

# PEKING REVIEW

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January 9, 1976

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**Magnificent Poems That Inspire  
Us in Battle**

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**Twelve Million School Graduates  
Settle in the Countryside**

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**Growing Danger of New World War**

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# PEKING REVIEW

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## Chairman Mao's Poems Inspire the People Throughout China

THE arrival of the New Year found a jubilant atmosphere prevailing throughout the vast land of China. Striding into the fighting year 1976 with pride and vigour, the people of all nationalities in the country read the just published magnificent poems by their great leader Chairman Mao and studied his important instructions conveyed through the New Year's Day editorial by *Renmin Ribao*, *Hongqi* and *Jiefangjun Bao*.

Everywhere, from the urban centres to the villages and far-off frontier regions, workers, peasants, army-men, students, cadres and other people gathered round radios on New Year's Eve to listen to Chairman Mao's two poems: "Ching Kangshan Revisited — to the tune of *Shui Tiao Keh Tou*" and "Two Birds: A Dialogue — to the tune of *Nien Nu Chiao*." Greatly inspired by these dynamic, magnificent poems, people in many factories, mines, people's communes, production brigades, army companies, schools and state organizations held meetings to study Chairman Mao's two poems and the New Year's Day editorial. At the meetings, people discussed the great political and immediate significance of the publication of the two poems, recapitulated China's tremendous achievements in socialist revolution and construction in the past year and warmly hailed the great victory of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. Vast numbers of workers, peasants and soldiers pledged that they would fulfil the fighting tasks set by Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee for the new year, advance courageously and strive for still greater victories in combating and preventing revisionism and continuing the revolution in the heroic

spirit to "clasp the moon in the Ninth Heaven and seize turtles deep down in the Five Seas."

People all over China reviewed the excellent domestic and international situation in which "the world is being turned upside down" and "past scenes are transformed." Citing a host of vivid examples, they explained how the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius and the mass movement to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and to criticize the novel *Water Margin* had greatly promoted China's socialist revolution and construction.

They unanimously pointed out that practice in the socialist revolution over the past two decades and more had borne out the incontrovertible truth that "nothing is hard in this world if you dare to scale the heights." In order to consolidate and develop the excellent revolutionary situation, it is imperative to take class struggle as the key link and adhere to the Party's basic line and never depart from this fundamental orientation.

The poor and lower-middle peasants of the Tachai Production Brigade, national pace-setter in agriculture, recalled how they had advanced in the last 20 years and more in the direction pointed out by Chairman Mao by persisting in the Party's basic line, taking class struggle as the key link and adopting a philosophy of struggle in fighting class enemies, the revisionist line and capitalist tendencies and in harnessing rivers and transforming mountains. They pointed out that their every success was achieved through perseverance in the

struggle between the two classes and the two roads. They said: "The revolution will continue nonstop, so will the increase in production. To scale new heights, we will advance unswervingly along Chairman Mao's revolutionary line."

Workers at the Taching Oil Field, national pace-setter in industry, recalled how they defied the difficulties brought on by natural adversity and interference and sabotage by domestic and foreign revisionists and opened the oil field at high speed in the 60s by relying on Chairman Mao's two philosophical works *On Practice* and *On Contradiction*. During the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, they waged resolute struggles against Liu Shao-chi's and Lin Piao's revisionist line. As a result, Taching's crude oil output today is 5.5 times that of 1965, the year before the Cultural Revolution began.

Teachers and students at Tsinghua University studied the poems and the editorial in the light of the struggle on the educational front against the Right deviationist wind to reverse previous verdicts. They said: "Time and again the bourgeoisie and revisionists have tried to make a breach on the educational front. Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and by taking class struggle as the key link, we have waged fierce struggles against them and deepened the revolution in education. The recent farrago aimed at negating the revolution in education is a conspicuous manifestation of class struggle in the new situation. We will use these two poems of Chairman Mao's as our weapon, take class struggle as the key link and continue to criticize revisionism and the bourgeoisie and carry the prole-

tarian revolution in education through to the end."

People across the land hailed the current excellent revolutionary situation the world over. Wang Tehsiang, a worker at the Shoutu Iron and Steel Company, said: "Chairman Mao's two poems are a great encouragement to the revolutionary people of the world. The reactionary essence of Soviet revisionism's phoney 'goulash communism' has been exposed further and modern revisionism has been dealt a telling blow."

Pao Yu-tang, a Mulao nationality poet in Kwangsi, said: "With the broad vision of a proletarian revolutionary, Chairman Mao has made a highly artistic summing-up of the excellent situation in the Chinese revolution and the world revolution. The two poems inspire us to advance at all times along the course charted by Chairman Mao."

Commanders and fighters of the Shenyang Units of the Chinese People's Liberation Army said: "Soviet revisionist social-imperialism is the most dangerous source of war today. It chants 'peace' most loudly in a vain effort to deceive the people of various countries. We will never slacken our vigilance. We should train hard, be strict with ourselves and always be ready to wipe out any invading enemy. We are determined to liberate Taiwan Province, our sacred territory."

### **Albanian Military Delegation**

Yeh Chien-ying, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, Vice-Chairman of the Military Commission of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Minister of National Defence, on December 31, 1975 met and had a cordial and friendly conversation with the Albanian Military Delegation led by Veli Llakaj, Vice-Minister of People's Defence and Chief of the General Staff of the People's Army, with Nazar Berberi, Vice-Minister of People's Defence, as deputy leader,

In China from December 7 through January 2, the delegation visited a P.L.A. Peking tank unit, the Central Institute for Nationalities and the Tachai Production Brigade in Hsiyang County, Shansi Province.

### **Delegation of Central Committee of Marxist-Leninist Communist Party Of Ecuador**

Chang Chun-chiao, Member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, recently met and had a cordial and friendly conversation with all members of the Delegation of the Central Committee of the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of Ecuador. Following the meeting, he gave a dinner in their honour.

Also present was Keng Piao, Member of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Head of its International Liaison Department.

The delegation visited Peking, Harbin, Taching, Changsha and Shaoshan while in China.

### **East Timor Government Delegation**

Foreign Minister Chiao Kuan-hua gave a banquet on December 29 in honour of the Government Delegation of the Democratic Republic of East Timor led by Rogerio Tiago de Fatima Lobato, Minister of Defence and Commander-in-Chief of the National Liberation Army. At the banquet, the Foreign Minister warmly congratulated the East Timorese people on their victory in the struggle for independence.

He said: "Just as the East Timorese people were celebrating their independence, the Indonesian Government, on fabricated pretexts, opposed their struggle for independence and brazenly launched a large-scale armed invasion of East Timor on December 7 in an attempt to put

down their patriotic forces and realize its long-harboured ambition to annex East Timor. The Chinese Government and people strongly condemn the Indonesian Government for this act of aggression. The Chinese Government reiterates the demand that the Indonesian Government withdraw forthwith and unconditionally all its armed forces from East Timor and desist from all interference in the affairs of East Timor." The Chinese Government and people firmly support the East Timorese people's just struggle, he declared.

Entrusted by Lobato, delegation member Roque Felix de Jesus Rodrigues spoke at the banquet. He said that the Indonesian expansionists had invaded East Timor in an attempt to frustrate the will of the East Timorese people, who, however, were determined to resist all oppression and outside aggression.

He added: FRETILIN represents the will of the East Timorese people and its goal is to realize national independence and the liberation of the people. We have come to see that only through organized revolutionary violence can we wipe out the enemy of the people. The present situation has proved that the organized people are invincible. To resist collaboration of all reactionary forces, we should unite with all progressive forces and strengthen what we have won. The revolutionary forces are sure to win — this is the objective law independent of man's will.

He expressed the belief that colonialism, neo-colonialism, imperialism of all shades and Indonesian expansionism are bound to be defeated.

The delegation visited China from December 29 to January 2. Vice-Premier Chen Hsi-lien met and had a cordial and friendly conversation with it. Talks also took place between Vice-Foreign Minister Han Nien-lung and delegation leader Lobato.

# Magnificent Poems That Inspire Us in Battle

— Studying Chairman Mao's two poems

by Yuan Shui-po

THE publication of Chairman Mao's two poems "Chingkangshan Revisited—to the tune of *Shui Tiao Keh Tou*" and "Two Birds: A Dialogue—to the tune of *Nien Nu Chiao*" at a time when the people of the whole country are striding with revolutionary vigour into another militant spring is of immense joy to China's cultural circles. It is also a momentous event in the political life of the Chinese people.

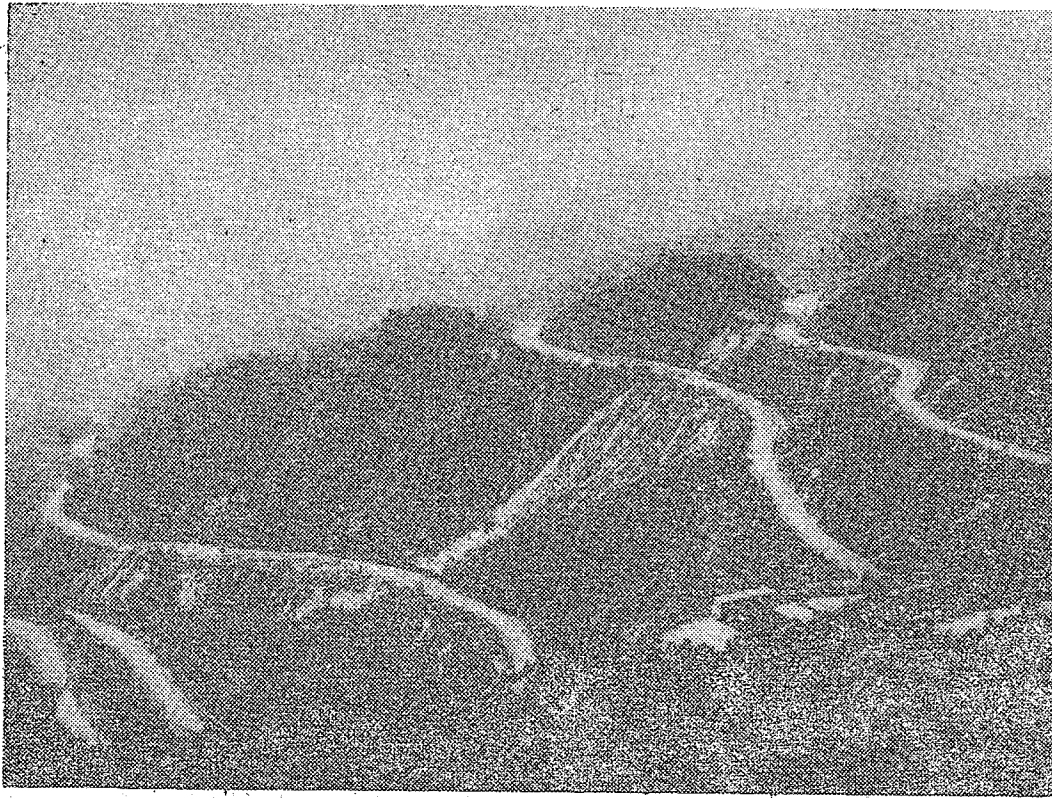
These two poems, written in a pithy style and with lively imageries in 1965, epitomize the excellent situation in the Chinese revolution and the world revolution. With profound feeling they pay tribute to the indomitable revolutionary spirit of the Chinese proletariat and revolutionary people and eloquently point out to the whole world the truth that Marxism will surely triumph over revisionism and the revolutionary people will sweep away all pests. Integrating revolutionary lyricism with the epic style, the two poems are at once a song of victory and a clarion call to continue the revolution. They are a tremendous inspiration to the Chinese people to closely follow the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, take class struggle as the key link, persist in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, go on consolidating and developing the achievements of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, oppose restoration and retrogression, build China into a modern and strong socialist state and struggle for the lofty cause of communism.

These two poems are splendid examples of integration of revolutionary realism with revolutionary romanticism. The theme in both, whether in singing the praises of the people or hurling sarcasms at the enemy, is the same: strategically, the enemy is nothing to be afraid of and difficulties are not to be feared. As Chairman Mao has taught us: "Even great storms are not to be feared. It is amid great storms that human society progresses." (*Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work.*) Armed with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, the revolutionary people will overcome every obstacle, turn the old world "upside down" and scale the heights of the great revolutionary cause of the proletariat.

"Chingkangshan Revisited—to the tune of *Shui Tiao Keh Tou*," written in a leisurely and flowing style, depicts the fulgent splendour of the cradle of the Chinese revolution—Chingkangshan\*—today, and extols the socialist revolution and construction in this old revolutionary base area. The dismal darkness of the old China has been banished and in its place is a luxuriant and vibrant scene where "orioles sing, swallows swirl, streams purl everywhere and the road mounts skyward." Isn't this exactly a miniature of our socialist motherland? From these resplendent lines we can feel keenly the elation of our great leader Chairman Mao who returned "from afar to climb Chingkangshan, our old haunt" after a lapse of 38 years.

"And the road mounts skyward." This line depicts the landscape, but the metaphoric imagery calls to our mind the revolutionary road of Chingkangshan which led to the Chinese people's liberation. "Past scenes are transformed." Victory has been won under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. A correct line emerges and develops through continuous struggle against erroneous lines. Chairman Mao revisited Chingkangshan in 1965. Thirty-eight years before that, the revolutionary war led by the Chinese Communist Party met with defeat in 1927, after which Chairman Mao liquidated the Right opportunist line of Chen Tu-hsiu and mapped out the road of agrarian revolution and armed struggle, thereby saving the Chinese revolution from the dire predicament brought about by the capitulationists. The armed workers and peasants raised aloft the red banner of an armed independent regime of workers and peasants and marched up Chingkangshan. Later, Chairman Mao fought the "Left" putschism of Chu Chiu-pai and the capitulationist ideas of Lin Piao who was seized with pessimism

\* Chingkangshan, or the Chingkang Mountains, is a region with many basins hemmed in by precipitous mountains. It is in the middle section of the Lohsiao mountain range, encompassing a number of counties in western Kiangsi Province and Hunan Province. Chairman Mao established China's first rural revolutionary base area here in October 1927.



A highway in the Ching kang Mountains.

and despair for the future of the revolution. The enemy's repeated campaigns of "encirclement and suppression" were smashed and the first rural revolutionary base area was firmly established. Ching kangshan was the important starting point of the Chinese revolution and the Ching kangshan road is the road to the victory of the Chinese revolution. The road of integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with concrete revolutionary practice, as pointed out by Chairman Mao, is a ladder that pierces through fogs and clouds, mounts skyward and leads to victory in the revolution.

"Once Huangyangchieh is passed, no other perilous place calls for a glance." Again this is about the landscape, and the landscape evokes memories of the past. It is a fusion of feelings with the natural setting. Depiction of the immediate scene embodies ideas of far-reaching significance. More than 30 years ago Chairman Mao wrote "Ching kangshan — to the melody *Hsi Chiang Yueh*" extolling the battle fought at Huangyangchieh. Over 30 years later, Chairman Mao again mentions Huangyangchieh in his "Ching kangshan Revisited," stressing once more the historic significance of the battle to defend this pass. In the autumn of 1928 the Kuo-mintang reactionaries tried to destroy at one blow our Ching kangshan base area. Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, the young Workers' and Peasants' Red Army, fighting with a force of less than one battalion, hurled back the enemy units from Hunan and Kiangsi, achieving the miracle of defeating a numerically superior and powerful enemy with a small and weak force. The line "No other perilous place calls

for a glance" points to the fact that Huangyangchieh is the most perilous and crucial of the five passes on the Ching kang Mountains and that once it is passed, no other place calls for a glance. This line also signifies the Chinese proletariat and revolutionary people who have withstood such severe tests as the battle at Huangyangchieh and who have been tempered in revolutionary storms over the past few decades will never be cowed by any hardship or peril. These majestic and powerful lines are an apt description of the revolutionary optimism of the proletariat who slights all difficulties and despises all enemies,

and an expression of the heroic spirit of the proletariat determined to vanquish all enemies and never to yield.

"Wind and thunder are stirring, flags and banners are flying wherever men live." Looking afar from the top of the Lohsiao mountain range, one saw a forest of flags and banners fluttering in the wind and thunderstorm. At that time the Red Army had only a force of less than four regiments in the Ching kang Mountains and the local population was only 2,000. The stark fact was the enemy was stronger than we. But the newborn revolutionary force which represented China's future was full of vitality and no reactionaries could vanquish it. A single spark can start a prairie fire. The revolution finally won victory. "Thirty-eight years are fled with a mere snap of the fingers." In the long history of mankind, 38 years is just a twinkling of the eye; but the revolutionary people, once they grasp the truth of Marxism and have a correct line, they can work wonders. Events between the establishment of the first revolutionary base area in the Ching kang Mountains and the founding of the People's Republic of China and, indeed, the entire history of the new-democratic revolution and the socialist revolution, have fully testified to this great truth. "We can clasp the moon in the Ninth Heaven and seize turtles deep down in the Five Seas." It was with such magnificent spirit and powerful words that Chairman Mao depicted the lofty aspirations of the Chinese proletariat. In the more than two decades since the founding of New China, we have smashed blockades and subversive conspiracies by imperialism and social-imperialism and we have gone

through four major two-line struggles and transformed a poor and backward country into a socialist state with initial prosperity. And in another 20 years or so, we will certainly frustrate resistance and sabotage by any enemy, triumph over revisionism and build China into a modern and powerful socialist country and, thenceforth, forge ahead on the road of continued revolution. "Nothing is hard in this world if you dare to scale the heights." Like music that is full of vigour, these two concluding lines impart to us inexhaustible strength. The Chinese revolution has already won great victories but the road ahead is even longer and the tasks more arduous and greater. As long as we adhere to the Party's basic line, carry forward the dauntless revolutionary spirit, dare to fight all class enemies at home and abroad and know how to fight them, we can certainly surmount every difficulty and interference, and continuously push forward the revolutionary cause of the proletariat.

"Two Birds: A Dialogue — to the tune of *Nien Nu Chiao*" was written in the autumn of 1965. That was a year after the downfall of Khrushchov, and his successors Brezhnev and company have since been carrying on and developing his revisionist line. It was at this important hour when the international communist movement needed most to persevere in the struggle against revisionism that Chairman Mao wrote this poem. A unique artistic epitome and graphic summing-up of the great polemic between Marxism and revisionism in the contemporary era, this poem forcefully exposes the feebleness of modern revisionism and portrays with great vividness the image of the new tsars as mere paper tigers. In popular language and easy to understand because of its colloquialism, the poem is full of humour. As Engels put it, to conduct a fight with a sense of humour "is the best proof of how sure they [the workers] are of their cause, and how conscious of their superiority." ("Prefatory Note to the *Peasant War in Germany*.")

The dialogue between the roc and the sparrow is adapted from the fable entitled "Hsiao Yao Yu" in *Chuang Tzu*.<sup>\*</sup> Chairman Mao gave a recast of this ancient fable and enriched it with the important theme of the contemporary struggle against revisionism. Here the roc personifies the Marxists and the sparrow in the bush refers to the Soviet revisionist renegade clique.

The first stanza of the poem describes the entirely different outlooks of the roc and the sparrow on the world as it is today. In fact, the contrast between two typical images here is a contrast between two classes, two lines and two world outlooks. "The roc wings fan-wise, soaring ninety thousand *li* and rousing a raging cyclone." This gives a very vivid picture of the militancy and grandeur of the roc spreading its wings in the teeth of a storm. "The blue sky on his back, he looks down to survey man's world with its towns and cities." This speaks of an excellent world situation in which the seas are rising and the continents are rocking as the people's

revolution and national-liberation wars; co-ordinating with each other, surge forward wave upon wave. Scared out of its wits by the excellent revolutionary situation in which "gunfire licks the heavens" and "shells pit the earth," the sparrow in his bush mumbles and sputters in great panic. Revolution, which is a grand festival so far as the people are concerned, is "one hell of a mess" and a disaster to the revisionist overlords. Thus these lines have thoroughly exposed the feeble nature and reactionary stand of these creatures who are afraid of and hostile to the people's revolution and national-liberation wars.

The second and last stanza of the poem exposes the hypocrisy of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique in talking pompously about "a world without arms, without troops and without wars" and in mouthing pseudo-communism. The sparrow cries: "I want to flit and fly away." But where? "To a jewelled palace in elfland's hills," a most wonderful place, it is said. But all this is baloney. "Don't you know a triple pact was signed under the bright autumn moon two years ago?" This refers to the so-called partial nuclear test ban treaty the Soviet revisionists concluded with the United States and Britain in 1963. A treaty of this kind, to all intents and purposes, was a fraud perpetrated by the men in the Kremlin to betray the interests of the Soviet people and the people of the world at large; it was also a manifestation showing how they and the imperialists deceive, blackmail and contend with each other overtly and covertly. While paying lip service to "disarmament" every day, they are actually engaged in arms expansion. In spite of the fact that the Soviet Union and the United States have produced more agreements on nuclear weapons limitation following the signing of the "triple pact," they have since engaged in a nuclear race that has become more intensified with each passing day, and there are endless scandals about how each is trying to pull the other's leg. The lie about "a world without arms, without troops and without wars" can in no way cover up the expansionist nature of the Soviet revisionists. Their effort to create the false phenomenon of

\* "Hsiao Yao Yu" in *Chuang Tzu*: *Chuang Tzu* is one of the philosophical works of the Taoist school in ancient China, written by Chuang Chou (circa 369-286 B.C.) and his later disciples. "Hsiao Yao Yu" is a chapter in *Chuang Tzu*. It begins with a fable saying that once there was a fish called *kun* in the north sea that was so big no one actually knew its size. Later it transformed itself into a bird called *peng* whose back extended for thousands of *li* in length. When the *peng* flew up to the sky its wings were like the clouds shrouding the sky. When "the sea began moving," the *peng* started flying to the south sea. One flap of its wings would strike up a breaker 3,000 *li* high and, like a raging cyclone, it would soar 90,000 *li* and fly for six months before stopping. When a sparrow saw this, it ridiculed the *peng*, saying: "When I fly, I stop on an elm or any other tree I come across and perch on it. Sometimes if I can't reach a tree in my flight, I just land on the ground. What is the need to fly 90,000 *li* into the sky? And why fly so far as the south sea?"

Chairman Mao, in recasting the fable in a revolutionary way, has set us an example of how to make ancient things serve the present.



a "lasting peace" is actually meant to serve their purpose of seizing world hegemony and building a big colonial empire of the new tsars.

As to the "appetizing dish of goulash," it is no more than a dud cheque signed by Khrushchov to fool the people! Khrushchov never made good his promise and only made himself a laughingstock in history; this is still of practical significance today. Since Brezhnev took office, he has proved himself an equal to his predecessor, with the result that the economy in the Soviet Union is now a mess, the agricultural crisis is worse than ever and news of crop failures keeps pouring in. The rank-and-file office workers and students in the cities, to keep their body and soul together, have found it necessary to go to the countryside to look for even the tiniest pieces of potatoes, and little children are forced to glean the "badly needed grain" left in the fields. Meanwhile, a handful of bourgeois elements are living in extravagance and dissipation with, of course, more beef than they can consume. And the broad masses, by contrast, are leading a most miserable life and becoming increasingly impoverished with each passing day, and do not even have potatoes at their meals! If one takes note of the polarization between the rich and the poor in the present-day Soviet Union, it is clear that to advertise "goulash communism" is, to put it bluntly, merely an attempt to cover up the sanguinary fascist dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

The famous Tang Dynasty poet Pai Chu-yi (772-846) wrote: "It is said the elfland's hills are in the seas, the hills are somewhere in the misty void." This is a good description of "the world without arms, without troops and without wars" and "goulash communism" trumpeted by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique. But they are all windy nonsense. Chairman Mao has often taught us that we are still living in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution. "Look you, the world is being turned upside down." Countries want independence, nations want liberation and the people want revolution — this has become an irresistible historical trend. The factors for both revolution and war are clearly increasing. Whether war gives rise to revolution or revolution prevents war, the world situation invariably develops in the direction favourable to the people. The people of the whole world, including the Soviet people, have come to see more and more profoundly the social-imperialist nature of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique. Looking fierce and not to be challenged, it is in actual fact outwardly strong but inwardly weak; it is beset with crises and the going is getting tougher and tougher. Doing things in a perverse way, it runs counter to the objective law of social development and pits itself against the people at home and in the rest of the world. It cannot escape the fate of being buried completely by the people.

These two poems by Chairman Mao, like his 37 other poems published before, profoundly reflect the tremendous changes in the history of the Chinese revolution and the world revolution. "Ching Kangshan Revisited" and "Two Birds: A Dialogue" were written on the eve of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. In the light of the situation in class struggle both at home and abroad at that time, we keenly realize the profound political and immediate significance of these two brilliant poems. Taking into account the practice of the Chinese revolution and the world revolution, Chairman Mao has summed up the experience and lessons of the international communist movement, the capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union in particular, and indicated the direction of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Not long after he wrote the two poems Chairman Mao, with great revolutionary valour, initiated and led the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. It is a great revolution aimed at combating and preventing revisionism, and a great practice "to climb Ching Kangshan" again. Guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, the people of the whole country, displaying fearless revolutionary spirit, finally demolished the bourgeois headquarters with Liu Shao-chi as its chieftain after repeated trials of strength between the classes. Following this, they waged a struggle against the Lin Piao anti-Party clique. Thus the intrigues of Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao as well as Khrushchov and Brezhnev to restore capitalism in China were dashed to pieces.

"Nothing is hard in this world if you dare to scale the heights." This is a summing-up by Chairman Mao of the Chinese people's prolonged revolutionary struggle and an encouragement to the whole Party and the whole nation to continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. It inspires us to continue our march forward and scale one height after another. An undaunted revolutionary spirit was necessary in order to overthrow the three big mountains of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism; such spirit was also needed in carrying out the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Today we need to keep and make great efforts to carry forward this spirit in order to defend, consolidate and develop the gains of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and persist in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. **While the prospects are bright, the road has twists and turns.** (Mao Tsetung: *On the Chungking Negotiations*.) We will for ever follow Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, continuously scale new heights in socialist revolution and socialist construction and win one fresh victory after another.

(A slightly abridged translation of an article published in "Hongqi," No. 1, 1976)

# Twelve Million School Graduates Settle in the Countryside

**T**WELVE million school graduates have gone to live in the countryside since the start of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in 1966. This is a fruit of the Cultural Revolution and a victory for the Chinese youth movement in upholding Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

## Victory for the Revolutionary Line

The revolutionary movement of educated youths settling in the countryside developed in the sharp struggle between Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and Liu Shao-chi's and Lin Piao's revisionist line.

Chairman Mao pointed out in the period of agricultural co-operation in the 1950s: "All intellectuals who can work in the countryside should be happy to go there. Our countryside is vast and has plenty of room for them to develop their talents to the full." Many educated youths have gone and settled in the countryside since that time. However, Liu Shao-chi pushed a revisionist line, spouting such nonsense as "study in order to become officials" and "going to the countryside to make a name for oneself," in an attempt to sabotage and prevent educated youths from integrating with the workers and peasants. In the decade prior to the start of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, only some 1.2 million educated youths had settled in the countryside.

The magnificent Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution demolished the bourgeois headquarters with Liu Shao-chi as its chieftain and criticized the counter-revolutionary revisionist line. Chairman Mao's important directive which was published in *Renmin Ribao* in December 1968 said: "It is highly necessary for young people with education to go to the countryside to be re-educated by the poor and lower-middle peasants. Cadres and other people in the cities should be persuaded to send their sons and daughters who have finished junior or senior middle school, college or university to the countryside. Let us mobilize. Comrades in the rural areas should welcome them." The masses and cadres enthusiastically responded to this call and, following a mobilization in both town and countryside, an upsurge of educated youths going to settle in the countryside swept over the entire country. In 1969 alone, 2.7 million flocked to the countryside. This revolutionary movement was a ferocious onslaught against the exploiting classes' centuries-old concepts of looking down on physical work and slighting workers and peasants. Extremely afraid of this revolutionary movement, the Lin Piao anti-Party clique viciously attacked

educated youths going to the countryside as "reform through labour in a disguised form." These young people and their parents, acting in accordance with Chairman Mao's directive, firmly countered this. In 1973, in a letter replying to Li Ching-lin, father of a young student in Fukien Province in south China, Chairman Mao backed him for sending his son to the countryside to become a peasant. This spurred the development of the movement. In 1975, guided by Chairman Mao's series of instructions including those on studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and combating and preventing revisionism, on promoting stability and unity and on pushing the national economy forward, another 2 million educated youths went and settled in the countryside.

## A Deep-Going Revolution

Educated youths going to settle in the countryside is a profound socialist revolution.

With the emergence of private ownership of the means of production, physical labour and mental labour became separated and were in opposition to each other. In the old society the exploiting classes publicized that "those who work with their minds govern, those who work with their hands are governed." After China established the socialist system and the means of production became publicly owned, relations between people underwent a fundamental change. But because socialist society has emerged from the womb of capitalist society, it carries the birthmarks of the old society. Thus there are inevitably classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is bourgeois right and there are the three major differences between town and country, between workers and peasants and between mental and physical labour.

Communists' ultimate aim is to eliminate classes and realize communism throughout the world. Lenin said: "Clearly, in order to abolish classes completely, it is not enough to overthrow the exploiters, the landlords and capitalists, not enough to abolish their rights of ownership; it is necessary also to abolish all private ownership of the means of production, it is necessary to abolish the distinction between town and country, as well as the distinction between manual workers and brain workers. This requires a very long period of time." (*A Great Beginning*.) Educated youths settling in the countryside and taking the path of integrating with workers and peasants is an action to restricting bourgeois right and narrowing the three major differences.

Chairman Mao has said that to judge whether a youth is a revolutionary or not, the criterion is "whether

or not he is willing to integrate himself with the broad masses of workers and peasants and does so in practice. If he is willing to do so and actually does so, he is a revolutionary; otherwise he is a non-revolutionary or a counter-revolutionary." Historical experience tells us that in order to restore capitalism, the bourgeoisie is constantly contending with the proletariat for successors. The bourgeoisie corrupts and woos the youths mainly by using the three major differences which are unavoidable in socialist society and uses bourgeois right to induce them to take the road of becoming divorced from and opposed to the workers and peasants and to become successors to the bourgeoisie. Educated youths who have grown up in the new society and have not been through the hardships and sufferings of the old society should be brought into contact with society. They should become one with the worker and peasant masses and share weal and woe with them so as to become worthy successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat. China is a socialist state with the workers and peasants as the main body, and the peasants make up the great majority of the population. If they look down on the peasants and are not willing to share weal and woe with them, then all talk about serving the great majority of the people and dedicating their lives to the struggle to realize communism is just so many empty words.

There still are distinctions in China today between town and country, between workers and peasants and between mental work and physical labour. To eliminate these differences requires the efforts of several generations. The young people today must do their utmost and make their contribution. Chairman Mao has said: "Successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat come forward in mass struggles and are tempered in the great storms of revolution." The countryside is the classroom for educated youths to get class education. From the poor and lower-middle peasants they can learn the deep proletarian feelings of ardently loving Chairman Mao and the Party, the clear-cut stand of resolutely taking the socialist road, and the fine qualities of diligence, courage, industriousness and plain living. They can learn what class oppression and class exploitation are, understand the superiority of the socialist system, enhance their consciousness in remoulding their world outlook and really become one with the working people in ideology and sentiment.

### Growing Up Sturdily

Tens of millions of educated youths, tempered in the three great revolutionary movements—class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment—are growing up sturdily. Last year 15 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions held meetings of representatives of advanced groups and individuals from among the young people who have settled in the countryside. Nearly 20,000 outstanding ones were commended.

By the end of 1974, more than 70,000 such young people were admitted into the Chinese Communist

Party, over 1,480,000 had joined the Communist Youth League and more than 290,000 were selected to leading groups at various levels. Party organizations in many places have arranged for them to go to the less advanced production brigades and teams in a planned way to train and temper them.

In Kaiyuan County, in northeast China's Liaoning Province, more than 200 outstanding youths were assigned to leading positions in various kinds of work in the less advanced production brigades in spring 1974. Under the leadership of the Party organizations and with help from the poor and lower-middle peasants, they mobilized the masses, took class struggle as the key link, criticized capitalist tendencies and joined the peasants in energetically building socialism, thereby helping these production brigades bring about a change in their members' thinking, in the land and in output. Grain production in 1974 registered big increases and more than half of them recorded a 100 per cent increase over that of 1973. Li Hu-piao, an educated youth who had returned to live in Wuhsiang County of Shansi Province in north China, later became secretary of the Party branch in a production brigade. After several years of struggle in leading the masses to resolutely take the socialist road, he succeeded in turning the rather backward production brigade, whose output was only a little above two tons per hectare, into one of the province's advanced units in learning from Tachai, with per-hectare grain output at 7.5 tons in 1974. When hailstorm struck the brigade last year, it still managed to bring in an average of 8 tons per hectare. Li Hu-piao is now a Shansi Province labour hero and has been elected secretary of a commune Party committee.

Hard work and tempering in the rural areas have an important bearing on changing the world outlook of this generation of young people. When they were at school in urban centres and saw peasants collecting night-soil for manure, some often covered their noses in disgust. But after settling in the countryside and working with the peasants on compost heaps and scattering manure in the fields, they have gradually changed their ideology and sentiments. The youths who went to work in a production brigade's tangerine orchard in Chuchow, Hunan Province, now often go to town wearing straw sandals to collect night-soil. They say: "We now know how grain, cotton, tangerines and other good things are made by and see what a big contribution the peasants are making to society. From the bottom of our hearts, we respect and admire them."

It is with this attitude that the educated youths take part in building socialist new villages.

In 1973, 60 such young people settled in the Tachuangtzu People's Commune in Chinta County, Kansu Province in northwest China. Together with the commune members they reclaimed 100 hectares of land during one winter and spring. They grew 215 tons of grain in 1974 and 300 tons in 1975 on that piece of land.

The No. 12 branch farm of the Shanho State Farm in Heilungkiang Province was carved out of the wilder-

ness in 1970 by 400 educated young people from Peking, Shanghai, Mutankiang and other cities and towns. They worked on land reclamation and production under arduous conditions. Over the years, together with the state farm workers, they reclaimed 2,000 hectares of land, moved 580,000 cubic metres of earth and rock in building water conservancy projects and planted more than 439,000 trees besides growing more than 5,800 tons of grain for the state. They also raised pigs, poultry and draught animals, and set up small repair and processing plants. The place has become a flourishing socialist new village.

### Creativeness

The countryside is a vast school for the educated youths. What they can learn and what they can do there is limitless. Many have already made innovations and creations. Over the years Lu Yu-chang, head of a scientific experimental station manned by educated young people in a commune in Kirin Province, has read all four volumes of *Selected Works of Mao Tsetung* and Engels' *Dialectics of Nature* and studied books on crop cultivation, pedology, meteorology and genetics as well as a foreign language. Together with other comrades he planted over 150 sorghum and maize varieties from other

parts of the country on their experimental plots and, through comparison, selected 33 high-yielding ones for local use. They also carried out researches on more than 200 wheat varieties and chose six high-yielding ones suitable for growing over a large area in the locality. Said Lu Yu-chang: "Scientific experimentation has promoted farm production which in turn has enriched the content of scientific research. We are constantly called upon to take on new tasks; the countryside is a big school indeed."

Wang Wan-yi, an educated youth who has returned home to settle in Nanhai County, Kwangtung Province, has together with members of a brigade research group successfully bred fine wheat strains by using laser beams. The stalks are thick and sturdy and the ears large. Now they are doing research work for the state, using laser to breed new strains. Ma Pei who has settled in Jutung County in Kiangsu Province has taken on the task of trial-producing a new pesticide for a fuel and chemical department. He and three others set up an experimental team and, after carrying out more than 300 experiments, finally succeeded. Quite simple to produce, this new pesticide costs very little and can exterminate more than 150 kinds of pests; moreover, it is not harmful to human beings, domestic animals, fish or shrimps. It is being produced on a large scale.

### Revolution in Education

## Attend Universities, Manage and Transform Them

by Kao Feng-lien

*This is the second of three articles on the revolution in education at Shanghai's Tungchi University. The first article entitled "An Example of Open-Door Education" appeared in our last issue. — Ed.*

THE workers and other labouring people of China not only have priority in receiving an education, the leadership in education also must be put into the hands of the proletariat to make it fit in with the development of the socialist economic base and turn education into an instrument of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Commissioned by their own classes, the worker-peasant-soldier students attend the universities and help run and transform them by using Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. This is a task entrusted to them by history.

### A Class Assignment

I am 26 and was born in a worker's family. In 1968 I finished junior middle school and, in response to

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Chairman Mao's call for "young people with education to go to the countryside to be re-educated by the poor and lower-middle peasants," I settled in the countryside. Later, I was selected to become a construction worker. In 1972 the workers nominated me to attend the May 7 Commune of Tungchi University.

My parents were overjoyed when they heard this. Father said: "Feng-lien, in the old society I toiled for the landlords as a cowherd and worked in the field from the time I was a small boy. Afterwards, I worked in a brickyard for a capitalist. Food in the old society was so scarce we couldn't even think of going to school. After liberation we began living well and happily, and now you are going to a university! You're the first university student in our family." Mother said: "Daughter, you are going to university on behalf of our working class. You must show by deeds what we working-class people can do!"

The Party leadership and comrades impressed upon me that after I started at the university my task was

not only to study well but also to help run the university and use Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought to transform it.

### A Historical Mission

Why must worker-peasant-soldier students undertake the historical task of managing and transforming the universities? As Marx said of socialist society, "It emerges from capitalist society; which is thus in every respect, economically, morally and intellectually, still stamped with the birth marks of the old society from whose womb it emerges." Emerged from the womb of the old universities, socialist universities consequently still are stamped with those birthmarks in all respects.

Education is a component of the superstructure and has always been an instrument of class dictatorship. For thousands of years schools were monopolized by the exploiting classes. We working people were denied the right to go to universities. In the wake of industrial development in capitalist society, the bourgeoisie, besides carefully nurturing their own children, also allowed a small number of children of workers and peasants to attend school. Their aim is to corrupt them with the bourgeois outlook and at the same time have them master some cultural knowledge to fulfil the needs of the capitalist exploiting system. As Lenin profoundly pointed out: "In these schools the younger generation of workers and peasants were not so much educated as drilled in the interests of this bourgeoisie." (*The Tasks of the Youth Leagues.*)

This state of affairs had not fundamentally changed in China before the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. In those days the revisionist line of Liu Shao-chi dominated and schooling was seriously divorced from proletarian politics, productive labour and the masses. Workers, peasants and soldiers could not attend university. A few who did manage to get in were either thrown out because they could not meet the requirements in "examinations," "grades" and other restrictions, or else they were poisoned by the revisionist line in education,



Author of this article working on an engineering design.

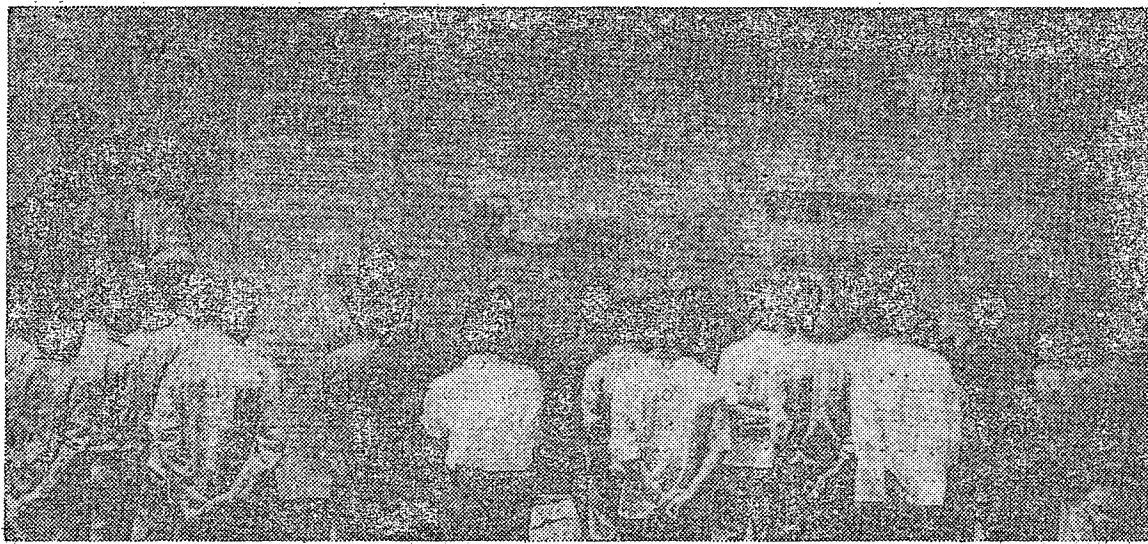
and forgot their own class. A saying at that time ran: "The first year they are still countryfolk, the second they are tainted by the bourgeois style of life and the third year they turn their backs on their parents."

After the Cultural Revolution got under way the proletariat seized back the leadership in the educational departments and began changing the old universities according to the image of the proletariat. However, in the historical period of socialism, education will always be an important front in the life-and-death struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Being the hereditary domain of the exploiting classes, the educational front is a stubborn bastion which the bourgeoisie depends for existence and uses to effect a restoration. Schools had been controlled by the feudal landlord class for thousands of years and by the bourgeoisie for about a century and, after liberation, they were run according to the revisionist line of Liu Shao-chi for 17 years. Thus, how can it be imagined that the proletariat can transform the old universities into instruments of the dictatorship of the proletariat in a matter of a few years! The landlord and bourgeois classes are always scheming to utilize the reactionary influence in education they had monopolized for so long to train their own successors and contend with the proletariat. On our part, in order to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and prevent a capitalist restoration, we must use Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought to occupy the educational positions and transform them so as to turn them into genuine instruments of the dictatorship of the proletariat, bring up worthy successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause and guarantee that the revolutionary cause pioneered by the older generation of proletarian revolutionaries will never change its political colour. In this respect, the struggle is prolonged and acute.

If we worker-peasant-soldier students bury ourselves studying culture and science and pay no attention to the existence of bourgeois ideology in the realm of education, then this old ideology will corrupt our very being and poison our thinking and in the end the students from the production front may be in danger of being won over by the bourgeoisie once we have acquired knowledge. That is why the management and transformation of the universities is a historical mission of the worker-peasant-soldier students in socialist society.

Some people consider that management and transformation of the universities is the task of the university authorities. Students should merely study well. This is wrong. The leadership does play a crucial role in the management and transformation of the universities, but the worker-peasant-soldier students are an important force. After the victory of the October Revolution Lenin wrote in the *Draft Programme of the R.C.P. (B.)* that one of the most pressing tasks was "the further development of the initiative of the workers and working peasants in the sphere of education with the all-round assistance of the Soviet government." Chairman Mao in 1967 said:

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Wall newspaper run by students on studying political theory at a work-site.

"The proletarian revolution in education depends on the masses of revolutionary students, teachers and workers in the schools and colleges and on the activists among them, namely, on those proletarian revolutionaries who are determined to carry the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution through to the end." Worker-peasant-soldier students studying in universities and managing and transforming them is, as Lenin said, a vivid example of the further development of the initiative of the workers and working peasants in the sphere of education; it is also an important measure for carrying out the proletarian revolution in education by relying on the masses of revolutionary students in the schools and colleges, as pointed out by Chairman Mao. And it is a strategic task for making the schools and colleges into an instrument of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

### How to Manage and Transform

How do we take part in managing and transforming the universities?

**Take Part in the Leadership.** Chairman Mao has taught us: "The Chinese Communist Party is the core of leadership of the whole Chinese people. Without this core, the cause of socialism cannot be victorious." For the worker, peasant and soldier students to take part in managing and transforming the universities, they also must do so under the Party's centralized leadership. To bring into play the role of worker-peasant-soldier students in managing and transforming our university under the unified leadership of the university Party committee, they have their representatives in the Party organizations and revolutionary committees at the university and departmental levels, with three-in-one leading groups made up of old, middle-aged and young cadres, teachers, members of the workers' and P.L.A. Mao Tsetung Thought propaganda teams and students. (Acting in accordance with Chairman Mao's directive that the proletarian revolution in education must be led by the working class, workers' Mao Tsetung Thought propaganda teams and P.L.A. Mao Tsetung Thought propaganda teams have moved into the universities.)

Representatives of worker, peasant and soldier students make up one-sixth of the university Party committee. There are also mass organizations like students' associations at the university and departmental levels through which the students manage their own affairs and educate themselves. There is a Party branch, a class committee and other organizations in our class under the leadership of their respective organs at the university or departmental levels. Thus the management and transformation of the university by worker, peasant and soldier students is guaranteed organizationally and as far as leadership is concerned.

Student representatives keep close tabs on developments in the revolution in education and can forward students' demands and opinions at all times to leading departments concerned. Leading organs and mass organizations at various levels meet regularly to discuss and study opinions and suggestions from students and staff workers, accepting those that are correct to improve their work. One example: While studying Chairman Mao's important instruction on the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat at the beginning of 1975, the students discussed among themselves: "What sort of people should we worker, peasant and soldier students become?" The students' association at the university level immediately took this up and raised the question: "What should the aim of education be in socialist universities? To bring up workers with both socialist consciousness and culture so that they will become worthy successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat or to bring up bourgeois spiritual aristocrats with culture?" The university Party committee thought that this was very well put since it touched on questions of a fundamental nature — whether the university is to be an instrument of the dictatorship of the proletariat or a place merely for dispensing knowledge. So the university Party committee made this an important item in political-ideological work, and teachers and students were mobilized to discuss it. This enabled everyone to have a clear understanding why the worker, peasant, soldier students go to university, how they should attend

university and what they should do after graduation. It further increased their determination to master culture and science and technology for the proletariat and clarified the orientation of the fight to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat.

At any time, every student can tell the university leadership or write in their opinions, demands and suggestions on the work of the university. The leadership pays great attention to these opinions and frequently convenes forums or speaks directly with students and hears their opinions.

**Big-Character Poster.** Chairman Mao said: "The big-character poster is a very useful new weapon, which can be used in the cities and the rural areas, in factories, cooperatives, shops, government institutions, schools, army units and streets — in short, wherever the masses are to be found." This new weapon, created by the Chinese people, was fully put to use during the Cultural Revolution. We worker, peasant, soldier students frequently use this form to make known our views on the revolution in education. For example, when I was in my second year, the teacher handed us a curriculum which was different from that of another class in the same year. Theoretical study was given more time, whereas the time to be spent in social practice and on lessons integrated with designing typical projects had been cut. According to the plan, we would have spent most of our time cooped up inside the university cramming book knowledge. After studying Chairman Mao's thesis on the revolution in education, we recognized that this was a manifestation of the remnant revisionist line in education that claimed the law of cognition in schools was different. Liu Shao-chi and his kind had asserted that the law of cognition "practice-theory-practice" applied only to mankind as a whole and that learning in school was altogether another matter. They said that the law of cognition in schools was "theory-practice-theory." According to this law, there was no need at all for students to take part in productive labour and social practice. All that was required of them was to study books. The Marxist theory of knowledge, on the other hand, held that correct ideas "come from social practice, and from it alone; they come from three kinds of social practice, the struggle for production, the class struggle and scientific experiment." Practice is the fountainhead of knowledge. Man's knowledge is acquired after birth; he is not born with it. Practice, knowledge and again practice and again knowledge, this is the inevitable process for acquiring a correct understanding of the world, and the cognition of students is no exception. Students must integrate theory with practice before they can acquire a relatively complete understanding. But our curriculum was divorced from practice and one-sidedly stressed studying theory.

In order to solve this question we used the Marxist theory of knowledge and wrote big-character posters dissecting the curriculum. After it had been debated, the teacher improved his understanding and together with the students made amendments and corrected the curriculum. The content was enriched by adding more

time for participation in productive practice and integrating teaching with designing typical projects.

**Evaluating Teaching and Learning.** Worker-peasant-soldier students are not like the students in the old universities. Before coming to study at the university, today's students have been workers, peasants or soldiers and have close ties with the workers, peasants and soldiers; they understand the needs of the masses and have a clear idea of serving them. At the same time they have a certain amount of practical experience. Our class studies industrial and civilian building, and many of our classmates have been building workers for two or three years. Hence, they not only have socialist consciousness but also practical experience in this field and can speak with some authority on how the revolution in education should be carried out. Together with teachers we students have set up a system of evaluating teaching and learning. After a period of teaching, teachers and students meet to point out together the good points in both teaching and learning, problems that still require solving and how to improve teaching and learning. The aim is to make teaching more effective and learning better. It embodies the new type of relationship, equality, between teacher and student in socialist universities. Once when a teacher was giving a class on practical work, it was rather complicated. He used the blackboard while lecturing, but we could not make head or tail of what he was saying. At a subsequent meeting to evaluate teaching and learning, we suggested the lesson be given at a work-site. The teacher accepted the suggestion, took us to the site and repeated the lesson, with excellent results. The students said: "This method of teaching enables us to see and get the hang of things. We can remember it and know how to use it."

### Remoulding the Subjective World

In the process of struggling to transform the world, the proletariat and revolutionary people must struggle to change the objective world and, at the same time, their own subjective world." (Mao Tsetung: *On Practice*.) Attending, managing and transforming the university is a struggle to change the objective world and also a struggle to change the subjective world. The worker, peasant and soldier students can fulfil the task the Party and the people have given them only by diligently changing their subjective world and continually enhancing their theoretical level of Marxism-Leninism and their consciousness of the class struggle and the two-line struggle.

Worker, peasant and soldier students do not live in a vacuum but in the living reality of class society where the ideological influence of the bourgeoisie and revisionists is constantly trying to corrode them. Under the poisonous influence of the revisionist line in education, I once entertained the erroneous idea of only acquiring cultural and scientific knowledge, neglected politics and paid no heed to state affairs and world

(Continued on p. 21.)

# Growing Danger of New World War

IS there "an irreversible process of detente" in the international situation today or is there a growing danger of a new world war? This is a major question confronting the people of the world. Stark reality provides the answer: With the intensification of Soviet-U.S. contention for world domination, the danger of a new world war is increasing.

Only the two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States, today are in a position to start a new world war. The former is the main source of the war danger, as the latter is on the defensive because of its weaker position. Therefore, whether or not the danger of war is growing hinges on the two superpowers, the Soviet Union in particular.

## Soviet Union More Aggressive

The Soviet Union has become more aggressive in its contention with the United States for world hegemony in the past few years.

From Khrushchov's time the Soviet Union degenerated into a social-imperialist country, pursuing the policy of expansion and aggression. Since coming to power, Brezhnev has gone even farther than Khrushchov. A comparison between the two shows that Khrushchov was a big talker while Brezhnev takes more action. The occupation of Czechoslovakia by force of arms, dismemberment of Pakistan, massive deployment of troops in the Far East and along the Sino-Soviet border, the military build-up in Europe, etc. — all were the latter's handiwork. In the past few years, the Soviet Union has stepped up its rivalry with the United States in every part of the world, with the main thrust directed at Europe. This has brought acute tension to Europe, especially to its weak southern flank which is often referred to as the "soft underbelly." A succession of hot spots of Soviet-U.S. contention have appeared from Portugal to the Balkans and the Middle East. There have been fierce struggles in Portugal and Cyprus over the past year or more and new turmoil is brewing in Spain and Italy. The Soviet intention is to breach NATO's southern flank. Moscow is intensifying subversive activities in the Balkans. A flank of Europe, the Middle East is also the scene of bitter trials of strength between the two superpowers. Over 14,000 million dollars' worth of Soviet and U.S. arms has been poured into the region since the 1973 October War. The Soviet Union has recently intervened flagrantly in Angola in an attempt to get a foothold in the Southern Atlantic.

The emergence of so many "tinderboxes" in Europe, the spreading flames of war in Angola, etc., are clear proof of the Soviet Union's growing ambition for world hegemony and its stepped-up actions to this end. Such fierce rivalry between the two superpowers is bound to lead to a new world war.

## Accelerating Arms Expansion and War Preparations

The Soviet Union has greatly quickened the pace of its arms build-up and war preparations in recent years and is carrying on the arms race with the United States at a higher level.

Both have concluded three agreements on the limitation of nuclear weapons. When the first agreement, the partial nuclear test ban treaty, was signed in 1963, the Soviet Union apparently was inferior in nuclear arms. At the signing of the second agreement, the 1972 strategic arms limitation agreement, it was not far behind the United States in nuclear strength. However, it had for the most part caught up when the Vladivostok (Haishenwai) agreement was signed in 1974. That agreement sets no numerical "limit" on either party since both have to exert themselves before they can attain the stipulated amount of nuclear warheads, while qualitatively it sets no limit at all. Therefore, the agreement is a new starting point for the nuclear arms race, a call for an "upward equilibrium." The record of the nuclear arms talks shows that the more agreements concluded, the fiercer the arms race.

What merits attention is that the Soviet Union, while striving for nuclear superiority and engaging in nuclear blackmail, is energetically building up its conventional arms and expanding its ocean-going naval fleets, aircraft carriers, airborne units and marines. This sharp turn in the balance of forces has compelled a number of Americans and West Europeans to raise their voices for non-nuclear war preparations. This indicates that superpower arms expansion actually is meant for war, not merely for intimidating each other.

Another important sign is that Soviet arms expansion and war preparations are geared to actual combat needs. Three-fourths of the Soviet troops are deployed in Europe. Recently, the Soviet Union increased its combat troops in the Warsaw Pact member states in Central Europe, renewed their equipment and augmented armament stockpiles. Warsaw Pact commands have been set up in Central, Southern and Northern Europe. The Murmansk base, a big Soviet military base,



is being expanded. Newly widened for passage of destroyers, the White Sea-Baltic canal provides a link between the Soviet Northern and Baltic Fleets. Soviet military activities have increased in the Norwegian and North Seas in the north and in the Balkans and the Mediterranean in the south. Frequent military exercises were held last year by the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact bloc in and around Europe. April's global Soviet naval exercises especially made Europe the main target, with objectives including cutting off the Atlantic link between the United States and Europe, and the Gulf to Europe oil supply line. Meanwhile, there were military manoeuvres by the United States and NATO in Northern Europe and the Mediterranean. Counter-measures were adopted to guard the vital oil line. Military confrontation in the Indian Ocean and contention for bases there are both intensifying.

Measures have been taken in the Soviet Union to ensure that sufficient troops, in addition to the 4.2 million regulars, are available at the outset of war. Public opinion is being prepared for war. Soviet party, government and army chieftains and the press are all crying for war. In May last year, Soviet Defence Minister Grechko glibly talked about "perfecting the combat readiness of the armed forces." He even declared that Soviet airborne troops were "able to land in the enemy rear" and that Soviet warships "had sailed beyond the coastal waters and inland seas into the vast oceans of the world." In the United States, the war machine is also running at high speed. During the present economic crisis, only the war industry is flourishing both in production and marketing. A number of institutions are studying when and where war will break out, its scale, its level, how it will be fought and how it will end.

Possessing so many weapons, the superpowers' hands will itch sooner or later. The danger of war increases as their arsenals swell. This is an obvious fact.

It must be pointed out that the increasing danger of war is an objective fact and failure to see this only aggravates the danger. At present, Moscow is loudly chanting the "irreversibility of detente" and spreading illusions about peace for the sinister purpose of covering up its policy of expansion and blunting people's vigilance so it can divide the West European countries, intensify penetration and have a free hand to prepare for war. Eager to hold the European security conference and boasting about its "success," it wants people to have blind faith in "agreements" on international security and to believe they can sleep in peace on a treaty and a pile of documents. After the conference, Moscow declared that "political detente should be supplemented by military detente." What it calls "political detente" means to consolidate its sphere of influence and forbid its adversary to lay hands on it. The "detente" also means that, backed by powerful military pressure and under the cover of "detente," Moscow takes advantage of the political, economic and other weak points as well

as the social unrest in some West European countries to foster pro-Soviet forces, to divide and weaken Europe, squeeze the Americans out and defeat the European countries one by one. One manifestation of this is the assertion made by the Kremlin leaders and their propaganda machine after the European security conference that the time for "social revolution" is ripening in Europe daily. What Moscow calls "military detente" means arms reduction on the part of its adversary while its own arms expansion and war preparations continue behind the smokescreen of "detente." If the Brezhnev clique's deceptive preaching of "detente" is not thoroughly exposed, war will come much sooner.

When the imperialists prepare for war, they invariably cry "peace" and "friendship." History is not lacking in such examples. Early in the 20th century when the imperialist powers were engaged in a most bitter arms race, they carried out feverish diplomatic activities for "good will" and "peace" among them. In 1913 the imperialist powers of Germany and Britain reached a series of "peace" agreements and understanding, and World War I broke out the following year. In 1938-39, before launching armed aggression against a neighbouring country, Hitler invariably vigorously harangued about peace. The ink on the Munich agreement was hardly dry before World War II started on the western front.

### Be Prepared Against War

Those guilty of unleashing wars have been punished and those who went against the laws of development of objective reality ridiculed by history. Millions upon millions of people have been educated in the process. War is inevitable in the era of imperialism, and is independent of man's will. Since its social system has degenerated into that of social-imperialism, the Soviet Union is bound to pursue a policy of world domination and embark on the road of war adventure. Moreover, governed by the law of uneven political and economic development of imperialism, the Soviet Union has a bigger ambition and become more adventuristic with the growth of its strength. This tendency has been mounting steadily. The Soviet economic plan for 1976 reveals its dogged intent of going full steam ahead with arms production this year despite the agricultural failure last year.

Of course, in the present circumstances, a world war will not necessarily break out at once. But the danger of war is truly growing. Thus it is helpful to the people throughout the world to bring home to them the truth about the situation so they can be on their guard and get prepared. Whether war gives rise to revolution or revolution prevents war, in either case the international situation will develop in a direction favourable to the people and the future of the world will be bright, so long as the world's people are prepared against the growing danger of war.

(A commentary by Hsinhua Correspondent)

# Clumsy Trick to Divert Attention

THE Soviet social-imperialists have recently decked themselves out as "heroes" in combating racism by starting up their propaganda machine against South Africa's invasion of Angola. A cursory analysis reveals this as nothing but a clumsy trick to divert attention from their own acts.

Motivated by its criminal intention to control strategically important Angola in its contention with the other superpower for hegemony in Africa and the whole world, the Soviet Union has over the past year provoked a fratricidal war in Angola by splitting the three Angolan liberation organizations and sending military personnel as well as large quantities of weapons there. It also has gone all out to undermine the African people's unity by sowing discord among the African countries. Facts show that Soviet social-imperialism is the chief culprit in stirring up the civil war in Angola and the most dangerous enemy of the people of Angola and of Africa as a whole. The Soviet acts on the question of Angola have fully revealed its ugly features of social-imperialism, hegemonism and neo-colonialism, and therefore have been sternly condemned by public opinion in Africa. The *Zambia Daily Mail* pointed out: "The U.S.S.R.'s role in Angola was being seen as that of an increasingly desperate gambler, steadily raising his stake in the hope of eventually winning a prize."

The Zairian paper *Elima* said: "The Soviet Union is notorious for its crude intervention (in Angola), acting like a gendarme who imposes his law outside his territory."

The social-imperialists who have always styled themselves the "natural ally" of the African people raised a hue and cry against South Africa's invasion of Angola precisely when their ugly features were more clearly exposed. Their aim was to hide their despicable features as the arch-criminal instigating the civil war in Angola and their sinister expansionist schemes in Africa.

To maintain the last bastion of reactionary domination in southern Africa, the South African racist regime has been biding its time for aggression, expansion and

sabotage. South Africa must be resolutely condemned for dispatching troops to Angola and interfering in the internal affairs of the Angolan people. However, it is clear to sober-minded people that South African intervention took place only after the Soviet Union had begun dividing the Angolan liberation movement and stirring up the civil war there. It was nobody other than the Soviet social-imperialists who, by their flagrant intervention in Angola, provided the South African authorities with the opportunity to send their troops in and fish in troubled waters. Hence, the Soviet social-imperialists who have been clamouring against the South African invasion are the arch-criminals responsible for the intervention by the South African racist regime in Angola.

It must be pointed out that Soviet social-imperialist "opposition" to the South African invasion of Angola must not be put on a par with the African states' and people's opposition to the South African aggression and expansion. To achieve genuine national liberation and independence in Angola and southern Africa as a whole, the African countries and people have been carrying on a great and just struggle against the South African racist regime, whereas the Soviet social-imperialists shout "opposition" to South Africa to divert people's attention from their own aggression and to cover up their expansionist schemes.

However, Soviet diversionary tactics are easily seen through. One African state leader pointed out that all the "aid" provided by the Soviet Union to Africa is for the purpose of control. Another African statesman said that what the Soviet Union likes is not the liberation organization it "backs" but the land of Angola. A Canadian paper made a pointed remark that Russia pretends to denounce the South African racists' intervention in Angola, while actually aggravating the civil war there.

The tactics of the Soviet social-imperialists to cover up their aggression and expansion by feigning opposition to the South African racists can deceive nobody.

(A commentary by Hsinhua Correspondent)

## Guard Against Tiger at the Back Door While Repulsing Wolf at the Gate

THE Southeast Asian countries and people in 1975 became more aware of the Soviet social-imperialists' vile attempts to "fill the vacuum" in Asia through expansion and penetration, especially in the Southeast Asian region. From their experience in the anti-hegemonic struggle, they realized that they must guard against the tiger at the back door while repulsing the wolf at the gate. Some Southeast Asian countries repeatedly voiced their determination to make Southeast Asia "a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality, free from any form or manner of interference by outside powers." Prime Minister Kukrit Pramoj of Thailand pointed out that the Soviet Union was "another superpower to contend for hegemony. We have asked the Americans to withdraw from the military bases and we have no intention to let the Russians fill the vacuum. We will fill it ourselves."

So as to guard against the tiger at the back door while repulsing the wolf at the gate, the Southeast Asian countries and people waged repeated struggles against Soviet social-imperialism's bid for military bases and against Soviet espionage activities and expansionism under the cover of shipping or fishing. When asked whether the Soviet Union would be allowed to use military bases in the Philippines, the Acting Foreign Secretary replied: "No, it will not be in the Philippine interest to entertain another power to use these bases."

The Southeast Asian countries repeatedly revealed and uncovered the sabotage activities by K.G.B.-sent spies. They strongly denounced the Soviet spies for their subversive activities and plotting to sow discord among the Southeast Asian countries. One Thai paper pointed out: "The Soviet Union has sent many spies to Southeast Asia in a vain attempt to control the area through subversive activities. This obviously can only arouse more and more indignation from the people of various countries."

While opposing Soviet infiltration and expansion, the Asian countries and people struggled persistently against the Soviet social-imperialists' manoeuvres to peddle the "Asian collective security system." The Asian people became even more keenly aware that this system is only a Soviet tool with which to contend for hegemony in Asia and to disintegrate and control the Asian countries. In 1975, the Soviet leading clique made all-out efforts to hawk the "Asian collective security system" and constantly changed its tactics in doing so. But the Asian people turned a cold shoulder and voiced opposition to it.

After the European security conference in August, the Soviet Union boasted that the conference had set an example for Asia and that "the success of the European security conference has created favourable conditions for the formation of the 'Asian collective security system.'" In beguiling tones, it went out of its way to peddle this shop-worn system. But the moment the Soviet social-imperialists started using this trick, it was seen through and denounced by Asian public opinion. The Thai paper *Chia Pao Daily News* pointed out that it is nothing but a "decoration of nuclear warheads with fantastic olive branches." Asia belongs to the Asian people and Asian affairs should be managed by the Asian people themselves. The Soviet Union is a European country but it has a mania about Asia's "collective security." This truly is suspicious. Another newspaper noted that the Soviet-concocted "Asian collective security system" is "more sinister than the 'Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere' of Japanese imperialism." In regard to Soviet activities to push this system in Thailand, Foreign Minister Chatichai Choonhavan said: "Thailand has absolutely no need" for any such system. The Japanese historian Professor Kiyoshi Inoue said that the new tsars, like the old tsars, harbour territorial ambitions and, to cover this up, the Soviet Union cooked up a so-called "Asian collective security system" to contend for hegemony with the United States. Commenting on Soviet contention with the United States for hegemony in all parts of the world, the Philippine paper *The Orient News* pointed out that the Soviet Union, under the signboard of "socialism," has greater ambitions than fascist Germany during World War II, and that "we should be more alert."

With the exposure of the sinister Soviet designs, almost all Asian countries either disapproved, boycotted or rejected the system. This has dampened the Soviet clamour.

With the development of the Asian people's struggle against hegemonism, the Japanese people's movement against Soviet social-imperialists' occupation of their four northern islands also steadily grew in depth and breadth. The struggle for the return of the islands went on without letup on an ever widening scale in the past year. Mass organizations working for the recovery of the islands were set up in many regions and cities in Japan. Throughout the country, many rallies, demonstrations and exhibitions were held, cultural perform-

ances presented and signatures collected demanding recovery of the islands and protesting Soviet aggression. Last August was made a propaganda month in Japan for recovery of the northern territories and witnessed a new surge in mass denunciation of Soviet hegemonism. On December 2, more than 1,000 representatives from various parts of the country held the first national meeting in Tokyo to demand the return of the islands. The representatives vehemently denounced Soviet social-imperialists' occupation of Japan's northern territories and unanimously adopted a resolution demanding that the Soviet Union immediately and unconditionally return the four northern islands to Japan. The Japanese people closely watched and also indignantly protested Soviet expansion in the Pacific and the military threat to Japan.

The campaign for the return of the territories and actions protesting Soviet persecution of Japanese fishermen and exposing Moscow's "Asian collective security system" were mostly separated from each other in 1974. Since the beginning of 1975, the Japanese people have come to understand through their struggles that the struggles are inter-linked and are all directed at Soviet hegemonism. Thus, they raised the struggles for the return of the northern territories, for safety in fishing operations and against the "Asian collective security system" to the level of opposing hegemonism. The Japanese people's struggle against Soviet hegemonism gradually has grown into a nationwide mass campaign.

The Asian countries and people have the same experience of being subjected to aggression and oppression by colonialism and imperialism. They know that the reactionary forces always want to sow dissension among them and make them fight one another. They also know from experience that only unity in struggle against superpower aggression and expansion can effectively maintain their national independence and defend the sovereignty of their countries. Therefore, unity and co-operation have been markedly strengthened in the past year among Asian countries. In Southeast Asia, the call to strengthen unity, bring about neutralization

and guard against Soviet infiltration and expansion is growing louder daily. The Malaysian paper *Sing Ping Jit Pao* wrote: "We urge all Southeast Asian nations, irrespective of their social systems, to unite and cooperate for common interests, and realize neutralization so as to smash hegemonic political intrigues." The Association of Southeast Asian Nations made constant efforts to neutralize the region and strengthen regional co-operation.

For the sake of unity some Asian countries settled their disputes and improved bilateral relations last year. Not long after liberation, Cambodia established diplomatic relations with Thailand and reached border and trade agreements through negotiations. Pakistan and Bangladesh announced establishment of diplomatic relations in line with their common desire for friendship and co-operation. Iran and Afghanistan stepped up their economic co-operation, further improving relations. Meanwhile, economic co-operation also was strengthened among Asian countries. Many organizations for economic co-operation were formed, including the Association of Natural Rubber Producing Countries, the Timber Producers' Association in Southeast Asia, and the Organization for the Regional Development and Co-operation of Pakistan, Turkey and Iran. The eight Persian Gulf countries held a fishery conference in last May which decided on closer fishery co-operation. The Asian countries' strengthened economic co-operation helps defend their natural resources, develop their national economies and gradually bring about changes in the unreasonable old international economic order. It is an important move by the Asian countries in the struggle against hegemonism.

The struggle of the Asian countries and people against superpower hegemonism, Soviet hegemonism in particular, is surging ahead victoriously despite superpower intervention, obstruction and sabotage. The situation in Asia is excellent. This has once more proved that the historical current that countries want independence, nations want liberation, and the people want revolution will continue to move forward, and no force in the world can hold it back.

(Continued from p. 16.)

affairs and was disinclined to take part in the students' association and other social work.

The Party and Youth League branches and the teachers and students of my class criticized me. They said: Only socialism can save China. In modern Chinese history progressive people thought hard of ways to save China. Some thought "science will save the country," others thought "education will save the country," and so forth, but none achieved the aim of saving the country. Chairman Mao profoundly pointed out: "They found Marxism-Leninism, the universally applicable truth, and the face of China began to change." Practice has proved that relying solely upon cultural and scientific knowledge cannot save China, build socialism, oc-

cupy the superstructure or manage and transform the universities. They pointed out that it is not that we do not want cultural and scientific knowledge but the relation between politics and professional work must be handled correctly and professional work must be firmly and persistently put under the command of proletarian politics. It must be made clear that acquiring cultural and scientific knowledge must be for the sake of the revolution and socialism, otherwise we shall be departing from Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in education and taking the old revisionist road. They made me realize the danger of becoming divorced from politics and engrossed only in acquiring cultural and scientific knowledge. I was made to look for the cause in my world outlook and to raise my consciousness in remoulding it.

# ROUND THE WORLD

JAPAN

## Conclusion of Japan-China Peace and Friendship Treaty Demanded

A campaign by the Japanese people for an early conclusion of a Japan-China treaty of peace and friendship developed in depth and breadth last year.

Beginning early in 1975, people in all circles, through mass meetings, lectures and forums, writing articles in the press, publishing pamphlets, distributing leaflets, collecting signatures and organizing other activities, propagated the importance of concluding a Japan-China peace and friendship treaty, extending the campaign from Hokkaido to Okinawa and indeed to 47 metropolises and prefectures in the country. One after another, resolutions were adopted by local councils from prefecture down to village levels demanding that the Japanese Government conclude the treaty at an early date.

Between July 1 and 26 last year, regional mass meetings, some attended by two thousand people, took place in about 20 prefectures. Declarations or resolutions were passed at the meetings urging the government to conclude the treaty at an early date in accordance with the spirit of the Japan-China joint statement.

The campaign involved a very broad section of people. Municipal organizations emerged in some places. One example was a federation of citizens in Shizuoka formed by personages from all walks of life. The federation organized the masses in different fields of trade to take part in the study and discussion of the significance of promoting the conclusion of the treaty and combating hegemonism. Many federation members went among citizens to do propaganda work and collect signatures. Twenty thousand signatures were collected from the masses in different fields of trade, neighbourhoods and homes.

In the campaign for an early conclusion of the treaty, the Japanese people took a clear-cut stand of opposing any retreat from the principles and spirit of the Japan-China joint statement and of firmly demanding the inclusion of the anti-hegemony clause in the text of the treaty. Many well-known personages pointed out that by the treaty, Japan could declare to the world that it would not seek hegemony or permit the superpowers to do so. This would be beneficial not only to Japan but also to the people of Asia and the Pacific region, they noted.

People have come to see clearly in the course of the ongoing campaign that whenever the Japanese people took a step forward in the movement for an early conclusion of the treaty, the Soviet social-imperialists came out to interfere in Japan's internal affairs. Cranking up their propaganda machine, the latter attacked by name and tried to intimidate certain leaders of Japanese political parties and Diet members and even applied crude pressure on the Japanese Government. The Soviet revisionists' tactics, however, became material by negative example serving to stir the people to smash the Kremlin's interference in Japan's internal affairs. Articles and statements by personages from all circles repudiated the Soviet social-imperialists' acts of hegemonism. They pointed out that the Soviet revisionists' naked interference in the country's internal affairs most clearly revealed their true colours as social-imperialists and hegemonists, and that the Soviet Union's open efforts to sabotage conclusion of the treaty were proof of hostility to Japan-China peace and friendship and a challenge to the Japanese people's desire for the establishment of relations of everlasting friendship between the two countries. In the face of the Soviet challenge, the Japanese people were determined to go forward unhesitatingly towards their goal.

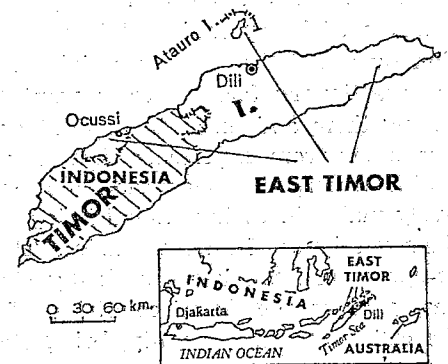
EAST TIMOR

## New Massive Invasion by Indonesian Forces

A cold-blooded massacre, including women and children, was carried out by invading Indonesian troops who again launched heavy attacks against East Timor on December 25.

Alarico Fernandes, Minister of Home Affairs and Security of the Democratic Republic of East Timor, said on December 27 that the attacks came only days after a U.N. Security Council resolution calling for the withdrawal of all Indonesian troops from East Timor. Under cover of the air and naval forces, Indonesian paratroopers occupied Dili and Baucau.

At the same time, the Indonesian national news agency Antara clamoured that "the offensive will continue until the integration of East Timor with Indonesia has been realized." This thoroughly exposed the Indonesian Government's vociferous profession of "no territorial ambition" as a lie.



In the face of the Indonesian invasion, the East Timorese people are putting up a heroic and unyielding resistance under the leadership of the FRETILIN. With the staunch will of "independence or death," they are waging a bloody struggle against the Indonesian armed invasion and for national independence and liberation. Arming themselves with all available weapons, they are bravely fighting the enemy on their own soil and destroying or capturing the invaders' tanks and trucks, demonstrating the might of the East Timorese people fighting in unity.

(Continued on p. 24.)

# ON THE HOME FRONT

## **Kailan Coal Mine — "Two Out of One"**

**E**XCITING news from Kailan, one of China's important coal base: As of December 23, 1975, coal production reached 25 million tons, or twice the designed productive capacity for the year. Two Kailans out of one.

The plan to produce twice as much coal as originally set for the designed capacity was put forward in 1970. In the past five years, the Party committee of the Kailan Coal Mine led all the workers and staff members in studying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, criticizing revisionism and capitalism and working hard by relying on their own efforts. They completed 44 key projects involving technical innovation, opening up of new mines, and tunnel-extension. All production processes of this century-old coal mine were improved in a systematic way. Its daily output was raised from 40,000 tons in 1970 to over 70,000 at present, its lifting ability from 50,000 tons to over 70,000.

Kailan consists of altogether seven mines. The output of these mines is now double the original designed capacity, whether in ordinary or hydraulic mining, in inclined or sharply inclined coal seams, or in old or new mines. All major economic

and technical quotas reached the nation's advanced level.

In the past five years and more, the money invested in transforming old equipment in order to increase production only amounted to one-sixth of that needed to build a new mine of the same size. State investment was only 45 per cent of the total. The labour force which was added in order to raise production was much less than what would be needed to open up a new mine of similar size. In addition, less time was required, with quicker results. During this period, profits accruing to the state were over eight times the money invested by the state in the same period.

The practice in Kailan once more proves that "The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is a powerful motive force for the development of the social productive forces in our country."

## **Working People's Living Standards Improve Steadily**

**T**HE living standards of the Chinese working people have been rising steadily in step with the rapid development of socialist construction.

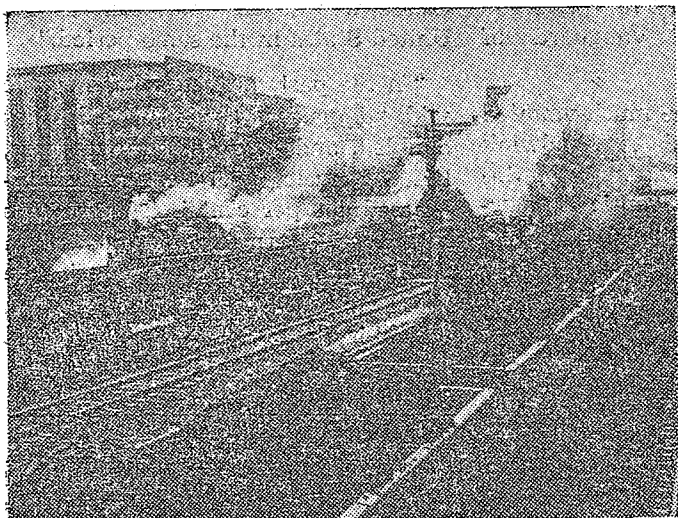
In New China, with the exception of the aged, the infirm and those attending school or college, every able-

bodied citizen has a job. Even housewives once confined to chores have come out of their homes to take up jobs in factories or behind shop counters. Nurseries and kindergartens have been set up by neighbourhood communities to look after young children. According to statistics, employment in Peking has increased 13 times what it was before liberation.

Over the past two decades or more, the state has boosted the income of working people by raising wages on several occasions. The average monthly pay for a Chinese worker or staff member in an industrial or other enterprise is now about 60 yuan, or more than 50 per cent higher than in 1952. Those working in underground pits, out in the open under rigorous conditions, or in remote and border areas are granted additional subsidies.

All working people on the state payroll enjoy free medical treatment and other labour insurance benefits. Retired workers receive monthly pensions commensurate with their original wages and seniority. Annual state appropriations for workers' labour insurance and welfare amenities are equivalent to roughly 70 per cent of the total wage bill. Although wages are not high at present, workers and staff members enjoy a secure life free from worry about unemployment, old-age infirmities, illness and inflation thanks to the expansion of social collective welfare, full employment, stable prices, low rents, water and electricity charges (altogether about 5 per cent of a family's income) and no income tax.

The living standards of the Chinese peasants have improved constantly along with the development of agricultural production. Since liberation, the state has pursued a policy of stabilizing the agricultural tax while production increases so that the peasants can receive greater benefits. At the same time, it has made large appropriations and extended loans to help develop farm production and increase the peasants' income. The agricultural tax has



Large quantities of coal from Kailan are transported to other parts of the country.

gradually dropped from 12 per cent of the gross value of the country's agricultural output in 1952 to 5 per cent in 1974.

Moreover, the state has on several occasions raised the purchasing prices of agricultural produce and reduced the selling prices of manufactured goods to support agricultural production and improve the peasants' livelihood. It is now paying 90 per cent more for major agricultural and sideline products than in 1950. The increased price is covered by the state so that it does not shift the additional burden on the consumer. The market prices of agricultural means of production have been cut several times; in the case of chemical fertilizer, insecticides and diesel oil they have been slashed by one-third to two-thirds since 1950. The disparity in price between industrial goods and farm products has been

reduced by more than 40 per cent since 1950.

The co-operative medical service and a whole network of public health protection have been set up in China's vast rural areas. Peasants living even in remote areas now have access to medical treatment.

Improved conditions of production over extensive farming areas have ensured all-round development in agriculture. The nation's total grain output in 1974 was 2.4 times that of 1949, the year of liberation, and cotton output, 5.7 times. Notable progress has also been made in other industrial crops, as well as in forestry, animal husbandry, sideline production and fisheries.

Compared with pre-liberation days, the Chinese peasants' income has increased by a big margin. The collective and individual grain reserves

have grown year after year. Adequate supplies of grain are available to the peasants in lean as well as good years.

With the improvement of the people's living standards, the social purchasing power has risen constantly. The total volume of retail sales in the country has increased more than eightfold since liberation, while sales of major industrial consumer goods are several to several dozen times greater in volume. Owing to the steadily rising living standards and the guarantee of public welfare, people now have more money to spare, which they deposit in the bank. Savings have risen considerably in both city and countryside. Today, total bank savings in cities and towns amount to more than eight times the 1952 sum, and in the rural areas alone register a 100-fold increase.

(Continued from p. 22.)

A *Renmin Ribao* commentary published on January 1 said: "The just struggle of the East Timorese people is not isolated. It enjoys wide sympathy and support in the world. Many third world and justice-upholding countries have recently denounced Indonesia for its aggression and demanded respect for the East Timorese people's right to national independence, self-determination and territorial integrity. Resolutions were adopted by the U.N. General Assembly and the Security Council opposing Indonesia's military intervention and demanding that the Indonesian Government withdraw its invading troops without delay and respect the East Timorese people's right to independence. All this eloquently shows that a just cause enjoys abundant support while an unjust cause finds little support. The sympathy of the people of the whole world goes out to the East Timorese people who are fighting aggression, while the aggressors find themselves completely isolated."

The commentary pointed out: "The Chinese people resolutely support

the East Timorese people's just struggle. We are convinced that so long as the East Timorese people, who have a glorious tradition of struggle, uphold self-reliance and persevere in protracted armed struggle they will certainly win final victory in the fight for national independence."

"NO TRANSAR" (ARGENTINA)

### Soviet Policy of Arms Expansion

"The 'peace' policy trumpeted by the Soviet revisionist clique is, in reality, one of preparation for war," said an article in *No Transar*, organ of the Communist Vanguard of Argentina.

It pointed out: "The much-vaunted disarmament is used to hoodwink people and, in the meantime, the Soviet revisionists are frantically pursuing a policy of arms expansion." Their alleged detente "has enabled them to create regions of tension throughout the world."

The article revealed that the Soviet social-imperialists pay close attention to war preparations and economic militarization. Military expenditures take up an ever-greater proportion of their national

income, accounting for "13.1 per cent in 1960, 17.1 per cent in 1970 and 19.6 per cent in 1974. The proportion of military expenditures in the Soviet national income surpasses that of Nazi Germany on the eve of World War II."

It noted: "Although Soviet national income is about 65 per cent that of the United States, military expenditure is 20 per cent more than that of the United States." "The number of Soviet rockets increased 22 times from 1962 to 1975. The rate of increase was seven times that of the United States in the same period."

"In the past ten years," the article said, "tonnage of Soviet warships has doubled, and in the past four years, that of nuclear submarines has increased 450 per cent." The strength of the Soviet armed forces has grown from some three million men in the 1960s to the present 4.2 million, which is double that of the United States, it pointed out.

CORRECTION: In our issue No. 50, 1975, the last line at the left column of page 19 should read "4,100 metres above sea level, they have worked".