

PEKING REVIEW

27

July 1, 1977

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**Use Chairman Mao's Theory of
Continuing the Revolution to
Guide Socialist Construction**

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**Commemorating 27th Anniversary of
Korean Fatherland Liberation War**

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**Imperialism – Revolutionary People's
Teacher by Negative Example**

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Chairman Hua Meets Vice-President Ismail

HUA Kuo-feng, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Premier of the State Council, on June 22 met with Ismail Ali Abucar, Vice-President of the Somali Democratic Republic, and the Somali Government Delegation led by him.

The meeting proceeded in a cordial atmosphere.

Chairman Hua had a warm and friendly conversation with Vice-President Ismail. Vice-President Ismail first of all conveyed President Mohamed Siad Barre's regards to Chairman Hua and the Chinese Government and people. Chairman Hua expressed thanks for this and requested Vice-President Ismail to convey the regards of the Chinese Government and people and his own regards to President Siad and the Somali Government and people. Chairman Hua and Vice-President Ismail exchanged views on the further development of the friendly relations between



China and Somalia and other issues of common interest.

When the delegation was in Peking, Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien held sincere and friendly talks with Vice-President Ismail on international questions of

common concern and on the further strengthening of friendly relations and co-operation between the two countries. These talks are of great significance to the further development of the friendship that exists between the two peoples.

Chairman Hua and Vice-Chairman Yeh Receive Translators of Volume V of "Selected Works Of Mao Tsetung" and Others

CHAIRMAN Hua, Vice-Chairman Yeh and other Party and state leaders received more than 8,000 people in the Great Hall of the People on the

evening of June 22. They included translators of Volume V of the *Selected Works of Mao Tsetung* into the languages of national minorities and into

English, French, Japanese, Spanish and Russian, and people in charge of publishing Volume V in the various languages; teachers, students and

staff members of various nationalities from the Central Institute for Nationalities and other institutes of higher learning; people in charge of broadcasting in minority languages; members of a training class for instructors in the study of Volume V of the *Selected Works of Mao Tsetung* and representatives of teachers and staff members of the Military and Political Academy of the Chinese People's Liberation Army; and others.

Other Party and state leaders present at the reception were Li Hsien-nien, Chen Hsi-lien, Chi Teng-kuei, Wang Tung-hsing, Wu Teh, Chen Yung-kuei, Wu Kuei-hsien, Su Chen-hua, Ni Chih-fu, Hsu Hsiang-chien and Ulanfu. Su Yu, a leading member of the Military Commission of the Party Central Committee, was also present on the occasion.

Greeting Djibouti's Independence

Hua Kuo-feng, Premier of the State Council, sent a message on June 26 to Hassan Gouled Aptidon, President of the Republic of Djibouti, greeting the proclamation of independence of the Republic of Djibouti.

The message says: "On the occasion of the proclamation of independence of the Republic of Djibouti on June 27, 1977 and Your Excellency's assumption of the presidency, I wish to extend, on behalf of the Chinese Government and people, our warmest congratulations to Your Excellency and the Djibouti Government and people. I have the pleasure to inform Your Excellency that the Chi-

nese Government has decided to recognize the Republic of Djibouti.

"May the Djibouti people win new victories in opposing imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism, safeguarding national independence and state sovereignty and building their country. May the friendly relations between China and Djibouti and between our two peoples develop continuously."

In an editorial greeting the independence of Djibouti, *Renmin Ribao* noted: "The Government of the Republic of Djibouti has proclaimed her foreign policy of non-alignment and positive neutrality. As a country by the Red Sea, she firmly supports any proposal relating to the security in this area. This will play a notable role in safeguarding the security there.

"The superpowers' aggression and rivalry in the Red Sea area have thrown it into unrest. The Soviet Union, in particular, has, under the cloak of 'socialism,' stepped into the area to make trouble, sow dissension and create disputes. This is a vain attempt to control the entrance to the Red Sea and proceed to put this important waterway linking the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean completely under Soviet control. In this way, Moscow hopes to manoeuvre itself into a favourable position in the contention for Europe and even in the rivalry for global domination.

"The criminal acts of the Soviet social-imperialists are seriously menacing the security of the Red Sea countries and have aroused condemnation and resistance from the countries and peoples there.

"We believe that after their independence the Djibouti people will, in unity with the other Red Sea countries and peoples, resist foreign aggression and contribute to safeguarding the security of the Red Sea and developing the struggle against imperialism and hegemonism in the area."

Zimbabwe Friendship Delegation

The Zimbabwe Friendship Delegation with Robert G. Mugabe, General Secretary of the Zimbabwe African National Union and Joint Leader of the Zimbabwe Patriotic Front, as its leader and Josiah Tongogara, Secretary for Defence of the Union, as its deputy leader arrived in Peking on June 20.

Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien on June 24 met and gave a banquet in honour of the delegation.

Speaking at the banquet, Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien praised the heroic Zimbabwean people for their long and unyielding struggles against imperialism, colonialism and racism in order to shake off colonial rule and oppression and win national independence and liberation.

Referring to the African situation, Vice-Premier Li said: The armed struggle of the people of Zimbabwe and Namibia is blazing more and more fiercely, and the Azanian people's struggle against racism and for liberation is mounting higher and higher. The white racist regimes of Vorster and Smith are besieged ring upon ring by the African people. Of course, the enemy will by no means step down the stage of history of their own accord. They are in-

tensifying their counter-revolutionary dual tactics in a last-ditch struggle. But all this cannot in the least save them from their inevitable doom. We are confident that the people of Zimbabwe, Namibia and Azania, by strengthening their unity, persevering in struggle and using revolutionary dual tactics against the enemy's counter-revolutionary dual tactics, will surely be able, with the support and assistance of other African countries and people, to win complete victory in their national-liberation struggle.

The Vice-Premier pointed out: What merits special attention at present is the intense contention between the two superpowers for southern Africa which has rich resources and is of great strategic importance. To preserve its vested interests in southern Africa, one superpower is trying hard to devise stratagems for the reactionary Vorster and Smith regimes and give them a shot in the arm so as to undermine the revolutionary struggle of the southern African people. The other superpower, which is wildly ambitious, is flaunting the banner of "supporting national-liberation movements" to deceive others while pointing the spearhead of its expansion at southern Africa in a vain attempt to bring the national-liberation movements there into its orbit of social-imperialist aggression and expansion. Recklessly repeating the trick which it used in its aggression in Angola, it is unscrupulously sowing discord and creating contradictions among the national-liberation movements, supporting one and attacking another, in an attempt to disrupt the militant unity of

the national-liberation movements. Under the pretext of providing support and assistance, it is trying hard to control the recipient liberation organizations. Bent on splitting the unity of the African countries, it labels some "progressive" and attacks others as "reactionary" in an attempt to sabotage the African countries' common cause of supporting and assisting the liberation struggles in southern Africa. Social-imperialism is doing what imperialism and white racism have wished but have been unable to do, and it is rendering a great service to Vorster and Smith.

Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien added: In their struggle for complete liberation, the people in southern Africa are confronted with the rigorous and realistic task of driving the wolf out of the front gate and preventing the tiger from entering the back door.

The Chinese people, he went on, are determined to follow Chairman Mao's teachings and, as always, will firmly stand by the heroic African people and support the people of Zimbabwe, Namibia and Azania in their just struggle against racism and superpower interference and sabotage and for national independence and liberation.

Vice-Premier Li reiterated that the Chinese Government is firmly opposed to the reactionary racist regimes of Vorster and Smith and that it has no political contacts and no economic, trade or any other dealings with them. He declared that the people of Zimbabwe and all Africa can rest assured that the Chinese people will always stand on their side and

remain their reliable friends in their just struggle.

Leader of the delegation Mugabe in his speech thanked the Chinese people for extending to the people of Zimbabwe "your hand of friendship in a sincere endeavour to consolidate the solidarity of our two peoples in their just struggle against imperialism and colonialism." He congratulated the Chinese people on their unity of purpose which, "despite their circumstances of bereavement and distress occasioned by the demise of beloved Chairman Mao and Premier Chou En-lai, has been their most effective instrument for crushing the 'gang of four' and upholding the correct line. We admire you indeed."

"Counter-revolutionary forces in southern Africa are integrating and consolidating themselves, and thus heightening more the contradictions inherent in the prevalent conflict situation," delegation leader Mugabe went on to say. "Behind Ian Smith and Johannes Vorster stand the real reactionary forces against which the people of southern Africa are waging their just struggle." Smith, he added, is sustained by the powers which have fostered him.

"In this context," he continued, "when Smith commits, as he often does, naked acts of aggression on Mozambique, Botswana or Zambia, the real perpetrators must be correctly identified so we are able to distinguish the enemy's shadow from the enemy himself. Similarly, we should clearly discern the collective nature of

(Continued on p. 25.)

Use Chairman Mao's Theory of Continuing The Revolution to Guide Socialist Construction

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

by Lin Chin-jan

UNDER the leadership of Chairman Hua, the Chinese people are now striving to build China into a great, powerful modern socialist country before the end of the century. In this endeavour, Chairman Mao's theory of continuing the revolution has shown us the way in carrying out socialist construction.

Developing Socialist Economy at High Speed Is a Basic Task in Continuing the Revolution Under The Dictatorship of the Proletariat

A basic task in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat is, with politics in command, to do a good job in production and develop the socialist economy at high speed. This is clear to anyone with a rudimentary knowledge of Marxism. The "gang of four," however, deliberately placed revolution and production in absolute opposition to each other and spread numerous fallacies which caused great confusion in people's minds.

According to the Marxist viewpoint, revolution aims at changing the old relations of production and the superstructure and at liberating and developing the productive forces. China's socialist system has opened up broad vistas for the development of the productive

forces. Speaking at the Supreme State Conference early in 1956, Chairman Mao said: **Socialist revolution aims at liberating the productive forces. The change-over from individual to socialist, collective ownership in agriculture and handicrafts and from capitalist to socialist ownership in private industry and commerce is bound to bring about a tremendous liberation of the productive forces. Thus the social conditions are being created for a tremendous expansion of industrial and agricultural production.**

Chairman Mao set forth the basic criterion for determining whether a political party is progressive or reactionary, revolutionary or counter-revolutionary as early as 1945 when he pointed out: **"In the last analysis, the impact, good or bad, great or small, of the policy and the practice of any Chinese political party upon the people depends on whether and how much it helps to develop their productive forces, and on whether it fetters or liberates these forces."** (*On Coalition Government.*) Obviously, how can the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat be called a revolution if it does not aim at liberating the productive forces and protecting and developing these forces? But the "gang of four" babbled that in making "revolution" it is permissible that "not a single grain

of rice is reaped," that "factories may lie idle" and that "not a single ton of steel is produced." This is counter-revolution pure and simple!

In the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, Marx and Engels noted that after seizing political power the proletariat "will use its political supremacy to wrest, by degrees, all capital from the bourgeoisie, to centralize all instruments of production in the hands of the State, i.e., of the proletariat organized as the ruling class; and to increase the total of productive forces as rapidly as possible." Chairman Mao pointed out more specifically: "One of the basic tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat is actively to expand the socialist economy." Closely linking the task of developing the socialist economy at high speed with that of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist system, he stressed that only when we "build a modern industrial and modern agricultural base in China" "will it be possible to regard our socialist economic and political system as having a fairly adequate material base (now far from adequate), and will it be possible to regard our state (the superstructure) as fully consolidated, and a socialist society as fundamentally built." (*The Situation in the Summer of 1957.*)

To actively develop socialist production is a prerequisite for upholding socialism and defeating capitalism. Only when our national economy is pushed forward rapidly so that we have an increasingly solid material base can we further consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and prevent capitalist restoration, gradually meet the growing needs of the people, and further strengthen the worker-peasant alliance and the unity of the people of all nationalities in our country. And only when our national economy is pushed forward rapidly to achieve much higher labour productivity than under capitalism will our socialist system fully demonstrate its superiority and the masses cherish deeper love for socialism; only thus can we constantly strengthen the predominance of

socialism and defeat the capitalist forces in the struggle between the two classes and the two roads. To develop socialist production is, therefore, closely connected with the struggle to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and prevent capitalist restoration. It is inconceivable that we could make socialism prevail over capitalism by following the "gang of four's" absurd idea that "we would rather have socialist low speed" than capitalist high speed of development and letting our production trail behind capitalist countries at a snail's pace.

Class struggle both at home and in the international arena calls upon us to realize as soon as possible the modernization of agriculture, industry, national defence, and science and technology and catch up with and surpass the world's most powerful imperialist countries. Our era remains one of imperialism and proletarian revolution. So long as imperialism and social-imperialism exist, there is bound to be war. Since tigers and wolves are still around and the Soviet revisionists have not given up their wild ambition to subjugate China, we must build up a powerful national defence; and the basis and prerequisite for modernizing our national defence is to step up our economic construction and bring about the modernization of agriculture, industry and science and technology. In the world today, the factors for both revolution and war are increasing and the situation does not permit us to take our time in economic construction. Our country will be invincible only by speeding up socialist construction.

Developing the productive forces at high speed under the socialist system is, in the last analysis, determined by the historical mission of the proletariat. "Our aim is to exterminate capitalism, obliterate it from the face of the earth and make it a thing of the past." (Mao Tsetung: *A Debate on the Co-operative Transformation of Agriculture and the Current Class Struggle.*) In other words, we aim at eliminating all exploiting classes and all class distinc-

tions and realizing communism. Marxism holds that the division into classes is invariably connected with a specific mode of production and "it was based on the insufficiency of production; it will be swept away by the full development of the modern productive forces." (Engels: *Anti-Duhring*.) Only when the productive forces are developed as rapidly as possible along the socialist and communist road to ensure the maximum increase of social products can the conditions be created for the ultimate elimination of classes and of the differences between worker and peasant, between town and country and between mental and manual labour and for the transition to communism. Communist society will not come into being unless the material conditions are ripe.

After seizing political power, the proletariat always regards continuing the revolution and organizing economic construction as a twofold task to be fulfilled. Lenin put it well when he said: "To defeat capitalism in general, it is necessary, in the first place, to defeat the exploiters and to uphold the power of the exploited, namely, to accomplish the task of overthrowing the exploiters by revolutionary forces; in the second place, to accomplish the constructive task, that of establishing new economic relations, of setting an example of how this should be done. These two aspects of the task of accomplishing a socialist revolution are indissolubly connected, and distinguish our revolution from all previous ones, which never went beyond the destructive aspect." (*Our Foreign and Domestic Position and the Tasks of the Party*.) Chairman Mao developed this concept and consistently upheld the dialectical unity between revolution and construction. He pointed out the essential connection between the two and taught us to consciously guide forward the revolution to establishing new economic relations so as to vigorously develop the productive forces under these relations. He creatively introduced the new experience of simultaneously carrying out socialist transformation and socialist construction, and stressed that the revolution in the system of ownership, which is part of the social system as a whole,

should be combined with the revolution in technique which is to advance from handicraft production to large-scale modern machine production and that the two revolutions must not be separated from each other. Only when the revolution in these two aspects is realized, he added, can the socio-economic features take on an entirely new look. In his work *On the Ten Major Relationships*, Chairman Mao set forth the basic idea for the general line of going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism, and instructed us that we must correctly handle the ten major relationships in the socialist revolution and socialist construction and fully mobilize all positive factors so that the broadest possible sections of the people can devote their full efforts to socialist construction. But the "gang of four" deliberately created confusion concerning the relationship between revolution and production, thereby disrupting both. They labelled people working hard in building socialism as advocates of the "theory of productive forces." To this Taching's oil workers refuted, saying: "Going all out to build socialism is justified! Going all out to build socialism is a merit! Going all out to build socialism is an honour! We will continue to make all-out efforts to build socialism!" Such is our conclusion.

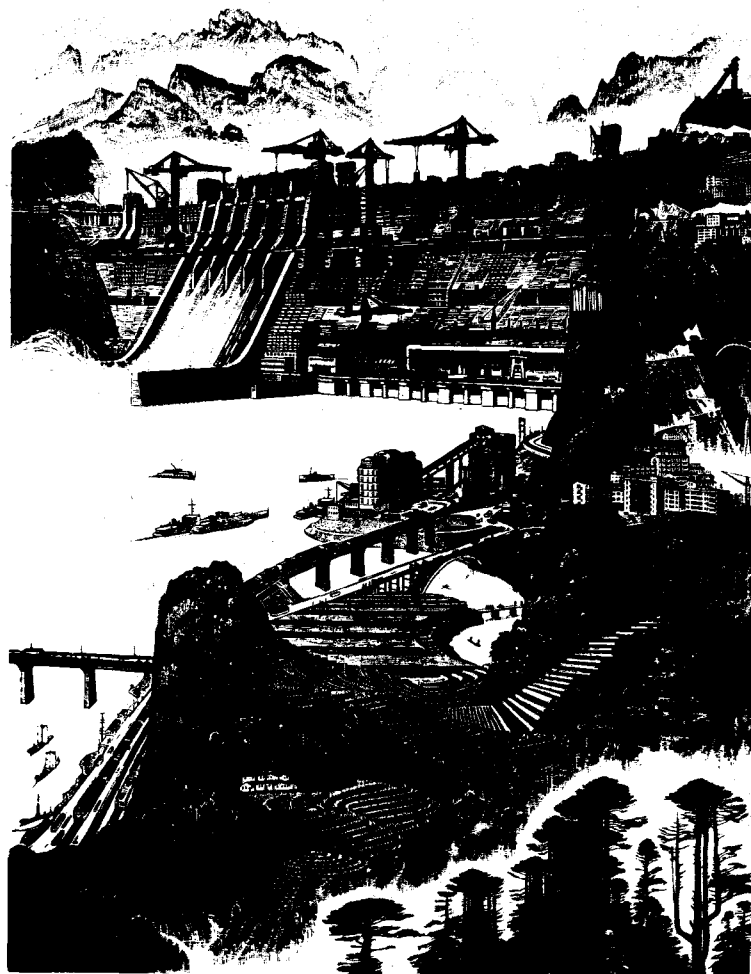
Continuously Resolving the Basic Contradictions in Socialist Society Is the Motive Force for Accelerating National Economic Development

The basic contradictions in society are those between the relations of production and the productive forces and between the superstructure and the economic base. Between them there is at once unity and struggle; and it is this that propels the development of society. When we speak of the superiority of the socialist system, we do not mean that these contradictions which exist universally in human society have all been done away with. What we mean is that "they are not antagonistic and can be resolved one after another by the socialist system itself." (Mao Tsetung: *On the*

Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People.) In this way, the road is open for the continuous development of the productive forces. The contradictions between the relations of production and the productive forces and between the superstructure and the economic base in socialist society manifest themselves, in terms of classes, in the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and between the socialist and capitalist roads. This is the principal contradiction in our society today. Prior to the basic completion of the socialist transformation of the system of ownership, the contradictions between the relations of production and the productive forces were more outstanding, but after the basic completion of that transformation, the contradictions between the superstructure and the economic base have become more outstanding and "there is still class struggle — mainly on the political and ideological fronts — and it is very acute too." (Mao Tsetung: *Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work.*)

Taking class struggle as the key link, we must push ahead with the revolution in the superstructure to make it correspond with the economic base and we must continue the revolution in the relations of production to make them correspond with the development of the productive forces. In his article "A Glorious Decade" written in 1959 in celebration of the 10th anniversary of the founding of New China, Premier Chou En-lai said: "Between the productive forces and the relations of production and between the economic base and the superstructure, contradictions constantly arise and are resolved, followed by new ones. This is a dialectical process like an ever-flowing stream which is constantly being renewed. That we are able to ensure a continual upswing of the productive forces is precisely because the socialist relations of production and their superstructure can be constantly adjusted and reformed when necessary."

The fundamental task in continuing the revolution in the superstructure is to further consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and ensure that this task is fulfilled right through to the grass-roots level. To do this, we must, under the leadership of the Party,



A bustling scene of socialist construction.

Woodcut by Feng Chung-tieh

resolutely implement Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, actively unfold the class struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and use the Marxist line to triumph over the revisionist line, so that the leadership of every factory, enterprise, rural commune or brigade, school, shop and government office is firmly in the hands of Marxists and the basic worker-peasant masses. We must use Mao Tsetung Thought as our guide and grasp class struggle in the ideological field well so as to eliminate bourgeois ideology and foster proletarian ideology, do away with self-interest and foster devotion to the public interest and keep promoting the revolutionization of people's thinking. As to the revolution in the relations of production, in addition to continuing to consolidate and develop the socialist ownership by the whole people and the socialist collective ownership and rationally solving the existing problems in distribution, the impor-

tant task is to transform the relations among people by educating them in the communist spirit. Chairman Mao regarded transforming the relations among people as an important link, stressing that the leadership must maintain close ties with the masses, rely on the working class and the poor and lower-middle peasants and on the advanced elements and correctly handle the contradictions among the people. He put forward a series of measures for revolutionizing these relations such as cadre participation in productive labour, worker participation in management, reforming irrational and outdated rules and regulations, close co-operation among cadres, workers and technicians, intellectuals being at the same time manual workers and the working people being at the same time intellectuals, taking the "May 7" road, restricting bourgeois right, vigorously promoting communist factors in the relations among people. All this has helped develop new-type relations among people and promote the speedy growth of the productive forces.

Proceeding from the high plane of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, Chairman Hua has summed up the experience gained by the Taching Oilfield, the red banner on China's industrial front, and pointed out that Taching "has attached great importance to the revolution in the realm of the superstructure and in the relations of production and to technical innovations and technical revolution, thus developing production rapidly." This important experience profoundly epitomizes Chairman Mao's theory concerning the basic contradictions in socialist society and his policy of **grasping revolution, promoting production**. Those parts of the superstructure in disharmony with the economic base invariably protect those relations of production the people dislike, and those parts of the relations of production in disharmony with the development of the productive forces invariably hamper the people's enthusiasm. Therefore, making sustained efforts to do away with those incongruous parts in the superstructure and in the relations of production will inevitably stimulate people's revolutionary enthusiasm, promote technical innovations and technical revolution and bring about the rapid development of the productive forces. This is the fundamental reason why a big leap forward in

production inevitably follows a major political revolution. The big leap forward in 1958 came on the heels of the great victory in the anti-Rightist struggle and the rectification campaign in 1957. At present, the in-depth development of the major political revolution in exposing and repudiating the "gang of four" is bound to give rise to a new all-round leap forward. This is a development in complete conformity with the objective law.

Leading Cadres Must Strive to Be Both Red and Expert and Become Activists in Promoting Socialist Construction

To build China into a great, powerful modern socialist country before the end of the century is a wish Chairman Mao enjoined us to accomplish. Cadres are a decisive factor, once the political line is determined. Chairman Mao time and again called upon leading cadres at all levels to maintain the same vigour as was displayed in the years of revolutionary war, have firm faith in the majority of the people, and carry forward the style of plain living and hard work and maintaining close ties with the masses. He pointed out: "I hope that all secretaries of provincial, municipal and prefectural Party committees and the comrades in charge of the central departments will strive to become expert in political and economic work, for which the prerequisite is a higher level of Marxism-Leninism." (*Speeches at the National Conference of the Chinese Communist Party.*)

To realize the comprehensive modernization of agriculture, industry, national defence, and science and technology before the end of the century so that China's economy will be advancing in the front ranks of the world—this is a great task and a great class struggle as well. So long as we hold aloft the banner of Chairman Mao, closely follow the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, unite as one and work hard, the magnificent blueprint mapped out by Chairman Mao and Premier Chou will certainly come true.

*(An abridged translation of an article
in "Hongqi" No. 6, 1977)*

Scientific Research Should Precede Production

— A criticism of the "gang of four's" distortions

by Chung Ko

IN accordance with Chairman Mao's instructions, Premier Chou En-lai in his December 1964 Report on the Work of the Government to the First Session of the Third National People's Congress set the goal of accomplishing the comprehensive modernization of agriculture, industry, national defence, and science and technology before the end of the century. In his report, Premier Chou pointed out that research personnel in natural science should link their research to practical work, and research should precede production and construction.

Comrade Hua Kuo-feng and other leading comrades of the central authorities, too, on many occasions stressed the importance of developing science and technology and instructed that scientific research should precede production.

In line with the instructions of the leading comrades of the central authorities and to counter the "gang of four's" sabotage, the Chinese Academy of Sciences in 1975 drew up an "outline report" on scientific and technological work which elaborated the importance of ensuring scientific research preceding production. This was quite correct. The "gang of four," however, charged that the "outline" was a highly poisonous weed, a "programme" for capitalist restoration. Using this untenable charge, they raised a hue and cry to oppose Premier Chou, Chairman Hua and other leading comrades of the central authorities and tried to make a breach in the field of science and technology so as to pave the way for their usurpation of the supreme leadership of the Party and state.

Scientific Research and Class Struggle

"Scientific research taking precedence," the "gang of four" charged, "is supplanting

class struggle as 'the locomotive of history.'" This is a dirty trick. Clearly, when we speak of scientific research taking precedence, we are talking about scientific research in relation to production and construction under the command of proletarian politics, not in relation to class struggle. The question of scientific research preceding class struggle, or "supplanting class struggle," simply does not arise.

Developing scientific undertakings is of tremendous significance to socialist revolution and socialist construction. Engels, a proletarian revolutionary teacher, pointed out: "Science was for Marx a historically dynamic, revolutionary force." (*Speech at the Graveside of Karl Marx.*) The revolutionary role of science and technology lies in its transformation into productive forces. When the productive forces develop, revolution is bound to take place, destroying the old and establishing new relations of production. Lenin said: "Communism is Soviet power plus the electrification of the whole country." (*The Eighth All-Russia Congress of Soviets.*) The revolutionary role played by science and technology also lies in the fact that it helps man understand and transform nature and acquire a scientific world outlook. The law of conservation and transformation of energy, the theory of evolution and the cell theory — these are three major discoveries making up the natural scientific basis of dialectical materialism. Every new achievement in contemporary natural science is a further confirmation and verification of dialectical materialism.

Chairman Mao gave high appraisal to the revolutionary role played by scientific experiment. He said: "Class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment are the three great revolutionary movements for building a mighty socialist country. These

movements are a sure guarantee that Communists will be free from bureaucracy and immune against revisionism and dogmatism, and will for ever remain invincible. They are a reliable guarantee that the proletariat will be able to unite with the broad working masses and realize a democratic dictatorship."

The "gang of four," who never publicized Chairman Mao's concept of the three great revolutionary movements, vilified anyone who did as putting the three great revolutionary movements all on "an equal footing," "failing to take class struggle as the key link" and advocating "eclecticism." They deliberately counterposed the struggle for production and scientific experiment to class struggle and thereby confused people's minds. In Chairman Mao's directive, the inter-relationship between the three great revolutionary movements is quite clear. Class struggle is the key link and the three must at the same time be integrated. If we engage only in the struggle for production and scientific experiment without waging class struggle and follow an erroneous line, and when leadership is not in the hands of the proletariat, it is impossible to make a success of the struggle for production and scientific experiment. Conversely, if we engage only in class struggle and neglect scientific experiment and the struggle for production, there will be no powerful material basis and the political power of the proletariat will not be firmly consolidated, not to speak of a prosperous and strong country and the people's well-being. In his analysis of how to remove the soil of capitalism, Lenin pointed out: "We have not torn up the roots of capitalism and have not undermined the foundation, the basis, of the internal enemy. The latter depends on small-scale production, and there is only one way of undermining it, namely, to place the economy of the country, including agriculture, on a new technical basis, that of modern large-scale production." (*The Eighth All-Russian Congress of Soviets.*) Here, he was speaking of the importance of science and technology in strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat, building socialism and preventing capitalist restoration under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Premier Chou pointed out that if we want to bring about the modernization of agriculture, industry, national defence,

and science and technology and build our motherland into a powerful socialist country, the crucial point lies in the modernization of science and technology.

Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, science and technology in China has developed independently and self-reliantly since liberation. We had no atom bomb, hydrogen bomb, or man-made earth satellite before. We have them now, and have thus broken the imperialist and social-imperialist blockade and their nuclear monopoly. How can it be said that undertaking scientific research will lead inevitably to "a separation from class struggle"? Chairman Mao said: "Natural sciences as such have no class nature, but the question of who studies and makes use of them does." (*Repulse the Attacks of the Bourgeois Rightists.*) In class society, those engaged in scientific research are invariably serving a given social system and a given political line and can never get away from class struggle.

For many years, the "gang of four" opposed and sabotaged scientific research preceding production and construction. They sowed confusion in people's minds, cancelled scientific research projects, broke up the ranks of scientific researchers, and sabotaged the fulfilment of scientific research tasks. Serious damage was done to our scientific undertakings.

Scientific Research and Production

The "gang of four's" assertion that scientific research spearheading production and construction was "a negation of the decisive role of production in science" showed precisely how apt was Chairman Mao's criticism of them: **Metaphysics is rampant.**

Our revolutionary teachers long ago expounded the relationship between science and production. In his exposition on the historical development of human knowledge, Engels observed that to define the seasons, pastoral and agricultural peoples had to study astronomy which, in turn, could develop only with the aid of mathematics. With the origin of towns, big building structures and the development of handicrafts, mechanics also arose. This is where the sciences are determined by produc-

tion. On the other hand, the productivity of labour "develops continually with the uninterrupted advance of science and technology." (Marx: *Capital*.) Engels also pointed out: "This industrial revolution was brought about by the invention of the steam-engine, of various spinning machines, of the power-loom, and of a great number of other mechanical devices." (*Principles of Communism*.) "Their most immediate consequence was the rise of English industry, or more specifically of cotton manufacture in the first instance." (*The Condition of England*.) In this respect science and technology have propelled the development of production. The revolutionary teachers have lucidly explained the dialectical relationship between science and production, which is to say, science originates from and at the same time gives guidance to production.

Practice in production is the basic source of natural-scientific knowledge and is the yardstick by which natural-scientific truths are tested and verified. The development of production provides natural science with a growing abundance of research material, technical and material conditions and opens up ever-broader spheres for research. Production requirements promote the development of natural science. For instance, the study of high-velocity movements, the construction of complex engineering projects and automation have promoted research on electronic computers; but the manufacture of electronic computers is possible only with the production of electronic materials and parts and the acquisition of certain technical know-how. This is precisely what we mean when we say that the origin and development of science is determined by production.

However, confirming the decisive role of production in relation to science does not mean denying the reaction of science on production. In regard to the inter-relationship between theory and practice and between science and production, Marxism holds that production and practice, generally speaking, show themselves playing the principal and decisive role; whoever refuses to admit this is not a materialist. However, under given conditions, science and theory in turn can show themselves playing the principal and decisive role; whoever fails to acknowledge this is not a dialectical materialist.

Chairman Mao pointed out: "Generally speaking, our theory cannot as yet keep pace with our revolutionary practice, let alone lead the way as it should." (*Rectify the Party's Style of Work*.) Here, Chairman Mao was talking about social science, which is the crystallization of the knowledge of class struggle. People study social science in order to understand society, transform it and carry out social revolution. Revolutionary theory, therefore, must precede and provide guidance to revolutionary practice. Likewise, natural science is the crystallization of the knowledge of the struggle for production. People study natural science in order to understand and transform nature and carry out production of material things. Their rational knowledge of nature, therefore, must also precede and provide guidance to practice in production.

The progress of contemporary science and technology, too, fully proves this point. Since the beginning of the 20th century, the establishment of the theory of relativity and quantum mechanics has played a tremendous role in the development of modern physics and helped bring forth a series of new technologies. Research on nuclear fission in the 30s created a new source of energy. Research on high polymers in the 40s gave birth to a brand-new branch of materials industry which today makes itself felt in all aspects of production and human life. The development of electronic computers in the 50s has technically made feasible the complete automation of entire production processes.

After modern science began to use experimental methods, it became possible to know and examine the laws of nature through scientific experiment in addition to understanding the laws of nature in the practice of production and by direct observation. In scientific experiments, it is now possible to analyse, compare and bring together under controlled conditions the various factors involved in natural processes and production processes. It is now possible to create many special natural conditions, such as ultra-low temperatures of almost minus 273°C (close to absolute zero), ultra-high temperatures of tens of millions of degrees, high vacuums of 10^{-13} mm Hg., super-high pressures of several million atmospheres, and so on. There are now

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“GANG OF FOUR” — THE NATION’S SCOURGE

Plumping for Replacement of Natural Science by Philosophy

THE “gang of four” spread various fallacies in the scientific and technological field, advocating, among other things, the replacement of natural science by philosophy.

In line with the spirit of Chairman Mao’s and Premier Chou’s instructions, Professor Chou Pei-yuan, vice-chairman of the Peking University revolutionary committee, wrote an article in 1973 criticizing the erroneous tendency to divorce theory from practice, particularly the mistaken idea that “theory is useless.” It also expounded the importance of strengthening basic theoretical research in natural science. However, the “gang of four” immediately directed the publications under their control to launch a converging attack on this article. At a meeting held in September 1975, Comrade Hua Kuo-feng and other leading comrades of the Party Central Committee exposed the gang’s attacks as incorrect and refuted their fallacy of replacing natural science by philosophy. Filled with bitter hatred for this, the “gang of four” in 1976 organized newspapers and periodicals under their control to criticize the remark that “philosophy can’t replace natural science” as a “strange fallacy.” Yao Wen-yuan wrote a note in the margin of a document, saying “the so-called question that Marxism can’t replace natural science” “must be thoroughly made clear.” He also said to a bunch of hacks serving the “gang of four”: “The foundation for basic theory is Marxist philosophy and the most basic theory is Marxism. How can

there be theories in natural science without Marxist theory?” According to Yao Wen-yuan’s logic, there couldn’t be any theory in natural science in the world before the emergence of Marxist theory; only after Marxism had appeared were there theories in natural science. Did Yao Wen-yuan have the faintest inkling of history by putting forward such an absurd argument?

Natural science comes from the struggle for production and scientific experiment. According to historical records, the beginnings of natural science emerged several thousand years ago on the basis of man’s protracted struggle against nature. For instance, there were scientific treatises on agriculture, astronomy, mathematics, mechanics and the calendar in ancient Egypt and Greece as well as China. And big advances in natural science were made after the second half of the 15th century. How could Yao Wen-yuan write off at one stroke all the theories that evolved before the birth of Marxism?

In his three works, namely, *Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy*, *Anti-Duhring* and *Dialectics of Nature*, Engels explained that the birth of Marxist philosophy, that is, dialectical materialism, was inseparable from the development of the three great theories of the 19th century — the law of conservation and transformation of energy, Darwin’s theory of evolution and the cell theory. These three theories in natural science toppled the mechanical materialist conception of nature. They explained in various respects that things in the world of nature are not isolated from one another and immutable but are interrelated and constantly changing and developing. It was precisely these dialectical and scientific theories that laid the foundation,

in terms of knowledge in natural science, for the birth of Marxist philosophy.

Theory is based on practice, and it is precisely on the basis of the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment that the natural and social sciences have emerged. Philosophy is a generalization and summing-up of the social and natural sciences. Yao Wen-yuan, however, alleged that philosophy is the "basis" of natural science and even asked "how can there be theories in natural science without Marxist theory?" Thus, he completely turned upside down the history of human knowledge.

The emergence of Marxist philosophy indicated the correct direction for research in natural science as regards world outlook and methodology. Undoubtedly, while Marxist philosophy must be taken as the guide for natural science research, it cannot take the place of natural science. The relationship between philosophy and science is, in a sense, that between the universality and particularity of a contradiction. **"Unless we study the particularity of contradiction, we have no way of determining the particular essence of a thing which differentiates it from other things, no way of discovering the particular cause or particular basis for the movement or development of a thing."** (Mao Tsetung: *On Contradiction*.) The natural sciences deal with questions of nature and each branch of natural science studies its particular laws. The solution of a particular scientific problem cannot simply be drawn from the general principles of philosophy. Workers in the natural sciences must conduct experiments in a serious way and make deep-going theoretical analysis and discussion in order to constantly raise the level of their knowledge and gradually gain the initiative in transforming the objective world. But the "gang of four" smeared this absolutely correct opinion as "eclectic" and "opposed to dialectical materialism and historical materialism." This shows precisely how the "gang of four" sought to abolish research in natural science by advocating replacing scientific experiments with philosophical discussion. But the kind of philosophy which, as they claimed, could take the place

of natural science was not Marxist philosophy at all, but idealism and metaphysics.

Disrupting Relationship Between Teachers And Students

IN the winter of 1973, a fifth-grade pupil in a primary school in Peking had an argument with her form master. Disgruntled, she made some entries in her diary giving vent to her complaints. This was later criticized by the teacher. The relationship between the teacher and the pupil thus became somewhat strained.

It is not unusual that such things should happen in a school. But the "gang of four" chose to blow up this incident and make a big fuss of it.

After some careful retouching, two trusted followers of the "gang of four" dished out a sensational piece of legerdemain in the form of "A Letter From a Primary School Pupil and Excerpts From Her Diary" and published it in a newspaper together with an editor's note instigating the students to rise and criticize the so-called "absolute authority of a teacher." They claimed that this was "a big issue on the educational front at present," "a major issue in the struggle between the two classes and the two roads," "a question of orientation of whether to persist in restoring the old order or adhere to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line" and "a typical problem in the country today."

Marxists hold that the proletarian relationship between the teachers and students is one between comrades. The duty of the teachers is to educate the students in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and help them acquire knowledge. Teachers should care for and cherish their students and should, like comrades in the revolutionary ranks, educate and help those who have shortcomings in their ideology or study. Students, in turn, should respect their teachers and, under the latter's guidance, raise their level of ideological consciousness, study hard and master socialist cultural subjects. Should there be any defects in the teachers' work, they ought to give their



Pupils of a primary school in Shansi Province criticize the "gang of four."

criticisms in a comradely way and help the teachers do a good job.

The "absolute authority of a teacher" reflects the feudal relationship between the teachers and students. It has nothing in common with the revolutionary, comradely relationship between them. It hampers the revolution in education and impairs the unity between the teachers and students. Though it has been criticized during the Cultural Revolution, the influence of this traditional concept still lingers among certain teachers and sometimes manifests itself in their teaching. This, of course, is a matter of thinking and the style of work, which falls under the category of contradictions among the people themselves. It is therefore a question which should be solved by the method of criticism and self-criticism and through persuasion and education, and we must never resort to the method we adopt towards enemies.

In order to undermine the revolution in education, the "gang of four," in the name of criticizing the "absolute authority of a teacher," deliberately confused the two types of contradictions which are different in nature and exaggerated the shortcomings of the teachers to the maximum. The gang's aim was to realize its scheme of throwing the educational front and

the whole country into disorder so as to usurp Party and state leadership. They attacked the teachers as a "restorationist force" and even slandered the correct education given by the teachers and the necessary discipline required of the students as the "absolute authority of a teacher." At the same time, they lauded some extremely erroneous acts by the students against the teachers as "revolutionary actions." As a result, disorder ensued in some schools and anarchism was rampant. Necessary rules and regulations were brushed aside, desks and chairs and other public property were damaged, and the teachers could not teach, nor could the students study. Thus serious antagonism emerged between the teachers and students, and class enemies took the opportunity to instigate the youngsters to do evil things.

The "gang of four" gleefully praised all this. A woman follower of the gang babbled that the students' damaging of school property was a manifestation of their "resistance against the bourgeois intellectuals" and amounted to a kind of "punishment for the 'absolute authority of a teacher'" and a "revolutionary action" comparable to the damaging of machines in the 18th century by workers who feared unemployment.

The "gang of four's" perverse action evoked strong resentment from the workers, peasants and soldiers, the parents of the students and, in particular, the teachers and students at large. Out of concern for the proletarian revolution in education, three young cadres of the Inner Mongolian Production and Reclamation Units wrote a letter to that primary school pupil, pointing out that in her diary and letter she had "directed her attack against the wrong target." They said she should direct her attack at the revisionist line and not the teachers, that her argument with her form master was not a question of principle and could be solved through criticism and self-criticism. They also said that teachers and students should unite and work together to make the revolution in education a success. After receiving the letter, that pupil wrote a reply to the three young cadres, saying that she was still young and immature in thought and that she needed further help from them.

The three young cadres' letter, however, infuriated the "gang of four" and its close fol-

lutionary line, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist orientation. They swiftly restored their war-torn national economy and attained huge successes in socialist revolution and socialist construction through self-reliance and hard struggle.

Unfolding "the three revolutionary movements on ideology, technique and culture" in a deep-going way and bringing about a high tide in revolution and construction, the Korean people are striving for the realization of the long-term programme for developing the national economy and the five-point policy for transforming nature laid down by President Kim Il Sung. They are working hard to build their country into a prosperous and strong socialist state.

The Korean Workers' Party and Government have over the years maintained a correct principled stand and made a series of reasonable suggestions and proposals for realizing the independent and peaceful reunification of the fatherland. Last January, 18 political parties and social organizations at a joint meeting advanced a four-point proposal for national salvation which is entirely in line with the three principles of independence, peaceful reunification and great national unity and the spirit of the five-point programme on preventing national division and realizing the reunification of Korea — the principles and programme advanced by President Kim Il Sung. The proposal reflects the common aspiration of the entire Korean people and has the wide sympathy and support of the people throughout the world.

Korea's division is completely the result of aggression and interference by U.S. imperialism. Although 24 years have elapsed since the Korean armistice, U.S. troops are still remaining in south Korea, refusing to pull out completely. Under pressure from the people of the world including the American people and from international opinion, the U.S. Government has recently made some gestures of willingness to withdraw its ground forces together with nuclear weapons from south Korea within four to five years, but it wants to keep its massive air and naval forces there, continuing to interfere in and obstruct the Korean people's cause of independent and peaceful reunification. In a vain attempt to perpetuate a divided

Korea, the Pak Jung Hi clique, backed and manipulated by the United States, continues to doggedly pursue the policy of national division, wilfully trample underfoot the North-South Joint Statement, clamour about the so-called "southward threat from the north," step up "combat readiness," ruthlessly suppress the south Korean people and deliberately exacerbate tension on the Korean Peninsula. But the national aspiration of the Korean people for the reunification of their country will surely be realized. No force can stop it. The Chinese people resolutely support the Korean people's just cause for the independent and peaceful reunification of their fatherland. The issue of Korea's reunification should be solved by the Korean people themselves without any outside interference. The United States must withdraw from south Korea completely and immediately its ground, air and naval forces.

Taiwan Province is the sacred territory of the People's Republic of China. The people of Taiwan are our kith and kin. To liberate Taiwan is the internal affair of China in which no one has the right to interfere. The Chinese people are determined to liberate Taiwan to fulfil the great cause of the unification of their motherland. Any schemes for "two Chinas," "one China and one Taiwan," "one China, two governments," "the independence of Taiwan" are doomed to fail.

During the protracted revolutionary struggle, the two peoples of China and Korea have cemented with blood a great revolutionary friendship and militant solidarity. The friendship and solidarity personally forged and nurtured by the Chinese people's great leader Chairman Mao Tsetung and the Korean people's great leader President Kim Il Sung is based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. It is of great significance to the promotion of the socialist revolution and socialist construction of our two countries, and to the defeat of our common enemies. Holding high the great banner of Chairman Mao and under the leadership of the wise leader Chairman Hua, the Chinese people are determined to fight together with the Korean people for ever and build a more magnificent edifice of friendship between China and Korea.

(June 25)

Imperialism — Revolutionary People's Teacher by Negative Example

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

by Tien Tan

THE great leader and teacher Chairman Mao Tsetung told us many times that imperialism and all reactionaries are teachers by negative example for the revolutionary people. To educate the people to discern enemies, both positive and negative experiences and lessons are required. Education carried out in a positive way alone is not enough. Teachers by negative example play a special and important role in enhancing the political consciousness of the people. Some people who may for a time remain unconvinced by revolutionary teachings come to see the light through a teacher by negative example. Chairman Mao's thesis about teachers by negative example is a most penetrating scientific summary made by applying materialist dialectics in protracted revolutionary struggles. It is of great significance in guiding the Chinese revolution and the world revolution.

It is the consistent Marxist view that all things in the world have a dual nature. Bad things and poisonous weeds are of course evil, but, if properly handled, the bad can be turned into good and poisonous weeds can be made into manure. Imperialism and all reactionaries also have a dual nature. On the one hand, they are really most vicious and bring infinite misery to the people; on the other hand, they educate the people by negative example and arouse them, helping them constantly enhance their political consciousness, unity and morale.

In the early postwar years, U.S. imperialism, with its atomic bombs and enormous military and economic might, committed aggression everywhere in quest of world domination. When referring to U.S. imperialism in a talk with representatives of some Latin American Communist Parties on September 25, 1956, Chairman Mao pointed out: "It is a global

imperialism. It is a teacher by negative example to the people of all countries." (*Some Experiences in Our Party's History*.) It has been eloquently borne out by facts that U.S. imperialism is the common enemy of the people of the whole world and their best teacher by negative example. Wherever the tentacles of U.S. imperialism reached, the people experienced untold suffering from oppression and plunder, and at the same time waves of anti-U.S. struggles mounted. In the 1950s through the 60s, the people of the world, especially those of Asia, Africa and Latin America, rose in an upsurge of gigantic anti-U.S. struggles. This, to a great extent, should be attributed to U.S. imperialism, the teacher by negative example.

There were many changes in the world situation in the 1960s and 70s. The emergence of Soviet social-imperialism has provided the world's people with another excellent teacher by negative example. Like the other superpower, it has become their common enemy.

At first, a large number of people failed to see through the true features of the Soviet Union as social-imperialism, because it was waving the banners of "socialism" and "supporting national-liberation movements" and was, therefore, more crafty and deceptive than the other superpower. But the Soviet new tsars have served as "good teachers" by giving the people a series of vivid and practical lessons by negative example.

Soviet tanks rumbling into Prague completed the occupation of Czechoslovakia overnight. This gave people food for thought: How could a self-styled "socialist" power have carried out blatant armed intervention against a "fraternal country"? This was how the world public came to know the true nature of Soviet social-imperialism and how the struggle of the

people in Czechoslovakia and some other East European countries against the new tsars' domination began to surge steadily.

The Soviet Union not only made Egypt pay through the nose in its big arms deals, but also hindered and undermined, through military control, the Egyptian people's struggle to recover their lost territory. The Kremlin attempted to maintain a "no war, no peace" situation in the Middle East to facilitate its rivalry with the other superpower for hegemony in the region. This enabled the people of Egypt and the other third world countries to see through Moscow's trick of sham aid but real aggression and to realize that this so-called "natural ally" is in fact the third world's most dangerous and vicious foe. Subsequently, Egypt firmly abrogated the Egyptian-Soviet "treaty of friendship and co-operation," greatly deflating the arrogance of Soviet social-imperialism and heightening the morale of the world's people in the struggle against hegemonism.

At first, the African people were not fully acquainted with Soviet social-imperialism. But this "good teacher" presented himself in Africa, sending tanks and mercenaries to Angola and then instigating the mercenaries' armed invasion of Zaire. This led the African people to think: What is all this about? Isn't this letting the tiger in through the back door while repulsing the wolf at the front gate? Are the African people, who have driven the wolf out,

capable of repulsing the tiger? The Zairian people had a try, touching the backside of the tiger as the Egyptian people had done, and found it not so terrifying. Soviet social-imperialism turned out to be a paper tiger, vulnerable to attack, too, and you can win if you dare to fight it. Thus, the African people have heightened their vigilance against Soviet social-imperialism's expansion in the continent for world domination and gained more confidence in defeating this ferocious enemy.

The people of Europe, Japan, and the rest of the world should also "thank" this "good teacher" — the Soviet Union. Quite a number of honest people at the beginning were taken in by the Soviet-trumpeted "detente." But the daily growing military threat posed by the Soviet Union has gradually sobered them to the fact that "detente" is sheer fraud and that the danger of a new world war is in fact increasing. They have thus become aware that they must get prepared against Soviet aggression and war ventures and should never allow a repetition of Munich.

No one in the world today can replace Soviet social-imperialism in its role of teacher by negative example. It is continuing to mobilize the people of the whole world to unite against superpower hegemonism and Soviet social-imperialist aggression and threat.

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various research apparatuses which greatly magnify man's ability of understanding, such as high-energy accelerators, electron microscopes and radio astronomical telescopes; also available are research materials with specific properties, such as fast-multiplying organisms for the study of heredity. Thus scientific research is able to precede production, acquire more extensive and more intensive understanding of nature, reveal the laws of nature and open up new fields in production. Many modern industrial production processes were first studied and prepared in laboratories.

China's experience in socialist construction demonstrates further the importance of having

scientific research precede and provide guidance for production. For instance, some foreigners once pronounced China as "oil poor." Our geological workers, however, after many years of scientific practice broke with foreign formulations and concluded that our country has favourable geological conditions for oil genesis and accumulation. Beginning in 1955, large-scale geological prospecting and research work was carried out on the Sungliao plain in northeast China and ultimately oil was found in 1959. Since then, oilfields have also been discovered in north China and elsewhere. The geomechanics theory advanced by the late Chinese geologist Li Ssu-kuang and his neocathaysian system theory provided guidance for locating oilfields.

Superpowers' Economic Expansion In India

by Chi Shih-ya

SOVIET-U.S. rivalry in India is a component part of their contention for global hegemony. They are now engaged in economic expansion there, stepping up their economic control and plunder of the country.

(I)

In the early years of India's independence, Britain occupied first place in foreign investments and trade there. Beginning in the 50s, U.S. influence infiltrated on a large scale. The United States gradually replaced Britain by the end of the 50s and the beginning of the 60s and became India's biggest "aid" supplier and trading partner. By 1975 U.S. economic "aid" to India totalled 10,300 million U.S. dollars, making up 37.1 per cent of the total foreign "aid" the latter received. U.S. private direct investments in India were 364 million U.S. dollars, accounting for about 18 per cent of the country's total foreign private investments. At the same time, there were close to 400 U.S.-Indian joint-stock companies in the country. All this shows that the expansion of U.S. economic power in India has been considerable.

The Soviet Union started penetrating into India in 1955 and quickened its pace in the mid-60s. By 1976, the Soviet Union provided India with approximately 2,000 million U.S. dollars in economic "aid," or 6.4 per cent of the total foreign "aid" the latter received. Thus, the Soviet Union ranked fifth among India's "aid" suppliers after the United States, the World Bank and the International Development Association, Britain and West Germany. Soviet-Indian trade expanded so rapidly that the Soviet Union became India's No. 1 trading partner by 1976, leaving Britain and the United States behind. At the same time, the Soviet Union held a safe lead in military "aid" to India by providing it with over 2,000 million

U.S. dollars, far greater than the U.S. figure of 340 million dollars.

(II)

Soviet and U.S. economic expansion in India exhibits the following features:

First, Soviet economic "aid" is concentrated on the state-owned heavy industry, namely, India's bureaucrat-capital. From 1955 to 1975, there were 90 Soviet "aid" projects, 55 of which are already in operation. In India's key industries, the enterprises built with Soviet "aid" produced 85 per cent of the country's heavy machinery, 60 per cent of its heavy electrical equipment, 30 per cent of the steel, 60 per cent of the crude oil output, 35 per cent of the petroleum products, 20 per cent of the electricity and 80 per cent of the metallurgical equipment.

The projects built with Soviet "aid" are in the main a number of eye-catching big heavy industrial enterprises. This is deceptive to a certain extent because it has created a false appearance of having helped India's industrialization.

The U.S. economic "aid" has infiltrated into every sector of the Indian economy and half of it was to dump farm products on the country under the American PL 480 provisions. By 1975, India had imported more than 65 million tons of U.S. food grain as authorized by the law. The rupees received by the United States from its grain sales in India have been used to build the U.S.-controlled counterpart fund. This huge fund is an important means by which Washington steps up its political, economic and cultural infiltration. The United States has also extended large sums in "aid" to the departments of transportation, electricity, oil, chemicals, mining and water conservancy in India, far exceeding those of the Soviet Union in these fields.

Second, apart from its economic "aid," the United States also has made huge private direct

investments in India and strongly supported its private monopoly capital through loans. U.S. power is fairly great in private enterprises. Inasmuch as Soviet economic expansion in India has been carried out under the signboard of "socialism," Soviet influence has in the main not infiltrated into this field.

Third, the Soviet Union predominates in military "aid" and the United States in economic "aid." The former provides about 5.7 times as much military "aid" as the latter does. The Soviet Union, therefore, has a certain amount of control over India's production of munitions and military supplies. India still depends on the Soviet Union to supply some of the weapons it needs, heavy and sophisticated ones in particular.

Fourth, the Soviet Union is greedier than the United States and other Western countries in exploiting India economically through the exchange of unequal values in trade. Soviet exports to India are priced 20 or 30 per cent higher on the average than price levels on the world market, while Soviet imports from the country are usually 20 or 30 per cent lower. In most of the last decade, India has maintained a favourable balance of trade with the Soviet Union. This trade surplus is a reflection of Soviet exploitation and plunder of India. This is because Soviet-Indian trade is conducted in terms of the rupee. Though India enjoys a trade surplus, it cannot get the convertible foreign exchange it needs and can only use its surplus to pay off its debts to the Soviet Union or pay for the shoddy, outdated Soviet commodities it is compelled to buy. The other reason is that under the pretext of "co-operation in production" and "oriented production," the Soviet Union has plundered large quantities of Indian raw materials and India is required to produce some commodities which Moscow needs, such as textiles, clothing, leather, shoes and stockings. As a result, Indian exports to the Soviet Union have increased, but the latter has been unable or reluctant to provide India with quantities of its badly needed commodities including food grain, fertilizer and oil.

(III)

Since the 60s, the Soviet Union has stepped up economic expansion in India. It has exerted

influence upon the Indian Government through its backing of Indian bureaucrat-capital. Since the Soviet emphasis on "aid" to heavy industry and in the military field dovetailed with the ambitions of the Indian big bourgeoisie to dominate South Asia, it gained the upper hand for a time in its contention with the United States in India.

However, in the first place, Soviet "aid" has made Indian economy more lopsided by overemphasis on the development of heavy industry. The more the "aid," the greater the contradiction, as indicated by serious overproduction in iron and steel and heavy machinery. India could not consume all the steel it produced last year — though total output was a mere six million tons — and about two million tons of rolled steel had to be exported.

Second, Soviet "aid" has intensified the contradictions between the Soviet Union and India's private consortia. It has weakened the monopoly position of the heavy industry consortium headed by Tata, which has close relations with the United States and Britain. Though the Soviet "aid" has enabled the Birla and other consortia which are interested mainly in light industry to profit enormously from the supply of equipment and the expansion of Soviet-Indian trade, the Soviet slashing of prices of Indian commodities in recent years has aroused resentment.

Third, because the Soviet Union did not provide big sums in economic "aid" to India and has practically provided no new loans since 1967, the arrears India owes the Soviet Union stand at only 510 million U.S. dollars. Furthermore, India is becoming less and less interested in the Soviet Union's outdated equipment and backward technology because of its own growing machinery production and rising technological level.

Fourth, the Soviet Union's plundering of India by pressure and trickery through "aid" and trade has gradually betrayed its own social-imperialist features. It has incurred widespread resentment among Indian people of all walks of life. As a result, the Soviet Union is confronted with more and more difficulties in its economic expansion in India.

The U.S.-Indian relationship turned cold after the Indian-Pakistan war in 1971 and U.S. "aid" to India was stopped for some time. But the United States still exerts strong influence both politically and economically in India, because its activities in the country have covered a long period of time, reached many quarters and struck deep roots. The Indian big bourgeoisie has innumerable ties with the monopoly capitalists of the United States, Britain and other countries. It depends greatly on the

United States and other Western countries for the capital, technology, equipment, raw materials and food grains it needs. This situation will persist; on the basic problem of food grain in particular, the United States will remain in a dominant position.

It seems certain that the rivalry in India between the two hegemonic powers will go on developing no matter what changes take place in India's economic relations with either power.

Another Instance of Maritime Hegemonism

— Why the U.S.S.R. announced a 200-mile fishing zone

IN its contention for maritime hegemony, the Soviet Union in recent years has obdurately opposed the 200-mile maritime rights proposal of the third world countries on the question of the law of the sea. However, at the end of last year it suddenly made public its "temporary measures" for fishing in the sea area up to 200 nautical miles around the coasts, which in reality was marking off a 200-mile fishing zone. It announced that they were to become effective on March 1 this year. What then is the reason for this Soviet switch in tactics on the question of 200-mile maritime rights?

To answer this question, let us briefly recall past events.

On the question of 200-mile maritime rights, the third world's opposition to hegemonism and Soviet-U.S. contention have all along been interwoven to make up a very complicated situation. At the First Sea Law Conference in 1958, the Soviet Union and the United States had sharp differences over the breadth of territorial seas, but to try and maintain maximum high seas in the interests of their maritime hegemony, the two disregarded the proposal of some

Latin American countries for 200-mile maritime rights and by manipulating the conference forced through a stipulation in the "Convention on the Territorial Sea and the Contiguous Zone" that the territorial sea and the contiguous zone must not exceed 12 nautical miles. Later the Soviet Union maligned countries which had announced 200-mile maritime rights as "undermining the freedom of the seas," as adopting "dark, medieval practices," "dividing the high seas," etc., in a strenuous effort to oppose and sabotage the third world countries' just struggle to safeguard their sovereignty and maritime resources.

With the growth of the third world's strength, a number of countries proclaimed a 200-mile territorial sea or patrimonial sea while many more proposed and supported the proposal for the establishment of 200-mile exclusive economic zones. At the 1974 Law of the Sea Conference in Caracas, the Soviet Union, seeing that more and more countries were for the 200-mile maritime rights, was forced by the fear of isolation to accept the 200-mile economic zone concept and recognize the coastal states'

sovereign rights over all natural resources in the economic zones. However, to emasculate the essentials of the "exclusive economic zone," it insisted that the economic zone was part of the high seas, and foreign countries could fish in the economic zone and take in that part of the allowable catch which exceeds the ability of the economic-zone state, and opposed the

right of coastal states to exclusive jurisdiction and jurisdiction over exclusive economic zones for safeguarding their natural resources and security. Furthermore, the Soviet Union tried to make a "package deal" in which it "recognized" economic zones in return for the third world countries' acceptance of its hegemonic propositions on other questions relating to the law of the sea.

For Your Reference

Soviet Fishery and Fishing Fleets

AT the beginning of the 1950s, the Soviet Union was an inland and coastal fishing country. Today, its catch is one of the world's biggest. According to statistics published by the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization, the Soviet fish catch was 5,099,900 tons in 1965, 7,252,200 tons in 1970 and it went up to 9,235,609 tons in 1974. Over 90 per cent of these catches were made in the offshore waters of other countries.

In the latter part of the 1950s through the 1960s, the Soviet Union imported a large number of fishing vessels and by the end of the 1960s it had set up four ocean-going fishing fleets. Today, it has more than 4,000 fishing vessels with a gross tonnage exceeding 6 million tons. These include 643 giant modern trawlers of 2,000 or more tons each. The rest of the world, on the other hand, has a total of only 259 such vessels. Of the world's 3.5 million tons of fish-processing ships, the Soviet Union takes up 3 million tons.

Relying on their huge fishing armada, the new tsars stretch out their tentacles to the Pacific, Atlantic and Indian Oceans, the Mediterranean and Black Seas and other bodies of water throughout the world. The coastal third world countries, particularly those of Africa, suffer most from this.

While trying to make "deals" with the third world, Moscow has attempted to line up some maritime powers to oppose the third world. It lavishly praised the U.S. bag of worn-out nonsense opposing the exclusive economic zone at the sea law conferences and talked reams about how the so-called "growing Soviet-U.S. co-operation on the world's seas will have a major influence on the general development of the world's law of the sea regime."

The United States in April last year also announced the establishment of a 200-mile fishing zone to protect its own interests in view of sharpened fishery contradictions with the Soviet Union and Japan. The European Economic Community and some countries soon followed suit. To get out of its passive and isolated position and at the same time to put itself in an advantageous position in fishery negotiations with other countries, the Soviet Union finally issued a decree for implementing a 200-mile fishing zone.

However, in issuing this decree, the Soviet Union had an axe to grind. The patrimonial seas or exclusive economic zones announced and proposed by the third world countries are not part of the high seas. The littoral states on these stretches of water exercise sovereign rights over biologic and non-biologic natural resources as well as jurisdiction over man-made islands, scientific research, prevention of pollution, etc. Directing its attacks on this stand of the third world, the Soviet Union claimed that its "temporary measures" "were unlike the economic zones arbitrarily marked off" by other countries and "did not affect freedom of the high seas" and maritime scientific research. The measures, it alleged, "were in complete keeping with already concluded agreements" and were to "oppose arbitrary and one-sided settlement of economic zones by some countries." It is obvious that the Soviet Union is endeavouring to impose its bag of tricks, which

in reality oppose the exclusive economic zones, as a model for other countries to follow.

When it announced its "temporary measures," the Soviet Union also declared that the "Soviet state boundary line" passes through the Kunashiri Strait (i.e., Nemuro Strait), and that it was also the line marking off the fishing zone, thus openly mapping Japan's four northern islands within its territory. The aim of this is clearly to blackmail Japan, the leading country fishing in Soviet offshore waters where Japan's hauls make up about one-sixth of its total catch. Since fishing in Soviet offshore waters plays an important role in the Japanese economy, the Soviet Union took advantage of this to try to force Japan to accept its "fishing-zone line"; this would be tantamount to Japan's recognition of Soviet sovereignty over its four northern islands. To plunder other countries' fishery resources, the Soviet Union insists on having the so-called right to catch "surplus fish" in their territorial waters while in fact it forbids others to fish in its own offshore waters. This is the out-and-out gangster logic of social-imperialism.

After the Soviet Union announced its 200-mile fishing zone, Gromyko also reiterated in a speech the Soviet Union's "outright opposition to dividing the high seas." This shows that the Soviet Union has not changed its hegemonic stand on the 200-mile maritime rights question. As it wants to be the overlord of the seas, the Soviet Union naturally opposes the third world countries setting up exclusive economic zones which could no longer be considered parts of the high seas and would obstruct Soviet access to the seas and undercut its wild ambition for hegemony over the oceans and seas.

The Soviet Union is making a big fuss over the question of the 200-mile maritime rights and interests in an attempt to foment discord between the coastal and the landlocked countries. It is also playing up the "sharp polar antagonisms" between the third world countries and the industrialized Western countries so as to fish in troubled waters.

Many third world countries today are waging a firm struggle against such Soviet plots. The Soviet Union will never succeed in its attempts to sow dissension among the third world countries.

(Continued from p. 5.)

the enemy's effort in his consolidation to resist our revolutionary assault.

"In accordance with Chairman Mao's postulates on the handling of the contradictions between the people and the enemy as distinct from those among the people themselves, Z.A.N.U. agreed with Z.A.P.U. to form the Patriotic Front. In doing so, we were clearly identifying our true enemy and constituting him and him alone as the target of our fire-power."

Speaking of their successes in mobilizing the masses and intensifying their struggle, General Secretary Mugabe said: "Today thousands of dedicated

young men and women fill our camps in their desire to acquire military training. Equally, in the vast operational areas where fighting forces are working amongst the population, we receive the broad support of the people. All of us are working towards the transformation of our war so we can create liberated areas, thus establishing revolutionary bases." The General Secretary concluded his speech with the slogan: "Long live the solidarity between the people of China and the people of Zimbabwe!"

Earlier, delegation leader Mugabe at another banquet in Peking described social-imperialist "aid" as having ulterior motives and aimed at dividing

spheres of influence and scrambling for hegemony and fostering proxies. He said: "The people of Zimbabwe are facing menace from both Western imperialism and social-imperialism, and the menace from social-imperialism, in particular, is more insidious and dangerous. However, the people of Zimbabwe are not to be intimidated; they are bold enough and ideologically prepared to deal with them."

Foreign Minister Huang Hua, Vice-Foreign Minister Ho Ying and President of the Chinese People's Association for Friendship With Foreign Countries Wang Ping-nan held talks with the delegation during its stay in Peking.

ROUND THE WORLD

U.S. COMMUNIST PARTY (M-L)

Founding Proclaimed

The Founding Congress of the Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) of the United States took place in a midwest town of the country on June 4-5.

The Congress discussed and approved the political report presented by the Organizing Committee for the Party, adopted the Party's Programme and Constitution, and elected its leadership. At the first meeting of the Central Committee of the Party, Michael Klonsky was elected Party Chairman and Eileen Klehr Vice-Chairman.

In the political report delivered on behalf of the Organizing Committee, Klonsky emphasized the necessity of arming the new Party's rank and file with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and spoke of the need of recognizing the fight against modern revisionism as a life-and-death battle which the Party must pursue consistently.

In the political report, he pointed out that at present the world and the United States are "full of turbulence and upheaval." "The whole imperialist system, Soviet social-imperialism included, is in a state of general decay."

The report says, "The present crisis is developing in the conditions of the sharpening inter-imperialist rivalry, especially between the two superpowers, for the division of markets and

spheres of influence." "The main enemies of the world's peoples are the two superpowers, the biggest exploiters and oppressors of humanity and the biggest sources of reaction and world war." "The U.S.S.R. has become the most dangerous of the two and the main source of a new world war."

The report notes that the main force in fighting imperialism is the vast mass of billions of people of the third world who "has become the most powerful ally of the proletariat."

On the internal situation, the report says: "While some upturns in production have taken place since the present phase of the crisis began around 1974, they have all been temporary and partial." At present, "massive unemployment is accompanied by tremendous inflation." "Consciousness is developing rapidly among a significant number of workers. The worsening conditions, especially in light of the new growing war danger, are propelling the active class fighters among the workers in a revolutionary direction," the report adds.

The Party's Programme unanimously adopted by the Congress embodies its basic line: Recognition of the overthrow of U.S. imperialism and the establishment of socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat as the strategic aim of the workers' struggle; affirming the leading role of the working class in the revolutionary

struggle and the need to build the closest alliance between the workers' movement and the movements of the oppressed nationalities; resolute opposition to both imperialist superpowers, the U.S. and the U.S.S.R., including exposure of the Soviet Union as a social-imperialist, social-fascist country, the most dangerous superpower; active support for the struggles of the third world countries and upholding Chairman Mao's concept of the "three worlds."

MALAYAN COMMUNIST PARTY Road of Seizing Power

June 20 was the 29th anniversary of the national-liberation war against Britain by the Malayan people. To mark the occasion, the "Voice of the Malayan Revolution" radio recently broadcast an editorial stressing the need to advance triumphantly along the road of using the countryside to encircle the cities and seizing power by armed force. The editorial said that the Malayan Communist Party and the revolutionary people have come to know full well from 29 years of protracted struggle that "this road completely conforms to the situation of our country and is the only correct path that every genuine revolutionary should take."

It noted: "The road of using the countryside to encircle the cities and seizing power by armed struggle means taking the armed struggle as the main form of struggle and the rural areas as the key point of work. Stress must be laid on arousing the farm workers, peasants and

other labouring people in the countryside, developing the people's armed forces and actively unfolding various forms of struggle to wipe out large numbers of enemy effectives. It is imperative to gradually build up a strong people's army with the energetic support of the people and in the course of incessant battles with the enemy, and to defeat the enemy with this army and seize power. But taking the armed struggle as the main form of struggle does not mean giving up other forms of struggle. On the contrary, without the co-ordination of other forms of struggle, armed struggle cannot win victory. Likewise, taking the countryside as the key point of work does not mean giving up the work in the cities. On the contrary, without the co-ordination of the work in the cities, the revolutionary bases and guerrilla areas in the countryside will be isolated and victory cannot be won in the armed struggle.

"Experience tells us that armed struggle should not be put on a par with other forms of struggle, and the work in the countryside with the work in the cities, nor the emphasis be reversed. Other forms of struggle and the work in the cities co-ordinate directly and indirectly with the armed struggle; they should and must be subordinated to the needs of the armed struggle."

It said in conclusion: Let us rally closely round the Party Central Committee headed by Comrade Chin Peng, raise still higher the great red banner of armed struggle and advance along the road of using the countryside to encircle the cities

and seizing power by armed struggle.

AUSTRALIA

Strikes

In recent months Australian workers and other labouring people have been striking continuously against intensified exploitation by monopolies and multinationals and for job security, higher wages and better working conditions.

Among the strikers for pay increases are 32,000 construction workers who started a lightning strike on May 11 which spread to various departments. As their negotiations with the management broke down, they have taken further measures in their stoppage since May 26.

Workers in west Australia are persisting in their struggle against the exploitation by foreign mining multinationals. In the last three months, strikes of various magnitude have been held by the 10,000 workers in the iron ore industry.

The strikes also involved teachers, technicians and people in other professions. Following their strike in late April, the 1,000 air traffic controllers struck again on a national scale from May 7 to 13 for higher wages, a struggle they have persisted in over the past year and more.

Unemployed workers are organizing themselves to carry on various forms of struggle. Hundreds of them rallied and demonstrated in Melbourne in April. Among the demonstrators were aborigines, migrants, school-leavers and women, who carried placards demanding "Job for all" and "Work — not abuse."

The annual inflationary rate in the country soars above 13 per cent. While real wages have dropped 7 per cent in the past 16 months, the profits of the monopolists and multinationals went up 20 to 30 per cent, and in some cases of the multinationals, 100 to 200 per cent. On the other hand, unemployment is going from bad to worse, with the total number of jobless workers hitting 350,000, a record since the depression of the 1930s.

HELSINKI FOLLOW-UP

Preparatory Meeting Starts With a Brawl

The preparatory meeting of the Helsinki follow-up conference opened with a noisy quarrel in Belgrade on June 15. Representatives from 35 countries are bargaining over the date, agenda and other matters of procedure of the upcoming conference.

The Helsinki follow-up conference is to be held under the stipulation of the "Final Act" signed by the summit meeting of the Helsinki "European security conference" in 1975. Its task is to examine the implementation of the provisions of the "Final Act" and "exchange views" on the adoption of new measures and proposals for "improvement of security and development of co-operation in Europe."

The Soviet Union and the United States, however, are each trying to bring the conference into its own orbit to serve its own needs in the contention for European hegemony. The United States has shown keen interest in the "question on human rights" and the "free interflow of personnel and

ideology," stressing that the relevant contents in these fields defined in "basket three" of the conference's Final Act were "most important" and that the central topic of the conference was to examine the implementation of this "basket." The Kremlin, on the other hand, has put up stiff opposition to giving prominence to the "human rights issue" on the pretext that the meeting should review the "comprehensive implementation" of the Helsinki "Final Act." The Belgrade parley, it contended, must not become a place where some participants try to put others "in the dock." The "main task" of the follow-up is to take further steps "to decide on certain specific measures" on questions of "disarmament" and "economic co-operation."

This has aroused universal anxiety in the West over the prospects of the Helsinki follow-up. Western public opinion is that Moscow and Washington will embroil themselves in a long draw-out squabble, thus making any progress difficult at the Belgrade conference.

BREZHNEV VISITS PARIS

France Refuses to Drop New Strategy

During Brezhnev's three-day visit to Paris ending June 22, the Soviet Union and France signed a number of declarations and agreements on bilateral relations and on international "detente," but serious differences remain between them.

At the second round of their talks on June 21, both sides held a "tense discussion on the defence policy of France and its contributions to the

Atlantic Alliance." AFP reported that President Giscard d'Estaing gave Brezhnev a "retort in detail" on French policy. The French President refused to discontinue strengthening French ties with NATO and drop the new strategy calling for France to put troops on Allied soil in Germany in the event of war with the Soviet bloc.

During the talks, Brezhnev tried to lead France into the "disarmament" trap so as to weaken her capability to defend her own territory and Western Europe. "We would like to see France more active in the questions of disarmament," Brezhnev said. But the French President replied explicitly that France must have an independent defence system. "France's will to take part in the process of disarmament cannot be doubted," he told Brezhnev, "but the French Government cannot agree to go below the minimum level of security."

The four conditions raised by President Giscard d'Estaing in the course of the talks with reference to Brezhnev's much-vaunted "detente" included non-interference in other countries' internal affairs and respect of human rights and basic liberties.

The French people made it plain that Brezhnev was not welcomed. On June 18, the French Marxist-Leninist Communists, the Marxist-Leninist Revolutionary Communist Party of France and other organizations held demonstrations in Paris and other places. The demonstrators shouted: "Get out, representative of Russian social-imperialism!" "Brezhnev

prepares for war while talking about detente!" "Down with Soviet social-imperialism, the principal danger in Europe!"

SWITZERLAND

Soviet Spy Sentenced

Jean-Louis Jeanmaire, a spy for the Soviet Union, was sentenced to 18 years' imprisonment by a Lausanne military court on June 17 and expelled from the army.

Jeanmaire, former chief of the Swiss air protection corps and former member of the Swiss general staff, was arrested in August last year by the Swiss authorities. He had since 1962 provided Soviet Embassy with classified data on the Swiss defence system, including Swiss mobilization plans, general defence, militia organization, border areas, military leaders and political personages.

The Jeanmaire spy case has aroused strong reaction from Swiss Government officials and public opinion. *Solothurner Zeitung* said: "The affair demonstrates very clearly that despite the texts of the European security conference and other siren chants, 'the hand of Moscow' is continuing to grope and grasp wherever the Eastern bloc has a chance to get something."

"The Jeanmaire case may open the eyes of those people who do not like to see the menace which weighs upon us even after Helsinki," *Der Bund* of Berne wrote. Rudolf Gnaegi, chief of the federal military department, said that Jeanmaire makes us understand: "A potential adversary is always at work everywhere."

ON THE HOME FRONT

"The Rising Sun" — A Modern Play

THE RISING SUN, staged by Taching workers and their family members, depicts how a group of workers' wives at the Taching Oilfield help build a new-type mining area which combines industry with agriculture and town with country.

Chairman Hua saw and praised this drama during his inspection tour of Taching last April. Later, when it was staged in Peking, it was warmly welcomed by worker-peasant-soldier audiences and art and literary workers.

When the oilfield was being opened up in the early 60s, the Taching builders did not set up a "petroleum city" according to the practice of capitalist countries; instead they established many scattered residential areas known as "worker-peasant villages." Workers' wives are organized to engage in farm work, service trades or other jobs. The "worker-peasant villages" represent an initial step towards the goal of communism, that is, eliminating the differences between town and country and between worker and peasant. Their future is as bright as the rising sun.

The script, proposed by Premier Chou En-lai, was finished in the winter of 1965. It was written and directed by the late woman director Sun Wei-shih, an outstanding Communist and excellent artist. She and her whole family once settled down at the oilfield in order to write

this play. She poured her fervent love for Chairman Mao's line on art and literature into this last work of hers. Like many other revolutionary artists, she was cruelly persecuted by Chiang Ching and company and died at the age of 47 in October 1968.

In its 210 presentations in Taching, Peking and other places in the first year following its creation, *The Rising Sun* was praised by audiences as "true to life, thought-provoking and close to our hearts" with a strong artistic impact. After seeing it, Premier Chou, Comrade Yeh Chien-ying and other leading comrades of the central authorities recommended it highly. In striking contrast, Lin Piao, Chiang Ching and their like refused to see it because, as they nitpicked, the acting of oil workers and their family members "has no artistic value." Out of their hatred for Taching, the red banner in China's industry, Chiang Ching and her followers attempted to snuff out this drama just as what they had done with the feature film *Pioneers* and the documentary film *Song of Taching*, both of which deal with the opening up and building of the oilfield.

After the downfall of the "gang of four," it took the elated Taching people only seven days to rehearse and restage this six-act play.

The heroine Kuo Teh-ying is based on the true story of Hsueh Kuei-fang, wife of a driller, and other housewives with similar exemplary deeds as Hsueh's. Re-

sponding to the call of the oilfield's Party committee to reclaim wasteland in the early 60s when the oilfield was being opened up, Hsueh and four other housewives put up a tent on the vast grassland and built the first tract of farmland with spades. Their exploits have since been acclaimed as the spirit of "making revolution with five spades," now widely spread and praised not only in Taching but in other parts of the country.

Hsueh's exemplary deeds and her sincere help to other housewives in overcoming practical difficulties and solving ideological problems encouraged group after group of housewives to join her. Some of them broke with such traditional concepts as "marrying a man to ensure food and clothing" and took part in "making revolution"; others discarded the idea that women were not fit for the work of building a mining area and other erroneous ideas. Those with children to take care of and some southerners who were not accustomed to life in the north were well looked after, resulting in the enhancement of their enthusiasm for productive labour. They do farm work, engage in side-occupations, make bricks and put up houses and run nurseries, canteens, schools and clinics.

A series of contradictions and conflicts are woven into the theme of whether housewives should take part in productive labour or not. Through the successful portrayal of typical characters, the drama convincingly shows how housewives with their own hands build up "worker-peasant vil-

lages" and gives expression to the revolutionary spirit of liberated women.

Young woman Hsin Yu-hung first worked in a rural people's commune after graduation from middle school and later came to the oilfield, brimming with enthusiasm for building the mining area. However, her husband Li, a skilled worker, wants her to stay at home to do the housework, despite the fact that he himself is a labour activist. Thanks to the help given by the collective, Li changes his mind, while his wife becomes a mainstay in a housewives' labour contingent.

Lin Tsai-ying, wife of a driller, comes from a big city. Unaccustomed to the harsh conditions at the oilfield, she is reluctant to take part in manual labour at first. Through her study of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and with help from her comrades (including her husband), she raises her political consciousness and finally becomes an activist in building a new-type mining area.

Taching workers and their family members actively took part in the creation of the play. When the playwright finished her manuscript after going deep into life at the oilfield, she read it out to some workers and their family members who, in turn, recounted the course they had traversed and cited many moving episodes. This enabled the playwright to make the content of the play rich and colourful.

Iron Man Wang Chin-hsi, a driller who had made an outstanding contribution to opening up and building the oilfield,



A scene from Act VI: The first rich harvest in a worker-peasant village. Skilled worker Li (first from left), Hsin Yu-hung (first from right) and Lin Tsai-ying (second from right).

not only helped improve the script, but also helped choose the cast. One of them is driller Huang Yu-po who acts the part of the skilled worker Li. A model worker for years, Huang never went on the stage before. In 1966, Wang Chin-hsi encouraged him to act the part, saying: "A driller acting a driller, you're able to express to the full the character's real feeling. You can learn acting through acting. Didn't you learn drilling through drilling?" So Huang took part in rehearsals and did well on the stage.

The other workers and their family members taking part in presenting the play have a similar background. Most of their fathers came from destitute families. The mother of one actress was a serf of Tibetan origin in the old days when both of them had no chance at all of

entering a theatre. It is their sense of proletarian responsibility which brings these oil workers and farm labourers on to the stage to display their talents.

Fan Kuei-lin who plays the role of the heroine participated in reclaiming wasteland at the oilfield in the 60s, and is now a school teacher. She said: "All the events, characters and dialogue in the play are familiar to us. For us, everything is quite natural on stage. The acting reminds us of our life in the early days and is a briefing to the audience."

Alongside the staging of this modern play, Taching workers and their family members were also giving a performance of songs, dances and *chuyi* (story-telling and balladry) in Peking. The programme is selected from some 10,000 items

created and performed by Taching people in their spare time to greet the National Conference on Learning From Taching in Industry two months ago. It is precisely on the basis of popularization as such that the standards of China's proletarian art and literature are being gradually raised.

Wristwatch Industry

WRISTWATCHES of domestic make first appeared in department stores of many Chinese cities in 1959, ten years after the founding of New China.

The country started to set up its own watch industry in 1955. That year, the Tientsin Watch Factory, with a number of experienced watch repairmen as the backbone force, trial-produced the *Wuyi* (May First) brand wristwatch. Soon after, the Shanghai Watch Factory also turned out the *Tungfang-hung* (East Is Red) brand with simple equipment.

Today, watches are made not only in Peking, Tientsin and Shanghai; watch factories and shops producing watch components and parts have been set up in a number of other cities since the start of the Great Cultural Revolution in 1966. Thus an independent and fairly complete watch industry has taken shape.

Since 1973, a number of Tientsin-made *Haiou* (Sea-

gull) brand watches, Shanghai-made *Chunlei* (Budlet) and Peking-made *Shuangling* (Double Rhomb) have been exported and sold in the international market.

The change-over from importing watches to manufacturing them and even assigning some for export demonstrates what the Chinese people can accomplish in socialist construction by giving play to the spirit of independence and self-reliance.

This spirit has been displayed right from the start. Workers of a factory making parts were determined to process China-made jewels themselves. The difficulties were many, but in the end they designed and built a certain kind of drill together with a machine to work it. After a hundred experiments in high-precision drilling they succeeded in boring tiny holes in jewels; and a worker then could process 3,000 jewels a day. Later they devised an automatic laser device with which one worker can make 30,000 holes a day, reaching an advanced world level.

By and large, China's wristwatch industry is now supplied with components and parts made within the country.

In 1970, our workers scored another success in designing a type of wristwatch mechanism with a fine technical function and simple structure which lends itself to mass production.

This not only further standardizes the components and parts, but facilitates co-operation among the country's watch factories and makes for faster development of the watch industry.

New Scheme for the Yi Written Language

A DRAFT scheme to standardize the written language of the Yi people is being popularized in some areas of Szechuan Province, southwest China. Marxist-Leninist writings, documents and literary and art works translated in accordance with this scheme have been published in the Liangshan Yi Autonomous Prefecture* where the Yi people live in compact communities. Some films have been dubbed in the Yi language. The Yi language edition of *Liangshan Bao*, the autonomous prefecture's paper, is being issued on a trial basis. Preparations are under way for Yi language radio broadcasting and for drawing up teaching materials and reference books in the language.

The Yi people, a minority nationality with a population of several million living in southwest China, have used a syllabic written language for ages, but owing to the lack of

* China carries out a policy of regional autonomy in areas where minority nationalities live in compact communities. An autonomous prefecture is part of a province or an autonomous region and equivalent to a prefecture. It embraces a number of counties or autonomous counties.

scientific arrangement and standardization, there were many differences in their pronunciation, way of writing and usage in various localities.

Our Constitution stipulates: "All the nationalities have the freedom to use their own spoken and written languages." After the founding of New China, the Language Research Institute under the Chinese Academy of Sciences together with local governments worked out an alphabet phonetic plan on the basis of a thorough study and investigation of the Yi

language. Several years ago, the "gang of four" attacked the written languages of the minority nationalities as "useless" and tried to eliminate them. Having resisted the gang's interference, researchers in the Yi language, under the leadership of the Party committees at various levels and relying on the masses, have drawn up the draft scheme to standardize the Yi written language. It defines the basic dialect for the Yi language, standardizes the pronunciation and unifies the way of writing, thus overcoming the previous confusion.

According to this new scheme, the written language is identical with the spoken. Yi people who are illiterate generally can learn to read in a month. In the old society, only the slave-owners and those who engaged in necromancy were literate. Not all the Yi people have been "culturally emancipated" since liberation. Recently in the Liangshan Yi Autonomous Prefecture, the government has trained 30,000 people who, with a mastery of the new scheme to standardize the Yi written language, are prepared to wipe out illiteracy.

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