

PEKING REVIEW

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北
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報

**Defence of National Independence
And Second World Countries**

**China's Industrialization:
How to Achieve It**

Soviet-U.S. "Disarmament" Talks

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Vice-Premier Teng Visits Burma

Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping arrived in Burma on January 26 for a 6-day friendship visit. Since diplomatic relations between China and Burma were established in 1949, leaders of the two countries have exchanged visits and Sino-Burmese relations have grown ever stronger. The late Premier Chou En-lai had visited Burma nine times and President U Ne Win had visited China ten times. Last year the President twice visited China and was warmly welcomed by the Chinese Government and people. Vice-Premier Teng's visit to Burma, as he pointed out in a written statement at Rangoon Airport, "is aimed at further

consolidating and strengthening the traditional friendship between our two peoples and the friendly relations between our two countries."

Vice-Premier Teng paid the visit to China's good southern neighbour at the invitation of President U Ne Win and Prime Minister U Maung Maung Kha. When the special plane from China arrived at Rangoon, Vice-Premier Teng and his party were welcomed at the airport by the Burmese President and Prime Minister as well as other Burmese leaders. That evening, President U Ne Win gave a banquet in honour of the Chinese Vice-Premier.

Prime Minister U Maung Maung Kha gave a grand banquet in honour of the Chinese

guests on the evening of January 27. Prime Minister U Maung Maung Kha and Vice-Premier Teng spoke at the banquet. (See speech highlights in box below.)

Next morning, Vice-Premier Teng and his party, accompanied by Prime Minister U Maung Maung Kha and Foreign Minister U Hla Phone, visited Sandoway, 45 minutes away from Rangoon by air. The late Premier Chou En-lai and late Vice-Premier Chen Yi had both stayed in the famous seaside resort of Ngapali Beach near Sandoway on the coast of the Bay of Bengal when they visited Burma and had conversations with President U Ne Win on the kith-and-kin friendship between China and Burma.

On January 30, the eve of his departure, Vice-Premier Teng gave a farewell banquet to thank the Burmese leaders for their hospitality accorded him during his visit.

Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping's visit is of special significance for the relations between our two countries.— **U Maung Maung Kha**

It is an article of faith with us that in international relations if only countries with similar or different political or social backgrounds or beliefs, be they poor or rich, big or small, near or remote, could live together in peace, mutual respect, and consideration, their trust in each other would deepen, and they would be able to cooperate for mutual benefit. Our two countries have been guided in their relations by the principles of peaceful coexistence.— **U Maung Maung Kha**

In international affairs, the Burmese Government has long pursued a policy of neutrality and non-alignment, developed friendly relations with third world countries and opposed imperialism and hegemonism, thus winning admiration and praise from the people of various countries.— **Teng Hsiao-ping**

Many Asian countries have unequivocally declared against the establishment of hegemony by any country in any part of the world, and this reflects the common desire of the people of all Asian countries. As for the disputes of this or that kind among some Asian countries, we have always stood for seeking resolution by countries concerned through friendly consultations on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence.— **Teng Hsiao-ping**

Greetings to Comrade Ceausescu

January 26 this year was the 60th birthday of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, General Secretary of the Romanian Communist Party and President of the Socialist Republic of Romania. Chairman Hua Kuo-feng sent to him a message of greetings which said:

"You are an outstanding statesman of your country. Over the decades, you have dedicated all your wisdom and energy to the revolutionary cause of the Romanian proletariat. You

have led the Romanian people in courageously upholding national independence and state sovereignty, resolutely fighting against imperialism and hegemonism and achieving tremendous successes in the cause of building socialism. The Chinese people wish to express their utmost admiration for the heroism displayed by the fraternal Romanian people in defying brute force and daring to struggle.

"The Romanian people are now working hard and confidently to fulfil the tasks laid down by the 11th Congress of the R.C.P. and its National Conference. I am certain that under the leadership of the R.C.P. headed by you, they will through unremitting efforts make their socialist motherland more powerful and prosperous.

"Our two Parties, two countries and two peoples have forged a profound and militant friendship in protracted revolutionary struggles. You have made important contributions to the strengthening of the fraternal, friendly relations between us. The Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people are resolved to carry out Chairman Mao Tsetung's behests and strive for the further development of our friendship.

"I heartily wish you good health and a long life and new and greater successes in leading the Romanian people in the magnificent cause of building socialism."

This year also marks the 45th anniversary of Comrade Ceausescu's participation in revolutionary activities. The Peking press gave wide coverage of the

Romanian people's celebration activities and the achievements gained under the leadership of General Secretary Ceausescu.

The Chinese People's Association for Friendship With Foreign Countries and the China-Romania Friendship Association gave a reception on the evening of January 25 at the Great Hall of the People to mark the occasion. Among those present were Li Hsien-nien, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Vice-Premier of the State Council, and Keng Piao, Member of the Political Bureau of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Head of the International Liaison Department of the C.P.C. Central Committee.

Burundi Foreign Minister In China

Burundi Minister of Foreign Affairs and Co-operation Albert Muganga is the first Foreign Minister from an African country to pay a friendship visit to China this year. On the evening of the arrival of the Foreign Minister and his party in Peking on January 25, Foreign Minister Huang Hua gave a banquet in their honour.

Last Friday, January 27, Chairman Hua Kuo-feng met the Burundi Foreign Minister and his party. At the meeting, Chairman Hua extended an invitation to Burundi President Bagaza to visit China at a time convenient for him.

Speaking at the banquet he gave, Foreign Minister Huang Hua pointed out: At present the two superpowers' contention in the Horn of Africa has aggravated tension there. What is

Satellite Recovered

China launched another man-made earth satellite on January 26, 1978. It functioned perfectly and returned to the earth after successfully completing scientific experiments as planned.

worse, that superpower which is flaunting the signboard of socialism is airlifting large numbers of personnel and arms to that area in an attempt to provoke a war on an even bigger scale and create a greater disturbance so as to fish in troubled waters. Its aim is to control the Horn of Africa and the Red Sea and complete its strategic deployment for seizing oil resources there, and carrying out further expansion in Africa and contending for world hegemony.

"Such vicious activities of the social-imperialists are arousing ever higher vigilance and daily growing resistance from the African countries and peoples," he stressed.

In his speech, the Burundi Foreign Minister said: In Africa, the question of the liberation of Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa is a preoccupation of the Africans and the other peoples who desire peace and justice. The question of Western Sahara should find an equitable solution in the interests of the Sahara people. We also maintain that the tension which is reigning in the Horn of Africa can resolve itself in peaceful ways, in conformity with the African wisdom and without the intervention from foreign powers.

betrayal, Lenin pointed out: **"To embellish imperialist war by applying to it the concept of 'defence of the fatherland,' i.e., by presenting it as a democratic war, is to deceive the workers and side with the reactionary bourgeoisie."** (*A Caricature of Marxism and Imperialist Economism.*)

Lenin denounced the Second International renegades for their despicable attempt to whitewash their acts of betrayal by wilfully distorting, with no regard for the time or the specific historical conditions, the examples of Marx's and Engels' tactics, namely, their energetic support for the bourgeois democratic revolution and national wars in Europe in the period of *laissez-faire* capitalism, and their call in 1891 on the German working class to defend the fatherland.

It is true that Marx and Engels had warmly praised and actively supported the 1848 democratic revolution in Europe, that they had called on the working class of various countries to throw themselves into the struggle against the reactionary autocratic monarchy in Europe. They had also supported and extolled the national war of 1859 led by Garibaldi in Italy against Austria as well as the 1863 Polish people's national uprising against tsarist Russia, and called on the working class of various countries to lend its support to this just national war and uprising. In 1891 when tsarist Russia threatened Germany with war, Engels issued the call to the German working class to safeguard its already gained democratic position by getting ready to "defend the fatherland" with a national war against a possible war of aggression and annexation launched by tsarist Russia.

Lenin resolutely defended these correct examples of Marx's and Engels' tactics. He pointed out that in 1891, Germany, which had not yet become an imperialist country, was the centre of the workers' movement in Europe, the country where the proletarian forces were most powerful; whereas tsarist Russia, which was threatening Germany with war, was the main enemy of the democratic and progressive forces in Europe. This was why Engels' call to the working class of Germany to defend the fatherland in the event of a war of aggression by

tsarist Russia was made in defence of the basic interest of the proletariat and, therefore, entirely correct. However, as Lenin pointed out, **"To identify, even to compare the international situations of 1891 and 1914, is a height of unhistoricalness."** (*To Inessa Armand.*) This is because the world war that broke out in 1914 was a war between two imperialist blocs in the era of imperialism and both sides wanted to redivide colonies and enslave other nations; hence, it was a predatory war between plunderers scrambling for spoils. It got the ring-leaders of the Second International nowhere to cite the example of 1891 as an apology for their opportunist slogan "defence of the fatherland" in the 1914 imperialist war.

Lenin denounced the social-chauvinists of the Second International for always trying to make Belgium a case in point to justify the stand of the Belgian Socialists and, by extension, their own, for Belgium, they said, was a neutral state under German attack. But Belgium, Lenin pointed out, went into the war also to preserve its colonial rule and exploitation; a neutral country in form, it actually belonged to the bloc of the Allied Powers of Britain, France and Russia. Besides, in Belgium, as in the other advanced European countries, there existed a situation of proletarian revolution. So the correct tactic for the Belgian Socialists to adopt was not the "defence of the fatherland" but the preparation and launching of a proletarian revolution to oppose and stop this imperialist war.

Lenin pointed out: **"In the imperialist war of 1914-17, between two imperialist coalitions, we must be against 'defence of the fatherland,' since (1) imperialism is the eve of socialism, (2) imperialist war is a war of thieves over their booty, (3) in both coalitions there is an advanced proletariat, (4) in both a socialist revolution is ripe. Only for these reasons are we against 'defence of the fatherland,' only for these reasons!"** (*ibid.*)

These scientific analyses by Lenin defended and developed the Marxist principle of tactics, illustrated the proletariat's attitude and tactics in regard to war in the era of imperialism, when new changes had taken place in the international political forces and the conditions for so-

cialist revolution were ripe. They thus repudiated the fallacies of the social-chauvinists of that time and drew a clear line of demarcation between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism of the Second International.

National Wars Still Possible in Europe In the Era of Imperialism

While bringing to light as the main tendency the attempts of the social-chauvinists of the Second International to justify their treacherous activities on the plea of "defence of the fatherland," Lenin sternly criticized the "Left" opportunist views propounded by those within the Party such as G.L. Pyatakov and N.I. Bukharin as well as certain muddled ideas found within the ranks of the revolutionaries. At that time, Pyatakov, Bukharin and their like wanted to "go somewhat more to the Left" on the question of defence of the fatherland. They went all out to interfere with Lenin's correct line in regard to wars in the era of imperialism and the tactics of proletarian struggle. They either denied the possibility of a national war in the era of imperialism, maintaining that under no circumstances should the proletariat raise the slogan "defence of the fatherland," and even dismissing the examples of Marx's and Engels' tactics as "worthless," or viewed imperialist war as something immutable, something which cannot be transformed, and thus wrongly adopted a rigid, mechanical approach towards Lenin's proletarian tactics in struggle.

Lenin maintained that an era is the sum total of multifarious phenomena, both typical and atypical, big and small, including the phenomena and wars occurring in both advanced and backward countries.

Imperialist war is a typical but not the only phenomenon in the epoch of imperialism. In this epoch, wars of national liberation fought by colonies or semi-colonies are inevitable; what is more, democratic or revolutionary national wars are still possible in Europe. Lenin said: "**This 'epoch'. . . by no means precludes national wars on the part of, say, small (annexed or nationally-oppressed) countries against the imperialist powers. . .**" (*The Junius Pamphlet.*)

Lenin also believed that under given conditions, even a highly industrialized country may fight a national war against annexation by an imperialist power, because "**the characteristic feature of imperialism is precisely that it strives to annex not only agrarian territories, but even most highly industrialized-regions.**" (*Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism.*) Therefore, he stated in the strongest terms: "**We are not at all against 'defence of the fatherland' in general, not against 'defensive wars' in general. You will never find that nonsense in a single resolution (or in any of my articles). We are against defence of the fatherland and a defensive position in the imperialist war of 1914-16. . . . But in the imperialist epoch there may be also 'just,' 'defensive,' revolutionary wars (namely (1) national, (2) civil, (3) socialist and such like.**" (*To G.Y. Zinoviev.*)

Lenin also showed the possibility of an imperialist war being transformed into a national war under certain conditions, in the light of the law of the unity of opposites. He wrote in *The Junius Pamphlet*: "**That all dividing lines, both in nature and society, are conventional and dynamic, and that every phenomenon might, under certain conditions, be transformed into its opposite, is, of course, a basic proposition of Marxist dialectics. A national war might be transformed into an imperialist war and vice versa.**"

In World War I, for instance, while pointing out that Belgium went into the war with the same imperialist aims and, therefore, showed its own imperialist rapacity, Lenin envisaged the possibility of transformation if German imperialism had occupied and annexed Belgium in that war and the Belgian people had risen in a national uprising to free themselves from German imperialist enslavement. In such a case, as far as Belgium was concerned, the imperialist war would have become a national war, and it would have been justifiable and correct for the Belgian Socialists to issue the call to "defend the fatherland." In such circumstances, the international proletariat should not refuse to support the uprising on the plea that the Belgian bourgeoisie possesses "the right to oppress foreign peoples." It must see the actual social content of the uprising as a struggle of an oppressed nation for liberation from the oppressor nation and

lend support to it. **"There is nothing Marxist"** in any other stand the international proletariat might have taken. (Lenin: *The Discussion on Self-Determination Summed Up*.) Lenin also made another assumption: If Britain, France and other countries had declared war on Germany not for imperialist aims but for safeguarding Belgian neutrality in observance of the international treaty, then the Socialists would have been justified in siding with Belgium. As he pointed out in *The Nascent Trend of Imperialist Economism*, **"We would be for the defence of Belgium (even by war) if this concrete war were different."**

This was not all. Precisely in 1916 during World War I, Lenin, in keeping with historical dialectics and the law of uneven development of capitalism, took into full account the tortuousness and complexity of the historical course of transition from the capitalist system to socialism on a worldwide scale, and predicted the possible outbreak of a great national war in Europe in the era of imperialism. He said: **"If the European proletariat remains impotent, say, for twenty years; if the present war ends in victories like Napoleon's and in the subjugation of a number of viable national states; if the transition to socialism of non-European imperialism (primarily Japanese and American) is also held up for twenty years by a war between these two countries, for example, then a great national war in Europe would be possible."** (*The Junius Pamphlet*.) In his opinion, though such a thing sounded incredible at that time, if this tortuousness in history was not taken into due consideration, **"it is undialectical, unscientific and theoretically wrong."** (ibid.)

The afore-mentioned teachings of Lenin's tell us many things. First, while opposing the opportunists' advocacy of defence of the fatherland in an imperialist war, Marxists should never hold that in the era of imperialism one can indiscriminately negate national wars and deny the justification of defence of the fatherland by the proletariat under certain conditions. On the contrary, **"it is precisely in the 'era of imperialism,' which is the era of nascent social revolution, that the proletariat will today give**

especially vigorous support to any revolt of the annexed regions so that tomorrow, or simultaneously, it may attack the bourgeoisie of the 'great' power that is weakened by the revolt." (Lenin: *The Discussion on Self-Determination Summed Up*.) Second, while criticizing the opportunists for distorting the examples of Marx's and Engels' tactics, Marxists must in no way consider these examples worthless in the era of imperialism. On the contrary, the proletariat, instead of throwing overboard these examples of tactics, must draw useful and most precious lessons from a concrete analysis. **"Rejecting any examples of Marx's tactics" "would mean professing Marxism while abandoning it in practice."** (ibid.) Third, the proletariat should by no means stick to a hard and fast formula in regard to whether it should support wars breaking out in the era of imperialism and whether it should recognize the defence of the fatherland as justified, but should make a concrete analysis of each war, because **"wars are a supremely varied, diverse, complex thing. One cannot approach them with a general pattern."** (Lenin: *To Inessa Armand*.)

During World War II, Stalin, basing himself on these principles of Lenin's, made a concrete analysis of the war and concluded that it was not a typical imperialist war like World War I, nor was it immutable and inconvertible. Before World War II broke out on the European continent, there were Japanese imperialist aggression against China, Italian imperialist aggression against Ethiopia (Abyssinia) and the German and Italian fascist war of aggression against the Spanish Republic. As far as the victims of aggression were concerned, the wars to defend their fatherland and resist Japanese, German and Italian fascist aggression were, from start to finish, just wars for national liberation. When the whole of Europe became engulfed in the war, especially after the attack on the Soviet Union by Hitlerite Germany, World War II became a war completely anti-fascist in nature, because the working class and patriotic forces in the countries subject to aggression took an active part in the anti-fascist war to defend their national independence. Stalin said: **"The Second World War against the Axis powers, unlike the First World War, assumed from the very outset the character of an anti-fascist war,**

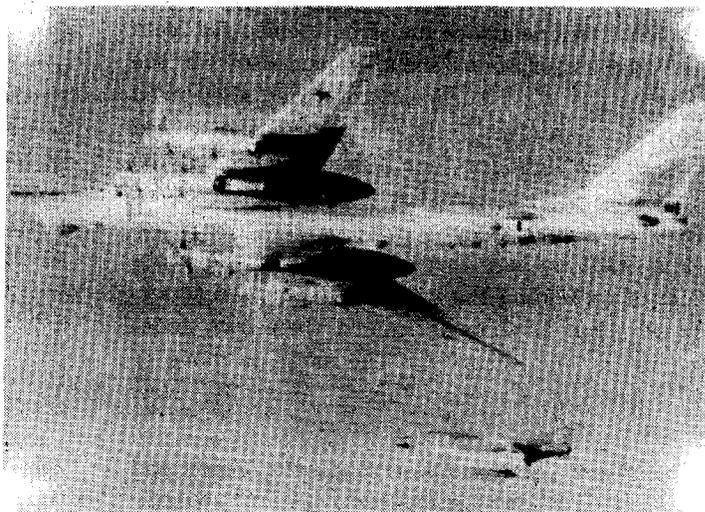
a war of liberation, one of the tasks of which was to restore democratic liberties." (*Speech Delivered at an Election Meeting in the Stalin Election District, Moscow, February 9, 1946.*) It is evident that during World War II the slogan "defence of the fatherland" was correct for countries fighting against fascism. It is for this reason that the Soviet Union formed an anti-fascist alliance with the United States, Britain and France in a common effort to defeat the German, Italian and Japanese fascists in their war of aggression to enslave the people of the whole world. The tactics and policies adopted by Stalin were undoubtedly in conformity with Marxist-Leninist principles on tactics.

Be Well Prepared Against War Of Aggression

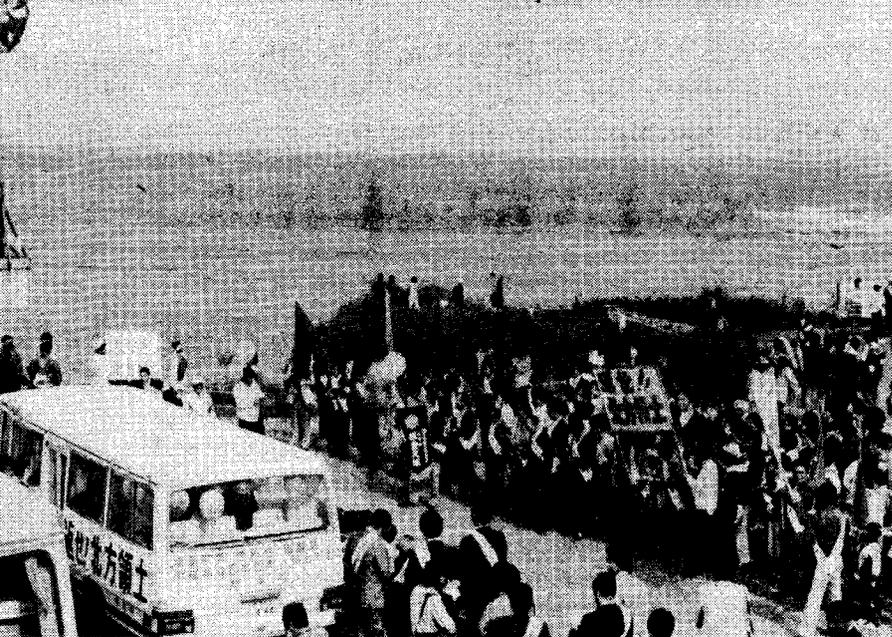
The foregoing analyses show the basic Marxist-Leninist position and approach to the question of wars between nations or countries: we should discern the nature of a war by examining what politics the war has continued; we should analyse the historical role of each war by examining it in the context of the particular conditions of the time; we should decide our attitude towards the war in a concrete way by proceeding from the general situation in the whole world and the interests of the proletariat as a whole and basing ourselves on such factors as the balance of class forces, whether the conditions for revolution are ripe or not and the prospects of the war and proletarian revolution. Generally speaking, the proletariat must support the colonies and semi-colonies in their national wars against imperialism; it must oppose imperialist wars both sides of which are fighting over division of spoils and loot; it must aid and support national wars waged by developed or undeveloped countries against annexation and enslavement by imperialist powers; it must resolutely support the socialist countries' wars against imperialist and social-imperialist aggression and subversion in order to defend the fruits of victory of socialism. Of course, there are many kinds of wars, and they are extremely complicated. In dealing with a

war, Marxist-Leninists must never proceed from general principles and draw conclusions accordingly, but should make a concrete analysis of a specific war and, in the light of the development and changes of the war, work out the correct tactics to follow.

Today, the world is still in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution as Lenin observed. But great changes have taken place in the balance of the world's political forces and the international situation today as compared with the period of World War I and the 1950s and 1960s after World War II. The national-liberation movements are surging forward while the colonial system disintegrates. As a result of the uneven development of imperialism, the imperialist camp headed by the United States has broken up. The Soviet Union, the world's first socialist state, has degenerated into social-imperialism after the usurpation of the supreme leadership of the Party and state by the Khrushchov-Brezhnev clique and the socialist camp is now no longer in existence. By dint of their enormously inflated economic and military strength, the Soviet Union and the United States have become superpowers lording it over all the other countries. The developed capitalist countries of Europe have been relegated to a position of secondary importance. The vast upheavals and great divisions of the 1960s led to the formation of three worlds which are inter-



High above the Atlantic, a British Royal Navy Phantom intercepts a Soviet Bear reconnaissance plane.



In Japan, people of Nemuro city meet at the seaside to demand return of their four northern islands now under Soviet occupation.

connected and mutually contradictory. Some developed countries in the second world, though still oppressing and exploiting the third world countries, are, in varying degrees, being controlled, threatened and bullied by one or the other of the two superpowers. Some East European countries have lived under the heel of Soviet social-imperialism, which occupies their land, tramples on their sovereign rights, and robs them of their resources; in reality, they have become Moscow's dependencies. For these countries, the primary immediate task at present is undoubtedly to fight for and defend national independence and free themselves from the clutches of Soviet social-imperialism. In the case of the West European countries, they need to free themselves from the grip of the United States and fight for "equal partnership"; at the same time, they face the grave menace of an aggressive and expansionist Soviet Union. Today, what bothers them is no longer the problem of redividing the world with the two superpowers but how to safeguard their own independence and security. The same is more or less true of Canada, Japan, Australia, New Zealand and some other countries.

As everybody can see, the Soviet Union and the United States are locked in a fierce struggle for world domination and the focus of their contention is Europe. As Soviet-U.S. rivalry con-

tinues, a war is bound to break out some day. In fact, both are making active preparations for a new world war. If the war breaks out, Europe is certain to bear the brunt of the attack. Obviously, the new world war touched off by the fierce contention between the two superpowers will take on some new features different from those of World War I and World War II. This world war, when it is between Soviet social-imperialism and the second world countries, will be a war between the aggressor and those fighting against aggression, between the annexationist and those against annexation.

At present, Soviet social-imperialism which is on the offensive in its contention with the United States is making extensive war deployment in Europe. It keeps augmenting its military strength in Central Europe and is stepping up its pincers drive against Western Europe from the northern and southern flanks. The independence and security of the West European countries are now being seriously threatened. If a new war breaks out, they will inevitably become the first object of Soviet attack. If one looks at the way the Soviet Union pushes around and oppresses its East European "allies," it is not difficult to imagine what things will be like once it has extended its aggression to the West European countries. Therefore, these countries will in fact be brought face to face with the serious problem of defending their national independence. The outlook is quite clear. If Soviet social-imperialism imposes a war of aggression on the developed countries in Europe, won't the situation be like what Lenin foresaw in 1916? Isn't it possible that many European nation-states of great vitality will get into the clutches of the new tsars in the Kremlin and be subjected to enslavement? Owing to, among other things, the spread of revisionist ideas and the split within the working class itself, the proletariat in the developed European countries for the time being does not in fact have a revolutionary situation in which it can effect a direct seizure of political power. In

these circumstances, is it not entirely conceivable and inevitable that a great national war as envisaged by Lenin will take place in Europe, a war that is progressive in nature? Don't the examples of Engels' tactics applied in 1891 still have a great immediate significance today?

Hence, it is absolutely necessary and correct for the people of the second world countries, faced as they are today with the threat of bullying, oppression and aggression by Soviet social-imperialism, to expose thoroughly the Kremlin's war machinations, oppose appease-

ment and be well prepared against a war of aggression. Should the war break out, the proletarians of these countries should come to the forefront of a national war, and fight for the survival and independence of their nations. This is completely in accord with the aforesaid Marxist principle of tactics advanced by Marx and Engels and developed by Lenin, Stalin and Chairman Mao. It is also in conformity with the fundamental interests of the people of both the second world countries and the world as a whole.

China's Industrialization: How to Achieve It

— Notes on studying Volume V of the "Selected Works of Mao Tsetung"

by Su Hsing

OVER the past 28 years since the birth of New China in 1949, big advances have been made in building an independent and comprehensive industrial system. How is China building her industry? Is it true that "China's path to industrialization is yet to be found" as claimed by the "gang of four"?

China's Path to Industrialization

Volume V of the *Selected Works of Mao Tsetung* contains many new relevant concepts and propositions. Not only have they systematically dealt with China's path to industrialization, they have also enriched the Marxist-Leninist political economy and the theory concerning socialist construction.

In his report *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People* made in 1957,

Chairman Mao for the first time broached the question of China's path to industrialization when he said: "In discussing our path to industrialization, we are here concerned principally with the relationship between the growth of heavy industry, light industry and agriculture. It must be affirmed that heavy industry is the core of China's economic construction. At the same time, full attention must be paid to the development of agriculture and light industry."

Since heavy industry, light industry and agriculture are the basic branches of the national economy, their proportional relationship, balance and speed of growth determine whether the national economy can be developed in a planned and proportionate way and at high speed and whether it can achieve a comprehensive balance.



Tapping molten iron from a blast furnace in Peking's Shoutu Iron and Steel Company.

In dissecting the process of reproduction in capitalist society, Marx divided social production into two major departments, namely, the production of the means of production and that of consumer goods, made an analysis of the proportional relationship between them, and advanced a series of basic theories concerning reproduction which, as he foresaw it, would apply to socialist society as well. He and Lenin also attached great importance to the relationship between industry and agriculture under socialism. In their *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, Marx and Engels made the integration of industry and agriculture an important measure for transforming the old mode of production in its totality. Shortly after the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia, Lenin called for restoring industry and agriculture on the basis of the latest scientific achievements, that is, on the basis of electrification. But owing to limitations inseparable from the historical conditions of the time, none of them during their lifetime had time to give a general summing-up of the relationship between heavy industry on the one hand and agriculture and light industry on the other in the course of socialist construction.

Carrying out Lenin's behests, Stalin led the Soviet people in bringing about socialist industrialization and made tremendous contributions. At that time it was correct for the Soviet Union to lay down the principle of giving priority to the development of heavy industry in

handling the relationship between heavy industry, light industry and agriculture. But they erred in overemphasizing heavy industry to the neglect of agriculture and light industry. Compared with 1913, according to statistics, the Soviet Union's total industrial output value in 1953 rose 21-fold, of which heavy industry increased 46.5-fold and light industry 8.8-fold. During the same period agriculture, however, showed a mere 46 per cent increase in its total output value. This resulted in a shortage of goods on the market and an unstable currency and hobbled the growth of heavy industry.

In view of the detours made by the Soviet Union, Chairman Mao exhorted us to draw the relevant lessons and pointed out that "the way we handle the relationship between agriculture and light industry on the one hand and heavy industry on the other" "is different from theirs." (*Speech at the Second Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, 1956.*)

In his *On the Ten Major Relationships* and other works, Chairman Mao analysed in a comprehensive way the relationship between heavy industry, light industry and agriculture, formulated the general policy of taking agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor for the development of the national economy, and called for drawing up the national economic plan in this order of priority—agriculture, light industry and heavy industry. He pointed out: "The emphasis in our country's construction is on heavy industry. The production of the means of production must be given priority, that's settled. But it definitely does not follow that the production of the means of subsistence, especially grain, can be neglected. Without enough food and other daily necessities, it would be impossible to provide for the workers in the first place, and then what sense would it make to talk about developing heavy industry? Therefore, the relationship between heavy industry on the one hand and light industry and agriculture on the other must be properly handled." (*On the Ten Major Rela-*

tionships, 1956.) What has been done and achieved over the years proves that China's path to industrialization as pointed out by Chairman Mao is entirely correct.

Agriculture as the Foundation

During the period of the War of Resistance Against Japan, Chairman Mao dealt with the question of reforming the land system and liberating the productive forces in agriculture, saying: "It is the peasants who are the source of China's industrial workers." "It is the peasants who constitute the main market for China's industry." (*On Coalition Government*, 1945.) In 1955, on the eve of the socialist upsurge in China's countryside, he criticized Liu Shao-chi's Right opportunist line of dissociating and isolating the socialist transformation of agriculture from socialist industrialization and expounded the relationship between agriculture and industry. He emphasized that to realize the socialist industrialization of the country it is necessary to build up a large-scale socialist agriculture.

Chairman Mao in 1956 dealt with ten major relationships in socialist revolution and construction, the first being the relationship be-

Tractors for the rural areas.



tween heavy industry on the one hand and light industry and agriculture on the other. The following year when he spoke at a conference of secretaries of provincial, municipal and autonomous region Party committees, he issued the call: "The whole Party should attach great importance to agriculture" and analysed the relationship of agriculture to the national economy and the people's livelihood in six aspects. He pointed out:

(1) Agriculture is vital to a rural population of 500 million for the supply of grain, meat, edible oils and other agricultural products for daily use consumed at source.

(2) Agriculture is vital for the supply of food to the population in urban, industrial and mining areas.

(3) Agriculture is the chief source of raw materials for light industry, for which the countryside provides an important market.

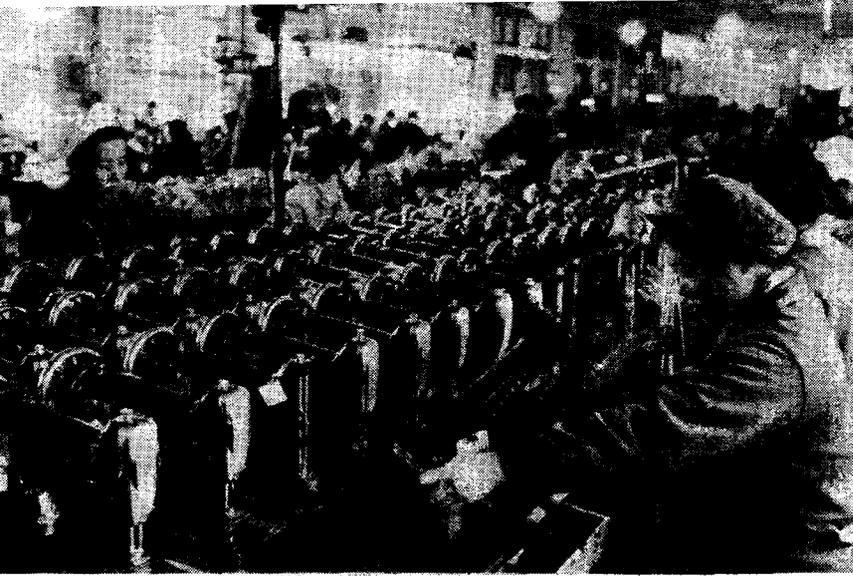
(4) The countryside is also an important market for heavy industry.

(5) Agricultural products make up the bulk of our exports at present.

(6) Agriculture is an important source of accumulation.

From the above six points Chairman Mao drew the conclusion: "We may say that in a sense agriculture is itself industry." (*Talks at a Conference of Secretaries of Provincial, Municipal and Autonomous Region Party Committees*, 1957.) Since agriculture and industry are so closely related, we cannot pay attention to accumulation for industry alone if we are to do a good job of industrialization. Instead, we must enable agriculture to accumulate more for itself so that it will expand reproduction and provide industry with a larger market, thereby accumulating more funds for the state. Meanwhile, industrial departments should gear their work to the needs in the rural areas and give powerful support to agriculture. This seems to be in the interest of agriculture, but in fact it is in the interest of industry too.

Experience gained in China's socialist construction has time and again shown that without a stable agriculture which provides a solid foundation, industry cannot grow fast. When-



More sewing machines for the market.

ever there is a rich harvest in agriculture, the following year sees a rapid growth of light industry and of industry as a whole including heavy industry. The result is just the opposite if agriculture fails. This has come to stay as a law.

Industry as the Leading Factor

By stressing agriculture and light industry, we do not mean in the least that heavy industry should be weakened. Chairman Mao said: "Talking about the relationship between agriculture and industry, we should of course concentrate on heavy industry and give priority to its development; this is a principle about which there can be no question or wavering. But with this pre-condition, we must develop industry and agriculture simultaneously and build up a modern industry and modern agriculture step by step." (*Be Activists in Promoting the Revolution*, 1957.)

Taking agriculture as the foundation and taking industry as the leading factor are inseparable and they complement each other. The latter mainly manifests itself in heavy industry's leading role to agriculture and the national economy as a whole and the part it plays in transforming them. Heavy industry is the producer of the means of production. Only when it is developed can, in the technical field, machinery be used in all possible branches and places, can advanced technology be applied to agriculture, light industry and heavy industry itself, and can the economic features of socialist China be completely changed, so that labour productivity will

go up several, a dozen or even several dozen times.

The fundamental way out for agriculture lies in mechanization. Farm mechanization is out of the question in the absence of well developed iron and steel, petroleum, coal, power, chemical and machine-building industries. From a study of the development of industrial and agricultural production, past and present, in some foreign countries we can see clearly that any country with a comparatively high labour productivity in agriculture must have an equally

high level in the development of its basic industries and in its farm mechanization. There is not a single case showing a country being quite advanced in agriculture but very backward in its basic industries. In China, those provinces, prefectures and counties which have distinguished themselves in farm production have, as a rule, done a good job in making industry support agriculture. Here those branches of the industry geared to back up agriculture chiefly belong to heavy industry.

Chairman Mao said in 1957: "It is not yet so clearly understood that agriculture provides heavy industry with an important market. This fact, however, will be more readily appreciated as gradual progress in the technical transformation and modernization of agriculture calls for more and more machinery, fertilizer, water conservancy and electric power projects and transport facilities for the farms, as well as fuel and building materials for the rural consumers." (*On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*.)

When we restudy this passage today after a lapse of 20 years, we can see how farsighted Chairman Mao was. The further agriculture moves towards modernization, the closer its ties with heavy industry become and the more pronounced heavy industry's leading role is. The available amounts of electricity, gasoline, diesel oil and chemical fertilizer have a direct bearing on the output of agricultural products. And we cannot build big reservoirs without

cement, nor can we nurse seedlings well without plastic sheets. These facts are as plain as a pikestaff.

Order of Planning — Agriculture, Light Industry and Heavy Industry

In working out the national economic plan, we must proceed in the order of agriculture, light industry and heavy industry. In other words, the state allocates funds, materials and labour force first to agriculture and then to light industry. And on the basis of agricultural and light industrial production, plans are drawn up with regard to the scale and speed of growth of heavy industry. Where heavy industrial production is concerned, it is necessary, first and foremost, to make proper arrangements for the production of machinery, chemical fertilizers, pesticides, building materials, fuel, power, transport facilities and other means of production which are related to agriculture.

As the foundation of the national economy, agriculture, if properly planned, will guarantee the development of both light and heavy industries. China develops its farm production mainly by carrying out the mass movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture and by relying on the collective economy to self-reliantly carry out large-scale farmland capital construction and conduct scientific experiments. At the same time, the state also takes it upon itself to give every possible assistance to agriculture. And in order to mechanize farming, it becomes all the more necessary for industry to keep increasing its support to agriculture.

Under present conditions in China, the state cannot provide huge amounts of funds and material resources for agricultural development. So if we fail to put the emphasis on agriculture, or worse, brush it aside in distributing funds, materials and labour force, then the rate of agricultural growth will be slowed down. This will bring about a corresponding ill effect on industrial development which, though not necessarily apparent in the current year, will become conspicuous in the next year or in the years that follow.

Light industrial products mainly go to the market. And as production develops and the people's purchasing power increases, there is a

greater demand for them both quantitatively and qualitatively. An insufficient supply of consumer goods on the market will directly affect the livelihood of the workers, staff members and peasants, the stability of the currency and the accumulation for heavy industry. Since the rural areas constitute the principal market in the country, the peasants are the first to demand more consumer goods. If the peasants sell their grain but cannot get the industrial products they need, the worker-peasant alliance will be adversely affected. That is why Chairman Mao gave second place to light industry. This makes it possible for us to avoid depriving light industry of its due funds and materials just because the stress is laid on heavy industry, and to ensure that light industry will develop in a proportionate way.

By making plans for agriculture, then light industry and finally heavy industry in that order, does it mean that the last is not primary? No. Heavy industry remains primary and is stressed in terms of the proportion of funds and materials allocated to it. Speaking of the eight requirements for bringing about great order across the country in his political report to the 11th National Congress of the Communist Party of China (see our issue No. 35, 1977), Chairman Hua pointed out: "In the field of industry, we should make a success of light industry and at the same time try hard to speed up the development of the basic industries by concentrating our forces on several all-out campaigns, so as to create the conditions for further expansion during the Sixth Five-Year Plan."

To concentrate our forces on several all-out campaigns and work in a planned way to build and expand a number of industrial bases for turning out power, fuel and raw and semi-finished materials and a number of key communications and transport projects, we must have ample funds and materials. This necessitates placing the emphasis on heavy industry. But also, in these circumstances, it is all the more imperative for us to attach importance to agriculture and light industry whose proper handling before everything else will not slow down the development of heavy industry but will accelerate it in the long run. And from an overall point of view, it will do much to help achieve an overall balance in the national economy.

Criticizing the "Two Estimates"



In issue No. 51, 1977 we published the article "A Great Debate on the Educational Front" repudiating the "two estimates" cooked up by the "gang of four." One of the gang's "estimates" was that, in the 17 years between the founding of New China in 1949 and the start of the Great Cultural Revolution in 1966, Chairman Mao's proletarian line in education "was in the main not implemented" and "the bourgeoisie exercised its dictatorship over the proletariat" on the educational front. The other was that the majority of the teachers and of the students trained in those 17 years were "basically bourgeois in their world outlook," that they were "bourgeois intellectuals" and belonged to the "stinking ninth category" of class enemies.

In the current movement to criticize the gang, people in the educational and other fields in various parts of the country have held meetings or written articles, citing facts from their own experience to criticize the "two estimates."

Following are excerpts from some of their articles and speeches. — Ed.

Historical Facts Brook No Distortion

by Tung Chun-tsal, a veteran
educational worker

IN the first 17 years after liberation, education in our country developed amidst the struggle between the two lines and Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line always held the dominant position. There are ample proofs of this.

On May 1, 1950, Chairman Mao wrote the following inscription for the first issue of the journal *Renmin Jiaoyu* (People's Education): "Restoring and developing the people's education is one of the important tasks at present." Under the guidance of this instruction, education in China developed by leaps and bounds. The number of students in primary schools, secondary schools and colleges increased from 24 million, 1.26 million and 117,000 in 1949, the year New China was founded, to 51 million, 3.1 million and 191,000 respectively in 1952. And the number of school-age children attending primary schools increased from 25 to 49.2 per cent.

In his Preface II written on December 27, 1955 to the book *Socialist Upsurge in China's Countryside*, Chairman Mao pointed out: "In scale and tempo China's industrialization and the development of its science, culture, education, health work, etc. can no longer proceed exactly in the way previously envisaged, but must be appropriately expanded and accelerated." Acting on this instruction, we brought about another tremendous advance in education in 1956.

In the following year, however, Liu Shao-chi came up with a Right deviationist policy designed to curtail educational undertakings. On March 7 that same year, Chairman Mao instructed that the junior middle schools should enrol a greater number of students and he affirmed that it was a good method and an advanced experience for primary schools to open classes teaching first-year junior middle school courses. He also said that it was necessary to develop such schools and increase the funds for education. As a result, more money was allocated for secondary school education in 1957. The number of students in primary schools, secondary schools and colleges in 1957 rose to 64

million, 7 million and 440,000 respectively, while 61.7 per cent of the school-age children were in primary schools.

In 1958, a big leap forward took place in the field of education as was the case with all other fields of endeavour. The number of students in primary schools, secondary schools and colleges increased again by big margins. Owing to serious natural disasters in the three subsequent years and interference from Liu Shao-chi's revisionist line, the development in education slowed down and it was not until after 1964 that it started to make steady advances again. By 1965, the number of students in primary schools, secondary schools and colleges had jumped to 116 million, 14,418,000 and 674,000 respectively and 84.7 per cent of the school-agers were in primary schools.

Compared with 1949, enrolment in primary schools, secondary schools and colleges in 1965, the year preceding the start of the Great Cultural Revolution, increased 4.7-, 11.4- and 5.7-fold respectively.

The number of college graduates in the first 17 post-liberation years was 1,555,000 or 838.5 per cent of the figure of 185,000, the total number of college graduates in the 20 pre-liberation years from 1928 to 1947. In the same 17-year period, a total of 102.64 million illiterates were taught to read and write.

Before liberation, the proportion of students of worker or peasant origin in the secondary schools and colleges was negligible. By 1965, however, statistics showed that such students had accounted for 77.9 and 64.6 per cent respectively of the total enrolment in secondary schools and colleges.

The two-line struggle in education also found expression in the educational policy. Interference from Liu Shao-chi's revisionist line once gave rise to the tendency that in our schools education was divorced in varying degrees from realities and productive labour and politics was neglected. To correct this tendency, Chairman Mao in 1956 put forward the principle of part-work and part-study. In 1957 and 1958 he put forward our educational policy that it "must enable everyone who receives an education to develop morally, intellectually and

physically and become a worker with both socialist consciousness and culture" and that "education must serve proletarian politics and be combined with productive labour."

Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's directives, educational reforms were carried out in all schools in 1957, followed by an educational revolution throughout the country in 1958. The upshot was school education took on an entirely new look. Ideological and political education in Marxism-Leninism was strengthened. With schools running factories and farms and with factories and people's communes setting up part-work and part-study schools, conditions were created for combining education with productive labour. In colleges and secondary schools teaching was combined with scientific research and production. This was something new in education. In addition, new teaching materials were compiled in the light of the actual conditions in various localities. The policy of walking on two legs (meaning the setting up of ordinary and worker-peasant schools at the same time) and the mass line were followed in running various forms of schools, thereby bringing about a big leap forward in education. Irrational rules and regulations were changed and the Party's leadership over education was greatly strengthened.

All things, however, are governed by the law of one dividing into two. Great achievements have been made in education under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and this constitutes the mainstream. But owing to the interference and sabotage by Liu Shao-chi's counter-revolutionary revisionist line, much remained to be done with regard to the period of schooling which was too long, the subjects which were too numerous and which overlapped, and the teaching materials and teaching methods which had many defects. In view of all this, Chairman Mao pointed out in 1964: "The policy and line in education are correct, but our methods are improper. I believe that there should be some reforms in education. Education as it is now leaves much to be desired."

The "gang of four" slandered that Liu Shao-chi's revisionist line held the dominant position on the educational front in the first 17

post-liberation years. This in no way conformed to the actual situation. It was, in fact, a distortion of history.

Our Educational Reform Is Correct

by Chou Yun-yu, vice-chairman
of the revolutionary committee
of Peking's Chingshan School

OURS is a ten-year school set up in 1960 that provides primary and secondary education.

In 1958 an educational revolution swept the country. Acting on the policy laid down by Chairman Mao that **"education must serve proletarian politics and be combined with productive labour,"** teachers and students of the Peking Teachers' University made investigations and study in the factories and rural areas and worked out a plan for educational reforms. The aim was to find the ways and means to speed up the training of competent personnel for the

country. It was for the purpose of putting this plan into practice that our school was set up.

From the outset, we took Chairman Mao's policy as our guide in educating the students so that they would develop morally, intellectually and physically and become workers with both socialist consciousness and culture.

Over the years, whenever Chairman Mao issued instructions concerning educational work, the school leadership promptly organized the cadres, Party and Youth League members, teachers and students to study and carry them out to the letter.

Following Chairman Mao's teaching that politics is the commander, the school authorities organize teachers and students to study works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and Chairman Mao's works, and attach great importance to doing political and ideological work among them. In order to acquaint themselves with the countryside and the peasants, many teachers went to the rural areas to take part in the socialist education movement; moreover, they often go to the villages to labour for a period of time.

In 1964, our school carried out experiments on simplifying the curricula and reforming teaching and examination methods. With a view to safeguarding the students' health, further measures were taken the following year to lighten their burden in their studies.

To shorten the period of schooling, we introduced a ten-year system on a trial basis and raised the level of graduates to that of first-year college students. Students with exceptionally good records could get double promotion and take college entrance exams before graduation.



Chou Yun-yu with her students.

A new method of learning to read and write was tried out while reforming the teaching methods. The students were required to devote their first two years to reading and writing 3,000 characters in common use. From the third year on, they would concentrate their efforts on reading and writing compositions, thereby completing their secondary school syllabus for the Chinese language.

Experiments were also made on dividing students of the senior middle school into classes with the stress either on liberal arts or the natural sciences.

Special attention was paid to reforming the teaching of foreign languages for the students of the second or third year with emphasis on pronunciation, intonation and spelling as well as oral exercises. Students of higher grades studied literature and scientific works in foreign languages and practised conversation.

With regard to mathematics in the lower classes, oral calculation was stressed and elementary geometry and algebra were taught; for students of the higher classes, new teaching materials were used on a trial basis. Graduates in 1965 and 1966 had attained the level of first-year college students.

Our school has always attached importance to fostering love for physical labour among the students. Led by their teachers, the students go at regular intervals to work in suburban coal mines or rural people's communes, at railway stations, bus or trolley bus stops, or in the shops. Twenty-two of the 90 graduates in 1964 volunteered to settle in the villages in north-east China; many of them had excellent records while in school.

All the above-mentioned experiments were carried out in accordance with Chairman Mao's proletarian line in education, and we have gained valuable experiences for raising the quality of teaching. The overwhelming majority of our graduates over the years have received good comments from the general public for their relatively high level of political consciousness and their vocational competence.

The "gang of four" dished up the "two estimates" which totally negated what had been

achieved in the first 17 years after liberation. The gang also denied the achievements and experiences of the Chingshan School and vilified it as "a place for training intellectual aristocrats" and "an experimental plot for the revisionist line in education." Such slander is of course groundless.

Through criticism of the "two estimates" the leading comrades and teachers of our school have shattered the mental shackles imposed on them by the "gang of four." We have now resumed our experiments on educational reforms and we are determined to carry on the revolution in education as instructed by Chairman Mao.

Miyun Reservoir: Product Of Educational Revolution

by Professor Chang Kuang-tou, Department of Hydraulic Engineering, Tsinghua University

THE Miyun Reservoir on the outskirts of Peking makes nonsense of the "gang of four's" "two estimates."

In response to Chairman Mao's call, teachers and students of our department in 1958 unfolded the revolution in education and undertook to design the Miyun Reservoir. I remember that afternoon of June 25, 1958 clearly. Premier Chou En-lai, standing on the desolate river bank where the site of the dam was to be, sketched the general outline of the reservoir. He told us to rely on our own efforts, work hard and do a good job of the design; at the same time we should apply what we learnt, carry out scientific research and take part in physical labour.

In August that year when Premier Chou came to Tsinghua University to see an exhibition of graduation designs and examine the primary design of the reservoir, he told us to study Chairman Mao's works diligently and put politics in command. Actual work began in September, and when building was going on Premier Chou came to the site on five occasions. Each time he gave specific instructions to us

after questioning us closely about our designing work.

In accordance with his instructions we took part in the actual construction work, got together with the workers and peasants and learnt from them. At the same time we studied hard, carried out a tremendous number of experiments and with the help of scientific research institutes completed the design for the whole reservoir. In the process the faculty members and students of our department were tempered politically and ideologically and our engineering skills improved. Two years later the reservoir was in the main completed.

On September 9, 1959, Chairman Mao inspected the reservoir and while he was there had a swim in it. I was asked to report to Chairman Mao about the designing work. He was very pleased with what had been done and told us to continue to do a good job of the revolution in education and to design more reservoirs for the motherland.

In the 60s Premier Chou accompanied visiting heads of state to the Miyun Reservoir on several occasions and he never failed to mention the fact that it was designed by the teachers and students of our department and that this was a pioneering effort of the revolution in education. At various national conferences on water conservancy, Premier Chou spoke warmly of this achievement of Tsinghua and pointed out that the line in the revolution in education was correct.

The successful designing of this reservoir is solid proof that the "two estimates" concocted by the "gang of four" and their cronies like Chih Chun stood facts on their head and that their assertion is thoroughly reactionary.

The successful designing of the reservoir by our department was anathematic to the "gang of four." Chih Chun and his like once went out to the Miyun Reservoir while I was there. When I praised how Chairman Mao and Premier Chou had shown their concern with the designing of this reservoir by the teachers and students, their faces hardened abruptly and they turned their backs on me.

The earthquake which struck Tangshan in July 1976 affected the reservoir and the upstream protection layer of the Paiho River dam showed signs of sliding. Teachers and students of our department were given the task of drawing up a design to strengthen the dam. Chih Chun and his cohorts ranted: "A clear demarcation must be made with the revisionist line in education that held sway when the reservoir was being designed." They tried to sow discord between teachers and students. When teachers were going over the students' designs, they got some students to stage a struggle meeting against the teachers, claiming that the latter were "bourgeois reactionary academic authorities who were hostile to worker-peasant-soldier students and the revolution in education." However the teachers and students did not give way and completed the design.

Recently Chairman Hua made an inspection tour of Miyun Reservoir and did a stint of physical labour there. He affirmed that the line in education in the first 17 years after liberation was correct, stating that the teachers and students who had designed the reservoir had achieved positive results. This was a big inspiration to us. We are determined to carry on the revolution in education and work hard to bring about the "four modernizations" in our country.

Neurosurgery Achievements Cannot Be Negated

by Wang Chung-cheng, director of
the neurosurgical department of the
Peking Hsuanwu Hospital

THE neurosurgical department of the Hsuanwu Hospital in Peking was set up in 1955. In less than 20 years we have made good progress in the three major categories in brain surgery — diagnosis and treatment of skull and brain injuries, brain tumours and vascular diseases of the brain. Our diagnosis and treatment of skull and brain injuries are up to ad-

vanced world levels. Last year we began to perform operations on anastomosis of arteries of the scalp and the brain with good results, an operation only recently performed in the world.

All 48 doctors in our department finished their college studies after liberation and more than one half of us, including myself, were trained in the first 17 years after liberation. We are using the basic theoretical knowledge we acquired at medical college along with clinical and field practices to scale the heights of modern medical science.

As most operations on skull and brain injuries and brain tumours are extremely complicated and require delicate skills, the surgeons must have a thorough knowledge of neuroanatomy and neurophysiology. To acquire the necessary skills, our surgeons have to tirelessly practise paracentesis with models so as to accurately locate the nerve paths through the skull. In order to make a correct diagnosis of brain tumour and locate its exact site, we studied and analysed more than 2,500 brain angiographies and summed up normal and abnormal features of blood vessels in the brain. When angiographies were first clinically used it took several doctors seven to eight hours, but now it only takes one doctor ten minutes.

We have also worked out some general rules for hematoma in the skull and established a procedure for drilling through the skull. This enables us to proceed with operations for hematoma in the skull in many cases without first having to do an angiography. We even can in one operation treat recurrent hematoma. We have also established an emergency procedure for brain and skull injuries requiring only 20 minutes for examination, X-ray, matching blood



Neurosurgeons at Hsuanwu Hospital (author pointing with pen).

type and other preparations before an operation. This has helped save many lives.

We did not at first know what to make of it when the "gang of four" asserted that "a revisionist line held sway" in education in the first 17 years and that intellectuals were "undermining the socialist edifice." Before liberation there were only two hospitals in all of China which had a neurosurgical ward. One of them, the hospital attached to the Peking Union Medical College, had done fewer than one hundred operations on the brain in twenty years. After liberation, we started from scratch, first took up simple cases and went on to more complicated ones. We learnt to deal with all the common and recurrent diseases of the brain. Over the past 20 years we have performed 6,000 brain tumour operations. Today we carry out anastomosis of arteries of the scalp and the brain, which is quite a sophisticated operation.

How can serving socialism like this be labelled "undermining the socialist edifice"? And since most of us finished our college studies in the first 17 years after liberation when, as the gang claimed, "a revisionist line held sway" in education, how does that tally with what has been attained? The "gang of four's" "two estimates" are completely without foundation.

Explanatory Notes to Volume V of "Selected Works of Mao Tsetung" (4)

All sectors of the economy

(See p. 30, Vol. V, Eng. Ed.)

Prior to the basic completion of the socialist transformation of the system of ownership of the means of production in 1956, there existed in China five sectors of the economy, namely, the state economy which was socialist in nature, the co-operative economy of a semi-socialist nature, the state capitalist economy with varying degrees of socialist factors and based on the co-operation of state and private capital, the individual economy in agriculture and handicraft industry, and the private capitalist economy. Of these five sectors, the state economy was the leading sector.

Tendency towards either closed-doorism or excessive accommodation in united front work

(See p. 30.)

The tendency towards closed-doorism or excessive accommodation was a manifestation of "Left" or Right opportunism inside the Chinese Communist Party in carrying out the revolutionary united front work.

Closed-doorism advocated reliance on the working class alone to the exclusion of other revolutionary forces that might be won over or were willing to take part in the revolution against the powerful enemy. This tactic was the tactic of the regal isolationist. It would in fact mean helping the enemy, isolating ourselves and bringing defeat to the revolution. The "Left" opportunist line represented by Wang Ming in the Second Revolutionary Civil War period (1927-37) was a typical example of closed-doorism which rejected all revolutionary allies. As a result, the revolution suffered serious setbacks.

In the early post-liberation period, such errors were repeated in dealing with non-Party personages. The main manifestations were: looking down upon and even discriminating against them, refusing to consult with them on matters of importance, showing no respect for them and disregarding their responsibility and authority.

In contrast to closed-doorism, excessive accommodation manifested itself as capitulationism or tailism in the united front. Chen Tu-hsiu's Right opportunism in the period of the First Revolutionary Civil War (1924-27) and Wang Ming's Right opportunism in the period of the War of Resistance Against Japan (1937-45) were typical examples. Both of them stressed only co-operation with the Kuomintang, which was the Party's ally at the time, and neglected expanding our own force. When confronted with the anti-communist campaign of the Kuomintang, they made excessive accommodation with it and dared not fight back. They gave up the Party's leadership over the peasants, urban petty bourgeoisie and middle bourgeoisie. In particular, they gave up leadership over the armed forces and sacrificed the interests of the revolution to meet the demands of the reactionary classes, thus bringing serious setbacks or even defeat to the Party and the revolutionary cause.

Relief for unemployed workers and intellectuals

(See p. 30.)

At the time of liberation in 1949, the number of unemployed in the cities was more than four million. In June 1950, the Administrative Council of the Central People's Government issued the Directive on Relief for Unemployed Workers and at the same time approved the Provisional Measures for Providing

Relief for Unemployed Workers drawn up by the Ministry of Labour. Local governments also made earnest efforts to provide relief and jobs for unemployed workers and intellectuals. As a result, the number of unemployed dropped year after year, and by 1956 unemployment was basically eliminated.

The October Revolution

(See p. 33.)

This refers to the November 7 (October 25 by the Russian calendar), 1917 Russian proletarian socialist revolution. Under the leadership of Lenin and the Bolshevik Party, the Russian proletariat, in unity with the poor peasants and revolutionary soldiers, staged an armed uprising that day, overthrew the political power of the bourgeoisie and set up the world's first socialist state under the dictatorship of the proletariat. For the first time in the history of mankind, the October Revolution caused a breach in the system of imperialism and opened up a new era of proletarian revolution. The road of the October Revolution is the common road which the world proletariat should follow in carrying out revolution and establishing a socialist society. The Chinese revolution is the continuation of the October Revolution.

Reduce rent and interest, suppress the bandits and local tyrants

(See p. 34.)

Reducing rent and interest was our Party's land policy during the War of Resistance Against Japan. It lightened the peasants' burden by reducing the rent and interest they had to pay to the landlords, old-type rich peasants and usurers. In the War of Liberation (1945-49) and in the early days following country-wide liberation in 1949, this policy was also enforced in the new liberated areas when preparatory work for carrying out the agrarian reform had not yet been completed. This was for the purpose of uniting with all the peasants, reducing the feudal exploitation they suffered and initially improving their livelihood so that agricultural production could be rapidly rehabilitated and

developed. A general rule followed by the various areas was to cut the amount of rent by 25 per cent and pre-liberation arrears of rent were cancelled. All loans from the war criminals and evil landlords and despots were annulled, and the peasants did not have to pay any more interest for usurious loans from the landlords and old-type rich peasants. In addition, the rate of interest for future loans should be fixed by both parties through consultation.

Suppressing the bandits and local tyrants meant eliminating bandits and secret agents and struggling against local despotic landlords. Usually this was carried out in co-ordination with the work of reducing rent and interest. To smash the feudal forces in the new liberated areas, it was necessary first of all to mobilize the peasant masses to wipe out the remnant Kuomintang bandits and landlord armed forces and carry out struggles against and settle accounts with the most hated tyrannical landlords and counter-revolutionaries, expose their crimes and take back the land and other property seized by them. The People's Government would, in compliance with the people's demands, hold mass meetings to pass death sentences on those guilty of heinous crimes and carry them out immediately.

The small handicraftsmen

(See p. 34.)

These were independent small commodity producers engaged in small production and with a comparatively low economic status. As was often the case with these people, they had their own workshops and a few simple tools; they worked by themselves, were forced to sell part of their labour power from time to time, and were constantly menaced by unemployment and poverty. Their economic status was roughly the same as that of the poor peasants in the countryside and they belonged to the semi-proletariat. In the course of the reorganization of our social economy, which came in the wake of country-wide victory in the revolution in 1949, some found themselves temporarily in a difficult position. That was why Chairman Mao said that "we should also help the small handicraftsmen find ways to earn a living."

(To be continued.)

Soviet-U.S. "Disarmament" Talks

WHAT has come out of the Soviet-U.S. disarmament talks held under various names in the past year? Instead of an atmosphere of optimism as spread by both sides, the talks have been deadlocked round after round. Each side has tried to restrain the other while clinging to whatever superiority it has and the result is an arms race of greater intensity between the two superpowers.

Moscow and Washington spent the whole of 1977 in hectic commencement or recommencement of disarmament talks on ten topics: talks on strategic arms limitation, on troop reduction in Central Europe, on a total ban on nuclear explosions, on their naval presence in the Indian Ocean, on nuclear non-proliferation, on limitation of the sale of conventional arms, on the transfer of weapons and technology, on the prohibition of radioactive and chemical weapons, on a ban on environmental warfare, and on the prohibition of satellite warfare. And after a year of tough bargaining no accord whatsoever was reached.

Take the talks on troop reduction in Central Europe for example. Three rounds of talks totalling 33 plenary sessions were held in 1977, but no progress was made because each superpower tried to weaken the other, stuck to its own interpretation of "disarmament in parity" and "balanced disarmament," and haggled endlessly over the number of their troops. The number of Warsaw Pact troops in Central Europe as given by the Soviet Union is 150,000 less than the figure tabulated by NATO. Therefore, just as *The Los Angeles Times* pointed out last February 4, four years have elapsed and there are still two sets of manpower figures on the table. While not a single old problem has been solved, new ones have emerged. *The New York Times* disclosed last November 24 that the United States was examining the possibility of proposing in the Central Europe force-reduction negotiations

that the neutron bomb will not be deployed in return for Soviet restraint in deploying its new intermediate-range missile known as the SS-20.

Determined to complicate the issue, *Pravda* declared on December 27 that "the Soviet Union is entitled to raise the question of removal of U.S. weapons deployed in the forward bases. This involves nuclear submarines, bombers capable of carrying nuclear weapons and aircraft carriers in the areas concerned in Europe. And the U.S. side must not forget this."

This clearly shows that the disarmament talks are actually a form of rivalry between the two superpowers whose relations are based on mutual suspicion and mutual deception.

SALT Talks: No Progress

This became even more evident at the strategic arms limitation talks in Geneva, which both Moscow and Washington acknowledged as the "key" to their bilateral relations.

The five-year provisional Soviet-U.S. accord signed in 1972 expired on October 3, 1977, yet a long-term agreement is still nowhere in sight. The Geneva talks were resumed on May 21 after being stranded for six months. The 218th meeting of the five-year-old talks was held on December 13.

In an effort to arrive at something before October 3, the two parties talked matters over in Moscow in March, Geneva in May and Washington in September, but without any results, so they resorted to verbal pledges to continue to observe the old accord after its expiration.

The New York Times commented on December 28: "With negotiators still sharply divided over the old issues of the American cruise missile and a controversial Soviet bomber (the "Backfire"), the Carter administration officials admitted today that the prospect of an early agreement on limitation of strategic armaments has almost vanished."

The main reason for the failure of talks last year was that each superpower was out to gain military superiority at the expense of the other. While one pushed, the other butted. Since October last, word has been spread that Moscow and Washington have made "major concessions" on different aspects and worked out an eight-year agreement and a three-year protocol. Press circles, however, are saying that the Soviet Union has not yielded to American desire to limit Moscow's missiles carrying heavier warheads and Washington's contemplated accommodation to the Soviet demand to limit its cruise missiles has set off a wave of denunciations at home and abroad when news got out and the White House has failed up to now to make an ultimate compromise. Consequently, only some vague explanations or "assurances" concerning the cruise missile and the "Backfire" bomber were made in a temporary protocol.

This is not all. Well before a conclusion of a new accord, both sides already have found pretexts for a new round of arms race. "We have shown them that we are firm and can't be pushed around," Carter was reported by UPI on December 10 to have said.

TASS reported on December 23 that Brezhnev, commenting on the U.S. manufacture of the neutron bomb, said that "the people over there must clearly realize that the U.S.S.R. shall not remain a passive onlooker."

It is thus clear that even if Moscow and Washington do come to a long-term agreement, it would only serve as a smokescreen for affirming their existing strength and launching a new round of arms race.

As their talks over the key issue were stalled, the two superpowers tried to strike deals for a total ban on nuclear tests and on their naval presence in the Indian Ocean to create some atmosphere of optimism.

So, in the second half of last year, they had two rounds of talks on a total ban on nuclear tests and three rounds on their naval presence. But the talks failed to achieve any results when the year ended.

As the talks went off and on, the Soviet Union in 1977 conducted 11 underground nuclear tests and the United States 12 and their naval presence in the Indian Ocean has not

diminished in the least. That is how much the Soviet-U.S. negotiations are worth.

Arms Race Continues

The medley of talks on "disarmament" actually went side by side with an arms race on the land, at sea, in the air and even under the ground. Last year saw the military rivalry between the two superpowers raging on a larger scale.

Last year Washington carried on research, testing and manufacture of new weapons in an attempt to offset its rival's quantitative superiority with a qualitative one. It decided to develop the FB-111 strategic bomber instead of the B-1 and accelerate the manufacture of cruise missiles of various types, and test a new generation of missiles launched by Trident submarines. It spent lavishly on the research and development of the MX mobile missile system to replace the present fixed Minuteman. Despite some controversy over the development of the neutron bomb, there is no sign that the U.S. Government is going to change its plan.

Moscow's arms drive is always wrapped in a shroud of secrecy, but it is no secret that it has led the way in terms of quantity and speed in arms production. In 1977, it put into high gear the deployment of its ICBMs types SS-17, SS-18 and SS-19. Its mobile ICBM SS-16 was being trial-produced at top speed and its mobile intermediate-range missile with multiple warheads, the SS-20, was being deployed in the western parts of the Soviet Union. "Backfire" bombers were being produced at the rate of two a month at least. Its latest-type of submarine-launched missile, the SS-NX-18, with a test range of over 5,000 miles, were test fired into the Pacific several times last year.

According to Western press reports, the Kremlin resumed its anti-satellite plan in February 1977 after it had been suspended for four years, and conducted its 18th satellite-intercepting test last May. Reuter reported on September 20 that the Soviet air force was flight testing three types of combat aircraft, and a dispatch from *The New York Times* on October 29 said that the Soviet Union had deployed its new T-80 tank on a trial basis and that preparations for its mass production had been completed.

lofty national aspiration of the entire Korean people. No outside force has any right to intervene in the internal affairs of Korea. The United States must end its occupation of south Korea and its intervention in Korea; it must implement the resolution on the Korean question adopted at the 30th Session of the U.N. General Assembly, dissolve the 'U.N. command,' withdraw all its armed forces from south Korea, and let the Korean people resolve the question of the reunification of Korea themselves."

The article concluded: "China and Korea are neighbours closely related to each other as lips and teeth. The two peoples are comrades-in-arms and brothers sharing weal and woe. In protracted revolutionary struggles, they have always encouraged and supported each other

and fostered a great militant friendship cemented with blood. Under the leadership of their wise leader Chairman Hua, the Chinese Government and people resolutely carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in foreign affairs, uphold proletarian internationalism, and resolutely support the Korean people's just struggle for the independent and peaceful reunification of the fatherland and the 4-point national salvation programme put forward by 18 Korean political parties and public organizations. We are firmly convinced that under the leadership of their great leader President Kim Il Sung the Korean people are bound to win complete victory in their great cause of the independent and peaceful reunification of the fatherland. The beautiful 3,000-ri land of Korea will certainly be reunified."

Four-Point National Salvation Programme

1. A great alliance of the socialist forces of the north and the patriotic democratic forces of the south desirous of reunification must be realized for the independent and peaceful reunification of the country. The great alliance of the socialist forces of the north and the democratic forces of the south must be an alliance of the genuine patriotic forces standing against fascism and for democracy, against war and for peace, against split and for reunification.

2. The tension between the north and the south must be eased and the danger of a nuclear war removed for the independent and peaceful reunification of the country. The north-south military confrontation endangering the peace of the country and obstructing peaceful reunification must be removed at an early date and the tension be relaxed. The nuclear base in south Korea must be dismantled, all the weapons of destruction including nuclear weapon be shipped out forthwith

and the U.S. troops be unconditionally withdrawn.

3. The source of a discord within the nation must be removed and an atmosphere of great national unity be created for the independent and peaceful reunification of the country. The fascist and split-tist system which creates a discord and obstructs unity among the fellow countrymen must be liquidated and freedom of speech, the press, assembly, association and demonstration be ensured to those who desire peaceful reunification and the illegally arrested and imprisoned patriotic people and democratic personages be unconditionally released.

4. A north-south political consultative conference composed of representatives of all the political parties, public organizations and people of all strata in the north and the south must be convened to have consultation about all the above-mentioned questions. The conference will openly and frankly discuss our proposal and other matters for accelerating the independent and peaceful reunification of the country.

ROUND THE WORLD

SWEDISH COMMUNIST
PARTY

Statement on Three- World Theory

"The strategic concept of the three worlds corresponds fully with the interests of the world proletariat, the oppressed nations and the third world. It shows the way ahead to all political forces in the second world which strive for defence of national independence," said a January 13 statement of the Central Committee of the Swedish Communist Party.

The statement pointed out: "The strategic concept of the three worlds clearly puts to the world proletariat the tasks of building the broadest possible united front against the two superpowers and their hegemonism and war policies.

"To point out the danger of war, broaden the fight against the contention for hegemony so as to delay the outbreak of war, strengthen the defence capabilities of the peoples and step up the fight against appeasement policies are tasks of utmost importance to the Swedish people and all peoples of the world.

"The most important task the Swedish Communist Party sets for itself in 1978 is to fight against monopoly capital shifting the burden of the crisis on to the working people and to fight against the superpowers' preparations for war. To study and propagate the correct view on today's world situation and

put all the tasks of the Party in this strategic perspective is a decisive task for the new year," the statement said in conclusion.

HORN OF AFRICA

Soviet Union Is Naked Imperialism

After moving a large quantity of military hardware into the Horn of Africa and other parts of Africa during its three-week massive airlift "exercise" targeted against Africa and the Middle East late last November, the Soviet Union sent more weapons and military personnel to the Horn of Africa by air and sea. Soviet military personnel there now number over a thousand and Cubans from two to three thousand. The Soviet Union has sent in nearly 1,000 million U.S. dollars' worth of military material.

The Soviet moves in the Horn of Africa have aroused anxiety in the United States and other Western countries. Government representatives of the United States, Britain, France, West Germany and Italy on January 21 held a day-long closed-door talks in Washington on the Horn of Africa issue. U.S. President Carter, in a January 12 speech, expressed "concern about the Soviet Union's unwarranted involvement in Africa." "I hope that we can induce the Soviets and the Cubans not to send either soldiers or weapons into that area and call for and achieve a rapid ini-

tiation of negotiations," he said. British Foreign Secretary David Owen said in Parliament on January 18 that the Soviet military reinforcements could turn the dispute in the Horn of Africa into an East-West issue.

Press in many Western countries commented on the Soviet moves. The U.S. *Christian Science Monitor* noted that the continuing Soviet buildup in the Horn of Africa "threatens overall detente between the United States and the Soviet Union." "The situation is potentially more threatening in a strategic sense to the United States and the Western alliance than was the Cuban and Soviet intervention in Angola in 1975-76 (which, of course, persists)." The article went on to point out that a Soviet presence round the rim of the Horn of Africa, from the Sudan border to the Kenyan border, could be operated as a vise not only on the Western world's most important oil supply routes but also on the Western world's most important source of oil: Saudi Arabia, on the other side of the Red Sea Narrows.

The British *Yorkshire Post* pointed out in an editorial on January 18 that Soviet expansion in the Horn of Africa shows that the Soviet Union is a "naked imperialism."

A *Washington Post* January 18 article said that Angola was the first move the Soviet Union made as part of its new design for Africa. The Horn of Africa was the second. "Unless the Soviet Union is stopped dead in its tracks, there will be a third, and then a fourth, and many more after that."

U.S.S.R.-U.S.A.

Contending for Antarctica

As Soviet-U.S. contention on a worldwide scale intensifies, the two hegemonist powers are moving into Antarctica, the "earth's last frontier."

Antarctica covers one-tenth of the world's land surface and has an annual mean temperature — 25° C. Nearly the whole of this continent is perennially under thick ice.

Antarctica has vast untapped mineral resources, abundant fresh water and unpolluted air;



it is a huge latent source of protein and energy. It is said that oil deposits in the western part of the Antarctic continental shelf alone come to about 45,000 million barrels (equivalent to present known U.S. oil deposits) and its natural gas deposits are estimated at about 11,500,000 million cubic feet.

The United States has set up four "research stations" there to step up survey and pinpoint the exact distribution and amount of resources, oil, and uranium in particular. The Soviet Union has six "research stations" in Antarctica. In October 1977, the Soviet Union sent out a 500-member expedi-

tion, one of the largest ever dispatched. Its specific purpose is to study the physical properties of the continent, perforate the Shackleton Ice Shelf and build an airstrip on the continent for heavy aircraft, the first of its type on this continent. For the transportation of personnel and materials the Soviets are using an all-purpose vehicle — the "Jarkovchanka-2." The Soviet press claimed that Moscow has engaged in "wide and effective scientific research activities" in Antarctica and "is determined to continue such activities."

Apart from this, both the Soviet Union and the United States have in mind the Antarctic's militarily strategic role in a future war.

A December article in the Argentine magazine, *Review of the River Plate*, said: "The Soviets'

interest in the South Atlantic is no secret; neither is the importance Moscow places on South America, which is already threatened by the potential danger of Cuba in the north and Angola in the east. With militarily equipped bases in the Antarctic, the Soviets may think that whenever the need arises they will have South America within their three-sided grip."

NICARAGUA

Workers on Protest Strike

On January 23, 300,000 Nicaraguan workers went on strike. They demanded a full investigation of the murder of

Pedro Joaquin Chamorro, a well-known opposition leader assassinated in Managua on January 10. That same day, 80 per cent of the stores and businesses in Nicaragua's ten major cities, including Managua, the capital of Nicaragua, Leon and Chinandega, closed down in sympathy with the workers' strike.

Chamorro was a leader of the Democratic Liberation Union and editor of *La Prensa*, the only anti-government newspaper in Nicaragua. Chamorro has been imprisoned and exiled many times for his statements against the government.

The Somoza government had promised to investigate Chamorro's murder, but the Managua chamber of commerce, other business groups and opposition parties pointed out recently that "the country and the people are not satisfied with or have confidence in the way the investigation has been conducted thus far."

The murder of Chamorro has aroused intense indignation among people in every walk of life. The day Chamorro was assassinated, about 50,000 people in Managua held a demonstration in protest and expressed their condolences.

The murder of Chamorro has also stirred up strong reaction in Latin America as a whole. The Permanent Council of the Organization of American States in Washington paid tribute to Chamorro on January 11.

CORRECTION: In issue No. 4, "Catherine I" in line 4 from the bottom in the left-hand column of page 19 should be "Catherine II."

ON THE HOME FRONT

South China Sea Investigated

SCIENTIFIC researchers of the Institute of Oceanography on the South China Sea under the Chinese Academy of Sciences collected first-hand scientific information on China's Huangyen Island which lies somewhat southeast of the Chungsha Islands.

The researchers went to the island last year on a scientific investigation ship which was surveying the sea areas south of China's Chungsha and Hsisha Islands and north of the Nansha

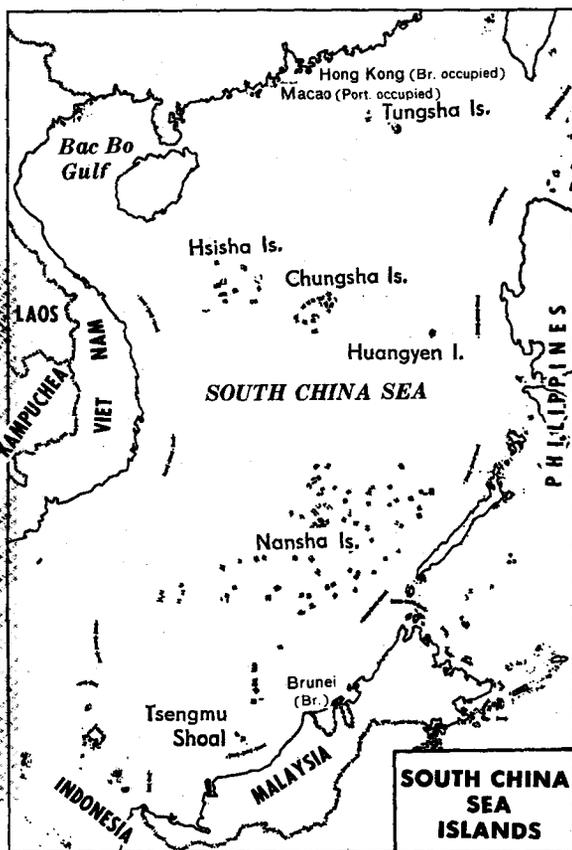
Islands, also part of the Chinese territory.

The ship covered 4,926 nautical miles in 58 days. The scientists fulfilled all their targets for marine gravity, magnetism, hydrography, meteorology, biology, chemistry and geology. Their findings will help exploit the resources in South China Sea and develop marine science.

Earlier, within the last 10 years, members of this institute had conducted five other investigations off the Chungsha and Hsisha Islands.

After the smashing of the "gang of four," workers, cadres and technicians of the network have made great efforts to boost power output. In the suburbs of Tangshan, there is a power plant which was severely damaged by the earthquake. Those who took part in rebuilding the plant overcame numerous difficulties and finished it in one year, the task they fulfilled was one which would have taken at least two years in the past. On July 28, 1977, the plant began generating electricity again.

In 1977, new generating sets of 765,000 kw. were added to this network and some 500 kilometres of high-tension transmission lines put up. The expansion of the power grid in these two categories topped that of any previous year.



Peking Power Grid

INSTALLATION of new generating sets and transmission lines has improved the supply of electricity in the Peking-Tientsin-Tangshan area.

This area is covered by a large power grid. In the past years, owing to the interference and sabotage by the Lin Piao anti-Party clique and the "gang of four," plus the strong earthquake of 1976 in the Tangshan-Fengnan region, the network was seriously impaired and its electricity supply fell short of what was needed by the national economy.

New Tunnelling Record in Iron Mines

ON the 8th of last December, the Ma Wan-shui Engineering Team, well known in China, scored the national tunnelling record in iron mines for the 20th time. It drove 1,403.6 metres within a month (31 workdays) by single drill, thus fulfilling a task of 8 months more or less.

The project fully reached the standards set by the state, as confirmed by the departments concerned.

On December 15, the Hopei Provincial Revolutionary Committee and the Ministry of Metallurgical Industry held a meeting to celebrate the team's achievement and present the team with a silk banner.

Comrade Ma Wan-shui was the first leader of the team, which was established in September 1949. During these 28 years, the team created the nation's tunnelling record in iron mines in north China and northwest China 19 times. It is praised as the "heroic tunnelling team in opening up mines."

How was the 20th record made? Under the leadership of the team's general Party branch, a plan was worked out after discussion by over 100 workers and cadres who were to take part in the project, and the different work procedures came out smoothly and uninterruptedly. The workers not only aimed at top quality but also high speed, and at last overfulfilled the plan.

Survey for Reclaimable Land

A FOUR-YEAR survey of wasteland in Heilungkiang Province, northeast China, estimated the reclaimable land at 8 million hectares, equivalent to the total cultivated area of the province. The investigation also brought to light some 8 million hectares of grasslands which can be put to use.

The wasteland is mainly scattered in the basins of the Heilung, Wusuli and Sunghua Rivers. There are 1,200 stretches of arable land, each over 670 hectares in area. Making up half of the province's unreclaimed land resources, they are quite level and thus suited to machine-cultivation.

Some of the land can be brought under cultivation in the

immediate future, and to this end, the province has worked out a plan for expanding its area of cropland by 1,330,000 hectares before 1980.

Preservation of Giant Pandas

THE giant panda, a great attraction for zoo visitors, is one of the world's rare animals. To date, China is the only country where giant pandas can be found in small numbers. Their rates of proliferation and survival are both not high.

Attaching great importance to the preservation of giant pandas, the People's Government has placed them in the category of rare animals for which poaching is strictly prohibited and marked their native habitats off as natural wildlife sanctuaries. The giant pandas can be caught only to meet special needs and with state approval.

In order to make the policy of protecting rare animals known to all the local people, the People's Government has slides made for publicizing the significance of wildlife preservation. The slides are shown in all the people's communes in and around the natural preservation zones.

With the establishment of these zones giant pandas are free from disturbances by human activities and are provided with a stable environment for living and propagation.

Basing themselves on available data, paleontologists and

zoologists point out that giant pandas were widely distributed in China some 500,000 years ago. Later, owing to the development of mankind and the continual expansion of areas of human activity and habitation as well as radical changes in environment, the giant pandas were forced to move westward and their numbers gradually decreased. Today they are found in southwest China's Szechuan Province, northwest China's Wenhsien County, Kansu Province, and on the southern slopes of the Chinling Mountains in Shensi Province.

These "living fossils," as giant pandas are called because to some extent they represent prehistoric animals which have survived to this day, are of special value in zoological research. Judging from the fossils found on a spot in Kwangsi, the giant pandas of the neolithic period were of the same size as their descendants of today.



A giant panda in its native habitat.

Radio Peking

English Language Transmissions

	GMT	Local Standard Time	Metre Bands	kHz
NORTH AMERICA (EAST COAST)	00:00-01:00	19:00-20:00 (E.S.T.)	19, 16	15060, 15520, 17680
	01:00-02:00	20:00-21:00 (E.S.T.)	42, 30, 25, 19	7120, 9780, 9940, 11945, 15060
	02:00-03:00	21:00-22:00 (E.S.T.)	30, 24, 19	9940, 12055, 15060
	03:00-04:00	22:00-23:00 (E.S.T.)	42, 30	7120, 9780
	12:00-13:00	07:00-08:00 (E.S.T.)	30	9920
NORTH AMERICA (WEST COAST)	03:00-04:00	19:00-20:00 (P.S.T.)	31, 25, 24, 19	9460, 11650, 12055, 15060
	04:00-05:00	20:00-21:00 (P.S.T.)	31, 25, 24, 19	9460, 11650, 12055, 15060
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, 17	9460, 11600, 11720, 15060, 17635
	09:30-10:30	19:30-20:30 (Aust. S.T.) 21:30-22:30 (N.Z.S.T.)	31, 25, 19, 17	9460, 11600, 11720, 15060, 17635
SOUTHEAST ASIA	12:00-13:00	19:00-20:00 (Western Indonesia, Bangkok)	32, 31, 25, 19	9290, 9470, 11650, 15270
		19:30-20:30 (Singapore)		
		20:00-21:00 (Ho Chi Minh City, Manila)		
	13:00-14:00	18:30-19:30 (Rangoon)	32, 31, 25, 19	9290, 9470, 11650, 15270
		20:00-21:00 (Western Indonesia, Bangkok)		
		20:30-21:30 (Singapore) 21:00-22:00 (Ho Chi Minh City, Manila)		
SOUTH ASIA	14:00-15:00	19:30-20:30 (Delhi, Colombo)	41, 30, 25	7315, 9860, 11650
		19:00-20:00 (Rawalpindi)		
		20:00-21:00 (Dacca)		
		19:40-20:40 (Kathmandu)		
	15:00-16:00	20:30-21:30 (Delhi, Colombo)	41, 30, 25	7315, 9860, 11650
20:00-21:00 (Rawalpindi)				
21:00-22:00 (Dacca) 20:40-21:40 (Kathmandu)				
18:00-19:00	23:30-00:30 (Delhi)	247	1210	
EAST AND SOUTH AFRICA	16:00-17:00	18:00-19:00 (Cape Town, Salisbury)	39, 30	7620, 9860
		19:00-20:00 (Dar-es-Salaam)		
WEST AND NORTH AFRICA	17:00-18:00	19:00-20:00 (Cape Town, Salisbury)	39, 30	7620, 9860
		20:00-21:00 (Dar-es-Salaam)		
	19:30-20:30	18:45-19:45 (Monrovia)	42, 39, 31	7080, 7620, 9470
		19:30-20:30 (Accra, Freetown)		
20:30-21:30 (Lagos) 21:30-22:30 (Cairo)				
20:30-21:30	19:45-20:45 (Monrovia) 20:30-21:30 (Accra, Freetown) 21:30-22:30 (Lagos) 22:30-23:30 (Cairo)	42, 39, 31	7080, 7620, 9470	
EUROPE	20:30-21:30	21:30-22:30 (London, Stockholm, Paris)	47, 43, 39	6270, 6860, 7590
	21:30-22:30	22:30-23:30 (London, Stockholm, Paris)	47, 43, 39	6270, 6860, 7590