

PEKING REVIEW

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September 3, 1976

北
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報

**China Launches Another Man-Made
Earth Satellite**

**Proletarians Are Revolutionary
Optimists**

New Chapter in Youth Movement

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China Successfully Launches Another Man-Made Earth Satellite

Press Communique

CHINA successfully launched another man-made earth satellite on August 30, 1976. The satellite is functioning normally.

The satellite was successfully orbited in the excellent situation in which, under the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by our great leader Chairman Mao, tremendous victories have been won in the struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-ping and repulse the Right deviationist attempt at reversing correct verdicts. It is yet another song of victory to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, a new achievement in consolidating and developing the victories of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, and a new victory in criticizing Teng Hsiao-ping's counter-revolutionary revisionist line and his relapse into the practice of "direct and exclusive control of enterprises by the ministry concerned," and in bringing into full play the initiative of both the central and local authorities, unify-

ing plan, working energetically in close co-ordination and waging a united struggle.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, the State Council and the Military Commission of the C.P.C. Central Committee hereby extend warm congratulations to the workers, People's Liberation Army commanders and fighters, scientific workers, engineers and technicians, revolutionary cadres, and militiamen engaged in the research, manufacture and launching of the satellite and other personnel concerned. They express the hope that these comrades will, under the guidance of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, take class struggle as the key link, take the criticism of Teng Hsiao-ping as the motive force, grasp revolution, promote production and other work and preparedness against war, sum up their experience conscientiously and make redoubled efforts to win new and still greater victories.

(Hsinhua News Agency, August 30, 1976)

Record Early Rice Harvest

China gathered in a rich early rice harvest following a bumper summer harvest with wheat as the main crop. Both total output and per-hectare yield were the highest ever.

Rice is an important food grain in China and early rice makes up a considerable portion of total rice output. Rich harvests of early rice have been reaped since the start of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution a decade ago.

With the exception of a few areas where there were slight drops in output due to natural disasters, increases were reported in most of the 13 major early rice growing

areas south of the Yangtze River—11 provinces, the outskirts of Shanghai and the Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous Region. Of these, Kiangsu, Anhwei, Kwangtung Hupeh, Kwangsi and Shanghai increased their output by a big margin. Total output of the 866,000 hectares of early rice in Kiangsu went up by 20 per cent as compared with last year. Average per-hectare yield was over 4.8 tons in the Soochow and Yangchow Prefectures. Though stricken by serious natural adversities, the rural areas of Shanghai still maintained the high standard of 5.25 tons per hectare. A bigger harvest was reaped on all the two million hectares of early rice in Kwangtung Province. Out-

put on Hainan Island, where yield used to be low, was twice as much this year as in 1965, the year preceding the start of the Great Cultural Revolution. All the counties in the Nanning Prefecture in Kwangsi reported increases, and their combined output was the biggest in a decade.

Sustained low temperature and rainfall in southern China last spring, resulted in serious rotting of rice seedlings. However, with their socialist enthusiasm enhanced in the struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-ping and beat back the Right deviationist attempt at reversing correct verdicts, the rural cadres and commune members energetically carried

out the movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture. Firm in the conviction that man will conquer nature, they overcame the effects of the natural disasters with revolutionary will and gathered in a bigger harvest.

Tangshan Iron and Steel Company Partially Resumes Production

Carrying forward the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and hard struggle and with the energetic support of the Chinese People's Liberation Army and all parts of the country, workers of the Tangshan Iron and Steel Company have partially resumed production and turned out the first heat of "anti-quake iron will steel" at 12:20 hours on August 25. This is a great victory for Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. It once again demonstrates that the Chinese people armed with Mao Tsetung Thought are invincible.

Work to restore production was carried out under the direction of Wang Yi-yuan, well-known model worker and deputy secretary of the company's Party committee. For several days and nights on end, he worked together with the steelworkers before the hearth. When the first heat of high-grade steel flowed out, the workers cheered: "Long live Chairman Mao!" and "Long live the Victory of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line!" amid the crepitation of firecrackers and the beating of drums and gongs.

Shortly after this, the second heat of steel was produced by the workers of the No. 4 converter.

The strong earthquake brought heavy damage and loss. The company's Party committee and Party organizations at various levels have all along stood in the van of the anti-quake struggle and relief work and played the role of a fighting bastion. They have led the workers to persist in Chairman Mao's revolutionary

line and carry out the struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-ping and repulse the Right deviationist attempt at reversing correct verdicts in a deep-going way. This has greatly heightened the workers' consciousness of class struggle and two-line struggle and increased their confidence and determination to overcome the aftereffects of the serious natural disaster. The violent quake had cut the supply of water, electricity and oxygen and damaged the ventilation systems, while the molten steel and iron had clotted in the furnaces. But, thanks to collective strength and wisdom, the workers carried bucket after bucket of water to the furnaces from places outside the company and succeeded in getting rid of the clots and repairing the furnaces ahead of schedule. The water storage pools of the pumping stations were filled with foul and sticky heavy oil, the pipes were clogged and water could not be pumped out. Stripped to the waists, the workers jumped into the pools and, with the foul-smelling oil reaching up nearly to their chins, they began digging out the dirt from the pipes. Scores of P.L.A. fighters came to join them. Working in the pools, some fainted because of the horrible smell. But this did not daunt them. After two days' hard struggle, they cleared the pipes and water was pumped out. Workers of the whole company worked in socialist cooperation, breaking through the confines of different departments and trades, and repaired the equipment at top speed, with quality guaranteed. In this way they created the conditions for turning out the first heat of steel faster than planned.

The P.L.A. commanders and fighters and steelworkers from various parts of the country have made great contributions to the company's partial resumption of production at an early date.

Inspired by the revolutionary spirit that man will conquer nature, workers and cadres in Tangshan have worked in unity to overcome the aftereffects of the quake and engage

in relief work. Other factories in Tangshan which have to date partially resumed production include the power plant, the porcelain and pottery factory, the general bicycle plant, the pharmaceutical works, the motor vehicle works and the factory producing moulds for plastic articles.

Invitational Women's Basketball Tournament Closes

A 12-day Peking International Women's Basketball Friendship Invitational Tournament closed on August 26 in Shanghai.

Present at the closing ceremony were Chuang Tse-tung, Minister in Charge of the Physical Culture and Sports Commission of China; leading members of the Shanghai Municipal Revolutionary Committee; and leading members of the Tournament Organizing Committee.

At a prize giving ceremony, Tien Wen-hui, Chairman of the Tournament Organizing Committee, awarded the "victory cup" to the Romanian National Women's Basketball Team, and delegation leaders from various countries presented "friendship cups" to the teams of Korea, Japan, Mexico, Romania and China. The spectators cheered and hailed all friends who had come to take part from abroad.

The Chinese Basketball Association hosted this invitational tournament for the purpose of developing friendship and ties of solidarity between the people, women and sportsmen of the participating countries. Thanks to carrying out the spirit of friendship first, competition second, and the principle of consultation on an equal footing, this tournament has attained success in increasing mutual understanding, enhancing friendship, exchanging experiences and learning from one another for common progress.

The Tournament Organizing Committee and the Shanghai Municipal Revolutionary Committee gave a farewell banquet in honour of the delegations in the same evening.

Proletarians Are Revolutionary Optimists

by Pi Sheng

THE struggle initiated and led by Chairman Mao to repulse the Right deviationist attempt at reversing correct verdicts has smashed the criminal plot of Teng Hsiao-ping, the arch unrepentant capitalist roader in the Party, to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism. This is another great victory we have won in combating the bourgeoisie in the Party after the two bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao were shattered in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. In spite of the fact that our struggle against the bourgeoisie in the Party will be protracted and tortuous and that there is the danger of capitalist restoration in the entire historical period of socialism, the bourgeoisie is doomed to fail and the proletariat is bound to win. There is no doubt whatsoever about this general trend of historical development.

Revolution Will Triumph Over Reaction

The emergence of the bourgeoisie in the Party and the existence of contradictions and struggles inside the Party are objective realities. Everything develops through the struggles of its internal contradictions. The Party is no exception. As Engels pointed out long ago: "The development of the proletariat proceeds everywhere amidst internal struggles." "And when, like Marx and myself, one has fought harder all one's life long against the alleged socialists than against anyone else (for we only regarded the bourgeoisie as class and hardly ever involved ourselves in conflicts with individual bourgeois), one cannot greatly grieve that the inevitable struggle has broken out." (*Frederick Engels' Letter to August Bebel, October 28, 1882.*) Speaking of the struggle against the bourgeoisie in the Party, Chairman Mao has stressed: "Without struggle, there is no progress." "Can 800 million people manage without struggle?!" The capitalist-roaders in the Party, such as Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-ping, represent in a concentrated way the interests of the new and old bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes; they are the main force endangering the Party and subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat. Our struggle against them is a concentrated expression of the struggle between the two classes and the two roads in the period of socialism, and will decide the destiny and future of our country. If the capitalist-roaders' plot to usurp Party leadership and seize state power is not exposed and smashed in good time, there will be a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie over the proletariat; and if their revisionist line is

not criticized, the gains of the revolution achieved by the proletariat both in the superstructure and in the economic base will be lost. It is quite clear that it won't do without struggle. Only when we fully realize the danger of capitalist restoration by the bourgeoisie in the Party and consciously wage a tit-for-tat struggle against it, can we effectively consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, prevent capitalist restoration and enable the cause of socialism to advance steadily. Denying or evading the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, to be weary or afraid of waging struggles against the bourgeoisie in the Party — this is not the attitude Marxists should take.

The proletarians are revolutionary optimists; they are fully confident of victory in the struggle against the bourgeoisie in the Party. "The supersession of the old by the new is a general, eternal and inviolable law of the universe." (Mao Tsetung: *On Contradiction.*) Newborn things are bound to triumph over the decadent and reaction is bound to triumph over reaction. The bourgeoisie in the Party, just as the bourgeoisie as a whole, represents the decadent relations of production and is a declining reactionary force. The fact that the bourgeoisie has moved its headquarters into the Communist Party is not an indication of its strength. It only shows that the bourgeoisie outside the Party, after our repeated struggles against it, has become so notorious that it is difficult for it to hoist its own banner and concentrate its forces for an open, all-round trial of strength with the proletariat. Though the bourgeoisie inside the Party still possesses a certain amount of reactionary potentiality and counter-revolutionary destructive force, its perverse acts only reflect the death-bed struggles of the overthrown reactionary classes. Like all reactionaries in history, the bourgeoisie in the Party is also a paper tiger and is nothing to be afraid of. It goes against the trend of history and "clings to the bourgeois ideology of oppression and exploitation of the proletariat and to the capitalist system." This determines that it will be crushed to pieces by the wheel of history. The socialist system will eventually replace the capitalist system; this is an objective law independent of man's will. No matter how the chieftains of the revisionist line Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-ping wailed in desperation and frantically attacked and smeared the excellent revolutionary situation, the Chinese people will not waver in their iron will or lose their confidence of victory in taking the

socialist road and continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Source of Strength

Chairman Mao has pointed out: "We must have faith in the masses and we must have faith in the Party. These are two cardinal principles. If we doubt these principles, we shall accomplish nothing." (*On the Question of Agricultural Co-operation.*) To have faith in the Party and the masses is our inexhaustible source of strength in defeating the bourgeoisie in the Party.

Our Party is a political party of the proletariat founded and fostered by our great leader Chairman Mao. The emergence of the bourgeoisie in the Party will in no way change the nature of our Party as the vanguard of the proletariat, nor will it in the slightest obscure our Party's radiance. On the contrary, the fact that our Party dares to openly acknowledge the existence of the bourgeoisie in the Party and expose it shows precisely that our Party is strong and powerful. "The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything." Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line holds the dominant position in our Party and is striking a deeper root in the hearts of the people with each passing day. This is the basic guarantee for our Party to vanquish the bourgeoisie in the Party. Our Party has become purer, stronger and more vigorous in the course of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution which exposed and criticized the representatives of the bourgeoisie, such as Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-ping, and the renegades and secret agents under their protection. Our Party has summed up the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat both at home and abroad and has in particular drawn historical lessons from the fact that the Soviet Union has turned revisionist; our Party has also accumulated rich experience in its protracted struggles against opportunism and revisionism. This is an important condition for our Party to defeat the bourgeoisie in the Party. In the past 55 years our Party has been advancing in the great storms of the struggles between the two classes and the two lines. The chieftains of opportunist and revisionist lines have come forward one after another to split our Party from within, but they have all failed. On the contrary, through the elimination of these "worms" inside the revolutionary ranks, our Party has become more solidly united round the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao in its triumphant advance along Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. Historical experience has convinced us: "This Party of ours has a bright future."

The masses of workers and poor and lower-middle peasants are the main force in vanquishing the bourgeoisie in the Party. Chairman Mao has pointed out: "After the democratic revolution the workers and the poor and lower-middle peasants did not stand still, they want revolution." "Will there be need for revolution a hundred years from now? Will there still be need for revolution a thousand years from now? There is

always need for revolution. There are always sections of the people who feel themselves oppressed; junior officials, students, workers, peasants and soldiers don't like big-shots oppressing them. That's why they want revolution." The "big-wigs" of the bourgeoisie in the Party like Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-ping made use of the power in their hands to work for restoration and retrogression and to oppose revolution. Since they offended the majority, they were inevitably opposed and spurned by the masses of the people. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has fully demonstrated the great might of the masses in combating the bourgeoisie in the Party. Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-ping were haughty for some time, but they were overthrown one by one when the masses rose against them. By reading and studying conscientiously and having a good grasp of Marxism and by taking part in the great struggle of combating and preventing revisionism, hundreds of millions of people have enhanced their consciousness of class struggle and the two-line struggle and raised their ability to distinguish genuine from sham Marxism. No matter how the bourgeoisie in the Party changes its tactics and no matter what conspiracies and intrigues it resorts to, we are fully confident that it will be exposed, opposed and criticized by the revolutionary people who have a high level of political consciousness. In the current great struggle to repulse the Right deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts, large numbers of ordinary workers, peasants, P.L.A. fighters, students and cadres at the grass-roots level were the first to step forward to resist and repudiate the revisionist programme of "taking the three directives as the key link" concocted by Teng Hsiao-ping, and they have become courageous fighters in the struggle against Teng Hsiao-ping's revisionist line. This is indeed inspiring. History has proved and will continue to prove that in the great struggle waged by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, there is bound to emerge from among the masses large numbers of outstanding people who uphold Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, and tens of millions of successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause will be trained; they will carry through to the end the great cause initiated by the older generation of proletarian revolutionaries.

Thoroughgoing Materialists Are Fearless

"The future is bright; the road is tortuous." (Mao Tsetung: *On the Chungking Negotiations.*) The revolutionary optimism of the proletariat differs from blind optimism in that we understand the dialectics of historical development. Blind optimists fail to see or cannot see clearly the law governing class struggle in socialist society. They are susceptible to a slackening of vigilance and are easily beguiled by the theory of the dying out of class struggle, or they become pessimistic and despondent when the revolution comes up against difficulties. We should not only see the bright future of the revolution and have full confidence in victory, but also see the twists and turns on the road of revolution so that we will enhance our revolutionary fighting

will and be prepared to strive for the bright future consciously and with indomitable fortitude. The declining classes are like a giant tree which has lost its life and is rotten to its foundation. However, they will not retreat from the stage of history of their own accord but will carry on a death-bed struggle to protect their lives with every possible means. An old system will be buried only after many reverses for a fairly long historical period. In the past, the replacement of an old system by a new and the triumph of a rising class over a decadent and declining class invariably took place after a long and tortuous struggle. In China, the revolution in which the slave system was replaced by the feudal system—from 594 B.C. when the State of Lu started to levy taxes on private land in accordance with the acreage under cultivation* to 221 B.C. when Chin Shih Huang unified China—took more than 370 years which were replete with struggles between progress and retrogression and between revolution and restoration. After the rising landlord class seized the political power of the country, these struggles continued for many more years. The bourgeois revolutions in Britain, France and the United States lasted 48, 86 and nearly 100 years respectively, and the struggles were full of twists and turns. This is the case with the revolutions in the past in which one exploiting system replaced another. The proletarian revolution which aims at completely eliminating the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes and all exploiting systems will of course take much longer time and will go through many more twists and turns and reverses.

Chairman Mao has pointed out: "Great disorder across the land leads to great order. And so once again every seven or eight years. Monsters and demons will jump out themselves. Determined by their own class nature, they are bound to jump out." So long as there are still classes and class struggle and bourgeois right at home and imperialism and social-imperialism abroad, it is inevitable that "the capitalist-roaders are still on the capitalist road." The collapse of one or two chieftains of the revisionist line does not mean the complete destruction of the bourgeoisie in the Party or of the bourgeoisie as a whole. They will never take their defeat lying down, but are bound to rally their counter-revolutionary forces, change their counter-revolutionary tactics and continue to have a trial of strength with the proletariat. Class struggle and the struggle between the two lines are independent of man's will. How can we cherish the illusion that the class enemies will change their reactionary class nature, that the monsters and demons will not jump out themselves, and that the old and new bourgeoisie will stop plotting and sabotaging? How can we harbour the illusion that after several struggles the entire bourgeoisie inside and outside the

Party will be thoroughly vanquished, and that all the trash left over from the old society will be swept into the dust-bin? The fact that class struggles and struggles between the two lines are carried out repeatedly is something completely conforming to the law governing it; we should not feel surprised, still less should we feel annoyed. Chairman Mao has said: "Swimming in rivers with counter-currents builds up will-power and courage." To the masses of cadres and people who persist in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, reverses and zigzags in revolutionary struggles will build up their will-power, stimulate their enthusiasm, enhance their talents and raise their ability to distinguish genuine from sham Marxism.

In the last analysis, it is a question of world outlook whether or not one takes a revolutionary optimistic attitude towards actual struggles and the future of the revolution. Dialectical materialism and historical materialism are the ideological foundation of revolutionary optimism, while idealism and metaphysics are the root cause of pessimistic views as far as the theory of knowledge is concerned. Some good-hearted comrades among us always have the illusion that the revolutionary ranks should be absolutely pure and the revolutionary road should be absolutely straight. So when they meet with twists and turns, they become depressed and fail to see the bright future. When analysing the situation of the revolutionary struggle, more often than not they overestimate the strength of the enemy and underestimate the strength of the people and arrive at unrealistic estimate of class forces. The reason for this is that in looking at a question their way of thinking is to a great extent subjective, superficial and one-sided; they cannot distinguish the essence from the appearance and the main aspect from the secondary aspect of things. So, when they analyse class struggle and the future of social development, they are easily influenced by pessimistic ideas spread by the bourgeoisie. We must also take a revolutionary optimistic attitude towards natural disasters and displaying the spirit of revolutionary heroism, fearing neither natural disasters nor earthquakes. "Men will conquer nature," this is a great truth. "Thoroughgoing materialists are fearless." (Mao Tsetung: *Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work*.) To be proletarian revolutionary optimists, we must be thoroughgoing materialists. Therefore, we must diligently study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, take an active part in the fiery mass struggles, draw rich political nourishment from them, earnestly remould our world outlook and frequently rid ourselves of the influence of idealistic and metaphysical ideas. Only thus can we heighten our revolutionary spirit, strengthen our confidence in victory in the struggle against the bourgeoisie in the Party and become vanguard fighters in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

* This is a great change when slave society was replaced by feudal society. The land of a state under the slave system was previously owned entirely by the royal families. Since 594 B.C., taxes were levied on the private land owned by the rising feudal landlords, thereby recognizing the private ownership of land.

5th Non-Aligned Summit Conference

Political Declaration

(Excerpts)

THE 5th Non-Aligned Summit Conference adopted the Political Declaration on August 19.

The declaration makes a review of the important role of the non-aligned countries in world affairs and the contributions of the previous non-aligned summit conferences.

The declaration says: The non-aligned movement "is a vital force in the struggle against imperialism in all its forms and manifestations and all other forms of foreign domination. Non-alignment upholds the right of all peoples to freedom and self-determination and of all nations to pursue their own independent strategy for development and for participation in the resolution of international problems. It strengthens resistance to the politics of pressure and domination from whatever quarter." The non-aligned countries "have rejected the view that international peace can be based on a balance of power or that security can be ensured by countries joining power blocs and military alliances with great powers."

It says: "Today, one of the principal tasks of the non-aligned remains the combating of unequal relations and domination arising from neo-colonialism and similar forms of domination."

It stresses that the non-aligned should strengthen their solidarity and co-operation.

Referring to the relaxation of international tensions, the declaration says: "The conference expressed its deep concern that many crises remained unresolved and have even been aggravated resulting in serious threats to international peace and security. The underlying cause of international tensions, which imperilled world peace and security was attributable mainly to the forces of imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, Zionism, racism and other forms of alien domination which endeavour by pressure or threat or the use of force to hinder the political and economic emancipation of nations denying their inalienable rights to freedom and self-determination and maintain the existing pattern of unjust and unequal relationships in the international community."

"In this context, the conference noted that several non-aligned countries have been subjected to various forms of pressure and have been exposed to threats or acts of aggression and that the countries of the non-aligned movement as a whole have been the target of organized campaigns of vilification and intimidation

designed to deter them from pursuing a united and independent role in international relations."

"Detente," it points out, "does not seem however to have reduced the struggle for influence which is going on in all continents or to have extinguished the hotbeds of tension." "The persistence of the struggle for influence makes it necessary that non-aligned countries should redouble their efforts and be on their guard to resist the political, economic and ideological pressures of the great powers."

The declaration says that tensions and conflicts existed in some areas, and that "aggression, foreign occupation, intervention and interference, and racial discrimination, Zionism and apartheid, as well as economic exploitation, continued unabated in various parts of the developing world. The conference also noted that relaxation of international tensions could not be secured through the policy of balance of power, spheres of influence, rivalry between power blocs, military alliances and the arms race."

The conference called for the participation of all countries on an equal basis in the solution of international problems.

The declaration says: "The conference expressed its concern at the growing tension in the Mediterranean resulting from Israel's aggression and characterized by the strengthening of existing military bases and, despite the undertakings contained in the Mediterranean Document of the Helsinki Final Act, the increasing deployment of foreign naval power." The conference demanded the conversion of the Mediterranean into a zone of peace.

Referring to the problem of imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and decolonization, the declaration notes: "The problem of imperialism continues and can be expected to continue for the foreseeable future under the guise of neo-colonialism and hegemonic relations. The non-aligned have to be alert against all forms of unequal relations and domination that constitute imperialism."

The declaration reviews the success achieved in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, apartheid, Zionism and other forms of alien domination and hails the attainment of their independence by Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Angola, Cape Verde, Sao Tome and Principe, the Comoros and Seychelles.

On the problem of southern Africa, the declaration points out: "The conference considers the struggles in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa as being developments of great significance." The conference condemned the white racist regime of South Africa for ruthless massacres of innocent local people and denounced South Africa and Rhodesia for their aggression against neighbouring countries.

The declaration says: "The conference reaffirms the inalienable right of the people of Zimbabwe to self-determination and independence and the legitimacy of their struggle to secure the enjoyment of that right by all means at their disposal." The conference called for assistance in various fields to the Zimbabwean people in their just struggle.

The declaration reiterates firm support for the national-liberation struggle of the Namibian people under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) and calls upon various countries to render every kind of assistance to them in their just struggle for independence.

The declaration says: "The conference recognizes that the total eradication of apartheid and the exercise by the people of South Africa of their inalienable right of self-determination is an urgent and imperative need at the present time."

The conference deplored the fact that a few Western powers including the United States continue to give support to the racist regimes of southern Africa. The declaration denounces the dismemberment of the Comoros by France and demands its withdrawal from Mayotte.

The declaration says: "The conference affirmed the right of the people of East Timor to self-determination in accordance with the United Nations General Assembly and Security Council resolutions."

The declaration calls on various countries to combat racism and racial discrimination. It welcomes the decision to hold a world conference to combat racism and racial discrimination in Ghana in 1977 and urges co-ordinated action by the non-aligned to ensure the total success of this forthcoming world conference.

It says that the conference calls upon all states to respect the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and non-alignment of Cyprus and demands the continuation of constructive negotiations recently conducted on an equal footing, "which should lead to a mutually satisfactory and freely acceptable agreement."

The declaration says: "The Middle East situation continues to pose a grave threat to international peace and security. About nine years following its 1967 aggression, Israel continues to occupy Arab territories and violate the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people."

It urges "Israel's total withdrawal from all the occupied Arab territories and the Palestinian people's

recovery and exercise of their inalienable national rights."

The conference called upon all countries "to give all-out support and military, moral and material assistance to the Arab states and the Palestinian people under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization, in the struggle to end the Israeli aggression."

The conference appealed to all the countries to condemn the collusion between South Africa and Israel.

The declaration hails the great victories won by the Kampuchean, Lao and Vietnamese peoples. It voices support for the struggle of the people and Government of Democratic Kampuchea to construct and defend their country and oppose foreign interference. It supports the people and Government of Laos in their efforts to fight against acts of sabotage and rehabilitate their economy. It also supports the people and Government of Viet Nam in reconstructing the economy, and calls upon the United Nations Security Council to give positive consideration to the application of Viet Nam for membership of the United Nations.

Referring to the issue of Korea, the declaration says: "The conference expressed deep concern over the grave situation in Korea created by the imperialists, a situation in which a war may break out at any moment. The conference strongly demanded that the imperialists immediately stop their manoeuvres to provoke war and remove nuclear weapons, military installations and all other means of war from south Korea.

"The conference called for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from south Korea, for the closure of foreign military bases, for the termination of the 'United Nations command' and for the replacement of the Korean Military Armistice Agreement by a durable peace agreement.

"The conference supported the struggle of the people in the north and the south of Korea to reunify their country peacefully and without outside interference on the basis of the three principles of reunification stipulated in the North-South Joint Statement of July 4, 1972."

Referring to Latin American issues, it says: "The conference noted with satisfaction the increasing participation of Latin America in the anti-colonialist, anti-imperialist struggle for full independence and sovereignty within the non-aligned movement."

It calls on the members of the non-aligned movement to offer their solidarity and support to the people of Puerto Rico and Belize in their struggle for self-determination and independence and to support the struggle of the people of Argentina for the recovery of the Malvinas Islands.

The declaration says: "The conference reiterated its firm support and solidarity with the Government and people of Panama in their fair struggle for their effective sovereignty and total jurisdiction over the so-called Panama Canal Zone."

The declaration expresses its support for the peoples of Latin America and the Caribbean in their efforts to develop and strengthen Latin American mechanisms for regional and sub-regional co-operation. These efforts contribute to the solidarity, independent development and strengthening of the sovereignty of the countries in the region.

The declaration backs and encourages the nationalist and independent measures adopted by Ecuador, Venezuela, Colombia, Panama, Mexico and other countries towards recuperating their natural resources.

The declaration pays homage to Salvador Allende, late President of Chile, and expresses solidarity with the Chilean people's struggle.

Referring to the Indian Ocean peace zone proposal, it says that the cardinal principles of non-alignment are invoked in the declaration of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace adopted by the 26th United Nations General Assembly Session resolution, "which seeks to protect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of states of the region and calls for the elimination from the Indian Ocean of foreign bases, military installations and logistical supply facilities, the disposition of nuclear weapons and weapons of mass destruction and any manifestation of great power military presence in the Indian Ocean conceived in the context of great power rivalries."

"The conference condemned the establishment, maintenance and expansion of foreign and imperialist military bases and installations, such as Diego Garcia, by the great powers in the pursuit of their strategic interests as well as the continuing escalation of great power military rivalry and tension in the Indian Ocean as they constitute a direct threat to the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and peaceful development of states of the region."

The declaration invites the littoral and hinterland states of the Indian Ocean to refuse to grant facilities to warships and military aircraft which may be used for any purpose liable to prejudice the sovereignty, territorial integrity and security of states in the region. It calls upon non-aligned states in the Indian Ocean region to take concerted action in consultation with other littoral and hinterland states of the Indian Ocean with a view to convening a conference on the Indian Ocean as soon as possible.

The declaration says: "The non-aligned commitment to the principle of the true independence of states, as distinct from merely formal sovereignty, means that the non-aligned are opposed to any form of interference in the internal affairs of states."

It says: "Non-aligned countries should act more resolutely against threats of foreign pressure and domination, subversion and interference in their internal affairs. Resistance to pressure and infiltration was indispensable for the preservation of the independence of the non-aligned countries of the world."

"The conference resolutely rejected any attempts to justify foreign interference under any pretext whatsoever from any source," the declaration says, adding that interference can assume multifarious forms. "One of the most recent manifestations of such interference is the use of mercenaries to undermine the independence of sovereign states and obstruct the struggle of national-liberation movements against colonial rule. The conference denounced all such forms of interference and emphasized the need for unremitting vigilance on the part of the non-aligned in this regard."

Referring to the relationship between politics and economics, the declaration says: "The conference noted with satisfaction that non-aligned meetings are giving increased importance to economic affairs. This is a reflection of the fact that the great majority of the non-aligned states are poor or underdeveloped. Economic affairs must, therefore, be their primary concern if political independence is to have real meaning."

It says: "There is an integral connection between politics and economics, and it is erroneous to approach economic affairs in isolation from politics. A complete change of political attitude and the demonstration of a new political will is an indispensable prerequisite for the realization of the new international economic order."

"The increased importance given to economic affairs at non-aligned meetings does not imply acceptance of the view that the political aspects of international affairs should be left to the rich and powerful states, while the poor and weak should mainly concern themselves with economic affairs. That view has to be regarded as part of an imperialist strategy aimed at preserving an international order favourable to the rich and powerful."

The declaration adds: "It is of supreme importance that the non-aligned, along with other developing nations, strive vigorously for the establishment of the new international economic order which would end the exploitation of the weak and poor by the powerful and rich." "The non-aligned pledged themselves to make every effort in association with other developing countries, to strive for international co-operation in the establishment of the new international economic order. Should they fail in their efforts, the responsibility for creating a situation of confrontation between the developed and the developing countries would fall squarely on the developed world."

It states: "The conference recognized the vast potential for economic co-operation amongst the non-aligned and the developing countries of the world." "The non-aligned pledged themselves to co-operate more actively amongst themselves and with other developing nations to improve their economic status and increase their bargaining power as they could thereby enhance the political effectiveness of the third world."

Referring to the United Nations, the declaration points out that non-aligned countries have been able to play a greater role in the U.N. decision-making process.

It stresses the justification of the adjustment of the United Nations system, including specifically the revision of the Charter, to the new realities.

The declaration points out: "The majority also reject the notions of international order based on power blocs, balance of power, and spheres of influence, as all such notions are inconsistent with aspirations towards

the true independence of states and democratization of international relations."

The declaration says: "The conference emphasized that the joint activities of non-aligned countries constitute an essential requirement for their successful participation in world affairs as well as for promoting their mutual co-operation."

Economic Declaration

(Excerpts)

THE 5th Non-Aligned Summit Conference adopted the Economic Declaration on August 19.

The declaration says: "The heads of state or government of non-aligned countries consider that economic problems have emerged as the most acute problems in international relations today. The crisis of the world economic system continues to assume ever growing proportions. Developing countries are the victims of this worldwide crisis which severely affects political and economic relations." "It is increasingly evident that the existing system cannot ensure the promotion of the development of the developing countries and hasten the eradication of poverty, hunger, sickness, illiteracy and also the social scourge engendered by centuries of domination and exploitation. Thus the establishment of the new international economic order is of the utmost political importance. The struggle for political and economic independence, for the full sovereignty over natural resources and domestic activities and for the greater participation of developing countries in the production and distribution of goods, and the rendering of services and basic changes in the international division of labour assumes the highest priority. Breaking up of the resistance to the struggle for the new order represents the primary task of the non-aligned and other developing countries. The elimination of foreign aggression, foreign occupation, racial discrimination, apartheid, imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and all other forms of dependence and subjugation, interference in internal affairs, domination and exploitation are crucial to the economics of non-alignment."

The declaration says: "The heads of state or government of non-aligned countries noted the successes of developing countries in mobilizing their natural resources as an effective weapon to defend their national security, sovereignty and existence, and in promoting their collective struggle against foreign aggression and occupation, racial discrimination, alien domination, apartheid, Zionism and colonialism which are the greatest threat to peace and security. This has been amply demonstrated by the triumphs of this struggle in Africa, the Middle East and Asia and in the effective measures taken by the oil-exporting countries and other developing countries, producers of raw materials, to safeguard and control their natural resources."

The declaration says that the developing countries have the right to restitution and full compensation for the exploitation, depletion of and damages to their natural and all other resources. No state may promote investments that may obstruct or affect the right to political and economic sovereignty and independence of peoples, countries and territories subjected to foreign occupation or domination.

The declaration says: "Over the years the economic situation of most developing countries, specially the least developed, and the most seriously affected countries has continued to deteriorate and the resultant debt burdens on these countries have reached intolerable levels." The declaration says that the foreign exchange earnings of the developing countries depend basically on their exports of raw materials and primary products. The decline in their real value is continuing. Despite the continuing assurances given by the developed countries to relax and eliminate barriers to trade for the products of developing countries, progress so far has not been satisfactory.

The declaration says: "The inadequate implementation of policy measures embodied in the international development strategy due to the lack of political will in most developed countries, compounded with a continuing economic crisis which seriously affects the developing countries because of their greater vulnerability to external economic impulses, produced the most discouraging results."

The declaration says: "The heads of state or government of non-aligned countries noted with deep concern that there is still a strong resistance from certain developed countries to the implementation of the declaration and programme of action and resolutions adopted at the 6th and 7th special sessions of the United Nations General Assembly regarding the establishment of the new international economic order, and the resolution adopted at the 29th session of the United Nations General Assembly regarding the charter of economic rights and duties of states, and a continued insistence on solutions aimed at preserving the existing relations of inequality, dependence and exploitation. The resistance to the new international economic order by some developed countries has been even intensified."

It adds: "The heads of state or government of non-aligned countries are firmly convinced that nothing short

of a complete restructuring of international economic relations through the establishment of the new international economic order will place developing countries in a position to achieve an acceptable level of development. They reaffirm their determination to pursue their common efforts to achieve these objectives in particular through the formation of producer/exporters' associations and other means despite threats and repressive economic sanctions."

"The heads of state or government of non-aligned countries reaffirm that the struggle for political independence and the exercise of their sovereignty cannot be disassociated from the struggle for the attainment of economic emancipation. It is important that the developing countries should use their sovereignty and their independence at the political level as a lever for the attainment of their sovereignty and independence at the economic level."

The declaration holds that the developing countries should put into practice self-reliance, intensify mutual economic co-operation, strengthen their solidarity and co-ordinate their activities in a common front against all attempts of imperialists to sow division and to apply pressure.

The declaration says that the non-aligned movement shall continue to maintain and strengthen its solidarity with the Group of 77, which plays a highly constructive role in the negotiations for advancing the cause of the developing countries and particularly in the establishment of the new international economic order.

The conference once again denounced the transnational corporations for distorting the economies of developing countries and infringing their sovereignty, it says.

It adds: "The non-aligned countries once more reaffirmed the inalienable right of all countries to exercise full permanent sovereignty over their natural

and human resources and their economic activities including possession, use and disposal of such resources and their right to nationalization. They further reaffirmed the inalienable right of developing countries to exercise supervision, authority, regulation and nationalization of transnational corporations within their national jurisdiction in accordance with their laws and regulations, as well as in conformity with their national objectives and principles. They further ratify their willingness to lend rapid, efficient and unreserved support to all other developing countries in their struggle for political and economic independence, exercising effective and concrete solidarity in the face of such economic aggression as blockade, discrimination, boycott, pressure and threats or any other form of aggression that may be adopted by imperialist countries."

The declaration demands fundamental restructuring of the entire apparatus of international trade, improvement of the trade terms of developing countries and ensuring of fair and remunerative prices in real terms to primary export products. It also demands urgent and full implementation of the integrated programme of commodities.

The declaration points out: A spirit of collective self-reliance should be displayed on the part of the developing countries. It implies a firm determination on their part to secure their legitimate economic rights in international dealings through the use of their collective bargaining strength. It also means willingness to explore and pursue the immense possibilities of co-operation among themselves in financial, technical, trade, industrial and other fields.

The declaration says that the heads of state or government of the non-aligned countries reaffirmed the necessity to give particular consideration to the special problems of the least developed, land-locked, island developing countries and other geographically disadvantaged countries.

Action Programme for Economic Co-operation

(Excerpts)

THE 5th Non-Aligned Summit Conference on August 19 adopted the Action Programme for Economic Co-operation which puts forward a series of concrete measures for closer co-operation among the non-aligned and the developing countries as a whole on the basis of the principle of self-reliance.

The programme states: The heads of state or government of non-aligned countries reaffirmed their belief in the concept of collective self-reliance and the non-aligned countries are determined to implement the Lima programme on solidarity and mutual assistance and the declaration adopted by the ministerial conference of the Group of 77 developing countries in

Manila. To realize this objective, it is necessary to establish a new international economic order. The programme calls for the non-aligned countries to continue to strive in co-operation with other developing countries to institute a comprehensive programme of economic co-operation among the developing countries.

The programme states: "The heads of state or government of non-aligned countries noted with satisfaction the efforts and progress made in the implementation of the strategy on raw materials adopted at the 4th Summit Conference." "They endorsed the conclusions of the Lima conference of ministers of foreign

affairs of the non-aligned countries with regard to the establishment of a Council of producers' associations of raw materials and on the creation of a fund for the financing of buffer stocks." The programme calls for the promotion of the establishment of additional associations of raw material producers, the strengthening of the existing ones, and support for the integrated programme for commodities proposed by the developing countries.

The programme advocates the initiation of action for the implementation of a system of trade preferences among developing countries, and "consultation among developing producer and consumer countries to ensure mutually satisfactory supply and purchase terms and conditions among developing countries themselves and collectively to strengthen the means of control over their resources and the exercise of full sovereignty over their resources and the means of production, transport and distribution."

Facts on File

Successive Summit Conferences of Non-Aligned Countries

1st Summit. Twenty-five countries took part in this conference which was held in September 1961 in Belgrade, capital of Yugoslavia. The conference adopted a declaration which expressed full support to the people of countries struggling to win or safeguard national independence. It demanded the dismantling of all military bases in foreign countries and the elimination of all forms of colonialism.

2nd Summit. Forty-seven countries took part in this conference which was held in October 1964 in Cairo, capital of the then U.A.R. (Egypt). This summit issued a programme which pointed out that imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism were the primary sources of international tension and conflict; that without the liquidation of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism it would be impossible to fully realize peaceful coexistence in the whole world; that the people of the colonies are justified in using armed force to fully exercise their right of self-determination and independence; and that the participating countries undertook to give all necessary aid and support to the people of various countries struggling against old and new colonialism.

3rd Summit. Fifty-four countries took part in this conference which was held in September 1970 in Lusaka, capital of Zambia. The conference adopted declarations and resolutions, more than a dozen in all, including the Lusaka Declaration, a declaration on non-alignment and economic development, and resolutions on the Southeast

The programme says that financial co-operation should be strengthened among developing countries with a view to achieving the restructuring of the international monetary system.

It was agreed, the programme says, to convene in Pyongyang a symposium of non-aligned and other developing countries for exchanging experience in developing independent national industry and agriculture, strengthening the independence of their national economies and realizing more effective co-operation among them.

The programme demands that the non-aligned and other developing countries should take joint action in all international economic negotiations, both inside and outside the United Nations system, for the implementation of the declaration and programme of action on the establishment of a new international economic order.

Asia question, the Middle East question, the question of racial discrimination and apartheid, and the question of decolonization.

The Lusaka Declaration pointed out that the balance of terror between the superpowers had not brought peace and security to other regions of the world. It condemned interference in the internal affairs of other countries, the application of political and economic pressures, and the recourse to armed force and subversion. It pointed out that the forces of racism, apartheid, colonialism and imperialism still disturbed world peace. It also held that the people of various countries who had yet to gain their freedom should enjoy the right to freedom, self-determination and independence. It called for respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all countries; the right of all countries to active participation in international affairs on an equal footing; the right of all sovereign states to complete freedom in deciding their road of political, economic, social and cultural development; etc.

4th Summit. Seventy-five countries took part in this conference held in Algiers, capital of Algeria, in September 1973. The conference adopted a political declaration, an economic declaration, an action programme for economic co-operation and 20 other declarations and resolutions on related matters. It also decided on the establishment of a co-ordinating bureau.

The political declaration solemnly proclaimed the rejection of any form of subordination or dependence and of any interference or pressure whether political, economic or military. It held that the non-aligned countries should participate in international affairs on an equal basis and assume full international respon-

sibilities. The economic declaration accused imperialism and old and new colonialism of shifting the burden of economic crises on to others and of plundering and exploiting the developing countries through monetary, tariff, trade and other means. The conference emphatically pointed out that the third world countries should rely mainly on the strength of their people and the unity and co-operation of various countries in developing their national economies and national cultures, and consolidating their national independence.

5th Summit. Eighty-six countries took part in this conference held in August 1976 in Colombo, capital of Sri Lanka. Also present at the conference as observers were representatives of 10 countries and 12 organizations while Romania and six other countries were invited to attend as guests. The conference adopted a political declaration, an economic declaration, an action programme for economic co-operation of the non-aligned countries and other developing countries, and a series of resolutions.

Superpowers' Plunder and Exploitation of Third World

THE two superpowers are the biggest international exploiters in the world today. In one way or another, they stop at nothing to squeeze and rob the third world countries and seriously obstruct their economic development.

The Soviet Union, which claims to be the "natural ally" of the third world, is no less ruthless or artful than any of the old-line imperialist countries in plundering the Asian, African and Latin American countries.

Buying cheap and selling dear is a common Soviet practice. Examples follow:

(1). *Jacking up export prices and beating down import prices.* The Soviet Union sells to the third world countries at prices 15 to 25 per cent dearer than to Western countries while it imports at prices below those on the world market by 10 to 15 per cent or even more. A case in point is Soviet exports of machinery to India which are 20 to 30 per cent dearer than world market prices while its imports from India are cheaper by 20 to 30 per cent than world market prices.

(2). *Forcing down the prices of raw materials and raising the prices of industrial products.* In Southeast Asia, the Soviet Union gangs up with Western capitalist countries to monopolize the rubber market and force down the price of rubber. In 1974, the price of Malaysian rubber was forced down from 2.67 to 0.97 Malaysian dollars per kilogramme while the Soviet price for its exports of urea to Thailand went up from 1 to 7 bahts per kilogramme.

"Trade repayment" is a "new form of foreign trade link" invented by Moscow to satisfy its insatiable greed for exploitation. "Trade repayment" deals with the shipment to the Soviet Union of products by a factory, mine or enterprise which the Soviet Union had "helped" or "assisted in building" through loans in a third world country. As a rule, these products are marked below world market prices. The Soviet Union "aided" India in building an aluminium oxide plant with an annual capacity of 500,000 tons and a caprolactam factory with an output of 50,000 tons per annum. What runs off the production line from the two plants is shipped to the Soviet Union to repay debts. Moscow "aided" Iran to build a gas pipeline with a capacity of 8,000 million cubic metres of which three-fourths had to go to the Soviet Union.

To export capital to third world countries to establish "joint enterprises" (joint stock companies) is another Soviet method to plunder other countries' mineral resources and control some countries' production and trade. Under the signboard of "co-operation," Soviet capital controls a certain west African country's bauxite mines and the one million tons of bauxite mined by that country from April 1974 to April 1975 were all shipped to the Soviet Union in repayment of debts.

One important method used by the other superpower, the United States, in plundering and exploiting third world countries is to syphon off their riches through transnational corporations, joint stock enterprises and world monetary bodies controlled by it. Through large-scale export of capital, the United States maintains a monopoly of production, sale and transport of oil and many minerals in most third world countries.

The United States also resorts to unequal trade in a big way to plunder third world countries. While continuously raising the prices of industrial exports, the United States forces down the prices of the third world countries' exports of primary products by cutting down imports of raw materials.

In the postwar years, the prices of the primary products exported by third world countries steadily fell while the prices of industrial goods exported by the United States generally climbed from year to year. In 1975, the export prices of industrial products in the world went up by 10 per cent (reckoned in terms of U.S. dollars) whereas the average price of primary products (apart from oil) of the developing countries dropped from the 1974 level. Last year saw the United States drastically cut down its imports from third world countries and greatly increase its export of high-priced industrial products to the third world.

In the 1960-73 period alone, the United States netted a superprofit of more than 29,000 million U.S. dollars from the third world through exchange of unequal values.

Ferocious Enemy of the Non-Aligned Movement

FOR some time the Soviet press has come out with a spate of nonsense about the non-aligned movement and the non-aligned conference. Every trick in the bag is conjured up to deceive and divide, to curse and cajole. Erosion of the unity of the non-aligned countries, changing the political orientation of the non-aligned movement and bringing it into the orbit of Soviet social-imperialism are the objective. To puncture Moscow's current ballyhoo, it is necessary to analyse its basic views on the non-aligned movement as well as its attitude towards it.

It is common knowledge that the new tsars have always opposed and belittled the non-aligned movement ever since its emergence. To begin with, take the Soviet social-imperialists' basic views on the whole situation of the world today. The new tsars hold that "the relations between the Soviet Union and the United States, the [two] most powerful and most influential countries, decisively determine the climate variations of the international situation. . . ." "If the two words, Moscow and Washington, are not taken as capitals of definite countries but two opposite symbols, the confrontation then . . . between them . . . was and is the main contradiction and axis of the contemporary international life." This is "the essential system of this era."

What a naked confession! In Moscow's eyes, except the two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States, all countries are virtually non-existent in the world today. Moscow even declares, "The two most powerful countries of the contemporary world are not only responsible for the future of their own nations but bear a special responsibility . . . for the entire world." In other words, the new tsars want to dominate not only their own country but the whole world as well.

According to the above-mentioned basic views and logic of the new tsars, the non-aligned movement is of course a trivial matter beneath their notice. Therefore, they contemptuously describe it as a "motley" movement, a confused hodgepodge. Moreover, the new tsars detest and dislike it as the non-aligned and other third world countries are united against big-nation hegemonism and power politics and are opposed to others riding roughshod over them and dictating their destiny. The Soviet Union, therefore, tries desperately to restrict and undermine the non-aligned movement, denying its existence as an independent political force and endeavouring in a thousand and one ways to edge it out of international politics. Such is the fundamental attitude of the Soviet Union towards the non-aligned movement.

But the development of history is independent of the new tsars' will. The non-aligned movement is surging forward vigorously in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism, posing a more and more powerful challenge to imperialism and hegemonism. Therefore, Soviet social-imperialism, by a sudden metamorphosis, has decked itself out as the "natural and most reliable friend" of the non-aligned movement. The Soviet revisionists are in fact obsessed with the idea of controlling the non-aligned movement and turning it into an instrument for pursuing Moscow's global strategy.

To achieve this purpose, the Soviet Union first of all tries to control the non-aligned movement by changing its political orientation, which may be "anti-imperialist" but must not be anti-hegemonic. *Pravda* and *Truth* have published a stream of articles against any mention of the "hegemonic contention between the two superpowers." Brezhnev himself had even openly exerted pressure on the non-aligned movement in a letter forbidding it to put Soviet social-imperialism "on a par" with U.S. imperialism. The new tsars have recently gone so far as to propose openly that countries of the non-aligned movement "enter into alliance" with the Soviet Union. They brayed that only by entering into an "efficient alliance" with the Soviet Union could the non-aligned movement acquire an "inexhaustible source of strength"; otherwise, it would "emasculate the principle of non-alignment" and lose its "source of strength." Here the sinister ambition of the new tsars to dominate the non-aligned movement is revealed to all!

The non-aligned movement, however, is not a pawn in the hands of anybody. Public opinion in many non-aligned countries pointed out long ago that big powers must not be allowed to chart the future of the world. Leaders of some non-aligned countries were on record that "the non-aligned policy is in essence anti-imperialist and anti-hegemonic" and that this policy "will not be anybody's instrument, nor will it become a reserve force for anybody or for any other policy."

At the 5th Non-Aligned Summit Conference, representatives of many non-aligned countries laid special stress on the need to safeguard national independence, combat big-power oppression, and oppose aggression, interference and subversion in all their manifestations. Their statements were undoubtedly directed against the two hegemonic powers, the United States and the Soviet Union. To begin with, it was the reluctance of

a number of countries to ally with either of the two military blocs headed respectively by the United States and the Soviet Union that gave rise to the non-aligned movement. Now that the two countries, locked in intensified contention for hegemony, are posing a serious menace to the independence and sovereignty of so many developing countries, the non-aligned movement naturally has a greater significance with regard to the struggle against hegemonism. As Egyptian President Anwar Sadat said at the conference: "First, the initial definition of a non-aligned country as one not adhering

to either power bloc should be changed into one signifying a country with a free will, free from big power pressure."

It has become an irresistible historical trend to safeguard national independence and state sovereignty and oppose big-nation power politics and superpower rivalry for global hegemony. The new tsars' abuses and attacks are but the plaintive cries of a moribund and reactionary force of the contemporary world. They show them up as the vicious enemy of the non-aligned movement.

New Chapter in Youth Movement

by the theoretical group of the preparatory group
for the Tenth National Congress of the Chinese
Communist Youth League

TEN years ago, on August 18, 1966, at an important moment when the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was gaining momentum, our great leader Chairman Mao for the first time reviewed the mighty contingent of Red Guards at Tien An Men Square. From that time on the Red Guard movement swept the whole country and shook the whole world. Just as Lenin pointed out, the further a momentous day recedes from us, the clearer its revolutionary significance becomes and the deeper people's understanding of its experience. The Red Guard movement, by its glorious practice of waging an unremitting struggle against those Party persons in power taking the capitalist road and firmly taking the road of integration with the workers and peasants on a scale unknown before, has written a new chapter in the history of the youth movement in China.

Product of Class Struggle

It was no accident that the Red Guard movement emerged during the Great Cultural Revolution. It was a product of the fierce struggle between the two classes and the two lines. Since the arch capitalist-roaders in the Party Liu Shao-chi and Teng Hsiao-ping had pushed a counter-revolutionary revisionist line over a long period of time, it was inevitable that they should produce their opposite. Like the worker-peasant masses, the youth were long ago filled with wrath against the capitalist-roaders in the Party who went against the trend of history and tried to restore capitalism. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution personally initiated and led by Chairman Mao sharpened the eyes of the young people, broadened their minds and roused their spirit of daring to think, daring to speak out, daring to blaze new paths, daring to act and daring to make revolution. They were the quickest to respond

to Chairman Mao's call and thus became the vanguard of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

Liu Shao-chi, Teng Hsiao-ping and their like regarded the Red Guard movement as an unmitigated menace. They hastily dished up a bourgeois reactionary line and carried out "encirclement and suppression" in a vain attempt to strangle the Red Guard movement in the cradle. Chairman Mao's heart beats as one with the hearts of the Red Guards. At a critical moment when the revolutionary young people were confronted by a white terror, Chairman Mao sharply pointed out that whoever suppressed the student movement would come to no good end! The revolutionary actions of the Red Guards, said Chairman Mao in his letter to them, "express your wrath against and your denunciation of the landlord class, the bourgeoisie, the imperialists, the revisionists and their running dogs, all of whom exploit and oppress the workers, peasants, revolutionary intellectuals and revolutionary parties and groups. They show that it is right to rebel against reactionaries. I warmly support you." Chairman Mao also pointed out: "Marx said that the proletariat must emancipate not only itself but all mankind. Without emancipating all mankind the proletariat cannot achieve its own final emancipation. Comrades, please pay attention to this truth as well." Chairman Mao's letter profoundly expounded the nature and tasks of the Red Guard movement, pointed out the orientation of struggle and laid down the policies; it was the Red Guards' fighting programme. The broad masses of Red Guards were greatly encouraged by and derived boundless strength from Chairman Mao's letter and his warm meeting on eight great occasions with some 13 million Red Guards and other revolutionary people. Acting in accordance with Chairman Mao's call, the Red Guards spread the flames

of the Great Cultural Revolution to the urban and rural areas of the whole country and integrated themselves with the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers to form an irresistible revolutionary tide. The bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party was scared stiff, while class enemies of all descriptions both at home and abroad were filled with fear and hatred. In the struggle to smash the plots of Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-ping to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism and in the struggle to criticize the revisionist line and sweep away the exploiting classes' "four olds,"* the Red Guards performed magnificent, meritorious deeds. Vast numbers of unknown young people became daring pathbreakers. The Communist Youth League led by the Party was tempered in the struggle and became more vigorous than ever before.

The Red Guard movement is the model for the youth movement in the period of socialism in China. The May 4th Movement** went down in history for its thoroughgoing and uncompromising fighting spirit against imperialism and feudalism; the Red Guard movement, for its part, has filled a new chapter in the history of China's youth movement with its heroic spirit of fighting resolutely against the bourgeoisie in the Party. Tens of millions of Red Guards have put into practice Chairman Mao's great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and courageously fought against the capitalist-roaders; they have unswervingly integrated themselves with the workers and peasants and thoroughly broken with traditional concepts; they have conscientiously studied revolutionary theory, continually remoulded their subjective world while transforming the objective world, and consciously made revolution. It is precisely this revolutionary spirit which has enabled the Red Guards, together with the workers, peasants and soldiers, to enact a magnificent, militant living drama on the vast stage of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, providing rich new experience for the youth movement and the building of the Communist Youth League under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Pathbreakers in the Struggle Against Capitalist-Roaders

The salient feature of the Red Guard movement is that since its inception it has taken the stand of opposition to the bourgeoisie in the Party and, under the leadership of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, waged a tit-for-tat struggle against the capitalist-roaders in the Party. In the course of the Great Cultural Revolution, repeated intense class battles.

* This refers to old ideas, old culture, old customs and old habits.

** This movement, started by the students in Peking on May 4, 1919, was a revolutionary movement against imperialism and feudalism. By June, the movement became a nationwide mass movement embracing the proletariat, urban petty bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie. It marked the shift from the old democratic revolution to the new-democratic revolution in China.

have steadily enhanced the revolutionary youth's understanding of the capitalist-roaders, resulting in one leap after another from perceptual knowledge to rational knowledge.

Chairman Mao has profoundly pointed out: "You are making the socialist revolution, and yet don't know where the bourgeoisie is. It is right in the Communist Party — those in power taking the capitalist road. The capitalist-roaders are still on the capitalist road." To keep to the correct orientation of the youth movement, the primary question is to get a clear understanding of the nature, target, tasks and prospects of the revolution in the historical period of socialism and know clearly whom to struggle against and whom to make revolution against. For years the chieftains of the revisionist line preached the theory of the dying out of class struggle and the theory of productive forces. Liu Shao-chi said to the young people that "the revolution is about over, the enemy has already been knocked down" and that the tasks of the young people were to "learn techniques and engage in construction." Speaking about the principle of the Youth League, Teng Hsiao-ping said that "labour is the central task of all important tasks." And he added: "How long will this concept hold good? Let us say at least for the next 10,000 years." This was how they used the revisionist principle of "labour, study and unity" to distort the nature and tasks of the Communist Youth League in a vain attempt to make the revolutionary youth forget the enemy and give up the struggle. The practice of the Red Guard movement is diametrically opposed to this counter-revolutionary revisionist line. The Red Guards consider the capitalist-roaders to be precisely the main force endangering the Party and subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat. So they fight wherever there are capitalist-roaders. Under the leadership of the Party the Red Guards have implemented Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, incessantly carried out class struggle and launched attacks on the capitalist-roaders in the Party without letup. It is precisely on this fundamental point that the Red Guard movement has adhered to the orientation of the youth movement as indicated by Chairman Mao and made a thorough break with the revisionist line in youth work in the 17 years preceding the Great Cultural Revolution. The experience of the Red Guards' unrelenting struggle against the capitalist-roaders has correctly solved the important question of how the youth movement should persevere in taking class struggle as the key link. Its significance and impact will become more and more manifest in the long struggle ahead.

The Red Guards' struggle against the capitalist-roaders has demonstrated in a profound way that the bourgeoisie inside the Party, like all reactionary declining classes, will never step down from the stage of history of its own accord. It is imperative to carry out a revolution and rebel against it. "Without struggle, there will be no progress." The most precious quality of the Red Guards is that they dare to despise revisionist "bigwigs." With the fearless spirit of "daring to

unhorse the emperor at the risk of one's life," they humbled to the dust the commanders of the bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party. This fully demonstrates the style, lofty spirit and fighting power of the revolutionary youth movement under the dictatorship of the proletariat and is a powerful refutation and criticism of the theory of "docile tools" peddled for many years by Liu Shao-chi and Teng Hsiao-ping. The new generation, having been tempered in the Great Cultural Revolution, dares to combat revisionism and struggle against capitalism; by integrating themselves with the workers and peasants, the young people will surely become an insurmountable wall of bronze in the way of the capitalist-roaders in the Party who try to reverse correct verdicts and restore capitalism.

Models of Integration With Workers and Peasants

Another tremendous historical achievement of the Red Guard movement is that by their great practice of going to settle in the countryside and persisting in integrating themselves with the workers and peasants, the young people have become vanguards in combating and preventing revisionism. Practice in struggle has proved time and again that in the battle against the bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party, the basic force of the revolution is the workers and peasants whose greatest class interest lies in continually consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, restricting bourgeois right, gradually creating conditions in which it will be impossible for the bourgeoisie to exist or for a new bourgeoisie to arise, and finally realizing communism. As the workers and peasants are the ones who hate most the bourgeoisie in the Party sucking the blood of the working people and engaging in retrogressive and restorationist activities and as they are the ones who hate most the big shots practising revisionism and oppressing them, they are therefore most resolute and most thoroughgoing in continuing the revolution. The great vitality of the Red Guard movement stems precisely from its unswerving stand on the side of the workers and peasants and its merging with them to form a single entity.

On this question, the struggle between the two classes and the two lines is still extremely acute, and different groupings will continually emerge—revolutionaries, non-revolutionaries and counter-revolutionaries. Like Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao, Teng Hsiao-ping again and again tried to push the youth into the sinister adverse current of opposing the workers and peasants and thus completely exposed himself as the mortal enemy of tens of millions of Red Guards and hundreds of millions of workers and peasants. Chairman Mao's Red Guards want to be equated with the workers and peasants throughout their lives, destroy for ever the ladder of "studying in order to become officials" and completely block the way to becoming bourgeois intellectual aristocrats. Together with the workers and peasants, they are shovelling away spadeful after spadeful the soil conducive to capitalist restoration and,

stone by stone, they are filling in the three big chasms separating the workers and peasants, the cities and countryside and mental and manual work. In other words, they are continually digging away the social base of the bourgeoisie inside the Party. The final completion of this important historical task requires the ceaseless efforts of many generations.

Basic Experience

The basic experience of the Red Guard movement is reliance on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought to guide its advance and on Chairman Mao's revolutionary line to direct its struggle. The Red Guard movement is in itself an extensive mass movement to spread Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought among the young people.

Since the opponents confronting the revolutionary youth are those Party persons in power taking the capitalist road, the struggle cannot but be more acute and complicated. However, practice in the last ten years has proved that with a firm hold of the truth, victory is ensured. That the revolutionary youth have risen group after group to criticize revisionist bigwigs completely proves that one can get to know the two-line struggle. The condition for changing from not knowing to knowing is that one must conscientiously read and study and have a good grasp of Marxism. Chairman Mao's theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, particularly his series of brilliant theses concerning the fact that the bourgeoisie is right in the Communist Party, is the beacon guiding the youth movement throughout the historical period of socialism. Only by getting a clear understanding of these theoretical questions can the young people raise their simple class feelings and revolutionary enthusiasm to the level of a clear consciousness of the two-line struggle, clearly recognize the characteristics and origins of the bourgeoisie inside the Party and grasp the correct principles and methods to defeat it. Revolutionary youth must in the course of struggle conscientiously remould their world outlook, discern and resist reactionary bourgeois ideology of every shade. Those young people in our ranks with petty-bourgeois ideas must be guided on to the path of the proletarian revolution.

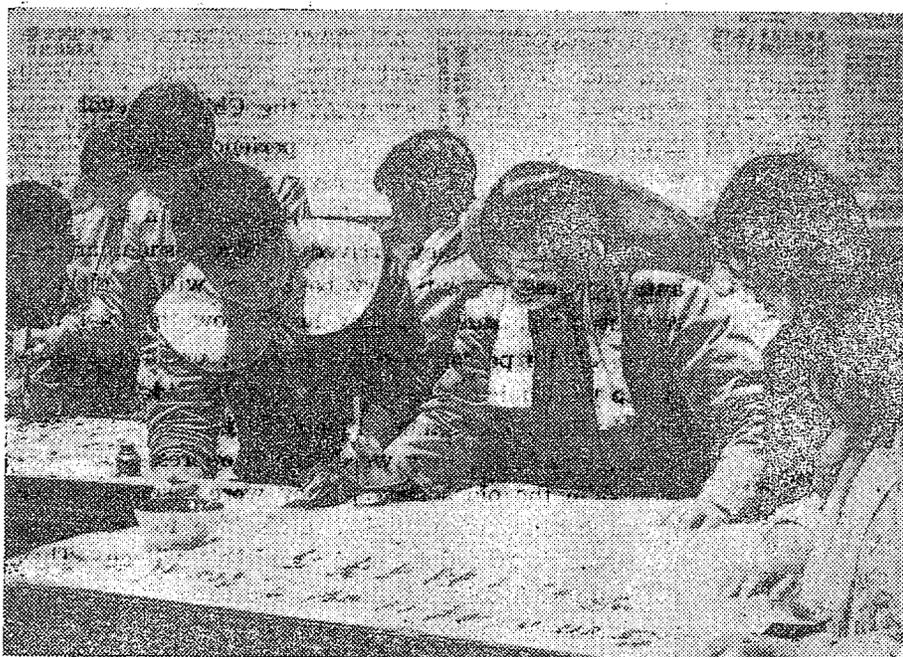
The development of the Red Guard movement eloquently proves the Marxist truth that revolutionary newborn forces are invincible. A small contingent of Red Guards has spread and developed into a nationwide movement, while the haughty big shots who mercilessly suppressed them have one after another been dumped into the garbage heap of history. To those accustomed to thinking in the conventional way, this is unthinkable, but such is the dialectics of history. The inevitable result of the contradiction between the old and the new within a thing is that "the new aspect changes from being minor to being major and rises to predominance, while the old aspect changes from being major to being minor and gradually dies out." The new supersedes the old, and this is the law of history.

Red Guards Are Maturing

THE Red Guards, who have performed meritorious deeds during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in their dauntless fight against the capitalist-roaders in the Party, have matured into worthy successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause in all fields of socialist endeavour.

Daring to think and to act, large numbers of them have joined the ranks of workers as a new fighting force. Most of the young workers, whose numbers have kept increasing over the last few years in the various factories and mines, were Red Guards in the early years of the Great Cultural Revolution. Many of them have been promoted to leading posts in these enterprises.

A considerable number of the Red Guards have gone to settle in the rural areas and frontier regions where they are working vigorously to build a socialist new countryside. Many have become leading cadres in the people's communes and production brigades, advancing shoulder to shoulder with the commune members along the bright road of socialism.



A former Red Guard who is now secretary of a commune Party committee is writing a big-character poster together with commune members to criticize Teng Hsiao-ping's crimes.

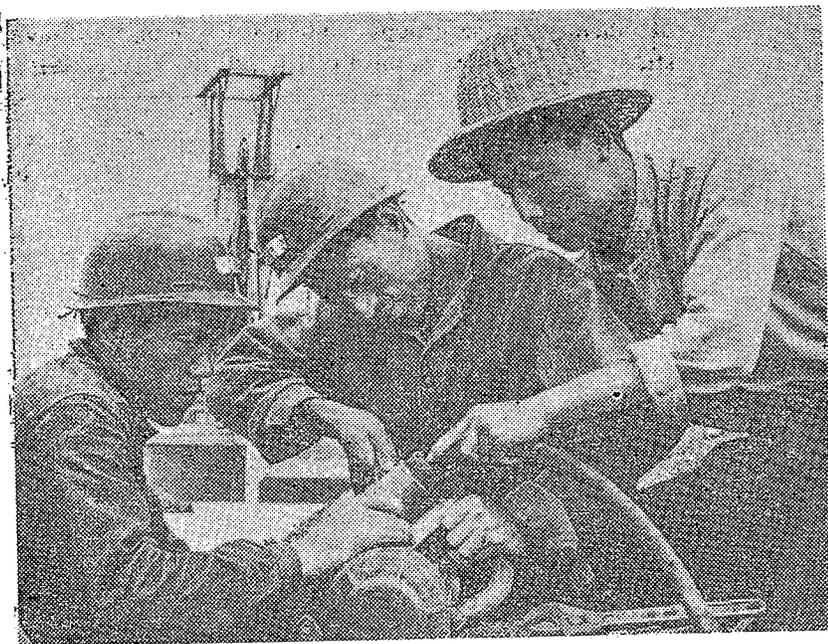
Some of the Red Guards have joined the People's Liberation Army. They have given a good account of themselves in fulfilling various political and military tasks.

In the realm of the superstructure including culture, education and medical and health work, there are also many former Red Guards who have distinguished themselves by persisting in the socialist revolution.

These former Red Guards tempered in the Great Cultural Revolution have maintained and carried forward the revolutionary spirit of daring to make revolution and to rebel against reactionaries in the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment. They have persevered in criticizing capitalism and revisionism and become an important force in combating and preventing revisionism.

In the great struggle to beat back the Right deviationist attempt at reversing correct verdicts launched towards the end of last year, they have done exactly what they did in vehemently criticizing Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao, dealing resounding blows to the activities for reversing correct verdicts and restoring capitalism masterminded by Teng Hsiao-ping, the arch unrepentant capitalist-roader in the Party and general representative of the bourgeoisie both inside and outside the Party.

Hsu Pin, now working as a flying instructor in an aviation school of the People's Liberation Army, used to be in charge of propaganda work in a Red Guard organization. During the Great Cultural Revolution, she took an active part in writing big-character posters to disseminate Chairman Mao's instructions, rebel against the bourgeois reactionary line and defend Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. Since joining the



Former Red Guards now working in the Kailan Coal Mine repairing equipment in earthquake-stricken Tangshan.

army she has continued to diligently study works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and Chairman Mao's works and written more than 100 articles to criticize capitalism and revisionism. When Teng Hsiao-ping stirred up the Right deviationist wind, she collected a great deal of materials on the brilliant achievements of the Great Cultural Revolution and cited them to criticize the crimes of Teng Hsiao-ping and a handful of class enemies in society who clamoured that "the present is not as good as the past" in their futile effort to negate the Great Cultural Revolution and restore capitalism. "We must carry on the fight," she often exhorted her trainees, "because the capitalist-roaders are still on the capitalist road."

Ting Ai-ti had been a Red Guard of the middle school affiliated to Tsinghua University before he settled down as a peasant in Yen-an in northern Shensi Province. Together with other middle school graduates who have settled down there, he does farm work during the day and helps the commune members study politics and learn to read and write at night. Led by their Party branch, Ting Ai-ti and the other youngsters conscientiously study the Party's basic line and Chairman Mao's teachings on class struggle. Always taking class struggle as the key link, they keep an eye on the situation of class struggle in their brigade. After careful investigations they got a clear picture of past and present class struggles in the brigade. Through repeated consultations with the poor and lower-middle peasants, they put up a big-character poster exposing the sabotage activities carried out by a class enemy under the aegis of a brigade cadre. For fear that his wrongdoings might come to light, the cadre in question used that portion of power in his hands and resorted to every possible means to suppress Ting Ai-ti and his fellow comrades. Nothing, however, could

hold back these young people. They persisted in struggle and, with the support of the poor and lower-middle peasants, finally emerged victorious. Ting Ai-ti, now secretary of the brigade's Party branch, is leading the poor and lower-middle peasants in their advance along the socialist road.

Armed with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, the Red Guards are fired with the urgent desire to become workers with both socialist consciousness and culture. By their concrete actions they have completely broken with the age-old traditional concept that those who have received an education are superior to others, looking down upon physical labour and scorning the labouring people.

Forty kilometres away from the county seat of Yutzu in Shansi Province, Tuchia-shan is a hamlet tucked away in high mountains. During the Great Cultural Revolution, over 100 university and middle school graduates from Peking and Taiyuan, capital of Shansi Province, settled down there. What motivated these Red Guards to leave the cities and become peasants in this place where conditions were harsh?

"I have come here to be a peasant the rest of my life and do my bit in building a socialist new countryside." The answer given by Tsai Li-chien represents the will of the Red Guards who in their millions have settled in the countryside. Tsai was a Red Guard of the Changhsintien Railway Middle School on the outskirts of Peking. In the early period of the Great Cultural Revolution, she and her schoolmates formed a Red Guard "Long March" team and went on foot to Yen-an — the former centre of the Chinese revolution — to exchange revolutionary experience with the local Red Guards. On the way they visited the poor and lower-middle peasants and learnt from them their fine qualities. When they arrived at Tuchia-shan, an old anti-Japanese revolutionary base area with a glorious revolutionary tradition, they heard how the poor and lower-middle peasants in the locality, under the leadership of Chairman Mao and side by side with the Eighth Route Army men, fought against the Japanese invaders and how they were cruelly oppressed and exploited in the old society. They were inspired to see how the villagers, with boundless love for socialism, were working hard to transform their village. They made up their minds to inherit and carry forward the revolutionary spirit of the revolutionary martyrs and fight for ever shoulder to shoulder with the poor and lower-middle peasants of Tuchia-shan to bring about rapid changes in the countryside.

Over the last eight years, they have modestly received re-education from the poor and lower-middle peasants and, together with them, have fought untiringly against spontaneous capitalist tendencies, outdated traditional forces and adverse natural conditions. Thanks to their efforts, the once desolate Tuchiashan has been transformed into a flourishing socialist new village. Tsai Li-chien, who has grown up in the arduous struggle, is now secretary of the brigade's Party branch and a model group leader in the movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture. Recalling the militant course she had covered in the past eight years, she said: "The education I have received and the knowledge I have gained during this period are far greater and deeper than what I learnt in the old school for over a dozen years."

As they did during the Great Cultural Revolution, the former Red Guards now working on all fronts are conscientiously studying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, using revolutionary theory to guide their practice in struggle and steadily enhancing their consciousness of class struggle and the two-line struggle and of the need to continue the revolution under the proletarian dictatorship.

In the Takang Oilfield, one of China's major oil bases built during the Great Cultural Revolution, over 80 per cent of the workers are youngsters, many of them being former Red Guards. Over 400 of these young people are now Party branch secretaries or team leaders, and of the 23 leading cadres in the oilfield four are former Red Guards.

When the Tientsin No. 1 Petrochemical Plant was completed and put into operation five years ago, the average age of its workers was under 20. Formerly Red Guards, these youngsters bravely shouldered the heavy tasks in both revolution and production. They succeeded in bringing the plant's production up to the designed capacity the very year it was commissioned. Breaking down blind faith, they made innovations and improved the new equipment to raise the plant's refining capacity to 2.5 times that originally designed. The result is that the plant has over the last five years accumulated for the state a considerable amount of funds which can be used to build six equally large plants. In charge of the whole plant's production is a former Red Guard who, wearing a red arm-band like numerous others, was once reviewed by Chairman Mao at Tien An Men Square. His name is Hsing Ming-chun, vice-chairman of the revolutionary committee of this modern enterprise manned by thousands of workers.

There are 40-odd spare-time theoretical study groups in the Tientsin No. 1 Petrochemical Plant.

Members of these groups made up of youngsters have studied the *Manifesto of the Communist Party, Critique of the Gotha Programme, The State and Revolution, On Contradiction, On Practice* and other works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and by Chairman Mao. Feng Hsueh-kuei, a 25-year-old woman worker, has persisted in reading and studying over the years and has written down detailed notes on what she gained in her study. Once when she found that some of the leading cadres in the plant did not attach importance to putting proletarian politics in command of production and there was a tendency towards paying attention only to production, she and eight other workers put up a big-character poster to denounce the theory of productive forces and criticize the leading comrades concerned. The Party committee of this plant immediately held a meeting to discuss the poster and decided to print and distribute it to the whole factory, calling on the workers to supervise the work of the leading body. In the current struggle to beat back the Right deviationist wind, the young workers are taking the lead in writing big-character posters and holding criticism meetings. They have used revolutionary theory to criticize the revisionist programme dished up by the unrepentant capitalist-roader in the Party Teng Hsiao-ping and the theory of the dying out of class struggle and the theory of productive forces trumpeted by him. Praising these up-and-coming youngsters, the veteran workers said: "We are very happy to have such worthy successors to the revolutionary cause."

The Red Guards of the early stage of the Great Cultural Revolution have matured into a new generation of workers with both socialist consciousness and culture. Those still studying in the middle schools are fast catching up. They are steeling themselves in the current nationwide movement to repulse the Right deviationist wind and deepen the criticism of Teng Hsiao-ping's counter-revolutionary revisionist line.



**THE GREAT CULTURAL REVOLUTION
WILL SHINE FOR EVER**

Electricity Comes to the Mountain Villages

— Building of small hydropower stations in Kwangtung Province (1)

by Our Correspondent Chi Ching

KWANGTUNG Province in south China has mobilized the masses to build a great number of small and medium-sized hydropower stations. Recently I went with some comrades to this province where we covered more than 2,000 kilometres, a journey taking us to a dozen counties and towns. We saw wherever we went hydropower stations of varying sizes, dams and reservoirs, irrigation canals and aqueducts. By the streams and creeks deep in the hills, we saw small hydropower stations brightly lit up by electric light at night. People there called them "shining pearls in the hills."

A responsible comrade of the Kwangtung Provincial Water Conservancy and Power Bureau told us that small and medium-sized hydropower stations had sprung up rapidly in Kwangtung in recent years at a tempo inconceivable before the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. By the end of 1975 more than 12,000 such stations in the province had gone into operation.

In general, big stations with generating sets of 150,000 kw. and more each are built by the state. The building of medium-sized stations with generating sets of less than 150,000 kw. is undertaken by the provincial and prefectural authorities, while stations with generating sets of 10,000 kw. and less are built by the counties, communes, production brigades or production teams.

Kwangtung is abundantly endowed with hydropower resources, but prior to liberation, as some old peasants say, "the water flowed away unused while men stood on the banks and fretted." There was only one hydropower station with a capacity of 18 kw. in the province before liberation. Owing to the interference of the revisionist line, the building of small and medium-sized hydropower stations was not undertaken vigorously in the early post-liberation years. By 1965 the province had only 1,100 such stations with a total installed capacity of 38,000 kw.

The high tide for building hydropower stations did not emerge until after the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was launched in 1966. The fetters of the revisionist line were smashed and the masses fully mobilized. The province and its prefectures, counties, communes and brigades then all began to build power stations. The total installed capacity of small stations built

by the masses is now 16 times that of 1965. Today, 105 of Kwangtung's 107 counties and towns have power stations each with a generating capacity of over 1,000 kw. Eighteen counties can generate more than 10,000 kw. each and 94 per cent of the rural people's communes now have electricity. Power generated by the small and medium-sized hydropower stations is equivalent to the amount used by the rural communes of the province. In other words, Kwangtung is basically self-sufficient in rural electricity.

It is the same in other provinces. Since the Great Cultural Revolution started, small and medium-sized hydropower stations have been built very rapidly. According to the Ministry of Water Conservancy and Power, the number of such hydropower stations built in 1975 alone was more than the total commissioned in the 17 years before the Great Cultural Revolution. At present, there are more than 62,000 such stations in China, or 11 times the 1965 figure. This is a far cry from the past when electricity was available mainly in a few industrial cities while the vast countryside had no electricity at all.

Taking Our Own Road in Developing Industry

In 1957 Chairman Mao pointed out: "We must build up a number of large-scale modern enterprises step by step to form the mainstay of our industry, without which we shall not be able to turn our country into a strong modern industrial power within the coming decades. But the majority of our enterprises should not be built on such a scale; we should set up more small and medium enterprises." (*On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People.*)

After liberation large and medium hydropower stations were built on many major rivers. During the Great Cultural Revolution, several dozen hydropower stations of these sizes have been built, including the Liuchiahsia Hydropower Station (see *Peking Review* No. 7, 1975) on the upper reaches of the Yellow River with a generating capacity of more than 1.2 million kw. and the Tanchiangkou Hydropower Station (see *Peking Review* No. 11, 1974) on the upper reaches of the Han River, the largest tributary of the Yangtze, with a gen-

erating capacity of 900,000 kw. These are the mainstay of China's hydropower industry.

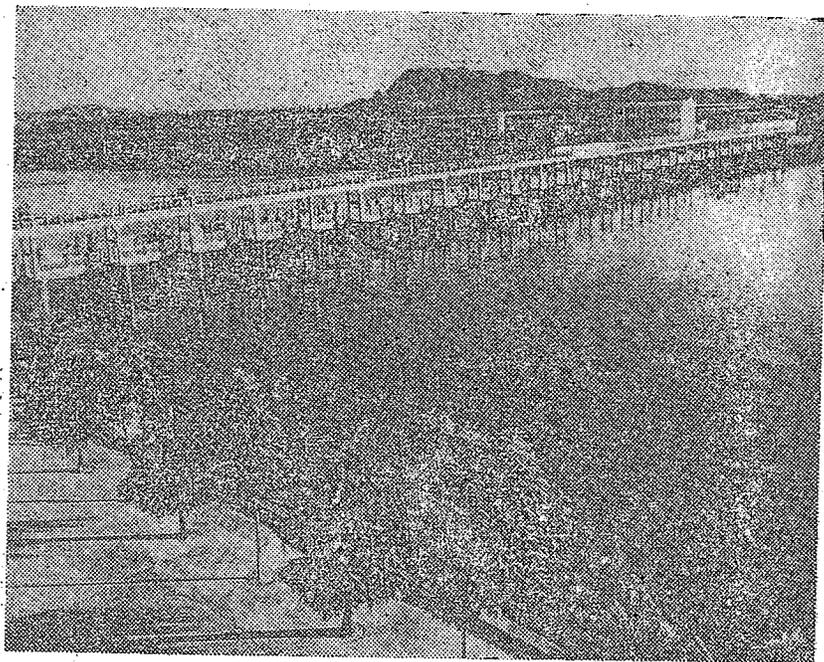
At the same time the state has paid attention to bringing into play the initiative of the various localities, encouraging the provinces, prefectures and counties as well as communes, production brigades and production teams to build their own small and medium hydropower stations. Small stations now dot the 29 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions.

One important experience gained in building hydropower stations rapidly since the Great Cultural Revolution started is to conscientiously implement Chairman Mao's policy of simultaneously building large, medium and small projects with the emphasis on the small and medium ones. This policy is based on having faith in the masses and relying on them and on giving play to the superiority of the socialist system. Only through simultaneously building large stations by the state and fully arousing the initiative of the various localities and mobilizing the masses can we achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results.

Since big power stations need more investments, higher techniques and take longer to build, only a number of key projects can be built at a time. In comparison small and medium stations require less investments and simpler equipment and they take less time to build. Funds, labour power and equipment can be solved locally with minimum aid from the state, and local resources can be fully exploited. Under unified state planning, the large, medium and small stations complement each other, thereby greatly speeding up the development of the power industry.

This also enables power generation to be more rationally distributed and helps implement in a better way Chairman Mao's strategic principle of "being prepared against war, being prepared against natural disasters, and doing everything for the people." Obviously, it is impossible within a short period of time to meet the power requirements of the villages scattered across the country and those of the frontier regions if reliance is put solely on the big plants and grids sending power over long distances. The rural people are fully for building small hydropower stations. "We can afford them," they say, "we can build and manage them and make the best use of them."

This policy is also conducive to adhering to the policy of independence and self-reliance. China is a socialist state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. We do not plunder the people of other countries, nor do we rely on foreign aid to build up the country. Proceeding from the actual conditions of our country, we rely



A 750-kw. power station in Enping County, Kwangtung Province, jointly built by two people's communes in seven months.

on the masses' creativity, make full use of our own resources and tap to the full our own potential to build an independent and comprehensive industrial system and national economy. And this is also the way the power industry is being built. If stress is placed only on building big plants, the initiative and enthusiasm of the broad masses in the country cannot be mobilized and self-reliance would become a meaningless term.

Kwangtung provides a vivid illustration. Big and small are relative. A small power station generates only dozens or hundreds of kilowatts of electricity, but when the power output of some 10,000 small stations is put together, it constitutes a big force. Moreover, these stations can be expanded step by step. Take Fukang County's Lotung Brigade with some 300 households for example. This brigade at first used water-power to drive its husking machines. Later, the mill was converted into a hydropower station producing several kilowatts of electricity with its water-turbine generator made mainly of wood. The brigade today has six power stations generating several hundred kilowatts of electricity, which have been hooked up with the state power grid.

Struggle Between the Two Lines

Throughout the process of building small and medium hydropower stations, there has been the struggle between the two lines. Revisionist chieftains like Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao worshipped foreign things and hankered after what is big and foreign. In their eyes, it was more economical and rational to build big power plants modelled after those in foreign countries. They despised the small and medium ones, saying that they were "rustic" "primitive mills" and were "unable to



A woman technician in a small power station run by a production brigade.

meet requirements." They advocated using state investments to buy equipment from abroad and "learning from the capitalist management of enterprises, particularly that of monopoly enterprises." The arch unrepentant capitalist-roader in the Party Teng Hsiao-ping, too, put his hopes of developing production, science and technology on foreign countries. He wanted to import more machinery and equipment from overseas, saying that "they are most reliable."

Are small power plants "unable to meet requirements"? Are big plants "most economical and rational"? At first glance it appears that, in terms of per-kw. average cost, it is cheaper to build a big power plant than to build many small ones with an equal amount of installed capacity. But big plants are far between and huge transmission networks are needed; hence there is a greater loss of power. Small plants, however, are widely distributed; they need only short lines and better meet the needs of widely scattered villages. They also facilitate the development of farm production and local industries. Therefore, this has proved to be more economical.

Actually, the so-called "unable to meet requirements," "uneconomical" and so forth are merely excuses. The crux of the matter was that these chieftains of the revisionist line were bent on taking the capitalist road and trying to restore the capitalist system. They took the reactionary stand of the bourgeoisie and gave no

thought whatsoever to the interests of the peasants who constitute the vast majority of China's population. They despised the labouring people, alleging that "clodhoppers cannot produce electricity."

Chairman Mao pointed out in 1957: "We have a rural population of over five hundred million, so the situation of our peasants has a most important bearing on the development of our economy and the consolidation of our state power." (*On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*.) After the establishment of agricultural producers' co-ops and then rural people's communes, agricultural production developed swiftly. Particularly since the start of the Great Cultural Revolution, the rapid growth of industry and agriculture has placed a greater demand on power supply. Industry needs electricity, and the peasants also need it urgently. If the revisionist line were followed and only large plants modelled after those in foreign countries were built instead of building smaller ones by indigenous methods, the peasants in the vast countryside and the frontier regions would have to wait a long, long time for electricity.

In this respect, the Tungcheng County in central China's Hupeh Province provides a profound lesson. Some leading cadres there once thought that instead of building small hydropower stations, it would be better to put up a line hooked to a big power grid. They did not bother to make use of local water-power resources, but relied on the state for supply of electricity. They spent more than a million yuan putting up transmission lines and substations to get 400 kw. of electricity which did not do much good to meeting the county's needs. After 1969 they changed their policy and began to rely on the masses and self-reliantly exploit the hydropower resources in their locality. In three years they put up more than 40 small hydropower stations and installed equipment capable of generating 4,000 kw. of electricity. This has initially met the county's needs.

This fact convincingly demonstrates that how electricity is produced, whether small and medium stations should be built and on whom we should rely to get electricity are not merely questions of method. They involve such major issues as whether we should try to achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results or less, slower, worse and less economical results in socialist construction and whether we should consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and reduce the differences between worker and peasant and between town and country. They involve, in short, a struggle between the two outlooks and the two lines.

Chairman Mao has the greatest faith in the masses. He has said: "In socialist revolution and socialist construction we must adhere to the mass line, boldly arouse the masses and launch vigorous mass movements." In recent years small and medium power plants have been

(Continued on p. 26.)

Armed Struggle Against Colonial Rule

Namibian People Are Sure to Win

AUGUST 26 this year marks the 10th anniversary of the Namibian people's armed struggle against South African colonial rule. Ten years ago, the Namibian people took up arms to attack the enemy in dense forests near the Omkulumbashe valley in the north. And so the first shot of armed struggle was fired. As the years passed, the Namibian patriotic armed forces grew in strength in the crucible of struggle. They are now embarked on guerrilla warfare in vast areas in the east, north and northwest, dealing heavy blows at the racist South African occupation troops.

The progress of the Namibian people's armed struggle unnerved the South African authorities. Reinforcements poured into Namibia from time to time and military bases were built one after another in a vain attempt to drown the people's armed struggle in a bloodbath. The South African authorities also resorted to such schemes and intrigues as "dialogues" and "self-government" to sap the fighting will of the Namibian people and undermine their struggle. In this regard, Pretoria's recent announcement on the convening of a so-called "multi-racial constitutional conference" is nothing but another counter-revolutionary dual tactic thought up by Vorster and his like.

However, the Namibian people who have a glorious tradition of struggle behind them can neither be subdued nor fooled. Defying sacrifices and fighting valiantly, they are determined to persevere in armed struggle and boot the South African colonialists out of Namibia. With their armed struggle unfolding triumphantly, the mass movements launched by the Namibian

people against apartheid and racial discrimination are also gaining momentum.

Tremendous changes on the whole continent coincided with the ten years of armed struggle waged by the Namibian people. This period saw the birth of many African countries in the raging flames of armed struggle. The practice of the Namibian and other African peoples has once again proved the truth that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun," and that armed struggle is the correct road for the oppressed people to follow in winning national independence and liberation.

However, it is not all plain sailing for the Namibian people. At present, the two superpowers are intensifying their scramble in Africa. One superpower in particular, the one which dons the cloak of "socialism," is trying very hard to undermine the unity as exists between the African countries and liberation organizations and to arrest the development of the national-liberation movements in Africa. Therefore, the African people, while combating racism, still have to constantly thwart and fight superpower interference and sabotage. Only thus can they go forward to win victory in their national-liberation movements and achieve complete independence and liberation for all Africa.

The Chinese people resolutely support the just struggle of the Namibian people. We are firmly convinced that the Namibian people will surely strengthen their unity, overcome difficulties and obstacles on their road of struggle and achieve national independence and liberation with the support of other African countries and all justice-upholding countries and people in the world.

Namibia is rich in diamonds, lead, zinc, copper, uranium, gold and petroleum. These deposits and other natural resources in great abundance have long been a source of great profits for the imperialists and white colonialists. For instance, Consolidated Diamond Mines of South West Africa financed jointly by South African, U.S. and British monopoly capital exercises a monopoly of almost all the diamonds.

Of the 62 million hectares of cultivated land in Namibia, 42 million hectares of fertile soil are in the hands of the white colonialists with the Africans farming — not owning — the remaining poor land. Mostly it

For Your Reference

Namibia

Situated in southwest Africa, Namibia is bounded on the north by Angola and Zambia, on the east by Botswana, on the southeast by Azania (South Africa) and on the west by the Atlantic Ocean. It covers an area of over 824,000 square kilometres and has a population of more than 800,000, made up mainly of Bantu-speaking Africans, of whom most are the Oyambo in the north. Over 90,000 are white settlers.

is the white settlers who own the flocks of sheep and goats and herds of cattle grazing on the vast grasslands.

From the 15th to the 18th centuries, Namibia was invaded by the Portuguese, Dutch and British colonialists. Then came the German colonialists who in 1890 occupied Namibia. In 1915, the South African authorities took over on the strength of a pretext to join the Allied Powers in the war. In 1920, the League of Nations granted the South African authorities a mandate over Namibia. At the request of the Asian-African countries, the United Nations General Assembly adopted a resolution in October 1966 to terminate South Africa's mandate. Later, further U.N. resolutions were adopted, and these denounced the South African authorities for their continued occupation of Namibia. Pretoria's continued illegal occupation of Namibia is in disregard of the U.N. resolutions and world public opinion.

By imposing their colonial rule on Namibia and pursuing a policy of savage racial discrimination, the

South African authorities deprive the local people of their basic rights and personal freedom. In 1967, they began pushing ahead with the so-called "Bantustan" plan, putting the Namibian people into ten "homelands" (Bantustan) in the impoverished areas which make up only 40 per cent of Namibia. This vicious scheme to "divide and rule" has all along been opposed and boycotted by the Namibian people.

In 1960, the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) was founded. Five years later, it established its guerrilla units, which on August 26, 1966 ambushed a detachment of South African colonial troops, killing or wounding 27 of them, thereby opening up a new chapter in the annals of the Namibian people's struggle for national liberation. Since the beginning of this year, the SWAPO guerrilla fighters have stepped up their armed struggle and in the first four months alone, they wiped out nearly 100 racist South African occupation troops, wounding a number of them and inflicting heavy material losses on the enemy.

(Continued from p. 24.)

built at high speed throughout the country as a result of implementing Chairman Mao's instructions and firmly adhering to the mass line. During the Great Cultural Revolution the masses have smashed all revisionist fetters and, with the people's enthusiasm for socialism aroused, a high tide for building power stations has emerged.

The Masses Build Power Plants

In the Swatow Prefecture in the eastern part of Kwangtung, we saw for ourselves how the masses enthusiastically went in for building power stations. This high tide that emerged in the Great Cultural Revolution was the result of the masses taking class struggle as the key link and vehemently criticizing the revisionist line.

The Swatow Prefecture is far from any big power grid. Although it has an annual rainfall between 1,400 and 2,000 mm. and seven rivers flow through it, it had only two small hydropower stations each generating 10 kw. of electricity prior to 1955. And the two stations were never commissioned. By 1975, however, 1,095 stations were built with a total installed capacity of 100,000 kw. Of these, 1,055 were built by the people's communes or production brigades, accounting for 22 per cent of the prefecture's total power generating capacity. After the masses had been mobilized, small hydropower stations sprang up like mushrooms after rain. One commune in Chiehhsi County built more than 20. The No. 1 production team with only ten households of the Shangkuei Brigade had a small one

of its own. In places where water resources are less plentiful, the people made use of every little creek and stream. The Paita Commune in Chiehyang County, which gets its water for irrigation from a reservoir in a neighbouring county, has used waterheads of one to several metres to turn the generators of 17 small power stations of several to dozens of kilowatts so that all 16 production brigades of the commune have electricity.

With the masses mobilized, all difficulties can be overcome. Where steel was short, stone and timber were used instead. To get cement they set up small cement works by themselves. In the Tengkuang Commune of Chaocan County we saw a power house built of hewn stones because there were no bricks. It was solid and beautiful. We saw cement pipes used instead of steel pipes at the Fenghuang Commune's power station. Many stations had at first only one generating set installed in a shed. Solid buildings were later put up with better equipment when funds were accumulated through processing agricultural and sideline products.

The labouring people of the Swatow Prefecture have built a network of hydropower stations in this fashion, turning to account their boundless creativity to erect an independent electric grid in their region along the coast. This has done much to rid the area of its backwardness. An overseas Chinese who had left home long ago returned last year with two pressure lamps as gifts for relatives in a remote mountain village. To his surprise he found that the village already had electricity. "There is a world of difference between the old and the new society," he told people he met. "The mountain villages are not what they used to be. They have taken on an entirely new look."

Moscow Tightens Control of East European Countries

EIGHT years ago, the Soviet revisionists exposed themselves as social-imperialists in a big way by invading Czechoslovakia. In the years since trampling that country underfoot, the Soviet Union has taken various steps to tighten its control and intensify its plunder of countries in Eastern Europe. It made big play with its so-called "socialist integration" and left no stone unturned in the economic, political, diplomatic, military and ideological spheres to keep these countries under cruel Soviet control, enslavement and oppression.

The "integration" plan was dished up by the Soviet revisionists in 1968. In July 1971, the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (C.M.E.A.) adopted a "comprehensive programme for economic integration" under which the C.M.E.A. countries were required to carry out "integration" in production, science and technology, foreign trade as well as in the monetary and financial spheres within a period of 15 to 20 years.

In March 1969, the Soviet Union proposed the setting up of a so-called permanent organization for coordinating the foreign policies of the Warsaw Treaty member countries to achieve "diplomatic integration." It was a bid to bring the diplomatic sovereignty of these countries under Moscow's control.

Since October 1969, the Kremlin's chieftains have time and again called summit conferences or foreign ministers' conferences of the Warsaw Treaty countries to plot feverishly to hold the European security conference. One of their aims is to make sure that post-World War II borders are "inviolable," i.e., to ask the West to recognize their spheres of influence in Eastern Europe so as to preserve their dominant position there and, subsequently, intensify their contention for hegemony in Europe as a whole.

In February 1970, the Soviet Union proposed to the East European countries the establishment of joint radio broadcasting stations and publishing houses. In addition, it suggested joint publication of journals and touted a "programme for ideological co-operation" to bring about "ideological integration." These moves made clear that Moscow was out to gain control over the whole superstructure of Eastern Europe.

In his report at the 24th congress of the Soviet revisionist party in March 1971, Brezhnev preached that the new "treaties of friendship and mutual assistance" and other bilateral treaties concluded between the Soviet Union and some East European countries jointly form an "extensive system (of a 'new type') that undertakes mutual obligation for the allies." They virtually provide the Soviet revisionists with a legal excuse for repeating such incidents as the invasion of Czechoslovakia.

In December 1972, Brezhnev announced in unequivocal terms that the "principle" of uniting all the union republics in a unified Soviet Union was applicable to "all socialist sovereign countries" of the C.M.E.A. This is as much as an open admission that he intends to turn other C.M.E.A. member countries into union republics of the U.S.S.R.

Since 1974, the Soviet Union has established three war theatre commands — one each in Northern, Central and Southern Europe — in Poland, the Soviet Union and Bulgaria respectively and formed several "integrated armed forces" comprising the three armed services.

The Soviet revisionists, acting in flagrant violation of the agreements they had signed, openly and drastically raised the prices of oil and other fuels for export to Eastern Europe. They also asked East European countries to contribute money and manpower to the "joint construction" of 30 large projects, with most of them located within the Soviet Union. The recent 30th session of the C.M.E.A. even decided on the drafting of long-term integrated programmes for fuel, raw materials, machine-building, foodstuff, industrial consumer goods and transport and communications. This is an attempt to bind the Soviet Union's partners in a tighter economic bondage so that the Soviet revisionists may have a free hand to plunder and exploit them.

What the above-mentioned facts all come down to is that the Soviet revisionists are trying their utmost to control, exploit and enslave some East European countries. They remind people of Brezhnev's monologue

at the 25th congress of the Soviet revisionist party on Soviet relations with Eastern Europe.

Of the 215 political bureau meetings held in the five years since the 24th congress, he said, "not a single one missed a review of" the question of Eastern Europe. In the "peace programme," Brezhnev gave a place of prime importance to "unity" and "all-round co-operation" with other members of the "community" and the promotion of the latter's "common and positive contributions to the strengthening of peace." This serves to prove that in their global contention with U.S. imperialism with Europe as the main arena, the Soviet revisionists just cannot dispense with Eastern Europe, that they cannot do without Eastern Europe if they want to shake off economic difficulties at home, and that they must try to stabilize the unstable Eastern Europe if they want to maintain the new tsars' fascist rule. It also demonstrates that the more ruthless the oppression,

the greater the resistance. The anxiety of the Soviet revisionists is only natural now that both the popular struggle in East European countries against their colonialist domination and the tendency of some of the ruling groups in Eastern Europe to drift apart from the Kremlin are developing these years. That is why Brezhnev used the pretexts of "unity" and "all-round co-operation" to fasten East European countries to his war chariot and turn them into a tool for Soviet aggression and expansion abroad.

Soon after the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia took place, people pointed out clearly that it was no more than a death-bed struggle of the Soviet revisionists who, beset with troubles at home and abroad, were locked in the horns of a dilemma. The ensuing measures taken by Brezhnev and his like to tighten their colonialist domination of East European countries are nothing but another death-bed struggle of the clique.

Soviet Betrayal of Palestinian People

THE Soviet revisionists have for years resorted to counter-revolutionary dual tactics in regard to the Palestine question, alternating abuses of the fighting Palestinian people at one time with ingratiating smiles at another, giving them the brush-off at one time and pledging "positive support" at another. Despite their constant change of face they have not departed from their real stand, which is to betray the fundamental interests of the Palestinian people and advance the Soviet social-imperialist interests of aggression and expansion in the Middle East and contention for hegemony with the U.S. imperialists.

Attitude Towards Armed Struggle

To support or oppose the Palestinian people's armed struggle is a touchstone by which to judge the attitude of the Soviet Union towards the Palestinian revolution.

The launching of the armed struggle against the Israeli aggressors by the Palestinian people in 1965 ushered in a new stage in their just struggle to restore their national rights. This gladdened the revolutionary people the world over who gave them their warm support. But the Soviet Union looked with indifference at this great development in the history of the Palestinian

people's struggle as if the Palestinian revolution had never taken place at all.

After 1967, the Palestinian commandos advanced triumphantly along the road of armed struggle. This constituted a stern challenge to the attempt of the two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States, to keep the Middle East in a state of "no war, no peace." Infuriated by the humiliation it had suffered, the Soviet Union tried to suppress the Palestinian revolution and poured out a barrage of invective against it. A review of Soviet press comments then shows that the armed struggle of the Palestinian people was cursed with the greatest ferocity and in the most abusive language. They vilified the Palestinian fighters as "extremists" and their armed struggle "extremist action," "blunders," "unrealistic," "irresponsible adventurism," and calumniated the Fateh as adopting a "Trotskyite approach," etc. Indeed, they nursed an inveterate hatred for the armed struggle of the Palestinian people and wanted to crush it.

However, the Soviet invectives failed to frustrate the Palestinian people's struggle which went from one victory to another. The Palestinian people won a say for themselves with their guns and blood. At that time, the Soviet revisionists suffered a setback in their infiltration and expansion in Egypt and the true features

of the new tsars were increasingly exposed before the Arab people. Under such circumstances, the Soviet revisionists suddenly made a complete about-face in their attitude towards the Palestinian revolution. They boasted endlessly that the Soviet Union is "the most reliable natural ally" of the Palestinian and Arab people and with an ulterior motive sent arms to the Palestinian commandos.

One aim of this Soviet move was to deceive Arab and world public opinion. The other aim to which the Kremlin attached greater importance was to cash in on the excellent situation brought about by the heroisms and daughters of the Palestinian people at the cost of their blood and lives. It was in Moscow's books to divert the struggle of the Palestinian people into its own orbit and use it as a pawn in its contest for hegemony in the Middle East with the United States. In an article published in July 1974, the editor-in-chief of the Soviet paper *Izvestia* Leo Tolkunov bluntly advocated that the Palestinian movement should have a "tactical aim." He said: "In the present phase, the Palestinian movement, apart from having a strategical aim, must also have a definitely formulated tactical aim; that is to say, to have a programme linking with the international efforts to seek a just solution for the Near Eastern conflict." In other words, the Soviet revisionists want the Palestinian revolution to be "linked with" their "political solution" of the Middle East issue. This is clearly asking the Palestinian people to give up the armed struggle and act according to the Soviet revisionist tactics of "no war, no peace" so as to meet the needs of Soviet contention for hegemony in the Middle East with U.S. imperialism.

Attitude Towards National Rights

The attitude towards the national rights of the Palestinian people is another touchstone by which to judge how the Soviet revisionists see the Palestinian revolution.

For years and especially since 1967, the Soviet authorities and press have clung to Resolution 242 adopted by the U.N. Security Council on November 22, 1967, and clamoured that the Middle East issue should be solved on the basis of the resolution which calls the Palestine question a "refugee" question.

It is known to all that Resolution 242 does not denounce the Israeli aggressors, nor does it refer to the Palestinian people's national rights. The resolution describes the Palestine question as a "refugee" question, which is very unjust to the Palestinian people and other Arab people. The Soviet revisionists' attitude towards the resolution has made it crystal clear that they have totally ignored the interests of the Palestinian and other Arab people. N.V. Podgorny said explicitly, "As regards the Middle East question, I would not like to argue which one is the aggressor, that is not the substance of the matter." Therefore, the Soviet proposal for solving the Middle East question on the

basis of Resolution 242 is nothing but a trick to deceive the entire Arab people, because it sacrifices the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people. Precisely, these rights are the crux of the Middle East question. Without a settlement of this matter, the Middle East question can never be solved.

Attitude Towards Palestine Liberation Organization

The attitude towards the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) — to recognize it or not as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people — is also a touchstone to test whether the Soviet Union gives genuine or sham support to the Palestinian revolution.

Various Arab countries have long recognized the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. Many other third world countries have also confirmed this position of the PLO, which has set up representative offices in the capitals of these countries. Since 1973 quite a number of second world countries have begun to develop their relations with the PLO. The United Nations also decided to let the PLO set up an observer's office, asked its representatives to take part in discussions on the Middle East question and honoured the PLO chairman as head of state or government at the U.N. Headquarters.

But the Soviet social-imperialists spared no effort to belittle the political position of the PLO and refused to recognize it as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

Chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization Yasser Arafat has paid several visits to the Soviet Union, but each time the invitation came from the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee and Soviet top leaders steered clear of him. In the past, the Soviet Union all along refused to permit the PLO to set up a representative organ in Moscow. It was not until 1974 that it reluctantly allowed the PLO to establish an office within the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee and the office was actually set up as late as last June. Since the Soviet revisionists have gone so far as to place obstacles and procrastinate on such a problem, how are they qualified to talk profusely about so-called "support" for the Palestinian revolution?

The variations of the Soviet revisionists' counter-revolutionary tactics in dealing with the Palestinian people's armed struggle completely serve their counter-revolutionary general aims. With the intensification of the Soviet-U.S. rivalry for hegemony and the development of the struggle of the Arab and Palestinian people and the raising of their consciousness, more and more people have come to see the Soviet revisionists for what they are. Nevertheless, they will never call a halt to their schemes but will surely harp on the same old tunes and put on a show as if they would support the Palestinian people in real earnest.

(A commentary by Hsinhua Correspondent)

ROUND THE WORLD

SOUTH AFRICA

100,000 Workers Down Tools

In Soweto outside Johannesburg, South Africa, 100,000 African workers called a mammoth strike from August 23 to 25 in a protest against the apartheid of the Vorster regime. They strongly demanded the release of 2,000 Africans arrested since the Soweto massacre in mid-June this year.

Stoppage of work on the morning of August 23 brought 14 commuter trains running from Soweto to Johannesburg to a standstill. All bus service came to a halt. African workers taking part in the strike accounted for 70 to 80 per cent of the labour force on this transport line. The white employers of a number of factories admitted that 80 per cent of African workers stayed away from work.

The South African authorities sent out police to suppress the strikers. Police opened fire, killing or injuring many African workers. Meanwhile, the authorities played an underhand game to sow dissension and create a split among the Africans to disrupt their struggle.

Not intimidated by the despicable tricks of the reactionary authorities, the brave Soweto workers are continuing their struggle. The situation in Soweto remains tense, the police authorities admitted.

This big strike is a follow-up of a large-scale black students' demonstration in Soweto in early August. The South African workers and students in their struggles gave each other support and co-ordinated their action. All this shows that the struggle of the Azanian people

against violent repression is developing in depth.

AFGHANISTAN-PAKISTAN

Further Efforts to Better Relations

Mohammad Daoud, President and Prime Minister of Afghanistan, recently paid an official visit to Pakistan at the invitation of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, Prime Minister of the host country.

A joint communique issued on August 24 by the two sides stated that the leaders of the two countries had held talks "in an atmosphere of frankness and understanding. These talks formed part of the continuing dialogue envisaged by the two leaders" and started at Kabul "to find an honourable solution of their political difference and other differences." The latest communique said that the two leaders reaffirmed the joint communique issued by the two sides in Kabul last June and were "resolved to continue their discussion in the spirit of Kabul with a view to achieving settlement."

In June this year, Prime Minister Bhutto, at the invitation of President Daoud, paid an official visit to Afghanistan. During the visit, the two leaders held talks on the betterment of relations between the two countries with both sides expressing their readiness to settle their disputes in real earnest and good faith, and affirming that relations between the two countries should be established on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence.

Both Afghanistan and Pakistan belong to the third world, with a common experience in the past and now a common goal to achieve. Their rapprochement is conducive to the fight against foreign interference, the defence of national in-

dependence and the development of national economy.

U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL

Greece and Turkey Urged to Settle Dispute Through Negotiations

The United Nations Security Council adopted a resolution on the morning of August 25 urging Greece and Turkey to exercise restraint and settle their dispute over the Aegean Sea through direct negotiations.

Earlier, the Council had met three times to discuss the Greco-Turkish dispute and at the discussions both the Greek and Turkish foreign ministers spoke to present their views.

Before and after the resolution was adopted, representatives of Romania, Pakistan, Tanzania and other countries all took the floor, expressing the hope that Greece and Turkey will exercise utmost restraint and seek for a settlement through peaceful negotiations. They pointed out that it is in the great interest of peace and security in the Aegean Sea area that the two parties concerned should seek a fair and reasonable settlement of the issue through negotiations in the spirit of mutual understanding.

In a statement made before the adoption of the resolution, Chinese Representative Huang Hua said: "Both Greece and Turkey are friends of China. With regard to the dispute between Greece and Turkey over the question of the Aegean Sea, we sincerely hope that taking to heart the overall interests of unity against hegemonism, Greece and Turkey will adopt an attitude of restraint, seek a fair and reasonable settlement of the issue through patient negotiations on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and thus avoid giving openings for exploitation by the superpowers."

He explained that the Chinese Delegation supported the draft resolution "because the main spirit of the draft lies in calling on Greece and Turkey to resume direct negotiations."

ON THE HOME FRONT

Peasant Representatives Work in Leading Organs

IN Wuyuan County of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region, large numbers of office cadres have been sent to rural people's communes to be ordinary peasants for a period of time, while representatives of the poor and lower-middle peasants have been selected to work in the county's Party and government leading organs by rotation for a period of three months. As a result, the ties between the leading organs and the masses have become closer.

The study of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat last year enabled members of the county Party committee to come to a deeper understanding that it is important for the cadres of leading organs to retain the fine qualities of the working people. The committee, therefore, adopted the decision, effective from November last year, to send two-thirds of its cadres to the people's communes to become peasants by rotation while those who stayed behind to carry on the day-to-day work should each cultivate one *mu* (one-fifteenth of a hectare) of experimental plot for the production teams.

The struggle to beat back the Right deviationist attempt at reversing correct verdicts this year has further enhanced the understanding of the county Party committee members. They realized that in order to resist the pernicious influence of the revisionist line on the office workers and corruption by bourgeois ideology, it is not enough to merely organize the cadres to go to the grass-roots units; they must further place the work of the county Party committee and revolutionary committee under the supervision of the masses. Therefore, they decided to invite representatives of the poor and lower-middle peasants to take a direct hand in the work of the county leadership. Since last March, 19 poor and lower-middle peasants have been recommended by the masses to work in the county.

They are all Party members who have a high level of consciousness in class struggle and the two-line struggle and enjoy a high prestige among the commune members.

Working in the county, the representatives of the poor and lower-middle peasants joined the personnel of Party and government organs in studying revolutionary theories, carrying out mass criticisms and taking part in manual labour. They also attended meetings called by the Party committee or its affiliated organizations to discuss matters related to production and revolution, and made suggestions for improving the work of county leadership in the light of whatever knowledge they had gained through personal experience. After a period of time, they organized themselves into three groups and went to six communes to report to the masses on their work in the county and brought back 21 suggestions from the poor and lower-middle peasants. On the basis of these suggestions, the county Party committee adopted positive measures to further improve its work.

Representatives of the poor and lower-middle peasants have helped the leading organs to better implement Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. In spring this year, for instance, the county Party committee decided to popularize an advanced wheat sowing method, but there were no needed tools on hand. The representatives of the poor and lower-middle peasants suggested that the leadership follow the mass line and go among the peasants to solicit their opinions. Leading comrades of the county Party committee accepted this proposal and went to the communes and production brigades to seek advice. Thanks to the wisdom pooled by the commune members who have rich practical experience, about a dozen kinds of simple sowers were made within a short time and popularized in the whole county. The sowing of spring wheat on 27,000 hectares was thus completed ahead of schedule.

The county agricultural machinery bureau naturally has more contacts with the peasants. But in the past, farm machines were not delivered to the farms in good time and no technicians were sent to do the repairs. This was sharply criticized by the representatives of the poor and lower-middle peasants. With their help, the bureau made earnest efforts to improve its work.

Today, eight of the ten standing committee members on the county Party committee are always working at the grass-roots level, and only two remain in the office to do the routine work. By the end of June this year, each of them had done manual labour for 50 days. Of the 84 staff members in the county Party committee and revolutionary committee, 51 are working in the forefront of agriculture.

The method of "sending office cadres to work at the grass-roots level and inviting the poor and lower-middle peasants to do office work" has been warmly acclaimed by the masses.

A Newly Built Power Plant

IN the mountainous region of western Liaoning Province in northeast China, a new thermal-power plant — the Chaoyang Thermal-Power Plant — was recently built and put into operation. This large plant was designed, constructed and equipped by China itself. Its two sets of 200,000 kw. steam-turbo generating sets with inner water-cooled stator and rotor are working well since going into operation.

The successful building of this power plant is of great significance to improving the distribution of the power industry in Liaoning and to promoting industrial and agricultural production in this mountainous area. Before the Great Cultural Revolution started in 1966, the departments concerned planned to build a large

power plant there to meet the needs of industrial and agricultural production. But owing to the pernicious influence of Liu Shao-chi's revisionist line, the plan fell through. It was only after the revisionist line was criticized during the Great Cultural Revolution that this project was put on the agenda again.

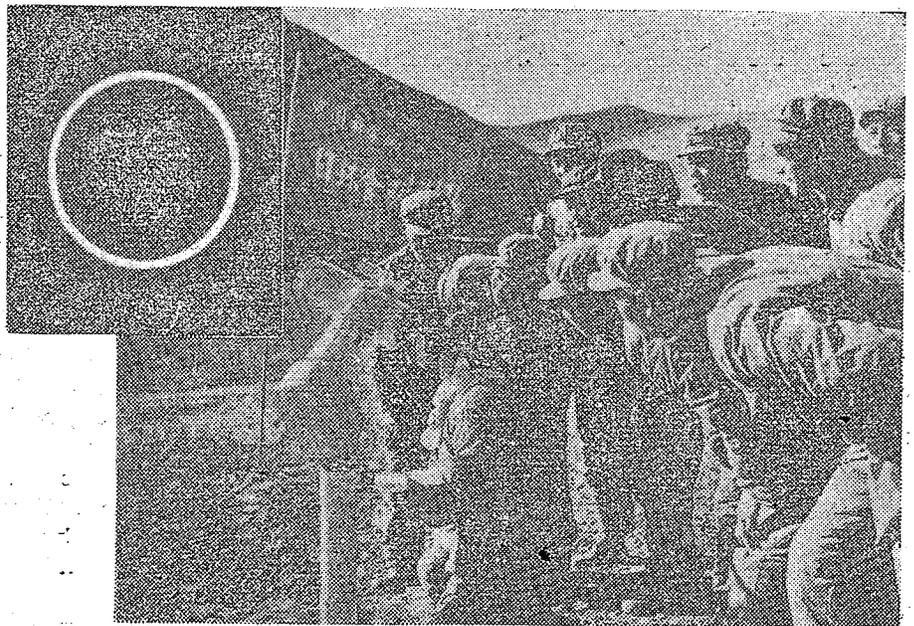
The Chaoyang Thermal-Power Plant is a product of extensive socialist co-operation. The 200,000 kw. steam-turbo generating sets with inner water-cooled stator and rotor were made by workers of the boiler factory, the steam turbine plant and the electric motors plant in Harbin, Heilungkiang Province. The Changchun Electrical Designing Institute in Kirin Province undertook all the designing work. Together with the workers at the construction sites, the designers solved various technical problems in the course of construction.

Observation of Annular Solar Eclipse

AN expedition organized by the Chinese Academy of Sciences went to the Karakoram Mountains in the western part of China and carried out a comprehensive observation of the annular solar eclipse which occurred on April 29 this year. Important results were obtained.

This is the first time that Chinese scientific workers used domestically made instruments and equipment to independently make such an observation. The expedition has accumulated the first batch of information for the research and popularization of this branch of science and obtained first-hand observation and experimental data for studying the anomaly of gravitational effect during the annular solar eclipse. This has put an end to our dependence on foreign information in this field and contributed to the popularization of the astronomical science.

Annular solar eclipse is a kind of solar eclipse. The moon revolves



Annular solar eclipse filmed at an observation post.

round the earth and the two revolve round the sun. When the moon comes between the sun and the earth and obscures practically the entire sun's disk, leaving only a thin outer ring of brilliance, an annular solar eclipse takes place.

After liberation, two annular solar eclipses were observable in China. The first was in 1958. At that time the Soviet revisionists, under the guise of "co-operation," sent "specialists" to conduct a "joint observation" with Chinese scientific workers on Hainan Island. But the Soviet revisionists seized most of the results obtained.

Last year some scientific workers in the field of astronomy and physics, who had matured during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, proposed to make an observation of this year's annular solar eclipse. The expedition was made up of workers, P.L.A. commanders and fighters, scientific and technical personnel and cinephotographers. Their age averaged less than 30 and most of them were young people who had grown up during the Great Cultural Revolution. Despite the severe cold and deficiency of oxygen and the fact that they suffered from altitude sickness, they transported and installed the in-

struments and equipment for setting up three observation posts on mountains 5,200 to 6,100 metres above sea level. They endured the hardship and kept working for dozens of days.

Members of the expedition conscientiously studied the series of important instructions from Chairman Mao, deeply criticized the arch unrepentant capitalist-roader in the Party, Teng Hsiao-ping and were determined to repulse the Right deviationist attempt at reversing correct verdicts by obtaining greater results from the observation. On April 29, they filmed and photographed the annular solar eclipse from start to finish from the three observation posts several hundred kilometres apart. They also filmed the natural surroundings and scenes of the solar eclipse needed for completing a film to popularize this branch of science. The observation of the anomaly of gravitational effect during the annular solar eclipse was made in a mountain cave 5,500 metres above sea level with the aid of many kinds of instruments and equipment and by different methods.

Throughout the observation, unstinting support was given by the P.L.A. Sinkiang Units and the local people of various nationalities.