

PEKING REVIEW

9

March 1, 1974

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And Madame Kaunda**

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And Restoring the Rites"**

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Chairman Mao Meets President and Madame Kaunda

CHAIRMAN Mao Tsetung met Dr. K.D. Kaunda, President of the Republic of Zambia, and Madame B. Kaunda on the afternoon of February 22. They had a cordial and friendly conversation.

President K.D. Kaunda met Chairman Mao in 1967 when he paid a friendly visit to China. This meeting was the second between President Kaunda and Chairman Mao in six years and more. When President and Madame Kaunda and M.C. Chona, Special Assistant to the President, arrived, Chairman Mao very happily received them, had long handshakes with them and extended his cordial regards to them.

After the conversation, President Kaunda introduced to Chairman Mao the five members of the Central Committee of the United National Independence Party of Zambia, who were accompanying him on the visit, E.H.K. Mudenda, S. Wina, H. Mulemba, Mrs. B.C. Kan-kasa and Miss P. Kawandami. Chairman Mao shook hands with them and was then photographed together with all the distinguished Zambian guests present.

Present at the meeting were Premier Chou En-lai, Vice-Chairman Wang Hung-wen, Assistant Minister Wang Hai-jung, and Tang Wen-sheng and Chang Han-chih.





Distinguished Zambian Guests Visit China

DR. Kenneth David Kaunda, President of the Republic of Zambia, Madame B. Kaunda, and other distinguished Zambian guests arrived in Peking on February 21 for an official visit to China at the invitation of the Chinese Government.

Chinese leaders Chou En-lai, Yeh Chien-ying, Li Hsien-nien, Chen Hsi-lien and Wu Teh, and leading members of departments concerned, as well as thousands of people in the capital were present at the airport to welcome the envoys of friendship from the continent of Africa.

A warm atmosphere of friendship between the Chinese and Zambian people prevailed in the Chinese capital that day. The national flags of China and Zambia and colourful streamers fluttered over the main thoroughfare. Huge slogans hung on tall buildings along the main street read: "Resolutely support the Zambian people's just struggle to safeguard national independence and state sovereignty!" "Long live the friendship between the Chinese and Zambian people!"

The special plane carrying the guests arrived to the beating of drums and gongs and amidst an elated atmosphere at the airport. Singing and dancing, youngsters waved bouquets and colourful rib-

bons. They cheered: "Huanying, huanying!" (Welcome, welcome!)

When President and Madame Kaunda stepped off the plane amid applause, Premier Chou En-lai, Vice-Chairman Yeh Chien-ying and other Chinese leaders came forward to warmly shake hands with the distinguished guests. An enthusiastic and grand welcoming ceremony took place at the airport. The distinguished guests then drove to the Guest House where they were greeted by Madame Teng Ying-chao.

Chinese leaders Chou En-lai, Yeh Chien-ying, Chiang Ching, Li Hsien-nien, Chen Hsi-lien, Chi Teng-kuei and Wu Teh met the distinguished guests on the evening of their arrival. They had a cordial and friendly talk and were photographed together.

Afterwards, Premier Chou gave a grand banquet in honour of the guests. Premier Chou and President Kaunda spoke at the banquet which was filled with a warm atmosphere of friendship between the Chinese and Zambian people. (For excerpts of speeches see pp. 9 and 10.)

On the evening of February 24, President and Madame Kaunda gave a farewell banquet.

Speaking at the banquet, President Kaunda said: We had the

opportunity of meeting with that illustrious, courageous and respected leader, Chairman Mao. He once again imparted to us his great knowledge, experience and wisdom. He is a great man.

President Kaunda went on to say: The great wind of change in the world is now not only blowing in your favour, but also in favour of the oppressed and exploited whose cause the Chinese have championed for many years. Indeed, the greatness of China lies not in its large population nor the size of its territory, nor in its vast resources, nor in its military capability, but in its principles and commitment to assist the under-privileged, oppressed and exploited of the world to gain the most cherished of man's desires, that is, freedom of each people to shape their own destiny. Your belief in equality of all nations has been reaffirmed on many occasions, your respect for integrity and sovereignty of other nations gives the Third World a ray of hope and an inspiration to continue their struggle to maintain their independence in a cruel world.

In his speech, Premier Chou said: In the last few days, His Excellency the President has held sincere and amicable talks with us on international issues of common interest and on further developing the friendly relations and co-operation between our two countries. Satisfactory results have been achieved in these



talks. This successful visit by His Excellency the President will certainly further advance the friendly relations and co-operation between China and Zambia.

Referring to the situation at home, Premier Chou said: "At present, the Chinese people, tempered in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and fighting with high spirit and militancy, have, under the leadership of the Party's Central Committee headed by our great leader Chairman Mao, launched a surging nationwide campaign to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius.

"Lin Piao and Confucius were both reactionaries who tried to turn back the wheel of history. The present campaign is a continuation and deepening of the movement to criticize Lin Piao and rectify the style of work. This is of great immediate significance and far-reaching historic importance in strengthening and expanding the great achievements of

the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and preventing a capitalist restoration. The Chiang Kai-shek clique, which has long been repudiated by the Chinese people, is vehemently abusing our criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius and has staged numerous farces in worship of Confucius. Social-imperialism and foreign dictators hostile to the Chinese people are also viciously attacking this campaign. This shows that we are doing the right thing. The Chinese people are determined to carry this campaign through to the end."

After the banquet, the distinguished Zambian guests left Peking by special train for a visit to Linhsien County, Honan Province.

An agreement on economic and technical co-operation between the Governments of China and Zambia was signed in Peking on February 24.

President Boumediene Arrives in Peking

HIS Excellency Houari Boumediene, President of the Council of Revolution and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Democratic People's Republic of Algeria, arrived in Peking on February 25 for an official visit to China at the invitation of Acting Chairman Tung Piuwu of the People's Republic of China and Premier Chou En-lai of the State Council. (See next issue for

more reports on President Boumediene's visit to China. — Ed.)

Renmin Ribao published an editorial warmly welcoming President Boumediene on the day of his arrival.

It praised Algeria for pursuing a foreign policy of non-alignment and resolutely opposing imperialism, colonialism, hegemonism, Zionism and racism, for upholding the militant unity of the Arab countries in oppos-

ing Israeli Zionist aggression, and for its persistent efforts in promoting and consolidating the unity of the countries of the Third World.

The editorial said: The just struggle of the Arab people, including the Palestinian people, is developing in depth. Although the two superpowers are engaged in intensified and frequent activities in the Middle East at present, what they are doing can only serve to reveal their ugly features still further, thereby arousing the determination of the Arab people, including the Palestinian people, to carry their struggle through to the end. It is absolutely impossible to strangle the just cause of the Arab people, including the Palestinian people.

The constant growth of the strength of the Third World, the editorial added, is a sign of the excellent situation in the world at present. In their struggle against hegemonism and power politics, the Asian, African and Latin American countries have come to see more and more clearly that both the two superpowers want to invade, control and enslave the Third World. Through their own experience, the people of the Third World countries have come to fully realize that only by unity and joint struggle can they defeat the flagrant schemes of the two superpowers, safeguard national independence and state sovereignty and develop their national economy through self-reliance. Presided over by President Boumediene, the Fourth Summit Conference of Non-Aligned Countries last year displayed the spirit of unity for struggle of the countries and peoples of the Third World.

Algeria and other petroleum-exporting countries have waged a resolute struggle to protect national resources and safeguard state sovereignty and won important victories in the last few years. The superpowers, however, are not reconciled to this. In an 'energy crisis' uproar, they are trying by every possible means to carry out sabotage. The petroleum-exporting countries still have a serious struggle ahead against plunder, exploitation and control. Many Asian, African and Latin American countries that export raw

materials are confronted with the same militant task. For this reason, the recent proposal by President Boumediene to convene a special session of the U.N. General Assembly to discuss problems of raw materials and development drew a prompt and wide response. The Chinese Government and people firmly support the just struggle of the petroleum-exporting countries and stand by President Boumediene's proposal. We are convinced that through unity, co-operation and concerted efforts by the developing countries, still greater victories will be won in this just struggle.

In conclusion, the editorial wished President Boumediene complete success on his visit to China.

Greeting Convocation of Islamic Summit Conference

Premier Chou En-lai sent a message on February 21 to the Islamic Summit Conference, warmly congratulating the convocation of the conference.

The message reads:

"On the occasion of the convocation of the Islamic Summit Conference, I wish to extend my warm congratulations. May the conference make new contributions to the reinforcement of the unity of Islamic countries and peoples, to the unity of the Third World countries and peoples on the basis of defending state sovereignty and protecting national resources, and to the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, hegemonism, Zionism and racism. May the conference be crowned with success."

Theatrical Festival Closes

The North China Theatrical Festival held in Peking under the auspices of the Cultural Group Under the State Council closed on February 18 after 27 days of performances.

Receiving the close attention of the Party Central Committee, the festival reviewed part of the achievements in the proletarian revolution in literature and art in Peking, Tientsin, the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region, Hopei and Shansi Provinces. Most of the programmes praised the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Guided by the Party's

basic line, the literary and art workers produced these items after drawing on the experience acquired in creating the model revolutionary theatrical works.

The mass movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius was developing in depth on all fronts while the festival was on. Those taking part in it also launched mass revolutionary criticism in connection with the present situation in the field of literature and art. Though the situation is excellent, they said, class struggle and two-line struggle are still acute and complicated. A handful of class enemies tried to negate the proletarian revolution in literature and art and attacked the model revolutionary theatrical works in their attempt to reverse the verdict on the sinister revisionist line. This precisely reflects the reactionary idea of "restraining oneself and restoring the rites" advocated by Lin Piao and Confucius. The revolutionary literary and art workers are of the opinion that the model revolutionary theatrical works are the brilliant examples of the application of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in literature and art and that, therefore, workers in all branches of arts should use the experience in creating these works to guide their creations.

Televised and broadcast, the 170 performances were given before audiences totalling 230,000 people, 60 per cent of them workers, peasants and soldiers, who besides making suggestions for improvements warmly acclaimed the programmes because they successfully reflect socialist revolution and construction and present the heroic images of the proletariat.

This theatrical festival is an encouragement to literary and art workers to further implement Chairman Mao's revolutionary line to create more socialist works and strive for greater victories in proletarian revolution in their field.

Primary School Pupil Refutes Erroneous Views About Revolution in Education

On February 11, *Renmin Ribao* frontpaged an open letter from Huang Shuai, a Peking primary school pupil, to Comrade Wang Ya-cho, a staff member of the political

department of the Inner Mongolia Production and Reclamation Units, criticizing his erroneous views about the revolution in education. There was an editor's note supporting the letter.

Twelve-year-old Huang Shuai is a fifth grade pupil at the Chungkuan No. 1 Primary School on the outskirts of Peking. *Renmin Ribao* on December 28, 1973 had run her letter to the press and excerpts from her diary, which she had written in the revolutionary spirit of going against the tide to criticize the old educational system that advocated the "absolute authority of a teacher" and to condemn the doctrine of Confucius and Mencius peddled by Lin Piao. (See *Peking Review*, No. 2, 1974, p. 6.)

The editor's note said: "Since the letter of Huang Shuai and excerpt from her diary appeared in our paper, teachers and students and people in various walks of life have expressed their warm support for her revolutionary spirit of going against the tide and praised the younger generation which grows up sturdily nurtured by Mao Tsetung Thought. But there are other people who disagreed with her action and have come out with criticism. Comrade Wang Ya-cho is one of them. Huang Shuai has written a letter in reply, refuting his erroneous views in a convincing and forceful way.

"This shows that the struggle between the two lines and two ideologies on the educational front is still very sharp. Whether to advance or retrogress? Whether to carry the revolution forward or resort to eclecticism and make compromises? Whether to encourage and foster revolutionary new-born things or decay them? These are vital questions that must be settled if we are to develop the excellent situation in the revolution in education."

In her letter to Wang Ya-cho, Huang Shuai said: Your letter raises questions that call for deep thought. For example, is there still a struggle between the two classes and the two lines on the educational front? Has the pernicious influence of the revisionist line been eradicated? Are children allowed to take part in the revolution in education? Do they

(Continued on p. 8.)

Criticize "Restraining Oneself And Restoring the Rites"

— Lin Piao's reactionary programme in his vain attempt to restore capitalism

"Renmin Ribao" editorial

UNDER the leadership of the Party's Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, a large-scale movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius is developing vigorously throughout the country.

Workers, peasants, soldiers, revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals in many places are now, first and foremost, concentrating their criticism on Lin Piao's crimes in following Confucius' line of "restraining oneself and restoring the rites" and trying to restore capitalism. This has brought quite good results.

In his own words, Lin Piao's counter-revolutionary revisionist line was to "restrain oneself and restore the rites." He set great store by this tattered banner of Confucius for restoring the slave system and considered it to be the most important of all things. After the Ninth Party Congress, Lin Piao and one of his sworn followers, in a little over two months from October 19, 1969 to New Year's Day, 1970, wrote four similar scrolls bearing the words: "Of all things, this is the most important: to restrain oneself and restore the rites." This fully shows the wild ambition of the Lin Piao anti-Party clique which impatiently tried to make a fundamental change in the Party's basic line and policies for the historical period of socialism and to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism.

Lin Piao's political programme for "restoring the rites" was his insistence that the state must have a chairman. In opposition to Chairman Mao's repeated instructions on this matter, he clamoured: "If the state has no head, there will be no right titles and words will not be proper"; at the Second Plenary Session of the Party's Ninth Central Committee, Lin Piao launched a counter-revolutionary coup which was smashed, in a vain effort to usurp the supreme power in the Party and the state and restore the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie with "right titles and proper words."

Lin Piao's theoretical programme for "restoring the rites" was the theory of "innate genius." By bragging that he was a "genius" "born with knowledge," calling himself a "heavenly horse" and comparing himself to King Wen of the Chou Dynasty, he was preparing the theoretical basis for usurping Party leadership and seizing state power.

The class content of Lin Piao's "restoring the rites" was to reinstate the overthrown landlord and capitalist classes and establish a fascist Lin dynasty. Taking over the reactionary slogan of Confucius—"revive states that are extinct, restore families whose line of succession has been broken and call to office those who have fallen into obscurity"—he arrogantly clamoured that all enemies of the dictatorship of the proletariat would "be given political liberation."

This counter-revolutionary revisionist line of Lin Piao's to "restrain oneself and restore the rites" represented in full the wish of the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists and imperialism, revisionism and all reaction for a counter-revolutionary restoration in China.

On the eve of the founding of the People's Republic of China, Chairman Mao enjoined the whole Party: **"The imperialists and domestic reactionaries will certainly not take their defeat lying down and they will struggle to the last ditch. After there is peace and order throughout the country, they will still engage in sabotage and create disturbances in various ways and will try every day and every minute to stage a come-back. This is inevitable and beyond all doubt, and under no circumstances must we relax our vigilance."**

For more than twenty years, the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country has been strengthened and has developed in the struggle between restoration and counter-restoration. Our struggle against the Lin Piao anti-Party clique has been all the more an acute and complicated struggle between restoration and counter-restoration. By grasping Lin Piao's "restraining oneself and restoring the rites" and deeply criticizing it, we can see more clearly the true features of Lin Piao, who was a bourgeois careerist, conspirator, double-dealer, renegade and traitor, discern the ultra-Rightist nature of his counter-revolutionary revisionist line, and eliminate its pernicious influence. This is of extreme importance to us in persisting in socialist revolution and construction, in opposing the restoration of capitalism, strengthening and developing the tremendous achievements of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat.

We must combine the criticism of Lin Piao's "restraining oneself and restoring the rites" with cardinal issues of right and wrong in the class struggle and the struggle between the two lines at the present moment. We must criticize the crimes of the Lin Piao anti-Party clique in negating the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and Chairman Mao's basic theory and basic practice regarding socialist revolution and construction in an attempt to restore things revisionist; we must adhere to the Party's basic line and continue to advance along the socialist road. We must criticize the fallacies of the Lin Piao anti-Party clique viciously maligning newly emerging socialist things, adhere to the principle of combining the old, the middle-aged and the young in leading bodies at all levels, persevere in the proletarian revolution in education, literature and art and medical and health work, and uphold the principle of cadres going down to do manual labour and educated youth going to settle in the countryside. We must criticize the Lin Piao anti-Party clique for its crimes of trying to throw itself into the arms of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism and of capitulationism and national betrayal; we must adhere to the principle of maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands and relying on our own efforts and uphold proletarian internationalism and patriotism. To sum up, through the criticism of Lin Piao's "restraining oneself and restoring the rites," we must carry out extensive and deep-going education in opposing and preventing revisionism, persevere in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and ensure that all our work will advance steadfastly along Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

The criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius is a political and ideological struggle to uphold Marxism and oppose revisionism. We must conscientiously study works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and Chairman Mao's works, study Chairman Mao's instructions on

criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius and the relevant documents stipulated by the Party's Central Committee. These are our weapons in the struggle. We must combine study with criticism, study hard to grasp the essence and make penetrating criticism. In criticizing Lin Piao's "restraining oneself and restoring the rites," it is necessary to study conscientiously Chairman Mao's theses on combating and preventing revisionism and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. Only by this way of combining theory with practice can we come to a deep understanding that opposing revisionism is a long-term fighting task for the entire historical period of socialism, and heighten in a fundamental way the consciousness of the cadres and masses in class struggle and the struggle between the two lines and their consciousness of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Party committees and leading cadres at all levels should stand in the forefront of the movement, firmly grasp the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius as the central issue and boldly arouse the masses. We should carry on revolutionary mass criticism step by step in a sustained and penetrating way and avoid getting entangled in particular questions which may water down the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius. We should have confidence that the cadres and masses who have been tempered in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution are able to keep to the general orientation of the struggle. We will certainly be able to guide the movement of criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius forward victoriously along the correct track, provided we strictly distinguish between the two different types of contradictions and, in particular, correctly handle the contradictions among the people, concretely analyse concrete questions, firmly carry out the proletarian policies formulated by Chairman Mao and unite upwards of 95 per cent of the cadres and masses.

(February 20)

(Continued from p. 6.)

know how to make revolution? Shall we carry the proletarian revolution in education through to the end or stop because we have already gone too far? People with different class stands answer these questions of principle differently. This precisely shows that the proletariat and the bourgeoisie are locked in a life-and-death struggle on the educational front.

Huang Shuai said: Is the situation "fine" or "terrible" as regards the current revolution in education? Here, I think, lies our fundamental difference. An invigorating revolutionary atmosphere prevails in our class and school and throughout Peking and the country. The pernicious influence of the revisionist line in

education once set teachers and pupils against one another. Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in education today reunites teachers and pupils; they are fighting shoulder to shoulder. The teacher in charge of our class is now brimming with revolutionary zeal. He said: "The revolution in education is a great help to me in remoulding my world outlook and improving my work to train successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause. I'll never forget the profound lesson I've received." He has become our fine comrade-in-arms, fine example and fine "squad leader." One of our former teachers came to our class and asked us for opinions. He was moved to tears when the whole class applauded him. Our class has written many big- and small-

character posters. We are conscientious in observing discipline and enthusiastic about doing physical labour. We have improved in our study and those who lagged behind have caught up. Ours is now a class in which everyone is a Little Red Guard, **studying well and making progress every day.**

Huang Shuai continued: Instead of acclaiming this excellent situation, you grumbled at it and denounced it. This shows that you stand on the side of the bourgeoisie.

Finally, she said: Jeering at, being sceptical of and even threatening the young shoots of new-born things are "essentially, methods of bourgeois class struggle against the proletariat, a defence of capitalism against socialism," as Lenin said.

Premier Chou's Speech

(Excerpts)

ZAMBIA, a beautiful and richly endowed land, is a young and vigorous country in Africa. The industrious and valiant Zambian people are a people with a glorious tradition of fighting against imperialism and colonialism. Under the leadership of President Kaunda, the Zambian people, daring to fight and daring to win, have, since independence, repeatedly frustrated acts of aggression, interference, subversion and blockade perpetrated by imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, white racism and big-power hegemonism and successfully safeguarded their national independence and state sovereignty. They have also made remarkable achievements in developing independently their national economy and culture by relying on their own efforts. In international affairs, the Zambian Government has consistently pursued a policy of peace, neutrality and non-alignment and rendered active support to other Afro-Asian peoples in their just struggles to oppose imperialism, colonialism and power politics and to win and defend national independence, thus making positive contributions to the Afro-Asian people's cause of unity against imperialism and hegemonism. The stand of the Zambian Government and people of upholding justice in defiance of duress has won the praise of other Afro-Asian countries and the people of the whole world. We rejoice at the outstanding achievements of the fraternal Zambian people and wish you new and still greater victories along your road of advance.

At present, the international situation is characterized by worldwide great disorder. "The wind sweeping through the tower heralds a rising storm in the mountains." With the contention for world hegemony between the two superpowers growing ever more intense, the entire world is far from tranquil, and all the basic contradictions of the contemporary world are sharpening drastically. Strategically, Europe is the focus of their contention. They are engaged in a very acute struggle in all parts of the world, and especially in the Middle East, for places of strategic importance and for oil and other strategic resources. Contention between the imperialists and their aggression, plunder, interference and subversion against the Third World have greatly stimulated the awakening of the people of all countries and aroused the Third World to closer unity. At present, the struggle to safeguard national independence and state sovereignty, protect national resources and economic rights and interests and oppose power politics and hegemonism is developing on an unprecedented scale in the Third World. The broad masses of the people in capitalist countries are launching a tremendous wave of struggles to resist intensified

exploitation by monopoly capital. "Flowers fall off, do what one may"! Beset with troubles at home and abroad, one superpower is having a very hard time. The other superpower has wild ambitions but not enough strength; it is begging for foreign loans and putting its resources on sale; its essential weakness is revealed to a fuller extent. It has run up against the wall everywhere in its outward expansion. It can be predicted that its deeds will surely arouse greater resistance among the people of various countries. Looking ahead, we are full of confidence. The superpowers are bound to decline further, and the people of the world will surely continue to advance with giant strides through struggle. The people, comprising more than 90 per cent of the world's population, will surely decide the destiny of the world.

At present, the situation in Africa is heartening. The great African people are continuing to advance victoriously in their struggle against imperialism, colonialism, racism, Zionism and big-power hegemonism. The Republic of Guinea-Bissau was born in glory amidst the flames of armed struggle. The armed struggles and mass movements for freedom and liberation carried on by the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Namibia and Azania are developing vigorously. The just struggle of the independent African states to defend national independence and state sovereignty and oppose exploitation by rich countries is scoring one victory after another. The African countries and peoples, fighting shoulder to shoulder in the struggle against their common enemies, have demonstrated the great might of their unity. We are confident that the awakened African people will ultimately shatter the shackles of various kinds imposed on them by all foreign forces of aggression and win the complete independence and liberation of Africa. The Chinese people, following the teachings of Chairman Mao, will, as always, unswervingly support the African people in their just struggles.

China and Zambia are both developing countries belonging to the Third World. In the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and racism and for national independence and liberation, our two peoples have always sympathized with and supported each other and forged a profound friendship. Since the establishment of diplomatic relations, the friendly relations and co-operation between our two countries have been steadily consolidated and developed on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, and the militant unity of our two peoples has grown from strength to strength. The fact that His Excellency the President

and Madame, slighting the fatigue of a long journey, have come for their second visit to China is a full expression of trust in and friendship for the Chinese people. We are deeply moved by this. We are con-

fident that the current visit will be a significant new milestone in the history of the friendly relations and co-operation between China and Zambia and the friendship between our two peoples.

President Kaunda's Speech

(Excerpts)

IT is nice to be back in China again. It is nice to see the Chinese people in their country again. It is nice to see the progress made in these few years by the great people of this nation under their most respected leader Chairman Mao.

For us in Zambia, the visit in 1967 opened a new chapter in our relations with China. Today, Chinese-Zambian relations are very strong and friendly. We share a lot in common. We have a very large area of common principles, ideals and objectives.

— You believe in mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, so do we.

— You believe in mutual non-aggression and non-interference in the internal affairs of other independent nations, so do we.

— You believe in equality and mutual benefit in relations among peoples and nations, so do we.

— You believe in peaceful coexistence, in the peaceful settlement of disputes and non-use of force amongst independent nations, so do we.

Since 1967, the people of China have scored one victory after another. China's internal development has attracted the attention and earned the admiration of the rest of the world. You are a model of development. Technologically, China has scored tremendous victories. The people of China have remained united in their determination and in their goals both at home and abroad. China has been recognized internationally and has earned the friendships of many nations.

In the same period, the relations between China and Zambia have been greatly strengthened. We have supported each other on many issues in the cause of justice. The field of financial and economic co-operation has been expanded. The volume of trade has increased tremendously to the advantage of both countries. Only last year, following the closure of the Rhodesia-Zambia border by the renegade racist clique in Salisbury led by Ian Smith, China was one of the first to respond. The Chinese people and their Party and Government showed once again that they were friends in need and in deed, friends in happiness and sorrow — in fact, all weather friends.

The Zambian people have had experience of the Chinese spirit of comradeship within our country. Chinese people have over the last few years worked side

by side with their Zambian brothers and comrades in the construction of roads and radio transmitters and of course, currently the great "Uhuru" Tanzania-Zambia Railway. What has been accomplished with Chinese co-operation is a monument of achievement by the people of China and the people of Zambia. What has been achieved is not only a testimony of Chinese workmanship but also an expression of Chinese friendship in action.

We in Zambia are greatly satisfied with our friendship developed over the last few years. I, therefore, convey to you on this occasion our appreciation and the profound gratitude of the people of Zambia, for the commitment of the Party, Government and the people of China to our cause and the cause of the oppressed, not only in Africa but also the world over. For many years since the Chinese revolution, the imperialists have worked hard to deter Africa and other nations under their suzerainty from cultivating the friendship of China by painting the Chinese people in the most repugnant shapes and forms. They have sought to distort the image of China. But all hoax, blackmail, and tricks have lamentably failed. The great mask of the imperialists has dropped, and the blows of the courageous people of Asia, Africa and Latin America are landing straight on the faces of imperialists. Some imperialists are bleeding with great pain and cannot survive the current revolution.

Meanwhile, the imperialist paint on the Chinese nation has peeled off and what remains is the true face of China, a face of real friendship, radiating the warm feelings of the people of China towards the people of the world, particularly the oppressed.

I have said earlier that we have achieved a lot in building and strengthening our bilateral relations. As we enter the 10th anniversary of our independence, we can look forward to the completion of the great Tanzam Railway. This railway was our dream and now our product. Tanzam is a clear expression of our common commitment with China to develop and unite Africa. Zambia can also look forward to the strengthening of our relations through new fields of co-operation to improve our efforts to achieve self-reliance.

However, the success of our efforts at home and abroad depends on peace and security in the world. In the last few years, we have witnessed an improvement in the relations between world's superpowers. We have

had no world war but we also have not enjoyed world peace. Millions of people have been killed in regional conflicts; hundreds of thousands of tons of bombs and other war material have left cities and countries desolate. Wars of liberation still rage.

For many years Viet Nam has been the number one problem in the world. The end of American intervention in the war in support of the renegade Saigon clique, the withdrawal of American troops and end of bombing in Cambodia, have ushered in a new era. The people of Indochina may for the first time in many years free themselves from foreign interference and exploitation and thus determine their own destiny. The people of Southeast Asia need peace. The role of China in ending foreign intervention in Southeast Asia has been decisive. China has stood resolutely by the masses in Indochina.

We support unreservedly the great Cambodian people struggling against the Lon Nol puppet regime. We hail the successes of the Sihanouk forces. In recognition of our support for the Cambodian Government under His Royal Highness Prince Sihanouk, we recently announced the establishment of diplomatic relations between our two governments.

The state of "no war, no peace" erupted into a war in the Middle East in October last year. Superpower intervention fanned the flames of war. Israeli intransigence finds its roots in superpower support which dictates the continued occupation of Arab lands. We do not support this situation. As a matter of principle we have always condemned Israel for her expansionist policy as a cause of conflict in the Middle East. While we welcome the ceasefire, we know that no solution has been found to the underlying cause.

We, like China, support the Palestinians in their claim for their rightful place in the Middle East. Until the wishes of the Palestinians are accommodated, genuine peace will not be achieved in this area.

Southern Africa is another hot-spot in the world. For many years liberation movements have waged a long and bitter armed struggle against their oppressors. Their cause is just and their efforts are worth the support of the international community. What sustains the colonial and racist regimes in southern Africa is not the power of the white clique, but the direct economic, financial, military and diplomatic support from some major Western countries. Without the supply of arms to Portugal, Rhodesia and South Africa, these regimes could not stand the onslaught of the liberation movements.

Now tension within Rhodesia, Mozambique, Angola, Namibia and South Africa is growing more intense as the armed struggle gains momentum. The racist regimes and their supporters have become restive. Desperation and viciousness characterize the racist acts as a dark cloud of insecurity hangs ominously over the oppressors. Decolonization is bringing to an end the heyday of colonialism.

We know South Africa's military strength which sustains the other regimes in Rhodesia and the Portuguese controlled territories. But this is not the most

decisive factor. Victory in southern Africa will be decided not by South Africa's military might, but by the will, unity, heroic determination and courage of the 40 million people of southern Africa to wage their just struggle to a successful end. Genuine peace in southern Africa will not be built by strengthening white military power but by freeing the majority from oppression, by freeing the frightened minority from their pathological fear of peace based on justice. No force, however great, can stop the people of Africa from achieving their freedom. The military arsenal which some Western countries are assisting to build in South Africa will be rendered impotent before the great force of the revolution of the masses. The struggle in Africa is between progressive forces on one hand and reactionary forces on the other. Some Western nations condemn the armed struggle, but they supply arms to racists and colonialists, engage in joint military exercises, and train their pilots. The people of Africa however will prove eventually that the investment in armaments in southern Africa is a wasted effort. They are fighting a wrong war, against the wrong people and in a wrong place. Their weapons will fill the military museums after liberation as monuments of failure and shame, as testimony of deep contradictions between words and actions.

Let it be understood that Africa does not want war. We do not need war. Africa wants peace and will pay any price which is just in the interests of all. The Lusaka Manifesto on southern Africa set the options very clearly. We are prepared to help create an atmosphere for negotiations and to facilitate negotiations between the freedom fighters and their oppressors where possible. But if negotiations fail because of the intransigence of the forces of reaction, then Africa has no choice but to support the armed struggle which is inevitable. So we say this to the minority regimes and their supporters. If you want peace, then help build conditions for peace.

The aggressors in southern Africa are the oppressive and brutal minority.

The victims of aggression are the African people. Zambia has also suffered numerous acts of unprovoked aggression by racist regimes in Rhodesia, South Africa and Portuguese controlled territories. Many of our people have died from landmine explosions. The enemy has tried every means including subversion, dissension, sabotage, economic strangulation, direct attack against Zambia. But we have solemnly declared that we will not submit to blackmail; we will not surrender our independence. We have a contribution to make to peace in southern Africa and that contribution we will continue to make. Our philosophy and principles, our commitment to the United Nations Charter and that of the O.A.U., dictate that if we can, we must continue being an instrument of peace and security, and we will.

To do this we need strength at home. Strengthening our political, economic, and social system is our primary responsibility. Since 1967 we have gone

through a period of political, economic and social revolution. We are now in a new political, economic and social order. We have struggled to increase Zambian control and management of our natural resources. In doing so we know we have earned the enmity of those whose interests may have been affected in the process of meeting the needs of our own people. But we have no choice. We want real independence, not paper independence. Foreign capitalist and imperialist control

is inimical to our freedom and independence. We are determined to win our war against all internal and external enemies.

We have many friends in the world and the Chinese are among the best. It is my sincere hope that this visit will afford us opportunity to review our relations in order that we can continue to work together for the common cause, for peace, security and development for all our people.

Struggle Between Two Lines in the Ideological Sphere During the Spring and Autumn Period And the Warring States Period

— Social changes during the Spring and Autumn Period and the Warring States Period as seen from the contention of views between the Confucian and Legalist schools

by Yang Jung-kuo

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

Mencius

The ideology of Mencius* who belonged to the Confucian school was diametrically opposed to that of Shang Yang.

Mencius (c. 390-305 B.C.) was a disciple of Tzu Ssu who was the grandson of Confucius.

Tzu Ssu further developed the doctrine of the mean as advocated by Confucius. He was against the slave rebellions and the attacks of the new forces of that period. He deemed that "the inferior men were doing risky things hoping they might make some gains" and this was "contrary to the ancient way" and against the doctrine of the mean advocated by Confucius. That they did so, he said, was because they were "not honest"; so they must examine their own minds and be careful in their actions when alone. In this way he tried to lead people away from the actual struggle at that time and pull the wheel of history back to the old "institutions of King Wen and King Wu."

Following Tzu Ssu's teaching, Mencius wanted people to take examples from the so-called ancient kings. Guided by this idea, he considered that the five overlords** had committed crimes against the ancient sage-kings, while the rulers of the states at his time had committed crimes against the five overlords and the contemporary *ta fu* (senior officials) had committed crimes against the rulers of the states. Thus each generation was worse than the preceding one. That

it should have come to this was because these men had successively destroyed the rule of "rites" which helped strengthen the ancient slave system of the Yin and the Western Chou Dynasties. Thus this was against the doctrine of Confucius. Actually, Mencius was trying to drag history back and restore the slave system.

When Mencius spoke of the gist of "benevolence," he considered that "a benevolent rule must begin with demarcation of the land," in other words, it was necessary to revive the old demarcations of the nine squares (*ching tien*) land system which had already been destroyed. He considered that the ancient demarcation of the land had been destroyed by certain despotic rulers (meaning Duke Hsiao of Chin and others) and evil officials (meaning Shang Yang and others). If the demarcations were rectified, there would be a restoration of the rule of "rites," which Mencius described as: "If there were no superior men, there would be none to govern the rustics. If there were no rustics, there would be none to support the superior men."

Mencius held that Shang Yang's attempt to achieve unity through war was a crime and that he should be given capital punishment; he considered Shang Yang's measure to encourage people to open up and cultivate

* Mencius was a native of the State of Tsou (today's Tsoehsien County in Shantung Province) and his words, actions and ideas were recorded in *Mencius*.

** They were Duke Huan of Chi, Duke Wen of Tsin, Duke Mu of Chin, Duke Hsiang of Sung and Prince Chuang of Chu who successively contended for hegemony in the Spring and Autumn Period.

wasteland also a crime and he should be punished for it too. For Mencius, being good in the art of war was a serious crime.

Ideas like "benevolence" and "righteousness" which Mencius advocated also had their class content. Mencius said: "Benevolence means loving one's family," and "righteousness means respecting the elders." He wanted in this way to strengthen the ruling clan and consolidate the rule of the clan nobility. Thus he said: "There is no one who is benevolent but who abandons his parents; there is no one who is righteous but who does not first think of his sovereign." Benevolence and righteousness were used to uphold the ruling clan. Shang Yang, on the other hand, was against these two ideas, against "loving one's family and caring for one's relatives." This was because he saw through the reactionary character of these Confucian ideas.

Contrary to Shang Yang who proceeded from the actual struggles of his period and encouraged farming and military merits to meet the needs of the changing society, Mencius wanted people to proceed from subjective concepts and shut themselves in rooms to "cultivate the mind" so that they could bring out the "good nature" endowed by heaven. This was idealist apriorism. Mencius also held that, in advocating the rule of "law" and carrying out reforms, people like Shang Yang were not keeping benevolence and the rites in their minds and thus sabotaged the old order of the states under the slave system. That was why he wanted people to keep benevolence and the rites in their minds through self-cultivation, a method which would attain Confucius' reactionary goal that "benevolence is to restrain oneself and restore the rites" and resuscitate the declining rule of the slave system of the clan aristocracy at that time. No wonder some people in the Han Dynasty denounced him and said: "Mencius kept to the old doctrine and was ignorant of the events of his age."

Hsun Tzu, Han Fei and Li Ssu

Han Fei* (c. 280-233 B.C.) and Li Ssu were disciples of Hsun Tzu.

Hsun Tzu** (c. 313-238 B.C.) was a Confucian who also talked about the "rites." His concept of "rites," however, was different from what the traditional Confucian school preached and the reason for this was that in his thinking Hsun Tzu was under the influence of the Legalist school at the time. The "rites" in his mind meant rational adjustment and satisfaction of human desire within a certain limit. Hence a readjustment to this effect was necessary.

His idea of "rites," therefore, resembled the laws and was different from the rule of "rites" as contained in the Confucian canon that "rites do not extend down to the commoners." He said: "The rites are the basis

* Han Fei was a noble of the State of Han. After making some proposals of reform to the ruler of Han that were turned down, he went to the State of Chin and was killed there. He wrote a book called *Han Fei Tzu*.

** Hsun Tzu was a native of the State of Chao. His ideas are well represented in his work *Hsun Tzu*.

of the law and the general principle of the various institutions." On the other hand, Hsun Tzu advocated that "land should be given to the farmers for their cultivation," which corresponded to Shang Yang's idea of "making planned use of land and allotting it to people accordingly." "If land is divided, no opportunity is allowed for loafing and procrastination" and the peasants' enthusiasm could be brought into full play. This was actually meant to promote the development of the individual economy in the then growing feudal society. Hsun Tzu paid great attention to agricultural development, holding that "with the strengthening of the foundation [farming] and the practice of thrift, even heaven cannot bring on poverty." Therefore, Hsun Tzu's ideas had, to a certain extent, something in common with those of Shang Yang.

Especially noteworthy was Hsun Tzu's criticism of "heaven's will." Denying the existence of "heaven's will," he regarded heaven as merely nature and all changes of the heavenly bodies only natural phenomena. Since this was the case, man could conquer nature by his own strength. From the time of the Yin and the Chou Dynasties, hadn't the ruling clan aristocrats of slave-owners claimed that their ruling power was ordained by heaven? Hsun Tzu's denial of heaven's will, therefore, in one way was a criticism of the rule of clan aristocracy under the slave system. At the same time, his denial of heaven's will and his belief that man can conquer nature were actually an encouragement to the rising landlord class and the progressive forces; he wanted them to have faith in themselves and in their own strength that they could win in their struggle against nature and the moribund forces.

All these viewpoints of Hsun Tzu's were to a larger or lesser degree in conformity with the general trend of social development at the time, which was characterized by the decline of the old clan aristocracy, the struggle for emancipation by the slaves and the emergence and growth of the new forces.

Hsun Tzu opposed "emulating the ancient kings" while Tzu Ssu and Mencius advocated it. According to Hsun Tzu, doing so meant "to invoke the ancient kings to cheat the ignorant" and to fool and deceive the masses. He therefore advocated "emulating the present kings," claiming that "ignoring the present kings and talking about the ancients is like leaving one's own ruler to serve the ruler of others." By this he really meant that one should proceed from the current situation and emulate the contemporary rulers who favoured reforms.

In addition, Hsun Tzu held that there were no born "sages," that they came "not from nature but out of accumulation of knowledge," meaning that they acquired knowledge through practice and study. In a word, he denied the existence of "genius" or "super-genius" who was "born with knowledge." This was entirely opposed to the so-called *a priori* knowledge stressed by the school of Tzu Ssu and Mencius.

Hsun Tzu's ideas were followed by his disciple Han Fei.

In developing that part of his teacher's ideas which were positive, Han Fei became the chief exponent of the thought of Shang Yang and other members of the early Legalist school. He went a step further in criticizing the ideas of Confucius and the school of Tzu Ssu and Mencius.

1. While Confucius referred back to the sage-kings Yao and Shun and Mencius "always speaks of Yao and Shun," Han Fei opposed "following the ancient way," considering it to be highly reactionary "not to talk about how to rule in the present" but about the "achievements" of some past rulers. In other words, not taking the reality of contemporary social development as the point of departure to solve problems but exclusively lauding the merits of ancient times and advocating emulation of the past was in essence leading people backward and aimed at restoring the ancient slave system. Moreover, how authentic were the records of Yao and Shun? In view of the lack of evidence, those have yet to be confirmed. To propagate them without reliable evidence was "either stupid or slanderous" and not in agreement with the facts.

2. For the purpose of consolidating the rule of the slave system, Confucius preached "benevolence," meaning to "restrain oneself and restore the rites." On top of this, Mencius propagated "benevolence and righteousness," claiming that rule by the clan aristocracy under the slave system could be consolidated through "love for the family" and "respect for elders." Han Fei strongly opposed this, considering that to talk so much about "the benevolence and righteousness of the past kings" had no benefit at all to the contemporary world. On the contrary, he felt they should "deal with actual facts, discard what was useless and stop talking about benevolence and righteousness," that is to say, be matter-of-fact and take the contemporary road.

So Han Fei thought it was only right "not to follow the ancient way, nor to abide by the fixed rules," but "to adopt appropriate measures to solve current problems." In other words, no metaphysical viewpoint should be adopted, there being no eternally constant way. The ancient ways might be correct for the ancient times, but not necessarily so for the present. What should be done was to introduce institutions on the basis of changes and developments in contemporary society. Therefore, Han Fei's idea of establishing laws and institutions was aimed at "benefiting the common people." How could this be achieved? Han Fei held that all the enslaved should be emancipated and usefully engaged so long as they had ability, no matter how low they were or what their social status was, whether they were farming in mountain forests and swamps, or were imprisoned, or were serving in kitchens or herding cattle and sheep. This was what he meant by "enabling the people to become well-off through labour and noble through military merit" in farming and war, and this would be conducive to the growth of the new forces.

Thus Han Fei championed "abolishing the teachings of the ancient kings," that is, abolition of the rule of

"rites" which served the interests of the rule of the slave-owning class. He advocated "teaching the people with the law" and promoting rule of law which served the interests of the rising landlord class. The benefit of the rule of law was that "the law would not protect the nobles" — not standing on the side of the clan aristocracy and not speaking for the ruling clan aristocrats, because under the rule of law "high officials are not exempt from punishment for crimes while the common people are not denied rewards for good deeds."

By "enabling the people to become well-off through labour," Han Fei meant that the people should have faith in their own strength by which they could become rich. This was actually a negation of the Confucian theory of "heaven's will," that is, man's lot was predestined by heaven. Did not the rulers of the clan aristocracy claim they were ordained by heaven? And that their riches were bestowed by heaven? Did not Confucius say that "to have or to have not" depended on "fate"? If that were so, the bondage of the enslaved could naturally be attributed to heaven's will. By repudiating this theory of the Confucian school, Han Fei affirmed that the people could become well-off through labour and become noble through military merit in farming and war. So he asserted that "the contemporary people fight with strength" and "the current struggle is by no means debasing."

At the same time, Han Fei said that "a state can become rich by farming," considering agriculture to be the basis. That was why he advocated land reclamation, weeding and growing grain and opposed "engagement in the minor business," that is, trading. In his day those who engaged in commerce mostly employed slaves. This was not only harmful to the enslaved in their struggle for emancipation, but hindered the development of farming. Han Fei's ideas were thus conducive to the growth of an agricultural economy of the feudal society at that time.

* * *

From what was said above we can see that in the Spring and Autumn Period and the Warring States Period when radical social changes were taking place, the struggle between the Confucian and Legalist schools in the ideological sphere was sharp and violent. This actually reflected the class struggle between the newly rising forces and the rapidly declining slave-owning class, that is, the struggle between those who promoted the growth of the newly rising forces and those who stubbornly upheld the old forces — the collapsing slave system.

The fight, however, did not come to an end even after Li Ssu* (?-208 B.C.) who, in the spirit of the Legalists, assisted the first emperor of the Chin Dynasty Chin Shih Huang (259-210 B.C.) in unifying China. For instance, Chunyu Yueh of the Confucian school, a native of the State of Chi and a royal academician, while

*Li Ssu — a native of Shangtsai (the present Shangtsai County in Honan Province) in the State of Chin. He served as the chief minister of Chin but was killed after the death of Chin Shih Huang.

exclaiming that "princes in the Yin and the Chou Dynasties had reigned for more than a thousand years," attacked the Chin government for "not taking the past as the teacher" in state affairs. Taking the stand of the Legalists, Li Ssu exposed Chunyu Yueh's reactionary nature of "not taking the present but the past as the teacher so as to slander the present government," and his vain attempt of restoring the slave system. This fight was a continuation of the class struggle and the struggle between the two lines at that time.

From the viewpoint of the struggle between the two lines in the ideological sphere going on at that time,

the nature of the following events was very clear: Chin Shih Huang's success in unifying the country and the measures he took to lay more stress on the present than on the past, such as his criticism and negation of the Confucian classics, Confucius and the school of Tzu Ssu and Mencius. The fact was that Chin Shih Huang acted in conformity with his time and advanced along the road of the Legalists.

(Slightly abridged translation of an article published in "Hongqi," No. 12, 1972. Subheads are ours.)

Has Absolute Music No Class Character?

by Chao Hua of the Arts Department of the Central Institute for Nationalities

WITH the deepening of the movement to criticize Lin Piao and rectify the style of work and new victories being continually won in the struggle-criticism-transformation in the realm of the superstructure, an excellent situation prevails in the country. But the class struggle and the two-line struggle on the art and literary front remain very sharp and complex. The recent weird contention that so-called absolute music has no social content but simply expresses contrasting and changing moods is a sign of a return to the revisionist line in art and literature.

Should the reactionary nature of this erroneous view be exposed or not? This is a cardinal issue of right and wrong and we cannot treat it casually. It involves the question of whether or not the Marxist-Leninist theory of class struggle should be recognized as a universally applicable truth, whether or not the proletarian dictatorship should be exercised in the ideological realm, and whether the Marxist critical attitude should be adopted towards the bourgeois arts or whether they should be "taken over wholesale" as the revisionist fallacies of Chou Yang and his like advocated; it involves the question of whether the proletarian revolution in art and literature can be carried through to the end.

Absolute music in general refers to instrumental music without a descriptive title as to theme or content and it usually is designated by its musical form or tempo. For example, "Symphony in F Major," "Concerto in C Minor," "Largo," "Allegro" and so on.

Bourgeois theorists have long spouted that absolute music is a form of "pure music," devoid of social content and class nature. They fallaciously contend that

music is "simply fantasy, not reality" and that "music is music, and nothing else." The modern revisionists, while paying lip-service to music's ties with social life, actually blur the class distinction between proletarian and bourgeois music by describing absolute music as "of the people," "realistic" and so forth. Why should both the bourgeoisie and the revisionists concoct all sorts of arguments to obscure the class character of art? It is because bourgeois ideology, including bourgeois art and literature, serves to prop up the capitalist system. They dare not openly acknowledge the exploiting class character of their art and literature. Instead, to disguise the essential substance of capitalist exploitation, they pose as representatives of the whole people in order to deceive the labouring masses.

Marxist-Leninists hold that all works of music, both absolute and programme music, as a form of ideology "are products of the reflection in the human brain of the life of a given society." Music without titles descriptive of their theme or content is by no means merely "a form of the flow of sounds." Not giving their works a descriptive title is only a means by which composers cover up the class content of their works. In fact, a composer clearly has in mind what he wants to praise or oppose and what content and mood he means to convey, when he is composing absolute music.

When the German bourgeois composer Beethoven (1770-1827) was asked the meaning of his *Sonata No. 17*, a composition without a descriptive title, he replied: "Please read Shakespeare's *The Tempest*." That play, we know, preaches the bourgeois theory of human nature.

Of course, the means of expression of music are different from those of literature. Music uses melody, rhythm and harmony to evoke scenes, tell a story or convey emotion, thereby expressing quite plainly or relatively subtly and deviously the composer's world outlook, ideas and feelings. But in any case, the social and class content, thoughts and feelings so expressed can never be abstract, unintelligible "fantasy," for they can be grasped by applying the Marxist theory of knowledge and method of class analysis.

Take for instance the representative work *Symphony in B Minor* (the *Unfinished Symphony*) by Schubert (1797-1828), an Austrian bourgeois composer of the romantic school. The class feelings and social content it expresses are quite clear, although it has no descriptive title. This symphony was composed in 1822 when Austria was a reactionary feudal bastion within the German Confederation and the reactionary Austrian authorities not only ruthlessly exploited and oppressed the workers and peasants, but also persecuted and put under surveillance intellectuals with any bourgeois democratic ideas. Petty-bourgeois intellectuals like Schubert saw no way out of the political and economic impasse, and lacking the courage to resist they gave way to melancholy, vacillation, pessimism and despair, evading reality and dreaming of freedom. This work of Schubert's expressed these class feelings and social content. The opening phrase is sombre and gloomy. The whole symphony continues and expands on this emotion, filling it with petty-bourgeois despair, pessimism and solitary distress. At times the dreaming of freedom does come through but this, too, is escapist and negative.

Absolute music composed in Europe in the 18th and 19th centuries are products of the European capitalist society, upholding the interests of the bourgeoisie and serving the capitalist system. The content and the ideas and feelings with which they are saturated have an unmistakably bourgeois class nature. Marx pointed out: "**Capital comes [into the world] dripping from head to foot, from every pore, with blood and dirt.**" And it is this blood and dirt that bourgeois music extols. Although certain compositions were to some extent progressive in the sense of being anti-feudal, they failed to mirror proletarian thoughts and feelings of their time; and they are, of course, still more incompatible with our socialist system today under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Then why dismiss their class content and extol them? Yet even today there are some who would feed our young people on these musical works uncritically and intact. Where would this lead our young people?

Some devotees of bourgeois absolute music often try to cover up its class nature by holding forth in empty terms on the contrasting, changing moods it presents. This is a reactionary viewpoint of the bourgeois theory of a common human nature transcending classes. For these moods are none other than those of delight and anger, joy and sorrow which vary, as do all men's ideas and feelings, according to the times and

society people live in and the class they belong to. Lu Hsun mercilessly repudiated this bourgeois trash that all men share common emotions and feelings. He said: "Of course, it is human nature to know delight and anger, joy and sorrow but the poor are never worried about losing money on the stock exchange, an oil magnate cannot know the trials of an old woman collecting cinders in Peking, and victims of famine will hardly grow orchids like rich old gentlemen. . . ." Are there any feelings that are not stamped with the brand of a class?

"Joy" can be presented in sharply contrasted ways. Thus the music for the despotic landlord's birthday celebrations in the third scene of the modern revolutionary dance-drama *Red Detachment of Women* uses frivolous melody and erratic rhythm to expose the landlord's wanton extravagance and profligacy built on the suffering of the working people. In contrast, the magnificent stirring music of the dance by soldiers and civilians in the next scene presents the brilliant sunshine and jubilation in the revolutionary base. Did these two musical passages project the same emotions?

Again, take the subject of "sorrow." The grief of a feudal monarch after his overthrow is expressed in the verses written by Li Yu, the last king of the Southern Tang kingdom in the 10th century, as he hankered in captivity after his former decadent life in the palace.

*Carved balustrades, jade flagstones still remain,
But those rosy cheeks are gone.
How great my lord's grief?
Endless as the spring river flowing to the east!*

But the proletarian fighter Lu Hsun portrayed sorrow of a very different kind when he wrote:

*A host of dark, gaunt faces in the brambles,
Yet who dare shake the earth with lamentation?
I brood over our whole far-stretching land
And in this silence hear the peal of thunder.*

This indignant denunciation of the savage oppression of the people by the Japanese invaders and Kuomintang reactionaries conveys the class hatred and national enmity of millions of working people. This militant lamentation has nothing at all in common with the grief of a feudal monarch over the loss of his kingdom. To claim that one melody could be used to express these two diametrically opposed feelings would be sheer charlatany.

As for empty talk about "bright," "healthy" melodies, devoid of class content, this is the metaphysical approach which the revisionists usually resort to when peddling their bourgeois wares. Chou Yang once brayed that the American bourgeoisie whom Walt Whitman extolled was "the new man," "healthy, broad of mind, with high ideals, a pair of working hands, and eternally optimistic" and that that "shiny example" was "worthy of emulating and copying." But we are aware if the proletariat really were to "emulate" and "copy" the bourgeoisie, then what awaits us is not "bright skies" but the darkness of the dungeon.

The bourgeoisie may well believe that the works of the 18th-century Austrian bourgeois composer Mozart embody "bright" and "healthy" sentiments. But we working people know clearly that these sentiments cannot compare with the exuberant and impassioned feelings expressed by the chorus *The Sun Rises* in the seventh scene of *The White-Haired Girl*. Brimming over with jubilation, this chorus extols Chairman Mao, the red sun in the hearts of the Chinese people, as well as the Communist Party, and evokes the soul-stirring scene "of the land of hibiscus glowing in the morning sun" and the emancipation of the down-trodden peasants. No bourgeois music can even remotely compare with this unrestrained healthy burst of joy evoked by this chorus.

Chou Yang and company also raved that "music is a universal language," in order to concoct a theoretical basis for their attempt to peddle the wholesale Westernization of music. In fact, every class speaks its own language and there is no such thing as a so-called universal language transcending classes. *The Internationale* which rings throughout the world is the common language of the proletariat only. The bourgeoisie trembles at the sound of this melody. Lenin aptly said: "In whatever country a class-conscious worker finds himself, wherever fate may cast him, however much he may feel himself a stranger, without language, without friends, far from his native country — he can find himself comrades and friends by the familiar refrain of the *Internationale*."

For over eighty years this stirring song has inspired workers of all countries to unite to smash the old world and fight for the realization of communism. All reactionaries, however, regard this battle-song of the proletariat as a fearful menace and do all in their power to prevent *The Internationale* from circulating among the people. Hence, do the reactionaries share a common language with the proletariat?

Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao, Chou Yang and their gang, however, shared a common language with the bourgeoisie and all reactionaries at home and abroad, for these renegades, like all imperialists, revisionists and reactionaries, opposed proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship and vainly tried to restore capitalism in China. This was like the futile efforts of Confucius, the mouthpiece and defender of ancient China's slave-owning class, who, grieving that "the rites were lost and music was ruined," tried desperately to propagate reactionary music aimed at benumbing and enslaving the people while frantically attacking the new rising folk music in order to preserve the collapsing slave system.

Like the other forms of art, music has always been an instrument of class struggle, and on the art and literary front the class struggle and the two-line struggle have always been extremely acute. In the course of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and rectify the style of work, great victories have been won on this front and

intellectuals have made much progress, but the pernicious influence of revisionist wares peddled by Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao, Chou Yang and company for a long time, such as "art and literature of the whole people" and "art and literature to nourish people," is deep-seated and still far from being eliminated. Some people talk about bourgeois classical music with great relish, are mesmerized by it and prostrate themselves before it, showing their slavish mentality for all things foreign. They are nihilists with regard to national art. Their reverence for foreign things is actually reverence for the bourgeoisie. If this erroneous thinking of extolling foreign things and belittling Chinese things is not criticized and repudiated, then proletarian art and literature will not be able to develop and Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in art and literature cannot be implemented.

We do not exclude foreign things indiscriminately. We should conscientiously study the revolutionary theory developed by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. We should learn from the revolutionary experience of the working class and revolutionary people of all countries and learn from and acquire advanced sciences and technology. We should critically assimilate certain techniques from classical bourgeois music, but we must not uncritically swallow anything and everything. And we must never throw ourselves at the feet of bourgeois artists. As Engels said: "The characterization of the ancients no longer suffices today." We must adhere to the principle of "making the past serve the present and foreign things serve China," learn from the experience in creating the model revolutionary theatrical works and turn out proletarian music and art worthy of our time.

Comrade Chou En-lai pointed out in the political report to the Tenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China that "we should attach importance to the class struggle in the superstructure, including all spheres of culture" and that "we should continue to carry out well the revolution in literature and art." The historical experience of the class struggle on the art and literary front shows that the ideology of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes cannot be buried and done away with by a criticism or two. We must conscientiously study the documents of the Tenth Party Congress, implement the spirit of the Tenth Party Congress, take the Party's basic line as the key link, further deepen the movement to criticize Lin Piao and rectify the style of work and link them to reality in criticizing revisionism and bourgeois world outlook; we must continue to advance along the revolutionary path pointed out by Chairman Mao, and we must never go backwards. We must be on guard and resist a return of the revisionist line in art and literature. We must resolutely defend and develop the fruits of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and carry the proletarian revolution in art and literature through to the end!

(Translation of an article published in "Renmin Ribao," January 14)

Criticize the Revisionist Viewpoint In Music

by Chu Lan

Following is the translation of a commentary entitled "Grasp the Essence, Deepen the Criticism" by Chu Lan which appeared in "Renmin Ribao" recently.—Ed.

THE mass struggle to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius is now developing in depth. The discussion on programme and absolute music and the criticism of the revisionist viewpoint which professes that bourgeois classical music has "no profound social content" are also being carried out in a more and more deep-going way. This is a sharp struggle in the field of art and literature between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and between Marxism and revisionism. The practice of struggle proves that it is most necessary to criticize this erroneous view. We must make this criticism a part of the struggle to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius and carry it through to the end!

In order to carry out criticism more profoundly, we must take class struggle and the two-line struggle as the key link and see through superficial appearances to grasp the essence of the revisionist viewpoint. Only in this way can we completely demolish the revisionist viewpoint and make it abhorrent.

Marxism teaches us that in examining a problem we should look at its essence. The essence of our problem is not whether musical works have titles or not. The main thing is the political content of the class they express and the political line of the class they serve. All bourgeois music, programme and absolute, are weapons to shape opinion to serve the bourgeoisie for seizing and consolidating political power. Numerous facts in the history of music show that absolute music, or music without titles, is merely a means by which bourgeois composers conceal the class content of their works. For certain political aims and to meet the needs of struggle, composers sometimes give descriptive titles to their works and sometimes not. But even if given a descriptive title, this can be disregarded and the work played in a manner far from what the title implies.

Are not impressionist and modernist musical works often designated with such titles as "pines," "fountains" and "moonlight"? But analysis of them from a class viewpoint can clearly reveal the decadent, chaotic life and depraved sentiments of the bourgeoisie the weird

cacophony represents. The music of the modern revisionists in particular, frequently under the guise of "revolutionary" titles, slanders and distorts in an unbridled way the revolutionary struggles of the people and heroic images of the working people, and vilely attacks the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist system. It can thus be seen that whether a musical work has a descriptive title or not does not in the least change the political content and class essence it expresses, nor the objective social function it performs. Hence, the basic problem lies in the stand, viewpoint and method we adopt towards bourgeois works of music, including programme and absolute music. The crux of the contention is whether one takes the stand of the proletariat, upholds the Marxist class viewpoint and method of class analysis and, taking into account the historical development of class struggle of a specific period, critically analyses the class content of bourgeois music, or whether one takes the stand of the bourgeoisie and replaces concrete class analysis with empty talk about abstract concepts such as "contrasting and changing moods," "healthy" and "bright," which actually is publicizing the bourgeois "theory of human nature" and covering up the class essence of musical works to hoodwink and beguile the broad masses.

We must never abandon class analysis and engage in empty talk as to whether a piece of music has or has not any "profound social content." In class society, all works of art have their concrete social content of a specific class. There is absolutely no such thing as social content that is abstract or above classes and neither is there such a thing as abstract "profundity." The real aim in publicizing bourgeois musical works as having "no profound social content" is to cover up the class content reflected in the music of the bourgeoisie. This can lead only to the revolutionary people lowering their vigilance against corruption by bourgeois ideology and facilitate bourgeois cultural penetration and provide a cover for the bourgeoisie to seize positions from the proletariat in the field of art and literature.

The appearance of the revisionist viewpoint denying the class character of musical works is no isolated, individual, accidental phenomenon. It is the concentrated expression of a tendency in society and in music circles today to make a fetish of foreign things and restore the old order of things. This tendency is re-

flected in the question of whether or not there is any social content in bourgeois music, both absolute and programme; it is also reflected in composing music, performing music and teaching music. And not only in music, but also in other fields of art. They differ in form only.

A reflection in music of the theory of "the dying out of class struggle" is the publicizing of the bourgeois theory of human nature, denying that music has a class character. We must thoroughly expose this and carry out serious criticisms against it.

The essence of the revisionist viewpoint in this question of absolute and programme music is the landlord-bourgeois theory of human nature. This theory of human nature which denies the class character of music is brought over from the European bourgeoisie and can also be traced back to the doctrine of Confucius, the ideological representative of the decadent slave-owning class of China. We must further criticize this revisionist

viewpoint in the course of the struggle to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius.

Chairman Mao has pointed out: "The class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the class struggle between the different political forces, and the class struggle in the ideological field between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie will continue to be long and tortuous and at times will even become very acute." We must fully understand the protractedness of the struggle in this field. In our struggle to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, we must combine it with the actual class struggle in the realm of ideology, particularly in art and literature (including music), carry out sustained revolutionary criticism of all revisionist views and ideological trends which are unfavourable to the development of socialist art and literature and, in the course of tempestuous struggles, further consolidate and develop the socialist positions in the field of art and literature.

Continuing to Strive to Implement Vientiane Agreement

THE Agreement on Restoring Peace and Achieving National Concord in Laos was signed in Vientiane on February 21, 1973 by representatives of the Lao patriotic forces and the Vientiane government side. The signing of the Vientiane agreement has forced the United States to stop the war of aggression against Laos. It is a great victory won by the Lao people in their protracted and heroic struggle, and also a common victory for the people of the three Indochinese countries and the people throughout the world. It has created favourable conditions for the Lao people to settle their own problems free from foreign interference and to realize their national desire and fundamental national rights.

Owing to the efforts and prodding of the Lao patriotic forces and some far-sighted personages on the Vientiane government side, implementation of the Vientiane agreement has made some progress in the past year. Last September 14 the Protocol to the Agreement on Restoring Peace and Achieving National Concord in Laos was signed. Recently, some documents containing regulations on the guard forces, joint police forces and administration of the two sides in the cities of Vientiane and Luang Prabang were formally signed by the delegations of the two sides at the Central Joint Commission for the Implementation of the Agreement in Laos. These measures will be conducive to the strict implementation of the Vientiane agreement and its protocol and will speed up realization of the neutralization of those two cities in order to proceed to form a provisional national union government and a national coalition political council.

The Vientiane agreement has clearly defined: "The Vientiane government side and that of the patriotic forces undertake to implement this agreement." This is a joint commitment by the two sides signatory to the agreement. In the past year, the Lao Patriotic Front, together with the Lao patriotic neutralist forces, has strictly observed and implemented the Vientiane agreement and its protocol in the spirit of national concord, equality and mutual respect and has made persistent efforts to form as quickly as possible a provisional national union government and a national coalition political council so as to promote a peaceful settlement of the Lao issue. Meanwhile, the Lao people, under the leadership of the Lao Patriotic Front with Prince Souphanouvong as Chairman, have maintained revolutionary vigilance and repeatedly frustrated the invasions of the liberated areas by Lao ultra-Rightist troops. Displaying the spirit of self-reliance and hard struggle, they have stepped up the rehabilitation and development of production in the liberated areas and made notable achievements in the political, economic, cultural, educational and health fields as well as in bettering the people's living conditions. The Chinese people are greatly elated at all these achievements by the fraternal Lao people.

However, it must be pointed out that the course of the implementation of the Vientiane agreement is not plain sailing, but full of bitter and complicated struggles. The Lao ultra-Rightist forces have tried in a thousand and one ways to violate and sabotage the implementa-

tion of the Vientiane agreement and continued to create incidents to undermine the neutralization of Vientiane and Luang Prabang with a view to blocking the formation of a provisional national union government and a national coalition political council. They even tried to launch another military coup d'etat and again provoke a war in Laos. All these acts by the ultra-Rightist forces have not only violated the spirit and the provisions of the Vientiane agreement but run counter to the aspirations of the Lao people for achieving national concord and setting up a provisional national union government and a national coalition political council. Therefore,

these cannot but meet with resolute opposition by the Lao people.

At present, the people of the Indochinese countries are advancing victoriously. The situation there is excellent. The Lao people have hard fighting tasks before them. The road to restoring peace and achieving national concord is a tortuous one. But we are convinced that by strengthening unity and persisting in struggle, the Lao people will certainly overcome any difficulties and obstacles in their advance and win one new victory after another.

(*"Renmin Ribao" Commentator, February 24*)

Capitalist Restoration in the Soviet Union and Economic Base of Social-Imperialism

— Article in "People's Star," organ of the Japanese Communist Party (Left)

THE *People's Star*, organ of the Central Committee of the Japanese Communist Party (Left), recently published an article on the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and the economic base of Soviet social-imperialism.

"Is the Soviet Union a socialist state, a capitalist state or a social-imperialist state? Is it an enemy or a friend of the world's people?" The article says: "This is a question of extreme importance for the present revolutionary struggle of the proletariat, the oppressed nations and the oppressed people of the world."

It is imperative to expose the counter-revolutionary nature of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism, the article says.

Process of Capitalist Restoration in the Soviet Union

Recalling the process of capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union, the article points out: "After Lenin's death, Stalin carried forward and defended Marxism-Leninism, led the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet people in adhering to the dictatorship of the proletariat and carrying out socialist industrialization and agricultural collectivization, and thus achieved great successes in socialist construction. Although Stalin did commit some important errors, he was, judging his life as a whole, nevertheless a great proletarian revolutionary. After Stalin's death, Khrushchov, who had usurped Party and state power, put forward the fallacies of 'peaceful coexistence,' 'peaceful competition' and 'peaceful transition' and a 'party of the entire people' and a 'state of the whole people' at the 20th Congress (1956) and the 22nd Congress (1961) of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. By this, he converted his counter-revolution-

ary revisionist theory into a system and completely liquidated the proletarian party and state power of the dictatorship of the proletariat."

Capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union, the article says, starts from the field of the superstructure. "In the superstructure of a socialist society, the principal aspect is the ideology of the ruling class, the proletariat. But at the same time, so far as a society of the transitional period which has just emerged from a capitalist society is concerned, the 'ruts of the old society,' the 'stubborn forces of outmoded conventions and customs and habits' and other bourgeois factors are still deeply ingrained morally and spiritually. So long as imperialism exists in the world, disruptive activities aimed at changing the nature of socialism will always be conducted. If efforts are not made to further consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and steadily wage class struggles, particularly in the ideological field, then the possibility remains that the bourgeois factors in the superstructure will be transformed into the principal aspect and capitalist restoration will take place."

"The class contradictions in socialist society find concentrated expression within the proletarian vanguard party, and are manifested in the struggle between the two lines, centring on whether to develop socialism or restore capitalism. Indeed this is the class struggle that has a vital bearing on the survival or extinction of socialism. If the revisionist line wins out, the proletarian party will be usurped by new and old bourgeois elements and the proletarian dictatorship will be abolished and replaced by a bourgeois dictatorship."

The article says that as the nature of the superstructure was changed, Khrushchov, after the 20th

Party Congress, planned unceasingly to restore capitalism in the mode of production.

He fooled the people through sophistry such as the need "to establish a material and technical base for communism"; and he put forward a series of revisionist theories, like the so-called "principle of material incentives," "expansion of the independence of enterprises," and "attaching importance to profit targets," and others of a similar kind.

The article points out that Brezhnev and his like, who replaced Khrushchov in 1964, extensively reorganized the economic system according to these bourgeois theories, and with the Central Committee Plenary Session of September 1965, began the transition to the so-called "new economic system." The content of the "new economic system" is to use "economic incentives" as a lever to promote production; to pursue "the expansion of the independence of enterprises"; and to agree to using some part of profits in the enterprises themselves and distributing them among the staff and workers.

Thus, by further carrying through the Khrushchov revisionist line, Brezhnev and his kind have completely transformed the Soviet economy into a capitalist economy.

The article points out that the number of the discharged and expelled workers in the Soviet Union has increased sharply. It was reported that 6.63 million persons were dismissed in 1970 alone. By dismissing workers and carrying out so-called "rationalization," management of Soviet enterprises arbitrarily increases labour intensity to get higher profits. Such practices intensify the exploitation of the workers and aggravate class antagonisms.

Corruption, bribery and other malpractices have increased following the greater emphasis on the capitalist principle of seeking "material incentives," the article states.

One policy Brezhnev has most energetically carried out in recent days is to reconcentrate production in "large joint production enterprises," to quickly establish new-type state monopoly capitalist enterprises.

Referring to the restoration of capitalism in agriculture, the article points out that the Soviet revisionist clique has adopted a series of capitalist principles, abolishing all administrative restrictions over private plots and side-line production by individuals, and even allowing persons in occupations other than collective farming to raise livestock and poultry and make private use of farmland. Virtually free markets, the markets of the collective farms have become catering centres, supplying food to urban dwellers. Unrestricted haggling goes on there, and prices fluctuate in accordance with supply and demand. The number of such collective farm markets goes up year by year. They have become hot-beds for brokers and speculators active in both production and marketing. There are middle-men

who do business in a big and organized way, moving products by truck or airplane.

Characteristics of Capitalist Restoration in U.S.S.R.

Analysing the main features of the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, the article says: "It began with the emergence of revisionism and the betrayal of Marxism-Leninism within the leadership of the C.P.S.U., the degeneration of the superstructure, and the evolution of a bureaucratic privileged capitalist class which usurped the leadership of the Party and the state."

It goes on to say: "Having usurped the leadership of the Party and the state, the Soviet ruling clique took over the country's economy, exploiting and plundering the Soviet working class and people. Socialist relations of production have been changed into those of state monopoly capitalism controlled by a bureaucratic privileged capitalist class." "Capitalist economic rules govern the Soviet economy," it adds.

"The contradictions between the productive forces and the relations of production have sharpened as a result of the degeneration of socialist relations of production into capitalist relations of production. The slowing down or halting of the growth of the productive forces shows that the degenerated relations of production have hampered the growth of the productive forces and that the contradictions between the two are acute. This has inevitably led to the aggravation of economic difficulties in the Soviet Union and its plunder of other nations, and, moreover, to the sharpening of class contradictions and class struggle within Soviet society and the aggravation of the contradictions between social-imperialism and the oppressed nations."

Economic Base of Soviet Social-Imperialism

The article says: "The essence of Soviet social-imperialism's external aggression is founded on the economic base described above."

Through the notorious "Brezhnev doctrine" consisting of "limited sovereignty," "international division of labour" and other fallacies, the article points out, the Soviet ruling clique has exercised political, economic and military control over the East European countries and is intensifying oppression and exploitation of them. It has stretched greedy hands into the developing countries in the Middle East and South Asia, invaded Czechoslovakia, violated China's border areas, stepped up development of nuclear weapons and rapidly expanded its naval force. It claims the right to fly the Soviet flag in all the oceans of the world. "All these facts," the article says, "prove beyond doubt that the Soviet Union is 'socialist in words, imperialist in deeds' (Lenin), and social-imperialism in its true sense."

"Soviet social-imperialism looks quite strong but in reality is a paper tiger. We should despise it strategically but take full account of it tactically, because it displays the most brazen aggressive nature as a result of the extremely grave difficulties and contradictions in its economic base," the article in the *People's Star* concludes.

Workers' Movement Gathering Momentum in Western Europe

STRIKES in West European countries have been taking place without let-up since the beginning of 1974. In Britain, 270,000 coal miners began their ban on overtime work in November last year and a national strike on February 10; and 29,000 train drivers, while continuing their slowdown, staged a 24-hour strike on January 15. In Italy, 250,000 rubber and plastics workers held a 24-hour general strike on January 17 and 200,000 workers at the Fiat Car Company downed their tools on January 25. In France, coal miners at the Lorraine collieries walked out on January 21 and Moroccan and Algerian miners in the northern coal fields started a strike on January 17. The upsurge in the workers' movement in Western Europe reflects the deepening of capitalism's general crisis and the sharpening of class contradictions in West European countries.

Massive strikes broke out in a number of these countries in 1973. The British coal miners' go-slow caused a 40 per cent reduction in Britain's coal output. In Italy, over 14 million workers, or about three-quarters of the total Italian labour force, took part in the two general strikes of January 12 and February 27. These strikes nearly paralysed Italy's economic life.

Workers in some West European countries last year co-ordinated their actions and supported each other in their struggles, convincingly showing the working class spirit of fighting in unity. During the strikes, they adopted such means of struggle as occupying factories, which is vivid evidence of the militant spirit and organizational ability of the working class.

It is noteworthy that workers in some West European countries not only raised economic demands but also came out with clear political slogans for their struggles last year. At a May Day mass rally in Munich, working people in the Federal Republic of Germany carried placards and streamers saying: "Oppose wage robbery, soaring prices and political oppression!" When the chieftain of Soviet revisionism Leonid Brezhnev visited the F.R.G. in May last year thousands of workers and other labouring masses went on a protest march in Dortmund, denouncing him as the "new tsar and imperialist" and "oppressor of the Soviet people." Thousands of French working people and students held a parade in Paris on May 27, 1973 in memory of the martyrs of the Paris Commune. The paraders shouted "Long live the Commune!" In Italy, 100,000 working people held rallies and demonstrations last year to protest the activities of the new fascist party "the Italian social movement" and to express their determination to "unite and defeat fascism."

Confronted with rapid economic deterioration in the entire capitalist world, monopoly capital in Western Europe stepped up efforts to shift difficulties on to the broad masses of the working people. The speed and scope of inflation and price increases there last year had scarcely been seen in the more than 20 years since World War II. Food prices rose the sharpest. Meanwhile, monopoly capital closed down factories and laid off workers to maintain high profits, throwing large numbers of workers out of their jobs. In such circumstances, the West European working people were compelled to rise in struggle against the attack by monopoly capital and to protect their right to live.

Another slogan of West European workers in their struggles demanded better working conditions and safety on the job. There were frequent accidents in many factories where working conditions were deplorable, equipment outmoded, and the environment insufferable because monopoly capital was bent on getting high profits at the expense of the safety and health of the workers.

Foreign workers in those countries also took part in the struggles. Hunting for maximum profits, West European monopoly capital employs a large number of workers from other countries, mostly from North Africa and the Middle East, as a low-paid labour force. They do the back-breaking work and are discriminated against politically and most cruelly exploited economically. These hard-pressed foreign workers will become a major force in the workers' struggle in Western Europe.

The strikes of the working class which followed one another in Western Europe have dealt monopoly capital a heavy blow and further accelerated the decline of the capitalist economy. This has fully exposed the rottenness of the capitalist system, the weakness of the capitalist economy and the hollowness of the one-time "prosperity" of the capitalist countries.

Prospects for the economy of the whole capitalist world in 1974 are even dimmer. It was admitted by the Western press and even official quarters that a trend of stagnation has already shown up in the major capitalist countries. Coupled with an energy crisis, this stagnation will become more serious, leading to more unemployment and worsening inflation. Under such circumstances, monopoly capital will certainly intensify its attack on the working class. Class contradictions in West European countries in 1974 will be further sharpened and the workers' movement will surge forward more vigorously, pounding harder at the decadent capitalist system.

ROUND THE WORLD

GABERONES

Funeral for Black Student Leader

On February 18, about 1,000 mourners including Botswana Government officials and diplomats from Nigeria and Zambia attended a funeral service in Gaborone, capital of Botswana, for Abraham Tiro, a leader of a Black South African students organization who was killed by South African racists. Nigerian High Commissioner to Botswana Ayodle told the meeting that this cowardly act by racist bigots had exposed before the world the desperation of the collapsing colonial regime.

Abraham Tiro, expelled from the University of the North of South Africa in 1972 because of his opposition to the "Bantu education system" which is based on racial discrimination and compelled last September to live in exile in Botswana, was killed near Gaborone on February 1 this year by a parcel bomb sent by the

"South African murder squads." He was murdered by the South African authorities because his name was closely associated with the growth of the African people's political struggle.

Eight days after Tiro's death, another bomb exploded at the Liberation Centre in Lusaka, capital of Zambia, killing Mr. Dube, deputy representative of the African National Congress of South Africa.

This new atrocity of white racists killing the leaders of the southern African liberation movement was condemned by public opinion in African countries.

TWO SUPERPOWERS

Wild Nuclear Arms Race

U.S. and Soviet negotiators resumed the second round of the strategic arms limitation talks (SALT) in Geneva on February 19 the day the Soviet Union test-fired a new multiple warhead inter-continental missile

in the Pacific. The test made a mockery of the much vaunted "sincerity" of the Soviet revisionists' "nuclear disarmament."

In the last four years and more when the Soviet-U.S. talks have dragged on, each has been building up bigger and bigger stockpiles of nuclear weapons. From November 1969 when SALT I started (it ended in May 1972) to June 1973 when the heads of the two countries reached agreement on "basic principles of negotiations on the further limitation of strategic offensive arms" the number of Soviet nuclear missiles had almost doubled. In the same period, although the United States did not increase the number of such weapons, it devoted great efforts to the research into and manufacture of new strategic weapons to maintain and develop U.S. technical superiority.

Since the SALT II negotiation began in November 1972, because each side tried to limit the other's military strength and develop its own, the talks made no progress at all. Outside the talks, both sides have entered a new round in the nuclear arms race, competing with even greater intensity for technical superiority.

The Soviet Union is testing a new multiple warhead missile in the Pacific from February 19 to March 10, the second round of such tests in a month with the first having been carried out January 25-26.

Both superpowers have always regarded nuclear weapons as the backbone of their "position of strength" in contending for world hegemony. Each wants to achieve superiority over the other. On the grounds that the United States has "to protect our [U.S.] national security" and "to maintain the strategic balance," the U.S. President recently submitted to Congress "the largest military budget in the nation's 198 years." The United States is prepared to spend billions of dollars to develop different types of strategic weapons.

All these facts prove that the superpowers' policies of contending for world hegemony cannot lead them to genuine nuclear disarmament, but to a more and more intense nuclear arms race.

"VANGUARD" (AUSTRALIA)

Soviet Social-Imperialist Expansion in Indian Ocean

E.F. Hill, Chairman of the Australian Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist), in a February 7 article in the Party's organ *Vanguard*, exposed the Soviet social-imperialists' expansion in the Indian Ocean and Soviet-U.S. contention for the region.

The article pointed out that the Soviet social-imperialists have a considerable number of warships in the Indian Ocean and that at the same time U.S. imperialism constantly moves to counter Soviet naval activities by concentrating more warships and increasing its own naval and military installations there.

"The Soviet social-imperialists expand into the Indian Ocean as part of their efforts to seize as much of the world as they can. They want

Asian 'collective security' for the same purpose. They want to fill the so-called vacuum left by British imperialism's withdrawal. This is simply to ride roughshod over the rights to independence and freedom of former British colonies."

The article noted: "The peoples in this part of the world have driven out French imperialism and British imperialism and have dealt big blows to U.S. imperialism. They want independence. Certainly, they do not want Soviet social-imperialism—a new imperialism to replace French, British and U.S. imperialism. The activity of Soviet social-imperialism is directed at arresting the historical trend that countries want independence, nations want liberation and people want revolution."

It said in conclusion that "the menace of Soviet social-imperialism is indeed real. It menaces Australia. Soviet social-imperialism must be fought to the end."

Radio Peking

English Language Transmissions

* effective only from Nov. to April

† effective only from May to Oct.

| | GMT | Local Standard Time | Metre Bands | Kc/s |
|---|------------------------------|---|---------------------------|---|
| NORTH AMERICA (EAST COAST) | 00:00-01:00 | 19:00-20:00 (E.S.T.) | 25*, 19, 16† | 11685*, 15060, 17673† |
| | 01:00-02:00 | 20:00-21:00 (E.S.T.) | 42, 30, 25*, 24*, 19 | 7120, 9780, 11965*, 12055*, 15060 |
| | 02:00-03:00 | 21:00-22:00 (E.S.T.) | 25*, 24*, 19, 16† | 11965*, 12055*, 15060, 15350, 17855† |
| | 03:00-04:00 | 22:00-23:00 (E.S.T.) | 42, 30 | 7120, 9780 |
| NORTH AMERICA (WEST COAST) | 12:00-13:00 | 07:00-08:00 (E.S.T.) | 31*, 25 | 9480*, 11685 |
| | 03:00-04:00 | 19:00-20:00 (P.S.T.) | 31*, 25*, 24*, 19, 16† | 9460*, 11650*, 12055*, 15060, 15385, 17735†, 17855† |
| | 04:00-05:00 | 20:00-21:00 (P.S.T.) | 31*, 25*, 24*, 19, 16† | 9460*, 11650*, 12055*, 15060, 15385, 17735†, 17855† |
| AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND | 08:30-09:30 | 18:30-19:30 (Aust. S.T.) 20:30-21:30 (N.Z.S.T.) | 31, 25, 19 | 9460, 11600, 11720, 15060, 15435 |
| | 09:30-10:30 | 19:30-20:30 (Aust. S.T.) 21:30-22:30 (N.Z.S.T.) | 31, 25, 19 | 9460, 11600, 11720, 15060, 15435 |
| SOUTHEAST ASIA | 12:00-13:00 | 19:00-20:00 (Western Indonesia, Bangkok) | 32, 25, 19 | 9290, 11650, 15240, 15510 |
| | | 19:30-20:30 (Singapore) | | |
| | | 20:00-21:00 (Saigon, Manila) 18:30-19:30 (Rangoon) | | |
| | 13:00-14:00 | 20:00-21:00 (Western Indonesia, Bangkok) | 32, 25, 19 | 9290, 11650, 15240, 15510 |
| 20:30-21:30 (Singapore) | | | | |
| 21:00-22:00 (Saigon, Manila) 19:30-20:30 (Rangoon) | | | | |
| SOUTH ASIA | 14:00-15:00 | 19:30-20:30 (Delhi, Colombo) | 40, 30, 19† | 7470, 9860, 15095† |
| | | 19:00-20:00 (Rawalpindi) | | |
| | | 20:00-21:00 (Dacca) | | |
| | | 19:40-20:40 (Kathmandu) 20:00-21:00 (Rawalpindi) | | |
| 15:00-16:00 | 20:30-21:30 (Delhi, Colombo) | 30, 19† | 9860, 15095† | |
| | 21:00-22:00 (Dacca) | | | |
| | 20:40-21:40 (Kathmandu) | | | |
| 18:00-19:00 | 23:30-00:30 (Delhi) | 248 | 1210 | |
| EUROPE | 20:30-21:30 | 21:30-22:30 (London, Stockholm, Paris) | 47*, 45, 39, 33† | 6270*, 6610, 7590, 9030† |
| | 21:30-22:30 | 22:30-23:30 (London, Stockholm, Paris) | 47*, 45, 25† | 6270*, 6610, 11675† |
| EAST AND SOUTH AFRICA | 16:00-17:00 | 18:00-19:00 (Cape Town, Salisbury) | 39*, 30, 19† | 7620*, 9860, 15095† |
| | | 19:00-20:00 (Dar-es-Salaam) | | |
| | 17:00-18:00 | 19:00-20:00 (Cape Town, Salisbury) 20:00-21:00 (Dar-es-Salaam) | 39*, 30, 19† | 7620*, 9860, 15095† |
| WEST AND NORTH AFRICA | 19:30-20:30 | 18:45-19:45 (Monrovia) | 31*, 30, 25, 19† | 9440*, 9965, 11695, 15030† |
| | | 19:30-20:30 (Accra, Freetown) | | |
| | | 20:30-21:30 (Lagos) 21:30-22:30 (Cairo) | | |
| | 20:30-21:30 | 19:45-20:45 (Monrovia) 20:30-21:30 (Accra, Freetown) 21:30-22:30 (Lagos) 22:30-23:30 (Cairo) | 31*, 30, 25, 19† | 9440*, 9965, 11695, 15030† |