideological weapon of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. We have the powerful dictatorship of the proletariat, and the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers are directly taking part in the criticism. Thus we are able to carry out the movement to criticize Confucius on a wide scale and in a deep-going way as never before, and to carry the revolution in the realm of the superstructure through to the end.

(A slightly abridged translation of an article published in "Hongqi," No. 5, 1974. Subheads are ours.)
Paeon to the Great Cultural Revolution

Newly Built Takang Oilfield

GUIDED by Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, China's petroleum workers built the Takang Oilfield, a new oilfield in the eastern coastal area of north China, during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. From 1967 to 1973, the oilfield fulfilled annual state plans ahead of time every year and crude oil output increased at an average annual progressive rate of 60.9 per cent. The opening of the Takang Oilfield is a splendid song of victory for the Great Cultural Revolution.

Self-Reliance

As in the case of the Taotie and Shengli Oilfields, China prospected and built the Takang Oilfield by its own efforts. The large amounts of geological data obtained show that Takang has rich resources of oil and natural gas, with thick oil-bearing strata and high permeability. Its crude oil is of good quality and high industrial and economic value. The exploitation of this oilfield will supply China with huge quantities of petroleum and natural gas. This is of great significance in changing the fuel composition in China and promoting its industrial and agricultural development.

Prospecting started in the spring of 1964. Shouldering the great trust by the Party and the aspirations of the people, a section of the oil workers of the Takang Oilfield went to Takang. Takang workers had already contributed immortal service to making China self-sufficient in petroleum.

Takang was a sparsely populated barren saline beach. It was just after a flood and waterlogging when prospecting began. There were neither paths nor outsiders. But difficulties could not frighten our heroes. Following the example of "Iron Man" Wang Chin-hsi, the hero of the Taotie Oilfield, the workers worked against time at high speed, seeing it as a component part of the struggle against imperialism, revisionism and reaction. Braving cold winds and treading on ice and snow, they worked day and night to select well sites, build roads and erect bridges. In a word, they did all they could to accelerate the prospecting of the oilfield. They said: "As revolution and construction are developing, we need more than one Takang. We will open up more Takang-type oilfields, produce more oil and thus contribute still more to the socialist revolution and construction of our motherland!"

Workers of the No. 3227 drilling team, an advanced collective, at a well site.
Arduous work over nearly ten years saw the workers drilling group after group of exploratory wells and locating an oilfield in a place which had long been considered without oil. Now rows of oil wells are extracting and criss-crossed pipe networks are conveying the crude oil which lay underground untapped for thousands of years. Scores of derricks on the worksites are exploiting the oilfield. Asphalt streets running in all directions link up into a complete unit the oilfield's well houses, drilling worksites, plant buildings, new workers' villages, hospitals and stores.

Great Cultural Revolution

Takang was built at the time when the storm of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution swept the whole country. During the sharp class struggle and the two-line struggle, the heroic oil workers, while exploiting the oilfield, indignantly criticized Liu Shao-chi's counter-revolutionary revisionist line. Taking Taching as their example, they have persevered in putting proletarian politics in command and combining centralized leadership with the mass movement, and worked self-reliantly and arduously to overcome all kinds of difficulties. In the short period of a few years, they did a great deal of geological reconnaissance surveying and drilled one group of oil wells after another.

Cementing wells was regarded by some people prior to the Great Cultural Revolution as the most mysterious technical process. At the time when a few "well-cementing specialists" monopolized this work, the percentage of up-to-standard cemented wells was low. Following the establishment of the oilfield's revolutionary committee in 1968, ordinary workers were put in charge of directing the cementing of wells on the sites. Thanks to the collective wisdom and efforts of the workers and technicians, more than 95 per cent of those cemented were up to the required standards.

The drilling technical process prescribed by the specialists before the Great Cultural Revolution tolerated not even the slightest change and the best drilling team could drill only something over 10,000 metres a year. After its establishment, the revolutionary committee led the workers to do away with all fetishes and improve the drilling process according to actual conditions. This enormously accelerated the drilling speed. And annual drilling footage of one team has exceeded 50,000 metres.

Pushed by the Great Cultural Revolution, Takang overfulfilled the state plans ahead of schedule in 1968 and 1969. It made still bigger strides in exploitation and construction in 1970. In that year the oilfield not only fulfilled ahead of time the plans for drilling footage and for crude oil production but doubled the three main targets—crude oil output, productive capacity and geological oil reserves.

In the movement to criticize Lin Piao and rectify the style of work, the workers scathingly criticized the ultra-Rightist nature of Lin Piao's revisionist line and the fallacies spread by him. This further raised their consciousness to carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. By conscientiously implementing the principle of grasping revolution and promoting production, they battled the elements and achieved bigger successes in exploiting the oilfield.

Scientific Attitude

The Takang Oilfield is dissected by faults and has complex geological formations. Greatly varying in thickness, oil-bearing strata appear or disappear very irregularly, and output often fluctuated. Therefore, some comrades thought the "faults were harmful," saying that "Takang Oilfield is just a plate which has been broken to pieces." They considered there were no laws to follow and no way of knowing its geological conditions. They wanted to declare the complex faulted zones forbidden areas for prospecting. But the workers said: "Complex geological strata are not something to be afraid of. As long as we master dialectics, we will be able to know the objective laws."

Were there no laws to follow in knowing about the uncertain faults? Was there any future in exploiting Takang? There were intensified struggles between the two lines of knowledge. During the movement to criticize Lin Piao and rectify the style of work, the cadres, workers and engineering and technical personnel earnestly studied On Practice and On Contradiction and applied Chairman Mao's brilliant philosophical thinking in criticizing the idealist apriorism peddled by Lin Piao and his gang.

Despite cold and heat, wind and rain, they carried instruments to the sites and did much prospecting work. After obtaining more than 8,000 metres of core, collecting rich geological materials and conducting tens of thousands of correlation analyses of the geological materials, they finally unravelled the secret of the faulted zones and got a clear picture of the oilfield's geological conditions. As it turned out, the faults were not completely harmful; they could help better preserve oil and gas. The idea of "harmful faults" was toppled, prospecting advanced rapidly and the zones which had been excluded from prospecting have been exploited and become high-yielding areas.

According to some foreign literature, petroleum could be found only in sandstone. Some engineering and technical personnel, therefore, concentrated their search for oil on the sandstone. Some Takang wells were discarded for having "no exploitation value" because biogenetic limestone was found while drilling was going on.
Were places with biogenetic limestone worth exploiting? The workers, cadres and engineering and technical personnel discussed the problem in the movement to criticize Lin Piao and rectify the style of work. They restudied Chairman Mao's On Practice and criticized the mistaken ideas of worshipping books and despising practice. An old worker doing prospecting said: "We cannot hold foreign books in our hands while looking for oil, but should open up the treasure by diligent practice."

Soon afterwards, workers drilling a deep well found biogenetic limestone indicating oil and gas. Basing themselves on practice first, they did perforation to test the result and it turned out that the well produced high oil and gas yields. This successful practice was a good education to them. By asking the local people and making investigations at the sites, the technical personnel initially grasped the law of the distribution of biogenetic limestone.

Through continuous prospecting, the workers found three oilfields and seven oil-producing areas in places containing biogenetic limestone and discovered other new oil-bearing rocks. This expanded the oilfield's limits. Apart from displaying the powerful strength of materialist dialectics, this result emancipated people's minds and provided experience for future exploitation of the oilfield.

Continuous Advances

The oilfield is now deepening the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius. The workers are diligently studying works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and Mao Tsetung Thought so as to master the weapon of struggle, deepening their criticism of Lin Piao's reactionary programme "restrain oneself and return to the rites" and angrily denouncing Lin Piao's towering crimes of trying to restore capitalism.

The workers said: "Without the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, there would be no Tachang Oilfield." Citing the country's progress, the development of the oilfield and their own growth, they refuted the shameless babbling of Lin Piao and other class enemies at home and abroad in viciously attacking the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, and consolidated and expanded the great achievements of this revolution. The deepening of the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius has further promoted the oilfield's exploitation.

Crude oil output overfulfilled the state production plan for the first quarter of this year. Verified oil deposits also have shown considerable increase.

Oil workers' meeting to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius.

May 24, 1974
Greetings the Signing of China-Japan Air Transport Agreement

The representatives of the Chinese and Japanese Governments signed in Peking on April 20, 1974 the Air Transport Agreement between the People's Republic of China and Japan on the basis of the China-Japan Joint Statement and in accordance with the principle of equality and mutual benefit. Ratification procedures are being carried out for the agreement which will soon take effect. This is a great event in the relations between the two countries since the normalization of Sino-Japanese diplomatic relations. It has great significance for the further development of good neighbourly relations between the two countries, the promotion of friendly contacts between the two peoples and the strengthening of economic and cultural exchanges between the two countries. The Chinese people warmly greet the signing of the China-Japan Air Transport Agreement.

The signing of this agreement is in conformity with the common desire and interests of the Chinese and Japanese peoples. China and Japan are neighbours separated only by a strip of water, and there has been a long history of contacts between their peoples. Since the founding of the People's Republic of China, the friendly interflow between the Chinese and Japanese peoples has grown constantly. The broad masses and a number of far-sighted people in Japan have long cherished the strong desire to open a Sino-Japanese air line. The visit to China by the Japanese Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka, Foreign Minister Masayoshi Ohira and Chief Cabinet Secretary Susumu Nikaido in September 1972 brought about the normalization of Sino-Japanese diplomatic relations and opened a new page in the annals of relations between the two countries. The China-Japan Joint Statement stipulates that "in order to further develop the relations between the two countries and broaden the exchange of visits," it is necessary to conclude agreements on trade, navigation, aviation, fishery, etc. The Chinese and Japanese Governments over the past year or more have made unremitting efforts for this. The broad masses of the Japanese people and personages of various circles have unfolded positive activities to promote the speedy signing of the China-Japan Air Transport Agreement. During his visit to China last January, Japanese Foreign Minister Masayoshi Ohira exchanged opinions with the leading personnel of China on matters relating to the further development of relations between the two countries, including the conclusion of an air agreement, and achieved positive results. With the urging and support of the broad masses of the Japanese people as well as personages in and outside the government, the Japanese Government eventually overcame all kinds of obstacles and signed the China-Japan Air Transport Agreement with the Chinese Government. This is a fruit of the common efforts by the governments and peoples of the two countries.

Following the signing of the China-Japan Trade Agreement last January, the China-Japan Air Transport Agreement is another governmental agreement between the two countries. As a result of the normalization of diplomatic relations between China and Japan on September 29, 1972, the exchange of notes on aviation business and all other treaties, agreements and international commitments which had existed between Japan and China's Taiwan Province have become completely null and void. In accordance with the spirit of the China-Japan Joint Statement, it can only be regarded as transitional measures to maintain, with limits, regional intercourse between Japan and Taiwan on a governmental basis. The statement by Japanese Foreign Minister Masayoshi Ohira at a press conference on April 20 that "the Air Transport Agreement between Japan and the People's Republic of China is a governmental agreement and flights between Japan and Taiwan are non-governmental regional air traffic" conforms with this spirit.

The signing of the China-Japan Air Transport Agreement deals a heavy blow to the reactionaries who are hostile to friendly relations between China and Japan. Since the normalization of diplomatic relations between the two countries, a handful of militarist forces in Japan, such as the notorious former Japanese war criminal Nobusuke Kishi and his ilk and a number of fascists in the "Seirankai" (Blue Storm Society),
The Israeli aggressors sent large groups of planes to intrude into Lebanon and savagely bomb many villages and Palestinian refugee camps on May 13, 16 and 17, causing the Lebanese people and the Palestinian people heavy losses in life and property. This savage act of aggression by Israel has exposed once more the reactionary nature and ferocious features of the Zionists. We strongly condemn this act and express our greatest indignation.

Repeated intrusions by Israeli planes into Lebanon and bombings of peaceful inhabitants and Palestinian refugee camps are not isolated incidents. It is well known that since 1948 Israel has four times launched wars of aggression against the Arab countries and illegally occupied vast Arab territories, forcing millions of Palestinian people to leave the homeland they inhabited for generations and become homeless in other countries. But supported, shielded and connived at by the two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States, Israel has stubbornly refused to withdraw from all the occupied Arab territories and opposed restoring the national rights to the Palestinian people. In the last few months, it has committed new crimes in Lebanon while continually shelling and bombing on the Golan Heights front. All this has the support of the superpowers and is a result of the bitter superpower rivalry in the Middle East.

The present incident serves as a new reminder that high vigilance must be maintained against the aggressive nature of Israeli Zionism. Innumerable facts for many years in the past and the incident show that it has always no respect for the territories and sovereignty of the Arab countries, and will intrude into them whenever it deems such actions necessary. The nonsense about a "Just and lasting peace" spread by the superpowers can by no means change the aggressive nature of Israeli Zionism, but only serve as a cover for Israeli acts of aggression.

The struggle of the Arab people and the Palestinian people to recover their lost territories and regain their national rights is a just one. Neither the schemes and machinations of the superpowers nor the criminal actions of Israeli Zionism can crush this just struggle. We are firmly convinced that so long as the Arab and Palestinian people steadily strengthen their unity, persevere in struggle and overcome all difficulties on their road of advance, they will, with the support of countries upholding justice and millions upon millions of people throughout the world, certainly win final victory!
Saigon Authorities Must Thoroughly Implement The Paris Agreement

Of late, with the support of the United States, the Saigon authorities have acted in various ways to violate and undermine the Paris agreement in an intensified manner; deliberately aggravating tension in south Viet Nam. On May 15 and 17, 1974, the Foreign Ministries of the Republic of South Viet Nam and the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam respectively issued statements strongly condemning the United States and the Saigon regime for their acts to step up sabotage of the Paris agreement. The Chinese Government and people firmly support the solemn and just stand of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam.

Article 3 of the Paris agreement on the question of Viet Nam explicitly stipulates: “The parties undertake to maintain the ceasefire and to ensure a lasting and stable peace.” “The regular forces of all services and arms and the irregular forces of the parties in south Viet Nam shall stop all offensive activities against each other.” But the Nguyen Van Thieu clique simply has no regard whatsoever for the agreement it signed and continually violates and sabotages the agreement. Again and again it sends troops to launch nibbling attacks on the areas under the control of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam in violation of the ceasefire stipulations; it refuses to return all civilian personnel it detains and continues to arrest and brutally persecute large numbers of the people in south Viet Nam; it unjustifiably and arbitrarily suspended the two-party consultative conference of south Viet Nam and deliberately paralysed the normal activities of the Two-Party Central Joint Military Commission in south Viet Nam. As a result, the delegations of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam have been compelled to suspend their participation in the conference and the sessions of the commission. What must be pointed out is that the Saigon authorities’ acts have had the connivance and encouragement of the United States. The latter has left many disguised military personnel in south Viet Nam and is constantly reinforcing and increasing its military and economic aid to the Nguyen Van Thieu clique and has even gone so far as to threaten and intimidate the Vietnamese people. What the Saigon authorities and the United States have been doing is diametrically opposed to the spirit and provisions of the Paris agreement.

The Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam have consistently and strictly implemented and abided by the various provisions of the Paris agreement, resolutely struggled against the acts of the Saigon authorities to sabotage the agreement and have made indefatigable efforts to preserve and carry out the Paris agreement. The correct stand of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam has won the sympathy and support of the people of various countries all over the world. The Saigon authorities must immediately stop their various acts of violating and sabotaging the Paris agreement and thoroughly carry out all the provisions of the Paris agreement and its protocols.

("Renmin Ribao" Commentator, May 21)

Who’s “Fishing in Troubled Waters”? 

On May 12 at a banquet honouring Pakistan Prime Minister Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, China's Vice-Premier of the State Council Teng Hsiao-ping said that the Chinese Government and people "will, as always, firmly support the people of Kashmir in their struggle for the right to self-determination." Here in his speech, the Vice-Premier was expressing China's principled stand on the Kashmir issue. But the Soviet revisionist clique hit the ceiling at this and went into a paroxysm of anti-China hysteria. On May 14, the clique through TASS viciously attacked Teng Hsiao-ping's statement as "a crude intervention in a matter relevant to the exclusive competence of two countries, India and Pakistan," alleging that "Peking quite deliberately is fomenting a provocative and blatant campaign" over Kashmir in order that they themselves [China] can "fish in troubled waters."

What is known is the question of Kashmir is an issue deliberately left over by British imperialism when British India was partitioned into India and Pakistan in 1947 to create a confrontation between the two.
countries. China has consistently maintained that this question should be solved by India and Pakistan through peaceful negotiations and in accordance with the aspirations of the people of Kashmir. The Chinese stand has not only won support from the Government and people of Pakistan but is in line with the Indian Government's earlier stand on this question. As is well known, the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan reached agreement in 1953 that the Kashmir dispute "should be solved according to the aspirations of the people of Kashmir." The late Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru had earlier promised more than once that the people of Kashmir would be given the right to self-determination. In addition, as Pakistan Prime Minister Bhutto pointed out recently, the United Nations too has adopted resolutions on the right of the people of Kashmir to self-determination, resolutions which were also accepted by the Indian Government.

Moreover, this was, in point of fact, the stand taken at one time by the Soviet Government. From the time of the partition of British India into India and Pakistan up to the early 1950s, the Government of the Soviet Union many times exposed the imperialist plots to create through the Kashmir issue a confrontation between India and Pakistan; it held that the people of Kashmir should exercise self-determination and decide the future of Kashmir themselves. At a U.N. Security Council session in January 1952, the Soviet representative declared: "The Soviet Government holds that the Kashmir issue can be successfully solved only when the people of Kashmir are allowed the chance to decide on the political status of Kashmir by themselves without outside interference."

Since the Soviet Government itself in the past approved of the Kashmir people exercising self-determination, why has TASS accused the Chinese Government and people of "crude intervention" and "fishing in troubled waters" for supporting the Kashmir people's struggle for the right to self-determination, as though this was the worst thing possible?

The answer is quite simple: Power in the present-day Soviet Union has been usurped by a group of revisionists, a pack of social-imperialists who have entirely discarded the previous correct stand of the Soviet Government. Since 1955, Khruschev, Brezhnev and their like have more than once openly asserted that "Kashmir is a component part of the Union of India," that "the whole of Kashmir belongs to India," and even truculently declared that "the Kashmir question simply does not arise." In this manner, they consider themselves the supreme judge over the Kashmir people in deciding the latter's fate as they please. Now they are attacking China's support for the Kashmir people's struggle for the right to self-determination as engaging in "a crude intervention in a matter relevant to the exclusive competence of two countries, India and Pakistan." This is as preposterous as it is shameless!

It can be recalled how the Soviet revisionist leading clique had also cried out for "the principle of national self-determination" on the South Asia question. Two years ago, under the pretext of "the principle of national self-determination," it flagrantly instigated a war to dismember Pakistan by force, and then took this as an opportunity for its naval presence in Chittagong, stayed right there, and actually made it a Soviet naval base. And when there is really a need to apply the principle of national self-determination on the question of Kashmir, the Soviet revisionist clique simply denies the existence of the Kashmir question and the right of the Kashmir people to rid themselves of outside interference and realize national self-determination. When talking about "the principle of self-determination" at the time of dismembering Pakistan by force, Soviet revisionism was obviously attempting to use this principle as a fig-leaf to cover up its social-imperialist infiltration and expansion in South Asia. In frantically opposing "the principle of self-determination" on the question of Kashmir, its evil intention is to make the solution of the question more complicated so as to use and intensify the Indian-Pakistan dispute to further its social-imperialist designs in this area.

Facts show very clearly that it is precisely the Soviet revisionist clique itself that "quite deliberately is fomenting a provocative and blatant campaign" over Kashmir in order that it itself can "fish in troubled waters."

(Continued from p. 9.)

at its plenary session admitting the Republic of Guinea-Bissau as member and Namibia as associate member of the World Health Organization.

The 27th World Health Assembly was attended by representatives and observers from over 130 countries, regions and international organizations. The assembly examined the 1973 report on the work of the World Health Organization presented by its Director-General, the organization's programme and budget estimates for 1975 and other questions.

News Briefs

- Tung Pi-wu, Acting Chairman of the People's Republic of China, on May 19 sent a message to Walter Schuck, congratulating him on his election as President of the Federal Republic of Germany. Premier Chou En-lai on May 15 sent a message to Peruvian President Juan Velasco Alvarado, extending deep sympathy and solicitude to the Peruvian Government and people on the serious floods which recently hit central Portu.
- Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien on May 18 met all members of the Delegation of American Governors with Daniel J. Evans, Governor of Washington, as its head, and Calvin Rampton, Governor of Utah, as its deputy head, and their wives and party.

May 24, 1974
CAMBODIAN DELEGATION

Visits to Cameroon, Egypt and Syria Concluded

The Delegation of the National United Front and the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia, with Deputy Prime Minister Khieu Samphan as head and Special Adviser Ieng Sary as deputy head, made official friendship visits to Cameroon, Egypt and Syria in May at the invitation of the Governments of the United Republic of Cameroon, the Arab Republic of Egypt and the Syrian Arab Republic respectively.

During their stay in Cameroon from May 9 to 12, all the Cambodian delegation members were received by President Ahidjo. He had a cordial and friendly conversation with them.

Talks were held between the Cambodian delegation and the Cameroon government delegation. A joint communiqué issued in Yaoundé following the talks said that “the two delegations reaffirm their solidarity with, and indefectible support for, the battle waged by the freedom fighters in Angola, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa for national liberation and respect for their basic rights.”

During a 3-day friendship visit to Egypt, the Cambodian delegation visited Ismailia and the Suez Canal front. President Sadat on May 15 received and had a cordial and friendly conversation with delegation head Khieu Samphan and deputy head Ieng Sary.

The Cambodian delegation held talks with the delegation of the Arab Republic of Egypt. A joint communiqué issued in Cairo at the end of the talks stated that “both sides firmly support the just struggle of the Arab people and demand the total withdrawal of Israel from all occupied territories as well as the restoration to the Palestinian people of their national rights. They condemn imperialist-Zionist aggression aimed at keeping the Arab people under imperialist domination.”

The Cambodian delegation arrived in Syria on May 15 for an official friendship visit. Syrian President Assad and Premier Ayyubi received the delegation on separate occasions.

Syria was the last leg of the Cambodian delegation’s 8-country tour of Europe, Africa and Asia.

INDIA

Nationwide Strike of Workers

Indian workers held a general strike on May 15 in support of the nationwide struggle of Indian railway workers.

Railway workers began their struggle in April this year against soaring prices and for higher wages. When they negotiated for wage increases, the Indian Government not only rejected their reasonable demands, but intensified repression of strikers. This aroused the indignation of the railway workers, and they held a big strike on May 8, the fourth railway strike since India’s independence in 1947.

By May 14, the Indian Government had arrested more than 10,000 workers throughout the country. This stirred up widespread anger among broad sections of workers in all parts of the country and led to the nationwide general strike, the first since India’s independence.

Industry, commerce, communication and transport, and government institutions were widely affected. Many government offices, factories, stores and banks were closed, and buses stopped running in India’s capital New Delhi as well as in other important cities like Bombay.

Since the beginning of this year, workers in all parts of India have held large-scale strikes for wage increases and improved working conditions. The total number of workdays lost in the first quarter because of the strike surpassed that of the whole of last year.

LATIN AMERICA

Meeting of Banana Workers’ Unions

The first meeting of unions of Latin American banana workers which recently took place in Panama City was attended by more than 200 delegates from Panama, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Guatemala and Honduras.

The meeting was convened to co-ordinate actions in defence of national wealth and the vital interests of the banana workers.

A number of resolutions were adopted. One calls for the creation of an inter-union co-ordinating committee of the banana-producing countries to maintain ties between unions and to strengthen the unity of the working class. Another unanimously adopted resolution voices support for the Panamanian people’s struggle to recover complete sovereignty of the Canal Zone.

Delegates from Panama and Ecuador speaking at the opening ceremony expressed the determination of the banana workers to recover national wealth and defend national resources.
Referring to the struggle of the banana-exporting countries, Panamanian Minister of Commerce and Industry Fernando Manfredo said its objective is to create a more reasonable economic structure which will get rid of all forms of subordination harmful to national dignity and truly benefit the banana-exporting countries' national economies and social development.

General Omar Torrijos, Chief of the Panamanian Government, addressed the closing meeting. He said that the banana-exporting countries are uniting to struggle for better prices for their products and that the struggle is directed against the transnational companies.

**U.S.A.**

**Workers Oppose Ruthless Exploitation by Monopoly Capital**

Profits of many American monopoly enterprises went up sharply in the first quarter of this year, while real wages of the workers went down. This has aroused deep dissatisfaction among the labouring people and they are rising to fight.

*U.S. News and World Report* in its May 6 issue stated that profits of corporations surged to a record high in the first quarter of 1974. On the basis of a survey of first-quarter profits in about 1,300 corporations, the magazine estimated total profits after taxes for all corporations would reach 73,000 million dollars this year.

Profits reported by major oil companies for the first quarter showed a nearly 80 per cent increase on the average as compared with the same period last year. After-tax profits of the five oil companies—Exxon, Texaco, Gulf Oil, Standard Oil of California and Standard Oil of Indiana—in the first quarter of the year totalled more than 2,098.3 million dollars. Other monopoly enterprises such as the iron and steel, chemical, aluminium and foodstuff industries also reported sharply increased profits for the first quarter.

One key factor behind the steep rise in profits was that many American companies had boosted prices. These drastic price hikes have brought hardships to the labouring people.

Workers across the United States have waged sustained struggles against such ruthless exploitation. According to figures published by U.S. official sources, 1,140 strikes broke out in the first four months of this year. Beginning last year, about 200 other strikes have continued into this year. The total number of strikers exceeds half a million.

Strikes for higher wages and against rising living costs have been called recently by steel workers, construction workers of Boston and Kansas, West Coast longshoremen, glass bottle blowers of Oregon and California, communications workers of Washington, and telecommunications workers in many places.

**PAKISTAN**

**Absurd I.A.A.F. Decision**

The absurd decision of the International Amateur Athletic Federation (I.A.A.F.) to ban Pakistan athletes from participation in any international athletic event was denounced by leading members of the Pakistan Sports Board and public opinion.

The I.A.A.F. decision was made at a meeting in Rome on May 9 on the ground that Pakistan had invited Chinese athletes to take part in her national games at Peshawar last month.

Director of Pakistan Sports Board Zakir Ali Syed said on May 11: "The world body was duly informed that the Pakistan Government had invited friendly countries to take part in her national games and that they had every right to do so." "We informed them that our decision was final," and made it clear that "Pakistan cannot compromise her friendship with the People's Republic of China," he added. Quoting Abdul Hafeez Pirzada, President of the Pakistan Sports Board, he said: "We cannot be browbeaten or blackmailed by the I.A.A.F."

In an editorial on May 10, the *Pakistan Times* condemned the I.A.A.F. decision as an example of sports hegemonism. It said: "The federation's decision is particularly absurd in view of the International Olympic Committee's endorsement of Chinese participation in the Asian Games, and China's open invitation to Taiwanese athletes to go to Teheran under the Chinese flag."

The editorial went on to say that the federation should have called a meeting immediately after the I.O.C. decision and expelled the Chiang Kai-shek clique from its ranks. That it did not do so only proves the intention of a few white sports monopolists to mount a last minute action to prevent China's triumphant return to the world of international sports as signified by Peking's participation in the Asian Games.

On May 15, a leading member of the Athletic Association of the People's Republic of China issued a statement on the I.A.A.F.'s unreasonable resolution for a three-month suspension of the membership of the Pakistan athletes. It said: "The Chinese people express resolute opposition to and great indignation at the arbitrary act on the part of the few leaders of the I.A.A.F. in unscrupulously undermining friendly intercourse among the people and athletes of various countries!" "This runs diametrically counter to the historical trend in which the people of all countries, particularly those of the Third World, demand that they handle their own affairs independently."
# WORKS BY MARX, ENGELS, LENIN AND STALIN

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