

# PEKING REVIEW

15

April 12, 1974

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報

## **Resolute Support for the Third World's Just Demands**

1. Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping heads Chinese Delegation to special session of U.N. General Assembly
2. "Renmin Ribao" editorial of April 9

## **Confucius' Doctrine of the Mean Is a Philosophy Opposed to Social Change**

**Warmly Greet Lao People's New Victory**

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## Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping Heads Chinese Delegation To Special Session of U.N. General Assembly

**T**ENG Hsiao-ping, Chairman of the Chinese Delegation to the Sixth Special Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations and Vice-Premier of the State Council, Chiao Kuan-hua, Vice-Chairman of the Delegation and Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs, and the staff of the delegation left Peking for New York by special plane on April 6 to attend the session. Huang Hua, Vice-Chairman of the Delegation and China's Permanent Representative to the U.N., is already in New York.

The delegation got a warm send-off at the airport by Party and state leaders Chou En-lai, Wang Hung-

wen, Yeh Chien-ying, Chiang Ching, Yao Wen-yuan, Li Hsien-nien, Chen Hsi-lien, Chi Teng-kuei, Hua Kuo-feng, Wang Tung-hsing, Wu Teh, Su Chen-hua, Ni Chih-fu, Hsu Hsiang-chien, Nieh Jung-chen, Li Fu-chun and Ngapo Ngawang-Jigme; Vice-Chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference Hsu Teh-heng, as well as more than 4,000 people in the capital.

The Sixth Special Session of the U.N. General Assembly opened on April 9 to study the problems of raw materials and development as proposed by President Houari Boume-

diene of the Council of Revolution of the Democratic People's Republic of Algeria in the name of the President in Office of the Fourth Summit Conference of Non-Aligned Countries. The proposal has won the support of the majority of the countries of the world, including China. The convocation of the session marks the daily awakening of the people of the Third World and the continuous strengthening of their unity, and reflects the new upsurge in the struggle of the Third World countries to oppose imperialism and hegemonism, defend national independence and state sovereignty, protect national resources and develop the national economy.

Peking Airport was decorated with red flags and huge streamers inscribed with "A warm send-off to the



The Chinese Delegation to the special session of the U.N. General Assembly gets a warm send-off at Peking Airport when it leaves for New York.

## Condolences on Death of President Georges Pompidou

Following the death of President of the Republic of France Georges Pompidou on April 2, Acting Chairman Tung Pi-wu and Premier Chou En-lai of the People's Republic of China sent a message of condolence on April 3 to Alain Poher, Acting President of the Republic of France. The message said: "Shocked to learn of the passing away of His Excellency Georges Pompidou, the late President of the Republic of France, we, on behalf of the Chinese Government and people, express our deep condolences to the Government and people of the Republic of France and our solicitous sympathy to his family."

On the same day, Premier Chou En-lai sent a message to Madame Georges Pompidou which said: "Learning of the untimely death of His Excellency the late President Georges Pompidou, I wish to express, on behalf of Chairman Mao

Tsetung and in my own name, our deep condolences on the passing away of this famous statesman who worked for the defence of the national independence of France, and our solicitous sympathy to yourself."

On April 4, Premier Chou En-lai, Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress Ngapo Ngawang-Jigme and Foreign Minister Chi Peng-fei and leading members of departments concerned went to the French Embassy in China to express their condolences at the death of the French President.

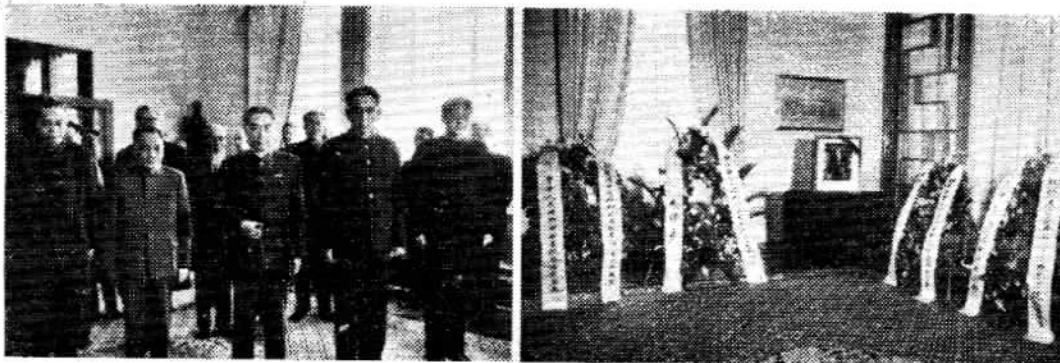
Chairman Mao Tsetung sent a wreath. The white ribbons on the wreath bore the message: "To His Excellency Georges Pompidou, President of the Republic of France."

Wreaths also were presented by Acting Chairman Tung Pi-wu, Pre-

mier Chou En-lai and the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Acting Chairman Tung Pi-wu and Premier Chou En-lai appointed Tseng Tao, Chinese Ambassador to France, as special envoy of China to attend the ceremony to mourn the death of the late President.

Among the wreaths placed at the ceremony on April 6 in Paris to mourn the death of Georges Pompidou were those from Chairman Mao Tsetung, Acting Chairman Tung Pi-wu and Premier Chou En-lai. Wreaths were also sent by Teng Hsiao-ping, Chairman of the Chinese Delegation to the Sixth Special Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations and Vice-Premier of the State Council, and Chiao Kuan-hua, Vice-Chairman of the delegation and Vice-Foreign Minister, who were passing through Paris; former Chinese Ambassador to France Huang Chen, Chief of the Chinese Liaison Office in the U.S.A. who was returning to his post via Paris; and Tseng Tao, Chinese Ambassador to France.



Premier Chou En-lai, Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping and others express their condolences at the death of French President Georges Pompidou at the French Embassy in Peking.

Chinese Delegation to the Special Session of the U.N. General Assembly!" "Firmly support the countries and peoples of the Third World in their just struggle to safeguard and win national independence, defend state sovereignty and develop the national economy!" "The Third World, unite to oppose power politics and hegemonism of the super-powers!" and "Long live the great unity of the people of the world!"

Well-wishers holding flags and flowers gathered at the airport early in the morning. Among them were workers, rural commune members, commanders and fighters of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, government functionaries, Red Guards and Little Red Guards of the capital and students of more than 40 nationalities from various parts of the country now studying at the Central Institute for Nationalities.

Jubilation broke out at the airport when Party and state leaders and the comrades on the delegation arrived. The sound of slogans mingled with the beating of drums and gongs. People waved garlands and colourful ribbons to give the Chinese delegation a warm send-off. Teng Hsiao-ping and Chiao Kuan-hua, Chairman and Vice-Chairman of the delegation, kept waving to the crowds in acknowledgement. They

shook hands with leading members of the various departments concerned. An atmosphere of unity in struggle filled the airport.

Also present at the airport were leading members of the Ministries of Foreign Affairs, of Foreign Trade and of Economic Relations With Foreign Countries; leading members of departments under the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and other government departments; Members of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress; Members of the Standing Committee of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference; leading members of various general departments, services and branches of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, the Peking units and the Peking garrison; and leading members of the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee and the Chinese People's Association for Friendship With Foreign Countries.

The delegation arrived in New York on April 7.

### **O.A.U. Liberation Committee Goodwill Mission Visits China**

The O.A.U. (Organization of African Unity) Liberation Committee Goodwill Mission led by Omar Arteh Ghalib, Current Chairman of the Committee and Somali Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, arrived in Peking on March 30 for a friendly visit to China at the invitation of the Chinese Government.

Premier Chou En-lai on April 1 met and had a cordial and friendly conversation with the mission.

Chinese Foreign Minister Chi Peng-fei gave a banquet on the evening of March 31 to warmly welcome the mission. Chi Peng-fei and Omar Arteh Ghalib spoke at the banquet filled with a friendly atmosphere of the militant unity of the Chinese and African peoples.

Foreign Minister Chi Peng-fei acclaimed positive contributions

made by O.A.U. since its founding in 1963 through the joint efforts of numerous African countries in strengthening the solidarity and cooperation of the African countries in their struggle to oppose imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism and safeguard their independence and sovereignty, and in supporting and assisting the national-liberation movements in African territories still not yet independent.

Referring to today's international situation, Chi Peng-fei said: Awakening day by day and fighting shoulder to shoulder, the Third World countries have won one significant victory after another in their struggles to safeguard national independence and state sovereignty and oppose superpower hegemonism and power politics.

He added: Africa is an important part of the Third World, and the current situation there is also excellent. We are convinced that the heroic African people, continuing to strengthen their solidarity and persevering in struggle, will certainly surmount all difficulties and gain the complete liberation of the entire African continent.

Chi Peng-fei stressed: China and the African countries are all developing countries that belong to the Third World. Following the consistent teachings of Chairman Mao Tsetung, the Chinese people have always regarded the struggle of the great African people as a great support and assistance to them and considered it their bounden internationalist duty to support and assist the liberation struggles of all oppressed peoples and oppressed nations.

In his speech, Omar Arteh Ghalib dealt with the current revolutionary struggle in Africa. He said: With increased political and military confrontation between nationalist forces and their oppressors, the enemy is building up its military potential with the active assistance of the imperialist forces and the international monopolies. Africa is bound to face years of bitter struggle. Africa is

ready and prepared for this challenge. The African liberation struggle is not a struggle in isolation; it goes hand in hand with other liberation struggles being waged by the peoples of the Third World, he emphasized.

Omar Arteh Ghalib said: The price for the self-determination and independence of our people under foreign domination is very dear. The African peoples in Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Angola, Namibia, and other territories still under colonial and Zionist domination are paying the price with their own blood. The struggle will be long, but total victory will be on our side.

### **Austrian Foreign Minister In Peking**

Chinese Foreign Minister Chi Peng-fei gave a banquet on April 5 to welcome Austrian Foreign Minister Rudolf Kirchsclaeger, his wife and party. Among the guests were Austrian Ambassador to China Franz Helmut Leitner and his wife; Rudolf Hans Seidl, Vice-President of the Austrian Federal Economic Chamber; and Rudolf Klar, leader of the Austrian industrial exhibition delegation.

In his toast, Foreign Minister Chi Peng-fei said: The Chinese Government and people have always supported the Austrian people in their just struggle to safeguard their national independence and state sovereignty. As early as January 1956, Premier Chou En-lai formally declared, on behalf of the Chinese Government, that China "respects Austria's neutral status." The Chinese Government reaffirmed this stand in May 1971 in the communique on the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries. Although China and Austria are far apart and have different social systems, the people of the two countries have sympathized with and supported each other in opposing foreign interference and expansion and in safeguarding national independence and state sovereignty.

Foreign Minister Chi said: The Chinese Government has always held

that all countries, big or small, should be equal. The internal affairs of a country should be settled by the people of that country. Other countries have no right to interfere in them. World affairs should be settled by all the countries of the world through consultation and not by the final say of one or two big powers. We resolutely oppose hegemonism and power politics by superpowers.

Foreign Minister Rudolf Kirchschlaeger said in his toast: Relations between Austria and China have developed particularly smoothly since the establishment of diplomatic relations between them. Such relations served to show that countries with different ideologies can not only coexist but can also co-operate on the basis of faithfully applying the five great principles of peaceful coexistence.

On April 6, Premier Chou met Foreign Minister Kirchschlaeger and his wife. They had a friendly and unconstrained conversation.

The Austrian guests arrived in Peking on April 4.

Foreign Minister Kirchschlaeger gave a return banquet in the Great Hall of the People on April 7. Foreign Minister Chi Peng-fei was invited to attend.

## Austrian Industrial Exhibition

An Austrian industrial exhibition was held from March 29 to April 11 at the Peking Exhibition Centre.

Among those invited to the opening ceremony were Minister Li Chiang and Vice-Minister Chai Shu-fan of Foreign Trade, Vice-Minister of the Metallurgical Industry Lin Tse-sheng and Chairman Wang Yao-ting of the China Council for the Promotion of International Trade, and more than 600 people in Peking.

Rudolf Sallinger, Member of the National Council and President of the Federal Economic Chamber of Austria, and the Austrian Government

Delegation he is leading; Austrian Ambassador to China Franz Helmut Leitner and diplomatic officials of the Embassy; Rudolf Klar, leader of the Austrian industrial exhibition delegation, and others attended the opening ceremony.

Rudolf Sallinger presided over and addressed the ceremony. He said: Austria has been trying to develop close economic relations with China for years. The establishment of a trade delegation in Vienna by the China Council for the Promotion of International Trade in 1965 as well as the setting up of an Austrian trade delegation in Peking by the Austrian Federal Economic Chamber the following year were important steps towards strengthening trade relations between Austria and China.

Sallinger said: We are positive that the exhibition will contribute to the deepening of the friendly relations between our two countries and, last but not least, will also show positive results with regard to our trade relations.

Wang Yao-ting extended warm congratulations on the opening of the exhibition. He said: "Friendly exchanges between our two governments and peoples since the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and Austria in May 1971 have steadily increased while economic and trade relations between our two countries have also made further progress." He expressed the belief that the friendship between the two peoples will be further strengthened and trade between the two countries will be further developed on the basis of equality and mutual benefit and of supplying each other's needs.

Minister Li Chiang cut the ribbon.

On April 5, Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien visited the exhibition.

This industrial exhibition, the first of its kind Austria has held in China, occupied a total floorspace of over 8,000 square metres. On display were mainly machine tools, light industry machinery, electronic instruments,

models of metallurgical industry installations and chemical products.

## Chinese Representative Speaks At ECAFE Meeting

Chinese Representative Huang Ming-ta has reiterated that all sea-bed resources in China's coastal sea areas and those off her islands belong to China. He made this statement on April 2 at a meeting in Colombo of the 30th Session of the United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE) discussing the problem of prospecting for mineral resources in Asia's offshore areas.

The Chinese representative condemned the superpowers. He said that the superpowers, taking advantage of temporary economic and technological difficulties of the developing countries and in the name of "aid" or "scientific study," have sent planes and surveying ships everywhere to barge into offshore areas of these countries, prospecting for sea-bed resources and stealing much resources intelligence in an effort to proceed to control and plunder sea-bed resources in these areas.

He pointed out that "this seriously impairs the economic interests and state sovereignty of the developing countries and sharpens contention between the superpowers for maritime hegemony. This state of affairs cannot but arouse our grave attention."

He said: "Sea-bed resources in China's coastal sea areas have long been coveted by foreign world oil monopolists. In recent years, certain countries and organizations have frequently conducted open or covert massive geophysical explorations and ocean-geological surveys in China's coastal sea areas, including those off her islands, infringing on China's sovereignty and endangering her security."

Huang Ming-ta said: "The Delegation of the People's Republic of

China hereby reiterates that all seabed resources in China's coastal sea areas and those off her islands belong to China. China alone has the right to prospect and exploit these seabed resources. All prospecting and drilling activities carried out at will in China's coastal sea areas and those off her islands in disregard of China's sovereignty are illegal."

He pointed out: "Division of jurisdiction of the continental shelf between China and countries bordering on or facing her should be decided by the countries concerned through consultations on an equal footing. To one-sidedly mark off a large area of the continental shelf as a so-called 'joint development zone' behind China's back is an infringement on China's sovereignty, which the Chinese Government absolutely cannot accept. Anyone who arbitrarily carries out development activities in this area must bear full responsibility for all the consequences arising therefrom."

He said: "The Government of the People's Republic of China is the sole legal government of China. All agreements and contracts concerning prospecting and exploitation of China's seabed resources concluded by the Chiang Kai-shek clique in Taiwan with any country, international organization or foreign state or private enterprise are illegal and null and void. None of them will be recognized by the Chinese Government."

Huang Ming-ta concluded: It is well known that the Chiang Kai-shek clique is a handful of national scum who were cast aside by the Chinese people long ago. The 26th Session of the United Nations General Assembly adopted a resolution "to restore all its rights to the People's Republic of China and to recognize the representatives of its government as the only legitimate representatives of China to the United Nations, and to expel forthwith the representatives of Chiang Kai-shek from the place which they unlawfully occupy at the United Nations and in all the organizations affiliated to it." A few days ago the

representative of the Saigon authorities, in disregard of the resolution, made an unfounded attack on the representative of the People's Republic of China, making bitter complaints for the Chiang Kai-shek clique. This act of the Saigon authorities, except for showing that both the Saigon authorities and the Chiang clique are reactionaries in their decline, will by no means impair the dignity of the People's Republic of China.

### **Minority People Criticize "Restrain Oneself and Return to the Rites"**

Since the national movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius began, people of all nationalities in the national minority areas of China, taking into account the history and reality of their own nationalities, have concentrated on criticizing Lin Piao's crimes in attempting to restore capitalism by patterning himself after Confucius and advocating "restrain oneself and return to the rites."

The Party Committee of Liuchow City in the Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous Region recently held a meeting criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius which was attended by 120 workers of different nationalities. Speakers included workers from the Chuang, Miao, Yao, Tung, Maonan, Hui and Han nationalities. Recalling their nationalities' sufferings in the old society and happiness since liberation, the workers criticized the crimes of Lin Piao in picking up Confucius' sinister banner "restrain oneself and return to the rites," in a vain attempt to change the basic line of the Party in the historical period of socialism so as to push the national minority people back into the abyss of misery.

Cadres and poor and lower-middle peasants of various nationalities in the Shihyueh Commune in Huocheng County of Sinkiang's Ili Kazakh Autonomous Chou recently denounced Lin Piao and the Soviet revisionist renegade clique for their crimes in preaching the restorationist doctrine of Confucius and plotting to subvert

the dictatorship of the proletariat in China. They pointed out at a criticism meeting that Lin Piao clamoured "restrain oneself and return to the rites," while the Soviet revisionist renegade clique lauded Confucius as "the founder of the political theory for an ideal society and state system." The common purpose, the speakers noted, was to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat in China, restore capitalism in China and turn China into a colony of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism. They pledged to carry the struggle to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius and combat modern revisionism through to the end.

The emancipated serfs of the Yangta People's Commune of Tuiungte-ching County in the Tibet Autonomous Region held a meeting criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius at the former manor of Lhalu, who was a leader of rebellious bandits and a big serf-owner. Criticism was directed against Lin Piao's crimes in preaching "restrain oneself and return to the rites" so as to restore capitalism. The deputy secretary of the commune Party branch, a former servant at Lhalu's manor, aired his grievances over the miserable life he had led under serfdom before liberation. Then he said: We emancipated serfs now are the masters of the new society. Our commune is advancing constantly along the socialist road charted by Chairman Mao and the socialist collective economy is developing steadily. Total grain output in 1973 reached an all-time high, trebling the amount for 1959, the year of the democratic reform. The commune and production brigades have grain reserves and public accumulation funds. Commune members have surplus grain and bank savings. The commune has set up tractor stations and hydroelectric stations and every production team has threshing and winnowing machines. Following Confucius in advocating "restrain oneself and return to the rites," Lin Piao wanted to restore feudal serfdom in Tibet and let the slave-owners ride roughshod over us again. We will never let this happen.

# Resolute Support for the Third World's Just Demands

THE special session of the U.N. General Assembly to study the problems of raw materials and development is scheduled to be held on April 9, 1974. This session is convened on the proposal of Houari Boumediene, President of the Council of Revolution of Algeria and President in Office of the 4th Conference of Heads of State and Government of Non-Aligned Countries, at the end of January this year, and with the concurrence and support of more than a hundred countries. The problems to be discussed are major issues affecting the Third World countries' maintaining national independence, safeguarding state sovereignty, developing national economy, protecting natural resources, and opposing imperialist plunder, exploitation and control. The convening of the session reflects the new situation of the Third World countries struggling in unity against hegemonism and is an indication of the awakening and strengthening of the Third World. The Chinese Government and people welcome its convocation and resolutely support the just demands to be put forward by the Third World countries at the session.

The session is being held at a time when an excellent situation prevails in the world. The present world situation is one characterized by great disorder throughout the world. "The wind sweeping through the tower heralds a rising storm in the mountains." The historical trend that countries want independence, nations want liberation, and the people want revolution is surging ahead vigorously. The raging tide of struggle against imperialism, old and new colonialism, hegemonism, Zionism and racism is sweeping the whole world. The two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States, are stepping up their contention and are engaging in aggression, subversion, intervention, control and plunder everywhere, further aggravating the various basic contradictions in the world and promoting the awakening and unity of the people of the world, particularly the people in the Third World. The two hegemonic powers, the Soviet Union and the United States, are beset with difficulties at home and abroad, mired in crises and more isolated than ever. The situation is becoming ever more favourable to the revolutionary struggles of the people of various countries in the world and not favourable to imperialism and social-imperialism.

Comprising over 100 developing countries in Asia, Africa, Latin America and other regions, the Third World has the overwhelming majority of the world population. In the last few years, the Third World countries have steadily strengthened their unity, won repeated victories and displayed their mighty strength in the struggle against superpower hegemonism and power politics. They resolutely support the three Indo-chinese peoples' war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation; resolutely support the Korean people's struggle for the independent and peaceful reunification of their fatherland; resolutely support the struggle of the Arab and Palestinian people against the Israeli aggressors; resolutely support the African peoples' struggles for national independence and against colonialism and racism; and resolutely support the Latin American peoples' struggles for safeguarding state sovereignty and economic rights. All this fully demonstrates the Third World's spirit of unity in struggle. At various international conferences and in international affairs, they have supported each other, taken joint actions and achieved ever greater successes. The growth of the ranks of the Third World has changed the make-up of the United Nations. Their role in this world body is steadily growing and they have become a force that cannot be ignored. The struggle to safeguard sea rights begun by the Latin American countries has spread to the other continents. The Arab countries' use of the oil weapon in the struggle against hegemonism and Zionism has won major victories and dealt heavy blows to the superpowers. The Third World has become the main force in the struggle against the two hegemonic powers by the world's people.

The Third World countries' struggle to safeguard their national resources, develop their national economies, oppose imperialist plunder, exploitation and control is an important component part of their struggle against imperialism and hegemonism. In the vast Third World countries, the people are industrious and the resources are rich, but because they suffered prolonged imperialist and colonialist oppression and enslavement in the past and now are still being plundered and exploited by imperialism and social-imperialism, they are still poor countries economically though they have



gained independence politically. They are still not able to exercise full sovereign rights over their own resources and they cannot fully develop their national economies. Taking advantage of their monopoly of the international market, the superpowers exercise control over the produce of the developing countries with single-product economies, keep down the prices of primary products and boost the prices of industrial products; this ruthless exploitation to grab high profits has brought still greater difficulties to the economic development of the Third World countries. At the same time, to shift the burden of crises on to others, the two superpowers — the United States and the Soviet Union — are also stepping up economic control, penetration and plunder in their dealings with industrially developed countries in Europe, North America and Oceania as well as Japan, constantly causing damage to these countries. As the profits squeezed and resources robbed by the superpowers from all over the world grow, there is an ever-increasing yawning gap between the developing countries and the superpowers, the former becoming increasingly poor and the latter increasingly rich.

Today, the Third World countries and people urgently demand a change to this extremely unreasonable state of affairs. They strongly oppose the control and plunder by imperialism and the superpowers; they firmly stand for effective control and full sovereign rights over their own resources; they firmly stand for international trade based on equitable and reasonable prices; they firmly stand for equality in international economic relations between countries, big or small. All these just demands are manifestations of the Third World countries' firm determination to win genuine economic independence so as to further consolidate their political independence, and are also a powerful accusation of and challenge to the hegemonism and power politics of the superpowers.

The two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States, are panic-stricken and helpless in the face of the current special U.N. session initiated by the Third World countries. Putting up the signboard of socialism and trying to bluff and deceive the Third World, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique is actually pursuing an out-and-out imperialist policy. It wildly plunders and exploits the Third World countries through its so-called "economic aid" and "military assistance." It buys cheap and sells dear in its dealings with the Third World and even takes advantage of other people's difficulties to extort fabulous profits out of them. To intensify its contention with U.S. imperialism for spheres of influence, it takes further steps in its aggression and expansion in the Third World, vigorously preaching "international division of labour," "the theory of limitation of resources and sovereignty" and so on in an effort to extend the neo-colonialism it has pushed in a number

of East European countries to the entire Third World. What an "international division of labour"! It only means turning the Third World into raw material bases and commodity markets for Soviet social-imperialism. And the talk about "limitation of resources and sovereignty"! It only means any country which is industrially strong is entitled to rob other countries of their resources. Soviet social-imperialism has stretched its hands all over the Third World and there is no place it does not try to penetrate; it greedily plunders other people's resources and encroaches upon other people's sovereignty as it pleases. It is the dangerous enemy of the Third World countries and people.

The countries and people of the Third World know the truth more and more clearly: To develop their own national economies, they must never rely on the so-called "aid" of the superpowers but should maintain independence and keep the initiative in their own hands and rely mainly on their own efforts. Of course, this does not exclude acceptance, on the basis of self-reliance, of foreign aid based on equality and mutual benefit and in accordance with their actual needs as a supplementary means for developing their national economies. Referring to this question, President Boumediene of the Council of Revolution of Algeria pointed out: To the Third World, this can only be realized "by our struggle, by being conscious of our solidarity and above all by having confidence in ourselves and in our own capabilities." This fully expresses the firm will and common conviction of the Third World countries and people. As long as the Third World countries rely on their own people to make unremitting efforts and strengthen unity among themselves and support each other, they can certainly get rid of the control and plunder by imperialism and the superpowers step by step and realize their aspirations of developing their national economies and building up their own countries.

The Chinese Government and people resolutely support the Third World countries' sacred aspirations to defend their state sovereignty, protect their natural resources and develop their national economies, and firmly support their struggle against the control and plunder by imperialism and the superpowers. China is a developing socialist country belonging to the Third World. We always stand together with the Third World countries and fight shoulder to shoulder with them. We regard the struggle of the Third World countries and people against the hegemonism and power politics of the superpowers as our own struggle. Their every victory is a tremendous support and inspiration to us. We believe that, by strengthening their unity and making concerted efforts, the Third World countries will certainly win new victories in this special session of the United Nations General Assembly.

("Renmin Ribao" editorial, April 9)

# Peking Rally Welcomes Distinguished Cambodian Guests

Ten thousand people in the capital gathered for a grand rally in the Great Hall of the People on April 3 to warmly welcome the Delegation of the National United Front and the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia with Khieu Samphan, Member of the Political Bureau of the N.U.F.C. Central Committee, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of National Defence of the R.G.N.U.C. and Commander-in-Chief of the People's Armed Forces of National Liberation of Cambodia, as the Head, and Ieng Sary, Special Adviser to the Deputy Prime Minister's Office, as the Deputy Head. Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Cambodian Head of State, and Prime Minister Samdech Penn Nouth and Madame Penn Nouth were invited to the rally. Chinese Party and government leaders attending were Chou En-lai, Wang Hung-wen, Yeh Chien-ying, Yao Wen-yuan, Li Hsien-nien, Teng Hsiao-ping, Chen Hsi-lien, Chi Teng-kuei, Wu Teh, Wang Tung-hsing, Hua Kuo-feng, Su Chen-hua and Ni Chih-fu.

At the rally which was permeated with a warm atmosphere of unity in struggle between the Chinese and Cambodian peoples, Vice-Chairman Wang Hung-wen and Delegation Head Khieu Samphan spoke. After their speeches, hosts and guests exchanged banners. The delegation also presented the people of Peking with an automatic rifle and a rocket launcher which the People's Armed Forces of National Liberation of Cambodia had captured from the enemy, and sarongs and other gifts made by Cambodian workers and peasants. Following are excerpts of their speeches. — Ed.

## Vice-Chairman Wang Hung-wen's Speech

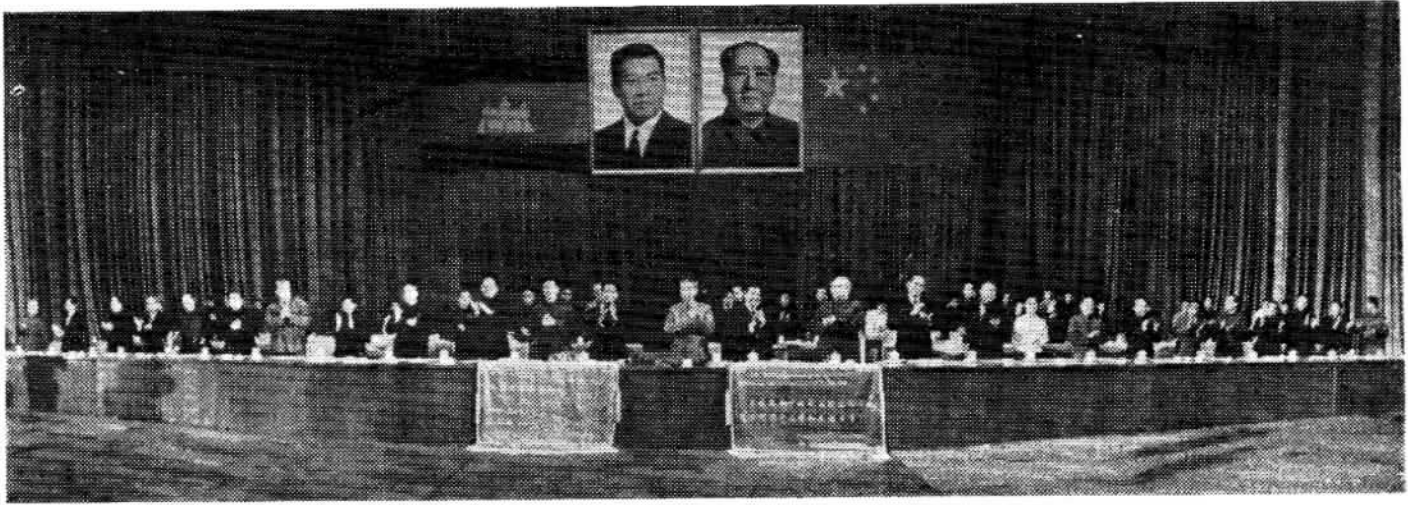
COMING a long way from the front to the great rear, our Cambodian comrades-in-arms have brought us the sentiments of militant friendship of the Cambodian people and happy tidings of new victories. This is a tremendous encouragement to the Chinese people who are engaged in the campaign of criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius and in socialist revolution and socialist construction.

The Cambodian people are a heroic people with a revolutionary tradition of opposing imperialism. They have waged protracted and unremitting struggles against imperialism for the independence of their fatherland and for national dignity. Four years ago, when U.S. imperialism engineered the reactionary coup d'état and made a massive invasion into Cambodia, the Cambodian people rose up in arms with dauntless revolutionary heroism and unfolded a vigorous war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation.

In the last four years, the heroic Cambodian people, rallying closely around the National United Front of Cambodia with Head of State Samdech Norodom Sihanouk as its Chairman, holding high the banner of resisting U.S. aggression and saving the nation, and fearing no hardship and sacrifice, have persevered in a people's war and scored brilliant victories. The People's Armed Forces of National Liberation of Cambodia have grown and expanded amidst the flames of revolutionary war and become an indestructible people's army, which has rendered great meritorious service to Cambodia's cause of national liberation. With its area constantly expanding and the people's political power

becoming ever more consolidated, the Liberated Zone in Cambodia presents a thriving scene. The Royal Government of National Union, which is the sole legal government of the Cambodian people, enjoys a growing international prestige and has established diplomatic relations with an increasing number of countries. The Chinese people, as close comrades-in-arms of the Cambodian people, always regard the Cambodian people's victories as their own victories and heartily rejoice over them. Let us once again extend our warm congratulations to the fraternal Cambodian people.

The Cambodian people's war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation is another brilliant example in the contemporary world of a small nation daring to resist the aggression of a big nation. Cambodia is a country with a population of only seven million, and the enemy the Cambodian people face is U.S. imperialism, which is armed to the teeth. Yet the Cambodian people are resolved to take their destiny into their own hands. Daring to despise the colossus-like enemy and daring to take up arms, they have persevered in fighting and so expanded their forces from small to big and from weak to strong and achieved the great victories of today. It is just as the Chinese people's great leader Chairman Mao said in his statement of May 20, 1970: **"A just cause enjoys abundant support while an unjust cause finds little support. A weak nation can defeat a strong, a small nation can defeat a big. The people of a small country can certainly defeat aggression by a big country, if only they dare to rise in struggle, dare to take up arms and grasp in their own**



On the rostrum at the rally.

hands the destiny of their country. This is a law of history."

The Cambodian people's victories have come about because the National United Front and the People's Armed Forces of National Liberation of Cambodia have closely relied on the people and adhered to the correct line of independence, initiative, self-reliance and people's war. By their victories, the Cambodian people have not only laid a solid foundation for the independence and liberation of Cambodia and done their part for the just cause of the three Indochinese peoples, but also greatly inspired and supported all other oppressed nations and peoples and made an important contribution to the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle of the people of the whole world.

At present, the Cambodian people are continuing their triumphant advance and fighting heroically to seize still greater victories. The direct invasion of American ground forces was repulsed; the U.S. policy of bombing has gone bankrupt; the plan of so-called "Khmerization" of the war has also been repeatedly frustrated by the Cambodian people. The traitorous Lon Nol clique is beleaguered and fast sinking. It can only hole up in Phnom Penh and some other isolated cities, eking out its feeble existence. Though U.S. imperialism is still stepping up its aid and giving blood-transfusion and resuscitation to the traitorous Lon Nol clique, all its efforts to save the clique from its doom will prove futile.

The Chinese people firmly support the five-point declaration of Head of State Samdech Norodom Sihanouk and the political programme of the National United Front of Cambodia, which were reaffirmed by the Cambodian National Congress. The Chinese people firmly support the Cambodian people in their struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. The United States must stop all its support and aid to the traitorous Lon Nol clique. The Cambodian question should be settled by the Cambodian people themselves free from foreign interference. We are firmly convinced that victory belongs to the heroic Cambodian

people and that an independent, peaceful, neutral, sovereign and democratic Cambodia will surely appear.

At present, the international situation is getting better and better. The basic characteristic of the developing situation is universal great disorder. "The wind sweeping through the tower heralds a rising storm in the mountains." The great revolutionary teacher Lenin said: "An essential feature of imperialism is the rivalry between several great powers in the striving for hegemony." There are two superpowers in the world today. Relying on the few atom bombs they possess, they are engaged in an intense rivalry for hegemony. This is something determined by the nature of imperialism. One of the superpowers is desperately trying to hold on to the many places it has occupied; the other is reaching out in every direction and worming its way into every crevice. Strategically, Europe is the focus of their contention. At the same time, their fierce contention extends also to the Middle East, the Arab world, the Mediterranean as well as the Indian Ocean. They talk about detente, but actually they are engaged in rivalry. Their rivalry and their aggression, subversion, interference, control and plunder everywhere have greatly sharpened the basic contradictions in the world, stimulated the awakening and solidarity of the people of the world and aroused them to strong resistance. A tidal wave of struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, hegemonism, Zionism and racism is sweeping the globe. Moving against the tide of history, the two superpowers inevitably run up against a wall everywhere and land themselves in ever greater difficulty. They put up a bold front and keep a stiff upper lip, but in fact they are in the plight described in the verse: "flowers fall off, do what one may." Countries want independence, nations want liberation, and the people want revolution—this is the historical trend that no one can resist.

Lenin said on many occasions that imperialism means aggression and war. War is inevitable so long as imperialism exists. While having full confidence in the future of the world, we maintain high vigilance and

are prepared against a surprise attack by social-imperialism and against any trouble-making by the super-powers in the world at large. Resolutely carrying out Chairman Mao's teaching of "be prepared against war, be prepared against natural disasters, and do everything for the people," we are making every necessary preparation. Whatever happens in the world, the Chinese people will unswervingly unite and fight together with the people of the entire world.

We warmly hail the great victories won by the three Indochinese peoples in their wars against U.S. aggression and for national salvation and firmly support their just struggles. We firmly support the solemn and just stand taken by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam for the thorough implementation of the Paris agreement as well as the six-point proposal for achieving peace and national concord in south Viet Nam put forward recently by the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam. The United States and the Saigon administration must truly implement all the provisions of the Paris agreement and stop all their acts which violate the agreement. We firmly support the correct stand taken by the Lao Patriotic Front and the Union of the Lao Patriotic Neutralist Forces for the thorough implementation of the Vientiane agreement and the Lao people's just struggle to achieve national concord and build a peaceful, independent, neutral, democratic, unified and prosperous Laos. We are convinced that the three Indochinese peoples, holding high the banner of the Summit Conference of the Indochinese Peoples, uniting closely and supporting one another, will surmount all difficulties and obstacles and realize their respective sacred national aspirations.

We firmly support the Korean people in their just struggle to oust foreign interference and achieve the independent and peaceful reunification of their father-

land, firmly support the Arab people, including the Palestinian people, in their struggle against Israeli Zionist aggression and for the recovery of the occupied territories, firmly support the Palestinian people in their just struggle for the restoration of their national rights, and firmly support the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America in their struggles against imperialism, hegemonism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, Zionism and racism and their just struggles to win or safeguard national independence, defend state sovereignty, develop the national economy and protect national resources. We resolutely support all just struggles of the people of the world.

China and Cambodia are close fraternal neighbours. There exists a traditional friendship of long-standing between our two peoples. In the protracted anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle, we have always sympathized with and supported each other. Over the past few years in particular, our solidarity and friendship have been further consolidated and developed. Our friendship is one that can stand tests, and no one on earth can undermine it. The Chinese people have always considered it their bounden internationalist duty to support the Cambodian people's war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. Four years ago, when the flames of the Cambodian people's war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation had just started to rage, the Chinese people's great leader Chairman Mao issued his solemn statement, proclaiming to the whole world the Chinese people's solemn and just stand of supporting the Cambodian people's struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. Recently, Chairman Mao again taught us: We are Communists, and we must help the people; not to help the people would be to betray Marxism. Bearing firmly in mind Chairman Mao's teachings, the Chinese people are determined to unswervingly support the just struggle of the Cambodian people till complete victory is won.

## Head of Delegation Khieu Samphan's Speech

TODAY is a day of special significance, for it is a day of get-together between the Delegation of the National United Front and the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia, which has come a long way from Cambodia — the hottest field of battle, and the people of the renowned capital Peking. We are most happy of the opportunity to have a joyous gathering directly with the people of Peking.

Before coming to the capital Peking, our delegation paid a successful visit to the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. The extremely warm reception accorded our delegation by the Vietnamese people, the Viet Nam Fatherland Front and the Vietnamese Government gave full expression to the militant unity and fraternal friendship which had long been forged between Cambodia

and Viet Nam. They solemnly pledged their full support and assistance to our people's war of national liberation till complete victory is won over the imperialist aggressors and the traitorous clique in Phnom Penh.

We are infinitely proud to be able to convey the warmest sentiments of revolutionary friendship of the Cambodian nation and people to the people of Peking, the Communist Party of China, the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Chinese People's Liberation Army and, through them, to the entire fraternal Chinese people.

Please allow me to take this fine opportunity to express once again the deep thanks of the Cambodian nation and people to the fraternal Chinese people who

have always provided them with multiform assistance in their liberation struggle.

Since the coup d'etat of March 18, 1970, U.S. imperialism has committed most savage aggression against Cambodia. We the people of such a small country have to fight bare-handed against the number one imperialism of the world.

U.S. imperialism has resorted to the most vicious plots in an attempt to crush the struggle of the Cambodian people. Particularly in 1973, U.S. imperialism concentrated all its air power in Southeast Asia and the Pacific to bomb Cambodia continuously for 195 days and nights. In so doing, it aimed at wiping out the Cambodian people and the People's Armed Forces of National Liberation of Cambodia and compelling the latter to surrender to it. But, filled with indignation against the enemy and holding high the banner of struggle, the Cambodian people and the P.A.F.N.L.C. dealt fierce counter-blows at the enemy. Instead of being wiped out, we have established firm positions on the doorsteps of Phnom Penh.

Allow us to take this opportunity to acquaint the people of the capital Peking with the current situation of the national liberation war of Cambodia. Since the dry season of 1973-74, U.S. imperialism has further intensified the war against us in Cambodia, sending additional plain-clothes military advisers to reach the total of 3,500 and planning to increase the number to 10,000 by the end of the year. These U.S. imperialist advisers have already been directly giving orders to the forces of the traitorous Phnom Penh clique on the battlefields, such as those on the outskirts of Phnom Penh and at Kampot, Kompong Thom and Oudong. At the same time, U.S. imperialism has been trying by all means to supply the traitorous Phnom Penh clique with artillery, tanks and other war materials as well as food stuffs through the few remaining lines of communication, such as the Mekong River waterway, so as to keep them alive and have them serve as tools for the implementation of its neo-colonialist policy.

Confronted with this situation, we the Cambodian people and the P.A.F.N.L.C. are prepared with determination to fight long and dauntlessly, stint no sacrifice and carry the sacred war of national liberation through till final victory. Since the dry season of 1973-74, we the Cambodian people and the P.A.F.N.L.C. have actively opened up battlefields around Phnom Penh. Making attacks in all directions, we have come within six kilometres of Phnom Penh. As on the battlefields to the northwest, south and east of Phnom Penh, we have also won victories in attacking and wiping out enemy strongholds on the outskirts of Phnom Penh. The enemy thought that our P.A.F.N.L.C. had become exhausted and unable to capture Phnom Penh. The fact is that our P.A.F.N.L.C., following flexible strategic principles formulated in accordance with the actual conditions, have in all circumstances seized every opportunity to wipe out enemy strongholds and effectives. We won tremendous victories on the battlefield of Highway 4 from Prek Phdau to Thnal Totung.

Then we turned to surround and threaten the provincial capital Kampot and lost no time to liberate Oudong, which used to be the ancient capital of Cambodia and has been the centre of strategic importance used by the enemy to protect Phnom Penh and Highway 5 and intercept our armed forces moving from the northeast to the southwest. To the east of Phnom Penh, we have liberated areas such as Koh Oknha Tey and Ksach Kandal, from which our gunshots can reach Phnom Penh, thus cutting off and obstructing the contacts between Phnom Penh and Kompong Cham.

We have not only won military victories of strategic significance, we the Cambodian people have also won victories in the political, economic, diplomatic and other fields. In the political field, the people in the areas temporarily held by the enemy are leading a very hard life at present. In order to live, they are rising in courageous struggles against the traitorous clique. In the economic field, the traitorous clique in Phnom Penh has to rely on U.S. imperialism for aid in all aspects, while we can be self-sufficient by developing production. Our Liberated Zone is becoming more and more powerful.

Diplomatically, the enemy is increasingly isolated, while our N.U.F.C. with Head of State Samdech Norodom Sihanouk as Chairman and our R.G.N.U.C. with Samdech Penn Nouth as Prime Minister enjoy an ever rising prestige and have won warm and active support from many friends throughout the world. Sixty countries have recognized the R.G.N.U.C. as the sole legal government of Cambodia. The R.G.N.U.C. is qualified and has the ability to run the affairs of the whole of Cambodia.

In sum, the enemy is in a desperate plight with no way out. Though U.S. imperialism is pushing "Khmerization" of the war and continuing to prop up by all means the traitorous Phnom Penh clique, it is unable to retrieve the worsening situation. On the other hand, we have vast areas. We are growing ever stronger with fighting. Our P.A.F.N.L.C. are winning ever more victories in fighting. The P.A.F.N.L.C. have overcome various difficulties in a spirit of self-reliance and become a very powerful army ideologically, politically and tactically.

On the basis of the above-mentioned victories, it is possible for us to annihilate the enemy completely in the near future.

While the great victories of the Cambodian people and P.A.F.N.L.C. have been won with their own blood and sweat, these victories are inseparable from the support and assistance given by the people of the world, particularly by the fraternal Chinese people. In the struggle of the Cambodian nation and people, whether in success or adversity, we have always regarded the People's Republic of China as our most reliable and solid rear area. Following the teachings of their illustrious leader Chairman Mao Tsetung, and

adhering to the principle and spirit of internationalism, the Chinese people have consistently supported the struggles of the people of the world against colonialism and imperialism and for national liberation.

On behalf of the R.G.N.U.C., the N.U.F.C. and the P.A.F.N.L.C., our delegation wishes to take this opportunity to express once again our deep thanks to the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese Government and people. We are firmly convinced that no matter what happens, the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese Government and people will continue to give

all-out support and assistance to the sacred struggle of the Cambodian nation and people till the realization of the five-point declaration issued on March 23, 1970 by Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia and Chairman of the N.U.F.C., and till complete victory.

With this conviction, I once again express my deep thanks to His Excellency Chou En-lai and their Excellencies the Party and state leaders of the People's Republic of China and the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee for holding this grand rally.

## Warmly Greet Lao People's New Victory

THE formal proclamation of the founding of the Lao Provisional National Union Government and the National Coalition Political Council on April 5, 1974 is a new achievement in the implementation of the Agreement on Restoring Peace and Achieving National Concord in Laos, and an important victory of the Lao people in their struggle to realize their national aspiration and fundamental national rights. It conforms to the aspiration of Lao people of all walks of life and is supported and welcomed by the Lao people. The Chinese people extend their warm congratulations at this.

The Provisional National Union Government and the National Coalition Political Council have come into being after a fierce and complex struggle. As is known to all, two coalition governments had been set up in Laos in 1957 and 1962 respectively. However, under the instigation of the United States, the Lao Rightist forces staged coups and overthrew the coalition governments, wrecking peace in Laos and plunging the Lao people into the catastrophe of a war of aggression. Drawing lessons from the failure of the two previous coalition governments, the Lao people have come to deeply understand that only by waging a resolute struggle against imperialism and the reactionaries can they propel the Lao situation forward and truly realize their national aspiration.

Since the signing of the Vientiane agreement last year, the Lao Patriotic Front, together with the Lao Patriotic Neutralist Forces, has waged a resolute struggle against obstruction and sabotage of the agreement by the Lao ultra-Rightist forces and put forward many fair and reasonable proposals, making unremitting efforts to realize national concord and promote the peaceful settlement of the Lao question. After a fairly long period of negotiations and struggle, agreement was finally reached on a series of questions on the basis of the Vientiane agreement, and the third National Union Government in the history of Laos was established with the approval of His Majesty the King. The formation

of the Lao Provisional National Union Government and the National Coalition Political Council has created new favourable conditions for the Lao people to solve their questions by themselves, free from foreign interference.

### Chinese Leaders Send Messages Of Congratulations

Acting Chairman of the People's Republic of China Tung Pi-wu on April 6 sent a message to His Majesty Sri Savang Vatthana, King of Laos, warmly greeting the establishment of the Lao Provisional National Union Government and the National Coalition Political Council.

On the same day Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China Chu Teh sent a message to Prince Souphanouvong, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Lao Patriotic Front and Chairman of the National Coalition Political Council of Laos, warmly congratulating him on the establishment of the P.N.U.G. and N.C.P.C. of Laos and on his assumption of the office of N.C.P.C. Chairman. The message said: "The establishment of the Provisional National Union Government and the National Coalition Political Council of Laos is another new achievement of the Lao people in their revolutionary struggle against imperialism. The Chinese people sincerely wish the Lao people continuous new successes in building a peaceful, independent, neutral, democratic, unified and prosperous Laos."

Premier Chou En-lai also sent a message the same day to Souvanna Phouma, Prime Minister of the Provisional National Union Government of Laos, congratulating him on his assumption of the office of Prime Minister of the P.N.U.G.

At present, the situation in Indochina continues to develop in the direction favourable to the people. The three Indochinese peoples are continuing their triumphant advance. It is hoped that the Lao Provisional National Union Government and the National Coalition Political Council will make continuous efforts to surmount all obstacles on the road of advance and contribute their share to the realization of peace, independence, neutrality, democracy, unity and prosperity in Laos.

### For Your Reference

## Three National Union Governments in Laos

**The 1954 Geneva Agreements and the 1st National Union Government:** In July 1954 the countries taking part in the Geneva Conference signed the Geneva Agreements on Indochina which ended eight years of war in Indochina, and the French Government declared its recognition of the independence and sovereignty of Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia. According to the Geneva Agreements on Laos, the representative of the Royal Laotian Government with Prince Souvanna Phouma as its Prime Minister and the representative of the Pathet Lao Fighting Units under the leadership of Prince Souphanouvong held direct talks for the peaceful reunification of the country. In the years 1956-57, agreement was reached by the two sides on the formation of a coalition government with the participation of the Pathet Lao Fighting Units and on other questions. On November 20, 1957, a coalition government which included two representatives of the Pathet Lao Fighting Units was proclaimed with Prince Souvanna Phouma as Prime Minister. The Lao Patriotic Front with Prince Souphanouvong as its Chairman began to openly carry out its activities.

Instigated by U.S. imperialism, the Lao Rightists in July 1958 overthrew the National Union Government and formed a Rightist government which excluded the Lao Patriotic Front. War was started by the Lao Rightists in 1959.

**The 1962 Geneva Agreement and the 2nd National Union Government:** To bring about a peaceful settlement of the Lao question, China, Viet Nam, Cambodia, Laos, France, Britain, the United States, the Soviet Union and six other countries held the enlarged Geneva Conference from May 1961 to July 1962 and concluded the Geneva Agreement on Laos. During this conference, Prince Souvanna Phouma, Prince Souphanouvong and Prince Boun Oum, top-ranking representatives of the three forces in Laos, held talks in Zurich, Switzerland, and reached agreement on the formation of a Provisional National Union Government and other questions. On June 23, 1962, a Provisional Lao National Union Government was formed with Prince Souvanna Phouma as Prime Minister.

China and Laos are friendly neighbours. There exists a long-standing, traditional friendship between the Chinese and Lao peoples. In the protracted struggle against imperialism our two peoples have always encouraged and supported each other. In the days to come, the Chinese people will, as always, respect the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of Laos, and support the just struggle of the Lao people until they achieve complete victory.

*("Renmin Ribao" editorial, April 7)*

In 1963 the Lao Rightists engineered a series of incidents in a plot to subvert the Provisional National Union Government: patriotic personages and supporters of peace and neutrality in the National Union Government were assassinated, military attacks on the Pathet Lao Fighting Units and the Lao Patriotic Neutralist Forces were launched and armed conflict was provoked. On April 19, 1964, the Rightists staged a military coup d'etat and overthrew the National Union Government. Beginning in May that year, U.S. aircraft started to openly engage in reconnaissance, bombing and strafing in the Lao Liberated Zone. With direct U.S. military intervention in Laos, implementation of the Geneva accords was completely undermined.

**The 1973 Vientiane Agreement and the 3rd National Union Government:** After the overthrow of the 2nd National Union Government the patriotic forces and people of Laos, under the leadership of the Lao Patriotic Front with Prince Souphanouvong as Chairman, persevered in armed struggle to resist U.S. imperialism's military aggression and the attacks of the Rightist forces and to protect the Liberated Zone while making tireless efforts to settle the Lao question peacefully. On March 6, 1970, the Central Committee of the Lao Patriotic Front issued a statement in which it put forward a five-point political solution for settling the Lao question. The Lao Patriotic Front followed this up by sending its representative to Vientiane for talks with the representative of the Vientiane Government. In October 1972, formal talks started between the Delegation of the Patriotic Forces, representing the Patriotic Front and the Patriotic Neutralist Forces, and the Delegation of the Vientiane Government and on February 21, 1973 the Agreement on Restoring Peace and Achieving National Concord in Laos was formally signed in Vientiane. This agreement stipulated that pending the holding of general elections, a new Provisional National Union Government (P.N.U.G.) and a National Coalition Political Council (N.C.P.C.) to implement the provisions of the agreement and handle state affairs must be formed. On September 14, 1973, the two parties signed the protocol for implementing the agreement and made concrete stipulations on the composition and the distribution of positions in the P.N.U.G. and the N.C.P.C.

In regard to the tasks, position and composition of the P.N.U.G. and the N.C.P.C., these were stipulated as

*(Continued on p. 22.)*

# Confucius' Doctrine of the Mean Is a Philosophy Opposed to Social Change

by Cheh Chun, Peking University

THE doctrine of the mean was an important part of the thought of Confucius and the Confucian school. The bourgeois careerist, conspirator, counter-revolutionary double-dealer, renegade and traitor Lin Piao and his sworn follower Chen Po-ta, like those of the reactionary exploiting classes in history, wildly preached the doctrine of the mean. They said: The doctrine of the mean was "rational," "dialectical thinking" and "one of our nation's great virtues." They also said: Confucius' doctrine of the mean "exercised a great influence" on "the later development of the dialectical philosophy in our country" and "this was a very big merit for Confucius in the history of Chinese philosophy," and so forth.

After all, what sort of philosophy is the doctrine of the mean? What role did it play in Chinese history? Which classes did it really serve? This is a cardinal issue of right and wrong and must be clearly argued out.

The doctrine of the mean was first put out by Confucius. He said: "The mean (*chung yung*)" was a supreme "virtue"; "going beyond the limit" was equal to "falling short" and it was necessary to get hold of *chung* (meaning neither excess nor deficiency). This doctrine of Confucius was further developed later by his grandson Tzu Ssu and Tzu Ssu's disciple Mencius.

The doctrine of the mean was closely integrated with the whole ideological system of Confucius. One of his central ideas was returning to the "rites of the Chou Dynasty" without the slightest breach and deviation. That was the requirement for what Confucius called the supreme "virtue"—the doctrine of the mean. Actually it meant complete restoration of the hierarchy of the slave system of the Western Chou Dynasty.

Philosophically speaking, the so-called doctrine of the mean wants to preserve for ever the old unity of opposites in a contradiction and the stability of the old quality of things. According to this doctrine, if things go beyond the limit of the old quality or fall short of it, they should be opposed unconditionally. Only *chung* is the best, because once this is grasped, things won't go to the extreme and the stability of the old quality will not be destroyed.

A certain quality has its fixed limit and it can maintain its stability within this limit. But the doctrine of the mean sanctified this limit and regarded stability of the old quality as absolute. In this respect it described old things as an unconquerable force and as sacred and eternal, and "Heaven changeth not, likewise the Tao changeth not." Obviously this is out-and-out metaphysics.

As a conception of history, the doctrine of the mean regarded as absolute and sacred the old social and economic formation and its superstructure, negated the revolutionary changes and progressive movement in society and upheld conservatism, restoration of the old and retrogression. Therefore, this doctrine is the dyed-in-the-wool philosophy of conservatives and reactionaries.

Marxist dialectics holds that the unity of the two contradictory aspects in a contradiction is relative and their struggle is absolute. The qualitative stability of things is relative and the leap of a thing from the old to the new quality is absolute. The immobility of things is relative and their movement absolute. Dialectics recognizes the qualitative stability of things but opposes regarding this as an absolute state. According to dialectics, when the struggle of the two contradictory aspects in a contradiction develops beyond a certain limit, it will inevitably destroy the stability of the old quality, break up the old entity, bring about transformation of the contradiction and lead to the death of the old and the birth of the new. This is precisely as Engels described: "In the course of development, all that was previously real becomes unreal, loses its necessity, its right of existence, its rationality. And in the place of moribund reality comes a new, viable reality." (Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy.)

Therefore, Marxists interpret the development of history as a process in which the new-born things (the new social and economic formation, new class forces, new persons and new ideas) inevitably and successively defeat decadent things (the old social and economic formation and its superstructure). New-born things are invincible. "The supersession of the old by the new is



a general, eternal and inviolable law of the universe." (Mao Tsetung: *On Contradiction*.)

Thus it is clear that the doctrine of the mean is diametrically opposed to revolutionary dialectics. Is it not extremely absurd to say that this doctrine is identical with the idea of the unity of opposites or dialectics?

Chairman Mao has pointed out: "It is only the reactionary ruling classes of the past and present and the metaphysicians in their service who regard opposites not as living, conditional, mobile and transforming themselves into one another, but as dead and rigid, and they propagate this fallacy everywhere to delude the masses of the people, thus seeking to perpetuate their rule." (*On Contradiction*.) Beginning from Confucius, all representatives of the reactionary exploiting classes in Chinese history preached the doctrine of the mean. Their purpose was to safeguard their reactionary rule and old system, old order and old culture and to oppose reform, revolution and the movement promoting society's advance.

Confucius lived in the period of transition from slave society to feudal society, an era of big social changes in which the slave system was rapidly collapsing. Stubbornly taking the reactionary stand of the declining slave-owning aristocrats, he put forward the doctrine of the mean in an effort to preserve the dying slave system and oppose social changes. He said: "What a supreme virtue it is to act according to the mean! The common people have long failed to do so." Tzu Ssu said: "I now know that this doctrine of the mean cannot be practised by the common people." In the face of the collapse of the slave system in the era of big social changes, this was their hopeless lament. According to them, the society in which "the rites were lost and music was ruined" was all in a mess, the present was not as good as the past, and each generation was worse than the previous one. Successive slave revolts, the steady growth of the forces of the new emerging landlord class and incessant violations of the so-called "rites" or code of the slave system—all this went against the doctrine of the mean they preached.

For instance, the Houses of Chisun, Mengsun and Shusun of the State of Lu were representatives of the new emerging feudal landlord class. With more and more land under their private ownership and their ever expanding influence, they encroached upon the interests of the ruler of Lu who represented the rule of the slave-owning aristocrats. Confucius denounced them for overstepping the bounds of what they should do. Previously, only the ruler of a state could build a capital, but each of the three houses had also built one. How could this be permitted? So Confucius incited some people to destroy the two citadels built by the Chisuns and Shusuns. Only the sovereign could put on a dance performed by 64 dancers, but the Chisuns did it in their ancestral temple. Unable to contain his indignation, Confucius said: "If this could be tolerated, what else could not be tolerated?"

Thus, Confucius advanced the task of "rectifying titles." The code of the slave system under which "the king is a king, the minister a minister, the father a father and the son a son" must be strictly observed, and both "going beyond the limit" and "falling short" were impermissible according to the "rites of Chou." Confucius said many times that one should "go by the rites" and not go beyond their limit or fall short of them. Going against the "rites" was not permitted because this deviated from *chung*. In essence, the doctrine of the mean advocated by Confucius meant upholding the hierarchy of the old slave system and regarding it as sacred and eternal.

When Fan Hsuan-tzu\* of the State of Tsin enacted laws and inscribed the statutes on an iron tripod, Confucius held that this would lead the slaves to show no respect for the aristocrats and bring about the end of the slave-owning aristocrats' rule. He sighed: "Tsin probably will soon perish because they lost their 'criterion.'" Here the criterion referred to the "rites" — the code of the slave-owning aristocracy. Without this criterion, the doctrine of the mean would be destroyed. Hence Confucius preached that one should "restrain oneself and return to the rites" and "not look at things, listen to things, say things and do things which do not conform to the rites." His purpose was strictly to bind every word and action of the people to the code of the declining system of the slave-owning aristocracy.

Tzu Ssu also advocated that people should be content with their position, and that they should not be insubordinate and rebellious, violate the old code and old order or betray the "Way" of the system of the slave-owning aristocracy. He said: "The superior man acts according to the mean and the inferior man acts contrary to the mean." By "the superior man," he meant the declining slave-owning aristocrats. Since they could abide by the "rites of Chou" which upheld the slave system's hierarchy, their acts naturally conformed with the doctrine of the mean. By "the inferior man," he meant the rebellious slaves and the new emerging feudal forces which were "insubordinate and rebellious." They violated the "rites of Chou" and therefore were acting contrary to the doctrine of the mean. Tzu Ssu cursed them for "being ignorant but fond of using their own judgment, being base but wanting power themselves." As for such "inferior men," they should be mercilessly suppressed with violence.

During a big slave revolt in the State of Cheng, the slave-owners ruthlessly put down this uprising and slaughtered all the slaves who took part. In great exaltation, Confucius praised this: "Excellent! When the slaves are treated too leniently, they will rise in rebellion; such rebellions must be severely suppressed!" Didn't Confucius himself kill Shaocheng Mou?

\* Fan Hsuan-tzu was in charge of state affairs at that time in Tsin which was a state (in the southern part of present-day Shansi Province) under the slave system in the Spring and Autumn Period.

Standing for reforms, Shaocheng Mou was a very big threat to the system of the slave-owning aristocracy. Confucius said: "This hero of the inferior men had to be killed." The killing of Shaocheng Mou was precisely to preserve the existence of the slave system and in conformity with the needs of the doctrine of the mean.

The above facts show that Confucius' doctrine of the mean was really an ideological weapon used by the declining slave-owning aristocrats to uphold the old system and oppose social change.

After Confucius and Mencius, the Neo-Confucianism\* (*li hsueh*) represented by Cheng Hao, Cheng Yi and Chu Hsi in the Sung Dynasty (960-1279) also paid a great deal of attention to preaching the doctrine of the mean. Class struggle became very intensified at that time and peasant uprisings followed one after another. In some of them the peasants' slogans were "putting the noble and the lowly on an equal footing" and "equalizing the wealth between the rich and the poor," which shook the rule of the feudal hierarchy. At the same time, reformers like Wang An-shih\*\* emerged from among the ruling class. Maintaining that society was developing and changing, Wang An-shih stood for reform and was against a return to the old order. He said: "Natural changes need not be feared, ancestral ways need not be followed and other people's slanders need not be heeded." To a certain extent this was progressive at that time.

Under these circumstances, the idealist Neo-Confucianists represented by Cheng Hao, Cheng Yi and Chu Hsi put special emphasis on the doctrine of the

\* Neo-Confucianism was the idealist philosophy founded by the two brothers Cheng Hao and Cheng Yi and developed by Chu Hsi. It was the official philosophy reflecting the interests of the feudal ruling class in the later period of Chinese feudal society. It described *li*, or reason, as the eternal constitution of the universe and the origin of all things in the world. This *li* was a continuation of the concept of the "ordinance of heaven."

Cheng Hao (1032-85), alias Cheng Po-chun, and Cheng Yi (1033-1107), alias Cheng Cheng-shu, were natives of Honan Province. Politically, they belonged to the conservative party and opposed reform. Philosophically, they advocated idealist Neo-Confucianism. Their works included *Yi Shu* (Left-Over Writings) and *Wen Chi* (Collection of Articles), and their works were compiled into *Collected Works of the Two Chengs*.

Chu Hsi (1130-1200), a representative of the Confucian school in the Southern Sung Dynasty, was an idealist philosopher who exercised the greatest influence in feudal times after Confucius and Mencius. He held that all things in the universe and the feudal order were determined by "reason," which had existed before all things. He described the Three Cardinal Guides and the Five Constant Virtues, which upheld the order of feudal rule, as eternal and unchangeable "heavenly reason." He regarded all desire and wishes contrary to the order of feudal rule as the vilest "human passions." He put forward his reactionary view of "preserving heavenly reason and eliminating human passions" to provide a basis for the fallacies of the feudal ruling class such as "to exploit is justified" and "to oppress is justified." The *Collection of Annotations for the Four Books* he compiled became a required textbook for reading stipulated by later feudal rulers.

mean, saying: "Not leaning to either side is called *chung*; being unchangeable is called *yung*. *Chung* is the correct way to be followed by all under heaven. *Yung* is the fixed principle governing all under heaven." "Not leaning to either side" meant there should not be the slightest deviation from the feudal hierarchy; "being unchangeable" meant there should not be the slightest change in the feudal hierarchy.

By using the doctrine of the mean, they made the feudal hierarchy sacred and thus created public opinion for suppressing the peasant uprisings. Diametrically opposed to such slogans of the revolting peasants such as "putting the noble and the lowly on an equal footing" and "equalizing the wealth between the rich and the poor," they said: "The order of ranks between the noble and the lowly should not be undermined. How can anyone go against the 'reason of heaven?'" They tried to make the masses accept their positions in life and not take any excessive action, so that the order and code of the feudal hierarchy could be safeguarded.

They also used the doctrine of the mean to oppose Wang An-shih's reforms. They criticized the new law he had adopted as "using the lowly to oppress the noble, using heretic measures to interfere with the orthodox way." In their eyes, even a slight change in the old system and old order was not permissible because it might endanger the existence of the feudal hierarchy. Obviously the Neo-Confucianists represented by the Cheng brothers and Chu Hsi also used the doctrine of the mean as a reactionary ideological weapon to oppose revolution and reform.

It should be pointed out that during the prolonged period of feudal society the feudal rulers not only made use of the doctrine of the mean but continuously adapted and modified it. Originally this doctrine stressed the absoluteness of the limits and scope of the old quality (to Confucius this was the "rites" — the code of the hierarchy under the slave system) to oppose a qualitative leap, revolutionary change and the movement for social progress. Later, emphasis was placed on expounding another related aspect, that is, preaching the compromise and eclecticism in contradictions and negating their struggle. The aim here also was to oppose a qualitative leap, revolutionary change and the movement for social progress.

Such adaptations began from the Han Dynasty (206 B.C.-220 A.D.). In his annotations to the *Analects* and the *Doctrine of the Mean*, Cheng Hsuan\*\*\* in the Eastern

\*\* Wang An-shih (1019-86), was a comparatively progressive statesman, thinker and writer of the landlord class. He was twice prime minister in the Sung Dynasty and stood for carrying out political reforms, putting the new laws into effect and restricting the privileges of the big bureaucrats and landlords.

\*\*\* Cheng Hsuan (127-200), alias Cheng Kang-cheng, was a native of Shantung Province. He explained and elaborated on the Confucian classics on a wide scale and became the outstanding scholar in the study of the Confucian classics in the Han Dynasty.

Han Dynasty (25-220) interpreted the mean as the compromise of opposites. He said: "The mean is the application of the compromise of opposites." In his annotation to the *Doctrine of the Mean*, Chu Hsi in the Sung Dynasty also stressed that the mean implied the compromise and eclecticism in contradictions. The phrases he used included "not leaning to either side," "taking hold of the two ends and finding the middle," and "accepting unreasonable things without taking revenge."

All these adaptations, in the final analysis, were made to meet the needs of the economic base of feudal society. With the constant sharpening of the basic contradiction — that between the landlords and the peasants — in feudal society and especially after the great peasant uprising at the end of the Chin Dynasty\* and the two great peasant uprisings at the end of the Western and Eastern Han Dynasties\*\*, the feudal ruling class sensed that, apart from continuing to stress from the positive side the sacred and inviolable nature of the feudal hierarchy, it needed to advocate class conciliation and thus directly negate the class struggle waged by the exploited people in order to consolidate its rule and exploitation of the peasants. This was

\*The great peasant uprising at the end of the Chin Dynasty was the first such uprising in Chinese history. In 209 B.C., the first year of the reign of Chin Erh Shih, Chen Sheng and Wu Kuang, who were among the 900 conscripts on their way for garrison duty at a frontier post, organized the conscripts to revolt in Chihhsien County (now Suhsien County in Anhwei Province) against the tyranny of the Chin Dynasty. This revolt won response from the whole nation. Hsiang Yu and his uncle Hsiang Liang started an armed uprising in Wu (now Wuhsien County in Kiangsu Province) and Liu Pang also rose up in arms in Pei (now Peihhsien County in Shantung Province). Hsiang Yu's army annihilated the main forces of Chin, and Liu Pang's troops occupied the Kuanchung area and Chin's capital. In the ensuing struggle between Liu Pang and Hsiang Yu, the latter was defeated and committed suicide. Liu Pang became emperor and founded the Han Dynasty.

\*\* There were widespread peasant unrest and scattered peasant uprisings in the last years of the Western Han Dynasty. In 8 A.D. Wang Mang overthrew the reigning dynasty, ascended the throne and introduced some reforms to stave off peasant unrest. There was serious starvation in the south at the time and Wang Kuang and Wang Feng, natives of Hsinshih (present-day Chingshan County in Hupeh Province), were made leaders by the starving masses to start a revolt. Later, this armed peasant force reached Nanyang and was called the Hsinshih Army. Chen Mu, a native of Pinglin (to the northeast of present-day Suihsien County in Hupeh Province), led more than 1,000 people in revolt and their armed forces were called the Pinglin Army. The Bronze Horses and the Red Eyebrows were peasant forces which revolted during Wang Mang's reign in what now is central Hopei and central Shantung Provinces respectively. The Red Eyebrows led by Fan Chung, the largest of the peasant forces at that time, were so named because the rebels painted their eyebrows red.

In 184 A.D. during the reign of the Emperor Ling of the Eastern Han Dynasty, peasant forces in revolt led by Chang Chiao were called the Yellow Turbans after their headdress.

why it made adaptations to the doctrine of the mean and widely propagated it.

Many centuries later, Chiang Kai-shek also laid special stress on the doctrine of the mean. While carrying out counter-revolutionary military encirclement and suppression of the people's revolutionary forces led by the Chinese Communist Party in the period of the ten-year civil war (1927-37), he wildly trumpeted the doctrine of the mean. This doctrine, he asserted, was "the subtlest and most practical philosophy of life," "an excellent ethical philosophy and excellent political philosophy" and "an eternal principle." Chiang Kai-shek tried to use the threadbare doctrine of the mean to maintain the semi-feudal and semi-colonial social system and his fascist dictatorship of the landlords and comprador-bourgeoisie, sap the people's revolutionary will, bind them hand and foot and restrain them from rising in revolutionary rebellion, that is, "every one follows his nature, every one enjoys his place and there are no conflicts." His purpose was to maintain reactionary imperialist, feudalistic and bureaucrat-capitalist rule in China. The military encirclement and suppression and the advocating of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius were Chiang Kai-shek's dual tactics to suppress revolution.

In the period of socialism the doctrine of the mean is still an ideological weapon used by the landlord class and the bourgeoisie to oppose the revolution. The struggle is very sharp between reform and sticking to the old, between revolution and restoration and between progress and retrogression in this historical period. Its reflection in philosophy is the sharp struggle between dialectics and metaphysics. Applying the Marxist-Leninist law of unity of opposites in observing socialist society, Chairman Mao advanced the theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and formulated for our Party the basic line for the whole historical period of socialism. To uphold the political and economic interests of the declining and moribund bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, and to realize their criminal plots in attempting to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism, Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and other chieftains who pushed a revisionist line, like the reactionary classes in history, used the doctrine of the mean as an important ideological weapon to oppose proletarian revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat and continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and oppose the Party's basic line for the whole historical period of socialism.

In his big poisonous weed *Why Do People Make Mistakes?* written during the period of the democratic revolution, Liu Shao-chi talked a good deal about "to go beyond the limit is as bad as to fall short" and made Confucius' doctrine of the mean his philosophical maxim. When, guided by the Party's general line for the transition period, we carried out socialist transformation in ownership and on other fronts, Liu Shao-chi

hastened to bring up the slogan "Strive to consolidate the new-democratic system" to oppose the transformation in ownership. He babbled that "socialism is a future issue and it is too early now to raise this question" and that "to bring about state and collective ownership too early is contrary to the interests of the majority of the people and runs counter to progress."

Liu Shao-chi also opposed reforms in culture, saying that "in making theatrical reforms, don't be impetuous and don't change beyond the limit," and "you can't change too early or go too far from the original." "You can't change too early," "don't change beyond the limit" and "you can't go too far from the original" — all this in fact meant not permitting change, making qualitative changes and going forward. In other words, it meant using the doctrine of the mean to oppose the Party's general line for the transition period and oppose socialist transformation, in his futile efforts to perpetuate capitalism in town and countryside.

When the people of the whole country brought about a big leap forward in 1958 under the guidance of the Party's general line for socialist construction, Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao hurled all kinds of abuse to vent their hatred for the big leap forward. The former attacked it with such phrases as "going crazy" and "going too hastily and getting into trouble"; the latter attacked the Party's general line, the big leap forward and the people's communes, saying that they were all "Left" products, "a losing business" and "doings based on illusion." They clamoured for going backward, saying that "industry as well as agriculture should beat a retreat sufficiently, including fixing output quotas on the basis of individual households and going it alone." They vainly attempted to use the reactionary philosophy — "to go beyond the limit is as bad as to fall short" and the doctrine of the mean — to resist the Party's general line of going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism, and oppose the big leap forward in socialist construction, thereby fanning up counter-revolutionary opinion for their restoration of capitalism and retrogression.

The struggle has been even more sharp since the start of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, which has been carried out under the guidance of the Party's basic line for the whole historical period of socialism and is the great practice of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. This revolution has dealt heavy blows at the reactionary forces of imperialism, revisionism and reaction abroad and the landlord class and the bourgeoisie at home, and has also severely pounded the old ideas, old culture, old customs and old habits of the exploiting classes. A series of socialist new things has emerged in the Great Cultural Revolution. This represents very profound social changes.

Like all other representatives of the exploiting classes, Lin Piao harboured inveterate hatred for the

Great Cultural Revolution. He ranted that the doctrine of the mean was "rational," maliciously slandered the Great Cultural Revolution, attacked the new things that have emerged in this revolution, described the present excellent situation as bleak and dreary and spread the reactionary saying that the present was worse than the past. He used the doctrine of the mean as a theoretical pillar for staging a counter-revolutionary coup d'état and his vengeful counter-attack on the proletariat and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. This shows that in the socialist period the doctrine of the mean has become a reactionary ideological weapon in the hands of the bourgeois reactionaries to oppose the Party's basic line and oppose continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and to try to restore capitalism.

However, the objective law governing historical development cannot be altered by the subjective will of such renegades and traitors as Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao. The reactionary philosophy of the doctrine of the mean cannot hold back history from advance. Revolutionary leaps take place one after another and the reactionary philosophy of the doctrine of the mean meets defeat again and again. Exactly as our great teacher Chairman Mao has concluded: **"Opportunists who want to stem the tide are to be found almost everywhere, but the tide can never be stemmed. Socialism is everywhere advancing triumphantly, leaving all obstructions behind."**

Of course, the downfall of Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao does not spell the end of the struggle. The struggle between reform and sticking to the old, between revolution and restoration and between advance and retrogression will continue throughout the historical period of socialism. The reactionary forces of the bourgeoisie are always trying to make a come-back and turn back the wheel of history. We must firmly resist the tide of sticking to the old, restoration and retrogression. We must use Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought as our sharp weapon to thoroughly criticize the doctrine of the mean, the reactionary ideas of Confucius and the idea of revering Confucius and opposing the Legalist school, and carry the socialist revolution in the realm of superstructure through to the end.

Chairman Mao said in 1956: **"Things develop ceaselessly. It is only forty-five years since the Revolution of 1911, but the face of China has completely changed. In another forty-five years, that is, in the year 2001, or the beginning of the 21st century, China will have undergone an even greater change."** (In *Commemoration of Dr. Sun Yat-sen.*) Chairman Mao said in 1962: **"The next 50 to 100 years or so, beginning from now, will be a great era of radical change in the social system throughout the world, an earth-shaking era without equal in any previous historical period."** We oppose conservatism, restoration and retrogression. We stand for reform, revolution and social progress. We firmly believe that no force on earth can prevent the advance of the big wheel of history.

# ROUND THE WORLD

KAMPALA

## Co-ordinating Common Position For Conference on Law of Sea

Delegates from 22 land-locked and geologically disadvantaged developing countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America met in Kampala, capital of Uganda, from March 20 to 22 to co-ordinate their common position to be taken at the Second Session of the Third U.N. Conference on the Law of the Sea.

A Kampala declaration issued by these countries at the end of the meeting pointed out that the forthcoming session of the U.N. conference should strive to draw up a future comprehensive legal order for sea and ocean space and provide for "orderly and equitable development and en-

joyment of ocean resources, with the participation of all nations including land-locked and other geologically disadvantaged states."

The declaration affirmed: "It is necessary to consider the need and interests of developing countries, particularly those of land-locked and other geologically disadvantaged states." It also set down some principles guaranteeing the essential rights and interests of land-locked and geologically disadvantaged developing countries, principles which should be embodied in the future legal order for the sea and oceans.

The substantive Second Session of the Third U.N. Conference on the Law of the Sea is scheduled to take place in Caracas, capital of Venezuela,

from June 20 to August 29 this year. The 28th U.N. General Assembly last year authorized the Third Conference on the Law of the Sea to adopt a pact to deal with all problems involving the law of the sea. The opening session of that conference took place last December 3 in New York.

"AL ANWAR" (BEIRUT)

## Soviet Sabotage of Arab People's Struggle Against Israel

The daily *Al Anwar* in Beirut on March 29 carried an interview by its correspondent Alia Solh with Egyptian President Anwar El Sadat who exposed the lies the Soviet Union concocted during the October Middle East war to undermine the Arab people's struggle against Israeli Zionism.

President Sadat said: "The two giants, the United States and the Soviet Union, are maintaining the existence of Israel and acting each in its own way to safeguard the presence of Israel."

During the October 6 Middle East war, he said: "Six hours after the outbreak of operations, I was still at the headquarters of the military command. The military operations proceeded according to our plan of attack. I was told then that the Soviet Ambassador to Egypt had asked to see me urgently. At that moment, Egyptian flags had been hoisted over the Sinai, Egyptian forces had crossed the Bar-Lev line and Israeli forces had been thrown off balance by the shock of the attack. It was at that very moment the Soviet Ambassador chose to request an urgent meeting. Thus, I left the headquarters of the military command to receive him. I was surprised by the news the Soviet Ambassador announced — that Syria had requested a ceasefire and officially expressed the request to the Soviet Union. 'We informed you of this,' the Ambassador told me, 'because we have received an urgent and official request from Syria. You must contact President Assad.'

"I categorically rejected a ceasefire and I asked the Soviet Ambassador

"THE CLASS STRUGGLE" (NORWAY)

## Social-Imperialism's Sanguinary Arms Deals

**T**HE *Class Struggle*, organ of the Workers' Communist Party of Norway (Marxist-Leninist), in an article in its ninth issue of 1974 exposed the fact that Soviet revisionist social-imperialism not only had sold arms at exorbitant prices, but also used spare parts as a means of pressure. The spare parts were priced several times higher than the arms.

Entitled "Every Ruble Stained With Blood From Profitable War Contracts," the article said that Soviet leaders had made much about Soviet arms' "aid" to the Arab countries since the October Middle East war. However, the arms were provided entirely to maintain Soviet military control over these countries. The weapons were sold at high prices and for foreign exchange.

The Soviet Union has been selling arms for quite a number of years, with transactions becoming ever

more substantial and terms more exacting.

The article pointed out that while bragging about their "love for peace," the Soviet revisionists were in fact experts in fishing in troubled waters, taking advantage of every tense situation and war in the world. They sold large quantities of munitions to India during the Indo-Pakistan war of 1965. In autumn 1971, they pushed India to the fore in the war of aggression to partition Pakistan. At the same time, they made fabulous profits by selling 5,000 million krone worth of aircraft, armoured cars and missiles to India.

Describing as brazen lies the Soviet leaders' allegations that their arms deals are "selfless assistance," "aid given to national-liberation struggles by a socialist country" and "a living example of the firmly principled policy of internationalism," the article stressed that the difference between social-imperialism and old-line imperialism is that the former adds the cover of "socialism."

to inform his government of my refusal. At the same time, I sent a cable to President Assad.

"On October 7, I received from President Assad a cable denying having requested a ceasefire. On the arrival of this cable, the Soviet Ambassador asked for another meeting with me and repeated to me that Syria had requested an urgent ceasefire. My answer was firm, and I told him that I based myself only on the cable sent by President Assad. For me, the sole truth was in the cable."

He also exposed the U.S. acts of concocting lies to force a ceasefire on Egypt.

Commenting on Sadat's interview, the Kuwait paper *Al Rai Al Amm* said in an article on March 30: "During the October war, the Arabs cast aside the principles of the Soviet-American detente." "The so-called just and durable peace in the Middle East which the Soviet Union and the United States are seeking is not to support Arab rights but to prevent the collapse of Israel. In order to safeguard their spheres of influence in this important region, the two superpowers are trying to maintain a balance of forces in this region instead of bringing about real peace there."

F.R.G.

## Worsening Economic Situation

With the entire capitalist world beset with economic difficulties, the Federal Republic of Germany's economic situation has been worsening.

The tempo of industrial production in that country since the second half of last year has slackened, industrial bankruptcies have risen, unemployment has gone up drastically and under-capacity operations have become increasingly serious. At the same time, inflation has reached its highest rate in more than 20 years.

The F.R.G. Institute for Economic Research in a recent report said the economy is now in a "transitional stage from the slackening of industrial growth to stagnation." According to figures released by the F.R.G. Federal Statistics Bureau, gross social product in the second half of 1973, reckoned in terms of constant prices, rose 4.5 per cent compared with the corresponding period of 1972, while in the first half of 1973 it had jumped 6.1 per cent over the same period of 1972. Industrial production dropped 4.6 per cent in December 1973, compared with the previous month, and again fell, this time by 11 per cent, in January this year.

The F.R.G. Government annual economic report estimates that the

actual economic growth rate in 1974 will be 2 per cent at most. F.R.G. Chancellor Willy Brandt has repeatedly predicted the possibility of zero growth in the economy.

Meanwhile, the F.R.G. has witnessed the speeded-up concentration of capital and more bankrupt enterprises. There were 274 cases of business mergers in 1973 and 5,515 cases of bankruptcy and liquidation proceedings — an increase of 20.5 per cent compared with 1972.

The monopoly capitalists shifted their economic difficulties on to the workers by mass lay-offs and reducing working hours. Over 485,000 people were unemployed at the end of 1973 and the number continued to rise in the first two months of this year.

Along with the slowed-down economic growth, inflation continued to worsen and prices soared incessantly, making the life of the labouring people more and more difficult. On March 6, 53,000 steel workers in Bremen and Bremerhaven went on strike to protest soaring prices and to demand higher wages.

Apprehension, anxiety and pessimism over the worsening economic situation is prevalent in F.R.G. official and economic circles.

(Continued from p. 15.)

follows by the Agreement on Restoring Peace and Achieving National Concord in Laos, the protocol to the agreement signed on September 14, 1973, and the Joint Communique issued on April 5 this year by Prince Souvanna Phouma and Prince Souphanouvong:

**P.N.U.G.:** It will be made up of an equal number of representatives of the Vientiane Government and of the Patriotic Forces and two personalities who stand for peace, independence, neutrality and democracy and who will be chosen by the two sides by common agreement. The future prime minister will not be included in the equal number of representatives of the two sides.

The P.N.U.G. will be set up following a special procedure through direct investiture by the King of Laos and will function in accordance with the principle of unanimity of the two sides. Its task is to implement the agreement and the political programme agreed upon by the two sides, such as, to implement and maintain the ceasefire, safeguard lasting peace, completely carry out the people's democratic liberties, practise a foreign policy of peace, independence and neutrality,

co-ordinate the plans for economic construction and cultural development, and receive and distribute aid given by various countries to Laos, and to build Laos into a genuinely peaceful, independent, democratic, neutral, unified and prosperous country.

**N.C.P.C.:** It is an independent organ on an equal footing with the P.N.U.G. It will consist of an equal number of representatives of the Vientiane Government and the Patriotic Forces and a number of personalities approving peace, independence, neutrality and democracy to be chosen by the two sides. It will function in accordance with the principle of unanimity of the two parties.

Its tasks are to discuss major problems related to the country's internal and external political lines and present its views on these problems to the P.N.U.G.; to promote and assist the P.N.U.G., promote and help the two sides in the implementation of the agreement reached by both sides, to achieve national concord; to jointly examine and adopt the laws and regulations for the elections and join the P.N.U.G. in organizing general elections to set up the National Assembly and a formal National Union Government.

## THIRD WORLD CHRONICLE

**Algeria.** Maritime transport in Algeria was in the hands of the colonialists before independence. Since the country's independence in 1962, the Algerian Government and people have developed maritime transport as one of the principal measures for safeguarding economic sovereignty and consolidating national independence. The Algerian National Shipping Company, which had only two vessels when it was set up in 1964, now has a fleet of 31 vessels of all types after ten years of service. Tonnage is 265,000 tons.

New shipping lines have been opened with the expansion of the merchant fleet. This is an event of great importance to the development of trade between Algeria and other African countries.

Many wharves have been expanded and built and loading and unloading facilities improved in the last few years. In addition, Algeria has taken over all the business of foreign shipping agents and drawn up its own maritime transport policy. It also attaches great importance to training its own cadres and technicians to meet the need for developing maritime shipping and getting maritime transport firmly in its own hands. Eleven seamen's schools and the Algerian National Shipping Institute for training captains, chief engineers and other high-ranking technical personnel have been established. All crew members and most technical personnel of the merchant fleet are now Algerians.

**Zaire.** A 700-page Swahili dictionary of 30,000 words has been published in Zaire. The dictionary also has an article on the origin and development of the language and its uses in Africa and the rest of the world.

Used by nearly 30 million people, Swahili is one of the common languages in Africa. Now Tanzania's national language and Kenya's official language, it is also popular in Zaire.

**Morocco.** Morocco has rich fish resources and a developed fishing and processing industry. Tinned sardines, frozen fish, fish oil and fish meal are exported to world markets.

To promote deep-sea fishing, the Moroccan Government in March last year announced the extension of the fishing zone to 70 nautical miles, provided facilities for mechanization of traditional fishing boats and actively increased modern ships of bigger tonnage and advanced fishing equipment. Satisfactory results have been obtained. The 1973 total catch was 340,000 tons, 90,000 tons more than in the previous year.

**Congo.** A decision to ban all foreign insurance companies promulgated by the Congolese Government took effect March 1.

Previously, the Congo's insurance business was basically monopolized by 19 foreign companies. It is now being undertaken by the Congo Insurance and Reinsurance Company set up October 31 last year.

**Iran.** Sugar-beet production reached about 4.3 million tons in 1973 and sugar-beet plantation areas were expanded to 176,000 hectares. The country consumes about 800,000 tons of sugar annually. In order to meet its sugar needs and reduce imports, the Iranian Government has adopted a series of measures to develop production of sugar-beet and sugar cane.

A sugar-beet technology laboratory and a high-yield sugar-beet nursery were established in 1967 in Karaj City, 50 kilometres west of the capital Teheran. Now, 80 per cent of the seeds for sugar-beet plantations consist of good strains which were developed and improved in recent years. As a result of the sugar-beet production increase, sugar output is going up rapidly. About 660,000 tons of lump and powdered sugar were produced in 1973.

**Sri Lanka.** A vein containing rich graphite ore was recently found in Sri Lanka. Sample tests show that the quality matches the best graphite ore ever exploited in Sri Lanka.

Graphite exports are traditional in the country. Last year's value reached 11.8 million rupees, the biggest sum in the last 30 years.

**Peru.** Steel output in Peru was 332,900 tons in 1973, 98.7 per cent more than the 1972 figure.

With abundant mineral resources, Peru has the potential for developing the steel industry. As a result of imperialist plunder over a long period, however, the industry was very backward, with an annual output of merely 80,400 tons in 1968. Most of the steel products needed had to be imported. To change this situation, the Peruvian Government formed the state-run Steel Company of Peru in 1971, and output that year reached 155,800 tons. In 1972 production rose to 167,000 tons; in 1973 it was more than 30,000 tons over the original target of 300,000 tons. Several 10,000-ton-class cargo ships launched in recent years were built by Peru with its own steel.

**Guyana.** A small industry development corporation has been established to promote development of the national economy. It will provide Guyanese nationals with funds for setting up small enterprises or expanding existing small industries. Loans will be extended only to enterprises utilizing domestic raw materials to manufacture products which must replace imports or are export oriented. Emphasis will be on promoting development of small industries in rural areas and in the hinterland. A number of small national industries have already gone up in Guyana, including those manufacturing clothing, batteries, nails, plastic goods and canned food.

**Honduras.** A law promulgated recently by the Honduras Government provides that the state controls all of the country's forests and shoulders the responsibility to exploit and conserve forest resources. Honduras abounds in mahogany, cedar and other fine woods. Forests make up 45 per cent of the country's total area and timber is the third largest export after bananas and coffee.

# 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) 19:00-20:00 (Rawalpindi) 20:00-21:00 (Dacca) 19:40-20:40 (Kathmandu) 20:00-21:00 (Rawalpindi)	40, 30, 19†	7470, 9860, 15095†
		20:30-21:30 (Delhi, Colombo) 21:00-22:00 (Dacca) 20:40-21:40 (Kathmandu)		
		23:30-00:30 (Delhi)		
	15:00-16:00	20:30-21:30 (Delhi, Colombo) 21:00-22:00 (Dacca) 20:40-21:40 (Kathmandu)	30, 19†	9860, 15095†
	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) 19:00-20:00 (Dar-es-Salaam)	39*, 30, 19†	7620*, 9860, 15095†
	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) 19:30-20:30 (Accra, Freetown) 20:30-21:30 (Lagos) 21:30-22:30 (Cairo)	31*, 30, 25, 19†	9440*, 9965, 11695, 15030†
		19:45-20:45 (Monrovia) 20:30-21:30 (Accra, Freetown) 21:30-22:30 (Lagos) 22:30-23:30 (Cairo)		
		20:30-21:30		
	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†
		20:30-21:30		