

PEKING REVIEW

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January 25, 1974

北
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報

**“Upside Down” Philosophy and
Capitalist Restoration**

**Protesting Espionage Activities of Soviet
Embassy Personnel in China**

**Saigon Authorities Invade China's Hsisha
Islands and Provoke Armed Conflicts**

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Protesting Espionage Activities of Soviet Embassy Personnel

Chinese Vice-Foreign Minister Yu Chan summoned Soviet Ambassador to China V.S. Tolstikov on the morning of January 19 and handed him a note of protest. The note lodged a strong protest with the Soviet Government against the espionage activities of personnel of the Soviet Embassy in China, and declared as personae non gratae First Secretary V.I. Marchenko and four others of the Soviet Embassy, who were to be expelled from China immediately. V.I. Marchenko and the four others left China that afternoon.

The note of Chinese Foreign Ministry said:

"First Secretary V.I. Marchenko of the Soviet Embassy in China and his wife, Third Secretary U.A. Semenov and his wife, and A.A. Kolosov, interpreter of the office of the Soviet military attache, engaged in espionage in China. On the evening of January 15, 1974 they made secret contact with Soviet-sent agent Li Hung-shu and another person in the outskirts of Peking, handing over and receiving intelligence, counter-revolutionary documents, radio transmitter and receiver, communication time-table, means of secret writing, forged border passes and other facilities and money for espionage activities, etc. They were caught on the spot by Chinese public security personnel and militiamen. With culprits and material evidence at hand, their crimes are conclusively established.

"It should be pointed out that over a long time some personnel of the Soviet Embassy in China, using various legal cloaks and abusing diplomatic privileges, have engaged in espionage in China under the direction of Soviet authorities, stealing secret intelligence and surreptitiously setting up counter-revolutionary organizations aimed at subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat in

China. Their criminal activities have been most frantic.

"The above-mentioned espionage activities of Soviet Embassy personnel are wholly incompatible with normal functions of diplomatic personnel, and they crudely trample upon generally accepted principles of international law and constitute serious violations of China's sovereignty. These facts show up the utter hypocrisy of the Soviet authorities' official claim that they want to normalize the relations between the Soviet Union and China.

Statement of the Chinese Ministry Of Foreign Affairs

Starting from January 15, 1974, the Saigon authorities in south Viet Nam brazenly sent naval and air forces to encroach on Yungle Islands of China's Hsisha Islands. They ordered their naval vessels to ram and damage a Chinese fishing boat and dispatched armed troops to forcibly occupy China's Kanchuan and Chinyin Islands. What is particularly grave, on January 19 Saigon forces made an armed attack on China's Chenhang Island and sent naval vessels and aircraft to subject it to barbarous shelling and bombing, killing and wounding a number of Chinese fishermen and militiamen. Moreover, Saigon naval vessels opened fire first on China's warships on patrol duty. Driven beyond the limits of forbearance, our naval units, fishermen and militiamen fought back heroically in self-defence, meting out due punishment to the invading enemy.

The Saigon authorities in south Viet Nam have long attempted to invade and occupy China's Hsisha and Nansha Islands. They not only illegally incorporated into their bounds more than ten islands of

"The Government of the People's Republic of China hereby lodges a strong protest with the Soviet Government against the espionage activities of personnel of the Soviet Embassy in China, and declares as personae non gratae V.I. Marchenko and his wife, U.A. Semenov and his wife and A.A. Kolosov, who are to be expelled from China immediately.

"The Chinese Government sternly warns the Soviet Government that it must stop forthwith its espionage activities in China. Otherwise, the Soviet Government must bear full responsibility for all the consequences arising therefrom."

China's Nansha Islands, including Nanwei and Taiping, but have now flagrantly carried out military provocations against China and seized China's territory by armed force. This is audacious to the extreme. The Chinese Government and people hereby express their utmost indignation at and strongly protest against this.

Concurrent with their armed intrusion into Chinese territory, the Saigon authorities, using the tactic of "the guilty party filing the suit first," fabricated the lie about China's "sudden challenge" to their alleged sovereignty over Hsisha Islands in an attempt to confuse public opinion and even asserted that Saigon had full "sovereignty" over Hsisha Islands and that none among the countries participating in the 1951 San Francisco Conference raised any objection to their claim of sovereignty. As is known to all, Hsisha as well as Nansha, Chungsha and Tungsha Islands have always been China's territory. This is an indisputable fact, and is maintained by all Chinese. Although some islands of Hsisha Islands were occupied for a time by France before

World War II and by Japan subsequently, after the war Hsisha Islands as well as other islands in the South China Sea were officially taken back by the then Chinese government. Moreover, as early as August 15, 1951, Foreign Minister Chou En-lai of the People's Republic of China solemnly pointed out in his "Statement on the U.S.-British Draft Peace Treaty with Japan and the San Francisco Conference" that "just like the entire Nansha Islands, Chungsha Islands and Tungsha Islands, Hsisha Islands and Nanwei Island have always been China's territory." The Chinese Government has since reiterated this position on many occasions. All pretexts used by the Saigon authorities in their attempt to seize China's territory are wholly untenable.

China is a socialist country. We never occupy other countries' territory, nor shall we tolerate occupation of our territory by other countries. In order to safeguard China's territorial integrity and sovereignty, the Chinese Government and people have the right to take all necessary actions of self-defence. The personnel of the other side whom we have captured in the fight of self-defence will be repatriated at an appropriate time. The Saigon authorities must immediately stop all their military provocations against China and their illegal activities of invasion and occupation of China's territory. Otherwise, they must take all the consequences arising therefrom.

(January 20)

Saigon Authorities Invade China's Hsisha Islands and Provoke Armed Conflicts

Since January 15, the Saigon authorities in south Viet Nam have brazenly sent warships and airplanes to intrude into China's territorial waters and air space around and over the Hsisha Islands, forcibly occupy Chinese islands and open fire on Chinese fishermen engaged in production and Chinese naval vessels on normal patrol duty. They have thus flagrantly infringed on China's territorial integrity and sovereignty and made frantic provocations against the Chinese people.

Around 1:00 p.m. on January 15, warships sent by the Saigon authorities carried out harassment and sabotage against Chinese fishing boat No. 402 which was engaged in production near Kanchuan Island, shelled the island flying the national flag of the People's Republic of China and unreasonably tried to make the Chinese fishing vessel leave China's own waters.

Around 8:00 a.m. on January 17, troops of the Saigon authorities invaded China's Chinyin Island; at 3:00 p.m., they occupied China's Kanchuan Island and blatantly took down China's national flag there.

On the afternoon of January 18, two naval vessels of the Saigon authorities truculently and unreasonably rammed Chinese fishing boats No. 402 and No. 407, and wrecked the pilothouse of the No. 407 fishing boat north of the Lingyangchiao Reef.

Later, the Saigon authorities continued their provocations with redoubled efforts, ignoring the Chinese side's repeated warnings. Around 7:00 a.m. on January 19, troops of the Saigon authorities attempted to occupy China's Chenhang Island. Chinese fishermen on the island waged a righteous struggle by reasoning with them and demanded that they leave China's territory. However, the troops fired on the Chinese fishermen, killing and wounding a number of them. Driven beyond the limits of forbearance, the Chinese fishermen fought back heroically and repelled their attack. At 10:20, naval vessels of the Saigon authorities opened fire on Chenhang Island. At 10:30, four airplanes of the Saigon authorities bombed and strafed the island. At the same time, naval vessels of the Saigon authorities fired at Chinese patrol vessels which were forced to strike back in self-defence.

For a long time, the Saigon authorities in south Viet Nam have harboured territorial designs on China's islands in the South China Sea and illegally occupied some islands of China's Nansha and Hsisha Islands. Last September, they brazenly announced the incorporation of more than ten islands of China's Nansha Islands, including Nanwei and Taiping, into their bounds. The spokes-

man of the Chinese Foreign Ministry issued a statement on January 11 this year sternly condemning the Saigon authorities' wanton infringement on China's territorial integrity and sovereignty and reiterating that China has indisputable sovereignty over the Nansha, Hsisha, Chungsha and Tungsha Islands. However, in spite of the Chinese Government's repeated warnings, they sent armed forces to further encroach upon China's territory and provoke armed conflicts. Such unscrupulous provocations by the Saigon authorities have aroused the strong indignation of the Chinese people. The Chinese people are determined to defend their territorial integrity and sovereignty. Should the Saigon authorities be bent on acting wilfully and refuse to stop their encroachments on China's territory immediately, they are bound to eat their own bitter fruit.

Chinese Military Delegation in Pakistan

At the invitation of General Tikka Khan, Chief of Staff of the Pakistan Army, the Chinese Military Goodwill Delegation, with Deputy Chief of the General Staff of the Chinese People's Liberation Army Chang Tsai-chien as the leader and Deputy Commander of the P.L.A. Air Force Tsao Li-huai as the deputy leader, made a 12-day friendly visit to Pakistan from January 6 to 17.

The delegation received an extremely warm welcome during its stay in the country.

Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto received the delegation and gave a banquet in its honour on January 12.

In his speech at the banquet, Prime Minister Bhutto said: The friendship between Pakistan and China has stood the test of time and is higher than the Karakoram and deeper than the ocean. This friendship is in conformity with their policies for the establishment of peace in the world, particularly in Asia. The relationship between the armed forces of Pakistan and China has grown and it will grow further with the passage of time to contribute to peace in the region.

(Continued on p. 22.)

“Upside Down” Philosophy and Capitalist Restoration

— Criticizing Lin Piao’s bourgeois idealism

by Hsin Feng

THE Communist Party of China has gone through ten major struggles between the two lines in the last fifty years, each of them also a struggle between the two world outlooks and between the two lines in philosophy. Ideologically, all chieftains of the opportunist lines invariably based their erroneous lines and policies on bourgeois idealism in opposing Chairman Mao’s Marxist-Leninist line. This was so with Chen Tu-hsiu, Wang Ming and Liu Shao-chi as well as with Lin Piao. Since the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution began, Chairman Mao has led the whole Party, army and people in first smashing the Liu Shao-chi renegade clique and then the Lin Piao anti-Party clique and in criticizing their revisionist lines and bourgeois idealism. This was a great victory for Chairman Mao’s proletarian revolutionary line and for dialectical and historical materialism.

Knowledge Is Not Endowed by Nature

Without exception, idealism of all descriptions reverses the relations between consciousness and matter and between knowledge and practice. Marx and Engels time and again exposed religion and idealism as “an inverted world consciousness” and a philosophy which “turns everything upside down.” What the bourgeois careerist and conspirator Lin Piao consistently adhered to was exactly this kind of reactionary philosophy. While completely denying that knowledge is the reflection in the mind of the external world and that it comes from social practice, Lin Piao advertised wherever and whenever he could that a person was born with “natural ability” and “special endowments” or was born “a genius” and alleged that knowledge and talent were “innate in the womb.” This idealist apriorism constituted the core of Lin Piao’s bourgeois world outlook and the theoretical programme of his anti-Party activities.

Knowledge or talent is not *a priori* but *a posteriori*. This is a question which was solved long ago in the struggle between Marxism and idealism of all descriptions. In his *Theses on Feuerbach* written more than a century ago, Marx for the first time introduced “**revolutionary practice**” into the theory of knowledge and set forth the fundamental principles for the dynamic and revolutionary theory of reflection. Pinpointing the idealist theory of “genius” which then had been prevalent for some time, Marx said that spreading such a reactionary fallacy was aimed at making people knuckle under “born worthies and sages.” In opposing revision-

ism in the field of philosophy, Lenin also time and again made it clear that sensations and ideas are only reflections of the external world while stressing that “**the standpoint of life, of practice, should be first and fundamental in the theory of knowledge.**” (*Materialism and Empirio-Criticism.*)

Upholding the principles of the materialist theory of reflection, Lenin scientifically explained where a proletarian revolutionary’s talent came from and how it developed. Speaking of Y.M. Sverdlov, for instance, Lenin pointed out that “**his wonderful organizing talents developed in the course of long struggle**” and that he “**cultivated every one of his wonderful gifts as a great revolutionary who had passed through and experienced different epochs in the severest conditions of revolutionary activity.**” (*Speech in Memory of Y.M. Sverdlov.*)

In his struggle against opportunism and revisionism, Chairman Mao, with a view to exposing their mistakes from the viewpoint of the Marxist theory of knowledge, specifically wrote *On Practice, Where Do Correct Ideas Come From?* and other important works systematically criticizing the bourgeois idealism of Wang Ming, Liu Shao-chi and their like and profoundly expounding the Marxist viewpoint that “**they [correct ideas] come from social practice, and from it alone; they come from three kinds of social practice, the struggle for production, the class struggle and scientific experiment.**” Explaining why Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin could work out their theories, Chairman Mao put special emphasis on the fact that “**they personally took part in the practice of the class struggle and the scientific experimentation of their time**” and that lacking this condition “**no genius could have succeeded.**”

That correct ideas come only from social practice is a truth which has been proved by the history of mankind’s social practice—the history of the struggle for production, the history of class struggle and the history of the development of science. All the achievements gained by mankind in the struggle to transform the objective world result from our ideas being in conformity with the law of the objective external world. At a time when the materialist theory of reflection has increasingly become a powerful ideological weapon for the broad masses of the people to transform society and nature, Lin Piao, however, went out of his way to trumpet idealist apriorism and oppose dialectical materialism. This only served to reveal him as a shameless

renegade to Marxism and a sworn enemy of the proletariat and other revolutionary people.

The Process Leading From the Subjective To the Objective Is No Use in Doing Things

Knowledge of objective things is invariably arrived at after many repetitions of the process leading from matter to consciousness and then back to matter, that is, leading from practice to knowledge and then back to practice. This is the law governing the development of knowledge. The idealist apriorism propagated by Lin Piao, however, ran counter to this law and stood the relationship between the subjective and the objective on its head. He babbled: "So far as the process of forming ideas is concerned, it is one leading from the objective to the subjective, from reality to ideas. But as regards the process of doing things, it is just the other way round—a process leading from the subjective to the objective, from ideas to reality." Bravo! What is wonderful here is "the other way round." Of his own accord, Lin Piao confessed to the idealist essence of his bourgeois world outlook.

Whether, in doing things, it is a process leading from the objective to the subjective or "from the subjective to the objective" marks the basic difference between the materialist and the idealist lines in cognition—two lines which are diametrically opposed to each other. Chairman Mao has pointed out: "The most fundamental method of work which all Communists must firmly bear in mind is to determine our working policies according to actual conditions. When we study the causes of the mistakes we have made, we find that they all arose because we departed from the actual situation at a given time and place and were subjective in our working policies." (*Speech at a Conference of Cadres in the Shansi-Suiyuan Liberated Area.*) In these words, he makes it clear that, in doing things, we must never go "from the subjective to the objective" but must uphold the materialist line of going from the objective to the subjective. "The process of doing things" is closely linked with "the process of forming ideas." Before doing something, we must have an idea or plan in mind, and if this idea or plan is to be relatively correct, it can only come from practice and the masses instead of being conjured up subjectively. Whether this idea or plan conforms with the objective reality must be tested in practice by the masses. This is why in the course of doing things knowledge and practice, knowing and transforming the world are interdependent and interpenetrating. Does a worker not become skilled only after acquainting himself with the performance of machines in the course of using them? Does a peasant not gradually learn how to grow crops in the course of farming? The same is true of making revolution. No one has made revolution after learning it first; instead, a person learns it in the course of making revolution. The world can only be known in the process of transforming it. What we must strive to achieve in this process is to continuously bring the subjective into correspondence with the objective and ideas with reality on the basis of practice, there-

by attaining the aim of correctly transforming the objective world. We must never act "the other way round" or "turn things upside down" and make the subjective contravene the objective and ideas divorced from reality.

By "turning things upside down," Lin Piao completely severed knowledge from practice and knowing the world from transforming it. Actually, he wanted to use his gang's reactionary bourgeois "subjective ideas" to check the advance of objective history. Lenin criticized Mach and Avenarius' solipsism characterized by the nonsense that the whole world is only one's idea. Doing things in the reverse order, one is bound to slip into the quagmire of reactionary solipsism. Objective reality is independent of man's will and objective laws cannot be violated. Anyone who wants to do things in the reverse order will never get off without due punishment.

Remoulding World Outlook Cannot Be Detached From Revolutionary Practice

Lin Piao also ranted that "if problems are to be solved, it is necessary to set off a revolution in the depth of one's soul." This is yet another manifestation of "upside down" philosophy. It inverted the relationship between remoulding the subjective world and transforming the objective world. Chairman Mao teaches us: "The working class remoulds the whole of society in class struggle and in the struggle against nature, and at the same time remoulds itself." (*On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People.*) Remoulding the subjective world means a struggle in our minds, a struggle waged by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and by Marxism against revisionism; it means the most radical rupture with all traditional ideas. Only by taking part in the three great revolutionary movements—class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment—and tempering himself in the great storms of mass struggles can a revolutionary constantly clear his mind of erroneous ideas and increase his cognitive ability. "Setting off a revolution in the depth of one's soul," like Liu Shao-chi's "self-cultivation," was also aimed at enticing people away from revolutionary practice and actual class struggle so as to turn them into tools for restoring capitalism.

Standing the fundamental question of the theory of knowledge on its head inevitably leads to turning the relationship between the masses of the people and individuals upside down and reversing the history of social development. This is because knowledge comes from practice and from the social practice of tens of millions of people. Without recognizing that practice decides knowledge, it is impossible to recognize the great role played by the masses of the people in making world history. Basing himself precisely on idealist apriorism, Lin Piao denied that the masses are the masters of history and that "the people, and the people alone, are the motive force in the making of world history." (Mao Tsetung, *On Coalition Government.*) Lin Piao slandered the "common people" as knowing only how to "make money" and "amass fortunes." In his

eyes, the masses of the people were no more than a "mob," utterly ignorant and unable to do anything about the development of history. In his eyes, the masses have no place whatsoever in the long course of historical development. What is even more absurd is that Lin Piao considered the history of thousands of years of class struggle as a history of "coups" by the exploiting classes. This is an outright distortion of the course of historical development.

It thus can be clearly seen that Lin Piao turned the major issues in philosophy upside down, thereby fully revealing his bourgeois idealist world outlook. Why did Lin Piao go in for "upside down" philosophy? The correct answer to this question can be obtained only by employing the Marxist class viewpoint and method of class analysis to find out which class interests Lin Piao represented and which class will and desire he expressed.

"Upside Down" Philosophy Is Designed to Restore Capitalism

Throughout history, all reactionary classes have gone in for "upside down" philosophy because they were all decadent and moribund social forces hostile to the people. Unreconciled to their doom, they moved against the tide of history and viewed all things in the world from an "inverted" world outlook, doing everything they could to cover up the true features of things. In the last several thousand years, all sorts of reactionary philosophical thought made their appearance to meet the needs of the reactionary classes for deceiving and numbing the people. While in power, the reactionary classes resorted to "upside down" philosophy in an effort to maintain their reactionary rule; when they were overthrown by the people, they still clung to it in a vain attempt to stage a counter-revolutionary comeback and regain their lost "paradise."

Lin Piao was a bourgeois careerist, conspirator and double-dealer. On his part there was a process of development and self-exposure, while on the part of the Party and the people there was also a process of getting to know him. Over a long period of time, Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee patiently tried to educate him and waged a serious struggle against him. However, this renegade invariably played double-faced tricks, putting up a false front to deceive the Party and the people and disguising himself in different ways to cover up his counter-revolutionary features.

Born in a landlord-bourgeois family, Lin Piao, whose bourgeois world outlook was not at all remoulded after he had sneaked into the revolutionary ranks, always sought to transform the Party and the world according to his "inverted" world outlook. Therefore, at important junctures of the revolution, he invariably committed Right opportunist errors.

As far back as in the 1920s when the struggle was being waged in the revolutionary base area of the Ching-kang Mountains, Lin Piao overestimated the enemy's strength while underestimating the people's strength, did not believe that a single spark could start

a prairie fire and was pessimistic about the future of the Chinese revolution. During the War of Resistance Against Japan (1937-45), he did his utmost to lavish praise on the strength of Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang, negated the people's forces led by our Party and worked overtime to peddle Wang Ming's Right capitulationist line. In 1948 when strategically decisive campaigns were being fought in the War of Liberation, afraid of the enemy and difficulties, he failed to see the imminent doom of the Chiang Kai-shek dynasty and did not dare to seize country-wide victory.

In the period of socialist revolution, class struggle has become more and more thoroughgoing and is aimed at the complete overthrow of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in place of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the triumph of socialism over capitalism. Under such circumstances, Lin Piao's bourgeois idealist world outlook was further exposed. Proceeding from his "inverted" world outlook, he not only sized up the situation in the reverse order, but looked at all things under socialism in the same manner.

At every important juncture of the socialist revolution, this double-dealer always pitted himself against the revolution, opposing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and socialism, opposing what the people supported and supporting what the people opposed, in a futile attempt to hold back the wheel of history. At the time when our Party was going to carry out the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicraft and capitalist industry and commerce, he tailed after Liu Shao-chi in making a fanfare about the "four freedoms" (meaning freedom to practise usury, hire labour, buy and sell land and engage in private enterprises) in a vain bid to develop capitalism. When our Party led the people throughout the nation in beating back the frenzied attacks of the bourgeois Rightists and winning great victories in the socialist revolution on the political and ideological fronts, he euphemistically attacked the dictatorship of the proletariat and took up the cudgels for the bourgeois Rightists. When our national economy met with temporary difficulties, he surreptitiously coordinated with Liu Shao-chi's activities of restoring capitalism by viciously attacking the Party and the dictatorship of the proletariat and opposing the socialist system.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution initiated and led personally by Chairman Mao has won great victories. But the class enemies will never act like "the butcher who lays down his knife and at once becomes a Buddha" simply because of the victory of the revolution. After the bourgeois headquarters with Liu Shao-chi as its ringleader had been smashed, Lin Piao took over its counter-revolutionary undertakings and vainly tried to negate the great victories of the Cultural Revolution, thus becoming the ringleader of another bourgeois headquarters. Out of his class instincts, he always thought that the people were good for nothing and his handful of counter-revolutionaries smart and mighty. So after the downfall of the Liu Shao-chi

renegade clique, he hastily jumped out and continued to engage in a life-and-death struggle against the proletariat. "Outline of Project '571,'" the plan for a counter-revolutionary armed coup worked out by Lin Piao and his gang, was precisely a product of his "upside down" philosophy and a concentrated expression of this reactionary philosophy. The criminal aim of their counter-revolutionary machinations was to usurp the supreme power of the Party and the state, fundamentally change the Party's basic line and policies for the historical period of socialism, turn the Marxist-Leninist Chinese Communist Party into a revisionist, fascist party, subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism. Inside China, they wanted to reinstate the landlord and capitalist classes, which our Party, army and people had overthrown with their own hands under the leadership of Chairman Mao, and to institute a feudal-comprador-fascist dictatorship. Internationally, they wanted to capitulate to Soviet revisionist social-imperialism and ally themselves with imperialism, revisionism and reaction to oppose China, communism and revolution. In a word, they wanted to turn back the wheel of history and pull our country under the dictatorship of the proletariat which was established more than two decades ago back to the dark old days.

Historical experience has proved that, in the inner-Party two-line struggle, which political line is to be supported and implemented is determined by world outlook. One who persists in the bourgeois idealist world outlook is bound to practise revisionism and capitalism. Lin Piao's "upside down" philosophy was a counter-revolutionary philosophy for restoring capitalism. And the revisionist line and the plan for a

counter-revolutionary armed coup he worked out in line with this reactionary philosophy were doomed to fail because they went against the law of social development and against the will and aspirations of our people. Lin Piao and the others in his anti-Party clique who represented the decadent and moribund forces were extremely isolated. For all their perverse actions, they could never go beyond the logic to "make trouble, fail, make trouble again, fail again . . . till their doom" (Mao Tsetung, *Cast Away Illusions, Prepare for Struggle*) and they eventually ended up in total ruination and self-destruction.

With Lin Piao done for, the revisionist line he pushed went bankrupt together with his bourgeois idealist world outlook. But the struggle has not ended. Throughout the entire historical period of socialism, there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle; the inner-Party two-line struggle reflecting these contradictions and the struggle between the proletarian and bourgeois world outlooks will exist for a long time to come. This is independent of man's will. It is therefore necessary to conscientiously study Marxist philosophy, distinguish between materialism and idealism and learn to use the dialectical and historical materialist viewpoints and methods to analyse and solve problems that come up in class struggle and the two-line struggle, so as to thoroughly get rid of revisionism in our world outlook. This remains an important fighting task of the Chinese people during the period of socialist revolution.

(Slightly abridged translation of an article in "Hongqi," No. 12, 1973. Subheads are ours.)

In Praise of the Proletarian Line in Army Building

— About the modern revolutionary Peking opera *Azalea Mountain*

THE Peking opera *Azalea Mountain* is a powerful work of art. It proclaims this truth: Only under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and advancing along Chairman Mao's proletarian line in army building can the spontaneous armed struggle of the Chinese peasants win final victory.

Azalea Mountain is the story of the growth of a south China peasant self-defence force in the spring of 1928.

This was a turning-point in the history of the Chinese revolution. Kuomintang-Communist co-operation in 1924 led to the great anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolution. Then in 1927, when the revolution was

victoriously developing, Chiang Kai-shek betrayed it and Chen Tu-hsiu in the Communist Party carried out a capitulationist line. The great revolution was thus defeated.

Under reactionary Kuomintang rule, large numbers of Communist Party members and other revolutionaries were massacred and the revolution was at a low ebb.

It was at this critical point that Chairman Mao launched the famous Autumn Harvest Uprising, formed China's first Workers' and Peasants' Revolutionary Army and led it to the Chingkang Mountains to set up a tiny area under Red political power — China's first rural revolutionary base — encircled by a White regime.

This armed independent regime of workers and peasants was the spark that set the prairie on fire. It blazed the path for the Chinese democratic revolution, with the countryside surrounding and finally capturing the cities. This was the road the Chinese revolution took, and after more than 20 years of arduous struggle it won nationwide victory.

Peasants Rise in Rebellion

In nine scenes, the opera begins with Lei Kang, the leader of a peasant self-defence force on Azalea Mountain, rejoining his brothers after escaping from an enemy prison. The self-defence force had risen up gun in hand under the impact of the Autumn Harvest Uprising. The three operations it had launched, however, ended in defeat with the loss of many fighters. Defeat taught them that "for the wild geese to fly far, they must have a leader." They had long wanted the leadership of the Communist Party. Then the news reached them that the enemy was going to execute a Communist the following morning. They decided to go into action and "carry off a Communist to lead our way."

The woman Communist whom Lei Kang and his peasant partisans rescued had proclaimed on the execution ground: "Only Marxism-Leninism can save China; the working people's saving star is the Chinese Communist Party!" She was Ko Hsiang whom the Party had sent from the Chingking Mountains to locate and establish contact with the armed peasants under Lei Kang. After being rescued, she was installed as the Party representative to the self-defence force.

The opera dwells briefly on the Party seeking Lei Kang and Lei Kang seeking the Party, but it accurately outlines the revolutionary situation at the time. It shows that after the defeat of the 1927 revolution in China, the Communists came to understand that "without armed struggle neither the proletariat, nor the people, nor the Communist Party would have any standing at all in China and it would be impossible for the revolution to triumph." If the Party was to lead the Chinese revolution to win victory, it must lead the peasants to take up armed revolutionary struggle. Ko Hsiang being sent by the Party to find Lei Kang was in accord with Chairman Mao's teaching. And Lei Kang's quest for Party guidance epitomized the earnest striving of the several hundred million peasants of China to shake off their yoke and win liberation under the leadership of the Communist Party.

Party Leadership

Ko Hsiang reached Azalea Mountain. How was the Party to lead this body of armed peasants? Why must the armed peasants accept Party leadership? Ko Hsiang and Lei Kang had their own interpretation. The former was well aware that the Party had sent her to transform this armed body of peasants in the image of the proletariat and lead it forward along Chairman Mao's line in



Ko Hsiang and Lei Kang.

army building. But Lei Kang thought that making revolution was simply "an eye for an eye" and Party leadership was meant merely to lead them to "redress wrongs and kill the enemy." Although he had inveterate hatred for the local tyrants and had in him all the fine qualities characteristic of the oppressed over the centuries — daring, a rebellious spirit and total dedication to the revolution — he was politically blinded by his narrow concept of revenge. He wanted revolution but did not really know the significance of revolution; he earnestly wanted the leadership of the Party but did not understand the Party's programme and line. Lei Kang's ignorance of the line did not mean there was no line in his actions. Without consciously following a correct line, he inevitably followed one or the other erroneous line. The deputy leader of the self-defence force had been a reactionary officer born of a rich family. He joined the armed peasants fighting landlords and local tyrants only after he had been bled white in a feud with a big landlord. He made use of Lei Kang's thirst for personal revenge to spread warlordism in the ranks of the self-defence force and to resist the leadership of the Party. He later became an enemy agent within the self-defence force.

Distinguish Friend From Foe

The "Shoulder-Pole Incident" shows the first clash over the question of line between Lei Kang and Ko Hsiang.

After its successful rescue operation the self-defence force was about to distribute captured property, kill the prisoners and confiscate the merchants' goods as it had always done. But the Party representative, on the first day of taking up her post, announced that according to Party policy: "All silver dollars go to the organization; part of the grain is reserved for army use; the rest of the grain, goods and clothing all goes to the local people." She pointed out: "We should educate prisoners and let them go. We must pay a fair price to the mer-

chants." When the partisans were about to beat up a hired hand who had been forced to push a wheel-barrow of rice for a local tyrant, Ko Hsiang was firmly against it. She seized the uplifted shoulder-pole. This action was maliciously distorted by the deputy leader to incite Lei Kang against Ko Hsiang. Puzzled and angry, Lei Kang, with eyes blazing and sword in hand, demanded of Ko Hsiang: "Are you a true Communist, or an imposter?"

Whom should the shoulder-pole be used against? This major question of right and wrong was what Ko Hsiang, the Party representative, must first of all help Lei Kang understand. Beating a peasant with the pole would inevitably lose the support of the masses for the peasants' self-defence force and in the end lead to its defeat. Ko Hsiang saw that in the issue of the shoulder-pole was the important question of the orientation of the peasants' armed force. She used this incident to carry out education on class and line among the members of the self-defence force. They recalled that, before taking up arms in rebellion, they had all been forced, like the hired hand, to work for local tyrants and undergo untold misery. Lei Kang himself had carried a local tyrant's sedan-chair for over a decade. Ko Hsiang made Lei Kang and the others understand this important question: "Who are our enemies? Who are our friends? This is a question of the first importance for the revolution." Imperialism, the Kuomintang reactionaries and the reactionary landlords and local tyrants were the implacable enemies of the revolution, whereas the masses of the working people, oppressed and exploited in different ways, "all hate the same enemy and all find life hard and rough going." They constituted the main forces of the revolution and should unite to smash the chains of the old world.

Marxist class analysis inexorably persuaded Lei Kang to see the truth. "All the poor are ground down

by landlords, who ride roughshod over the poor," he exclaimed. Torn between hatred and remorse, he picked up the shoulder-pole and flung it aside. This was followed by a moving scene. The hired hand who had just escaped a beating received, with tears in his eyes, a bundle of clothing and some silver that Ko Hsiang gave him on behalf of the peasant armed force. "Brothers! Give me a gun, let me join your force and fight," he cried out. The will to make revolution latent in the heart of this slave who had suffered from hunger and cold for years now burst forth—the result of Ko Hsiang's propagandizing and implementing the revolutionary line. Instead of calling the armed peasants warlords as he had done before, the hired hand came to an awakening and volunteered to join them. This was because of the fundamental change in the attitude of the peasants towards their working-class brothers.

How to Fight

Carrying out the correct line always involves repeated struggles between proletarian ideology and non-proletarian ideology. As a Communist sowing the seeds of revolution, Ko Hsiang's task was to guide the armed peasants to do things according to the line and policies of the Party at all times and gradually put this armed force on the correct Marxist-Leninist path politically, militarily, organizationally and ideologically.

The second half of the opera highlights the ideological clashes during military operations.

The armed "civil guards" of the reactionary landlords mounted an "encirclement and annihilation" operation against the armed revolutionary peasants.

Two opposing views on how to fight the enemy prevailed in the peasant self-defence force at the time when the enemy was big and strong while the peasants' force was small and weak. Ko Hsiang stood firmly for carrying out the Party's directive to move the armed peasant force from the mountain to wage guerrilla warfare, while Lei Kang wanted to charge forth and "die fighting, giving the enemy hell." The struggle between these two divergent views builds up to the climax of the opera.

The enemy captured Grandmother Tu, an old poor peasant of Azalea Mountain. Her son had taken up arms and rebelled together with Lei Kang; after he was killed, Lei Kang called her his mother. The enemy had her tied to a tree and faggots piled about her feet. They made it known to everyone that they would burn her alive, hoping by this to lure and trap Lei Kang and his force.

The situation on Azalea Mountain was tense and serious, but through it all Ko Hsiang the Party representative kept her head. She analysed the situation,



The hired hand (left) joins the peasant self-defence force.

tried hard to dissuade the impetuous Lei Kang, calmed the confused rank-and-file and at the same time comforted the old woman's grandson who was also a member of the peasant self-defence force. Ko Hsiang severely reprimanded the renegade deputy leader for his repeated provocations and cautioned her comrade-in-arms: "In a crisis we must not be muddy-headed. We must distinguish between right and wrong."

But Lei Kang, urged on by his love for the old peasant woman and egged on by the renegade deputy leader, brushed aside the protests of Ko Hsiang and charged out of the mountain. He fell into the hands of the waiting enemy.

Victory of the Correct Line

Ko Hsiang's rock-firm stance in the torrent of conflict stemmed from her deep-rooted proletarian class feelings and her broad vision as a Communist. Daughter of a mine worker, she was full of class hatred bred of long suffering. Her parents, two brothers and a younger sister had died at the hands of the mine owner. Her husband had been killed by soldiers of the local tyrant on his way with her to make contact with the armed peasants on Azalea Mountain. Her hatred for the enemy and her love for her class brothers were strong and full, and anger filled her heart on hearing of the capture of Grandmother Tu. But she refuses to let the self-defence force sweep down the mountain to fight it out with the enemy. As the old woman described her: "She takes the Party's instructions to heart, swallows her own grief and keeps the whole world in view." Ko Hsiang understood that the task of the people's army was not to fight for the sake of fighting or to seek personal revenge. Its task was to implement the Party's programme and line—eliminate exploitation and realize communism. The army must resolutely carry out the Party's directive. As the attacking enemy was superior in force, the armed peasants must bide their time before going over to the offensive to wipe out the enemy. The order was to carry out a planned strategic retreat so as to preserve their strength. To realize this the armed peasants must be made to see the overall situation and comply. They must not let concern for their own homes and relatives obstruct them.

Party representative Ko Hsiang's correct decision was based on this understanding and on her confidence in the Party's strength and the wisdom of the masses. The peasant partisans feigned a withdrawal from the mountain and succeeded in luring the main body of the enemy away to enable them to make a surprise attack on the lightly defended enemy position, rescue Grandmother Tu and Lei Kang and move safely to another location.

The victories won by following the Party's line helped Lei Kang mature. Leader of the peasants' armed force, he had once cried out in the stress and turmoil on Azalea Mountain: "Oh, why is it so hard to make revolution?" Lei Kang did not know at the time that if non-proletarian ideas in his head were not overcome and that if he

did not shift his stand rooted on hearth and home over to the stand of liberating the whole of mankind, for all his determination to make revolution he would always find it hard to work for the realization of the Party's programme and line. Motivated by his narrow concept of personal revenge, Lei Kang had been thrown into confusion when the directive from the higher Party leadership arrived for the armed peasants to move out of the mountain. When the enemy dangled a baited hook before him, he had recklessly charged down the mountain and invited loss to the revolution.

These lessons learnt at the cost of blood and the education given him by the Party representative helped Lei Kang acquire a higher political consciousness and turned him into a proletarian military commander who pledged: "I shall follow the Party, striving to be a Communist with broad vision, battling on to the end of my days." And he pledged to always follow the Communist Party and always follow Chairman Mao.

Revolutionary Seeds Strike Roots

One important factor in Ko Hsiang's success in carrying out the correct line was her ability to unite and educate the cadres and fighters and lead them to take the revolutionary path together. Through her, advanced proletarian fighters emerged in the peasant self-defence force and a Party organization was set up. The seeds of revolution she had brought with her from the Ching-kang Mountains to Azalea Mountain took root and grew. At critical moments these Communists played their role as a fighting bastion. It was they who discovered and countered the roving rebel band ideology, such as "go from place to place and live off the fat of the land," spread among the members of the self-defence force by the renegade deputy leader. When the traitor plotted to lead the self-defence force into the hands of the bandits, these Communists stoutly resisted. They demanded: "The army is commanded by the Party; what right have you to order a withdrawal?" When the renegade ordered the fighters to strip off their arm-bands and pull down the red flag, these Communists stepped forward to defend it. This scene forcefully demonstrates that all the plots of conspirators and careerists to destroy the people's army will fail when there is the resolute leadership of the Party and there are fighters loyal to the Party and the people.

Guided by the correct line for army building, the peasant self-defence force smashed the enemy's schemes, executed the renegade and wiped out the armed forces of the local tyrants. The armed peasants of Azalea Mountain were later incorporated into the Workers' and Peasants' Revolutionary Army and they marched triumphantly to the Ching-kang Mountains.

A Mirror of History

Azalea Mountain, the story of the maturing of Lei Kang and the development of his peasant self-defence force, is a vivid illustration of the way the Chinese Communist Party led the peasants' armed revolutionary force to victory. There is also this profound significance



The partisans rejoice to hear that they will be incorporated into the Workers' and Peasants' Revolutionary Army.

Chinese history. Although these peasant uprisings and peasant wars dealt a blow to the feudal regime of the time, and hence more or less furthered the growth of the social productive forces, they were invariably used by the landlords and the nobility as a lever for bringing about dynastic change and, therefore, ended in defeat. The basic reason for their failure was that in those days there were no new productive forces or new relations of production, and no proletariat arose, so there was neither correct leadership from a proletarian political party nor a correct line. And the fundamental reason why the armed peasants led by Lei Kang on Azalea Mountain did not repeat history's tragedies was that it had Party leadership in the person of Ko Hsiang and her firm implementation of Chairman Mao's

as sung by Ko Hsiang in Scene VIII:

*For generations slaves have fought for freedom,
Year after year their battle-drums have sounded,
But lacking a clear aim these rebels lost their bearings;
Countless heroes died in vain, cursing high heaven.*

This opera is a mirror of history. It is a microcosm of the hundreds of peasant uprisings and peasant wars, great and small, that erupted throughout 2,000 years of

line in army building.

"The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything." The history of the Chinese People's Liberation Army proves this truth. The fighting history of the peasant self-defence force of Azalea Mountain also bears out this truth. Herein lies the significance of the theme in the Peking opera *Azalea Mountain*.

Soviet Revisionists' Fascist Dictatorship

THE Soviet revisionist renegade clique, the new tsars, is sitting on a volcano. In recent years it has brazenly reinforced its fascist dictatorship in suppressing the people who have put up sustained and mounting resistance to the reactionary rule of Soviet revisionism. The Soviet Union today is by no means "stable" and "harmonious" as Brezhnev and his types describe it. It is filled with sharp class antagonisms, national contradictions and social upheavals.

Stepped-Up Persecution of the People

Striving to maintain its reactionary rule, the Brezhnev clique never stops clamouring for the alleged strengthening of "law and order." It raves that "it is a task of the whole country and whole party to strengthen their legal system and law and order,"

and that it is necessary to "strengthen the social order in all fields of life."

Since 1965, it has enforced many reactionary laws, ordinances and decisions aimed at stepping up persecution of the people. These include the "decision on measures for further strengthening the Soviet militia," the "ordinance on the administrative control of the militia organization over persons freed from prisons," the "decision on the education in socialist labour disciplines," the "law on additions and modifications of the principles of penal laws for the U.S.S.R. and the Soviet republics," the "principles of reform-through-labour legislation for the U.S.S.R. and the Soviet republics," the "regulation on preliminary commitment," the "decree on confiscation of fire-arms" and the "principles on the labour laws."

Under the "regulation on preliminary commitment" of July 1969, those to be persecuted can be detained and tried at will on the charge of being "suspects" and subjected to long-term commitment. If they show any sign of resistance, they are liable to be shackled and chained and forced into a straight jacket. They can even be shot. The attacks are particularly directed against "political offenders" who resist the dark rule of the Soviet revisionists and against revolutionary actions by the masses. The "law on additions and modifications of principles of penal laws for the U.S.S.R. and the Soviet republics," promulgated in July 1969, emphasizes the suppression of "extremely dangerous political offenders," "massive riots" and "murder of militiamen."

Since 1965, the Brezhnev clique has considerably amplified its fascist dictatorship machinery, setting up many new organizations and reinforcing the police and special agent departments. It has turned "the state security committee" under the direct control of the central committee of Soviet revisionist party into a large secret service with a nationwide network to enforce rigid supervision of the broad masses and cadres. Formed in 1966, "the ministry of social security" was two years later changed into "the ministry of the interior" and enlarged. In 1968, police power was also expanded, the number of police greatly increased and "professional security offices," "night-shift police stations" and "motorized police units" were set up. The most modern equipment for reconnaissance and suppression was introduced. In 1970, a judicial department previously abolished was re-established, the old courts were extended and new ones built. Since the "party and state control committee" was changed into the "people's control committee" in 1965, an extensive network for supervision has been formed from central organs to the grass-roots units.

In addition to new prisons, the Soviet revisionists have in the last few years set up many "labour camps" for the suppression of revolutionary people. These are divided into "ordinary," "intensified," "rigid discipline" and "special" camps. "Political offenders" are usually put into "rigid discipline camps" or "special camps." It is reported that there are over 1,000 "labour camps" with a total of more than a million "prisoners."

The Brezhnev clique also makes use of "mental hospitals" to torture those opposed to the dark rule of the Soviet revisionists. Those who show discontent with Soviet revisionist fascist rule and dare to rebel against it are arbitrarily declared "lunatics," "mentally disordered," "schizophrenic" and "mental patients" and thrown into "mental hospitals" controlled by the "state security committee" and the "ministry of the interior." One report says several thousand people are imprisoned in one "mental hospital" alone. The internees in these places are subjected to cruel beatings and forced to submit to drastic treatment, including

poisonous drugs, in an effort to make them change their political views. Some of them have been bodily and mentally injured and have become incurable wrecks.

The Soviet revisionist renegades have time and again dispatched police and military forces, including tanks and armoured units and paratroops, to carry out bloody suppression of the Soviet people who have risen in rebellion.

Rolling Waves of Resistance

Reactionary laws, however, cannot stop the people's rising discontent, while ruthless suppression only arouses stronger resistance. The Soviet people today are struggling in various ways against Soviet revisionist rule—resorting to slow-downs, strikes, protest meetings and demonstrations, forming underground revolutionary organizations, distributing leaflets, issuing appeals to carry out struggle and staging rebellions.

Angry waves of resistance have been rolling on in various parts of the country. The last few years saw Soviet workers struggling uninterruptedly against oppression and exploitation. News of this has time and again leaked out to the rest of the world despite the attempted complete blackout by the Brezhnev clique. Apart from the well-known large-scale mass struggle against repression in the city of Chimkent in 1967, thousands of workers in the Kharkov Tractor Plant staged a strike in November the same year. Since 1968, a number of revolutionary organizations in the Soviet Union have published articles and leaflets, calling on the Soviet working class and labouring people to rise and overthrow the rule of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique and re-establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. In May 1969, workers at the Kiev Hydro-Power Station held a demonstration. Thousands of workers in the city of Dnepropetrovsk downed tools and demonstrated in September 1972.

Struggles by national minorities against the Soviet revisionist great-Russian chauvinist policy have been more frequent in the last few years. Each one was on a larger scale and lasted longer than the one before. From the Ukraine to Central Asia, from the Baltic Coast to the mountainous areas of the Caucasus, these struggles broke out one after another in 1972. In Kaunas city in Lithuania, thousands took to the streets shouting the slogan "Give Lithuania freedom." They attacked the buildings of the municipal party committee and the police station, and fought military police and paratroopers. Seventeen veteran party members in Latvia sent long letters to people inside and outside the Soviet Union exposing the Soviet revisionists' betrayal of Marxism-Leninism and their policy of arbitrary assimilation of the national minorities. In Tallin, Estonia, demonstrations were held by college students. In Dnieprodzerzhinsk, the Ukraine, over 10,000 demonstrators attacked the regional Soviet party and government buildings and the "state security committee" building and tore up portraits of Brezhnev and

others. Protest actions were frequently reported from the Caucasus and Central Asia.

Soviet intellectuals also are deeply dissatisfied with the Brezhnev clique's fascist rule. Many have condemned in different ways the ruling clique for its rule of white terror and for its frantic arms expansion and war preparations. Young students in Moscow, Leningrad, Minsk and other cities constantly have taken part in protest activities in the last few years.

The broad masses of the Soviet people have frequently boycotted and opposed the Brezhnev clique's foreign policy of aggression and expansion. Some revolutionary organizations in the country have published articles and leaflets strongly condemning the anti-China crimes of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique. When the Soviet revisionist authorities occupied Czechoslovakia by military force in August 1968, demonstrations and protest meetings took place in Moscow, Leningrad, Kharkov, New Siberia and

other cities. When the Polish working class rose in the storm of revolution in December 1970, strikes in support broke out in Kaliningrad, Lvov, Byelorussia and other places.

The Dialectics of History

The Soviet revisionist bosses are very averse to be told that the world is in great disorder. They invariably describe the regime which they administer as tranquil and stable. However, disorder or "stability" is independent of the will of the Soviet revisionist chieftains. Where there is oppression and exploitation, there is opposition and struggle. The more rigid the oppression, the stronger the opposition; the longer the storm of struggle brews, the more violently will it erupt. This is the dialectics of history. The heroic struggles of the Soviet working class and national minorities will surely strike and shake the dark rule of the social-imperialists ever more violently.

Spectre That Makes Occupiers Tremble With Fear

by Chin Hai

ON January 16 five years ago, Jan Palach, a 21-year-old student of Charles University in Prague, burnt himself to death in the capital's Wenceslas Square in protest against the armed occupation of his country by the Soviet revisionists. Self-cremation is itself a passive act, but the suicide was after all an expression of the utmost indignation of the Czechoslovak people at being trampled underfoot and their strong protest against the Soviet revisionist occupiers.

In Prague, hundreds of thousands of people joined the funeral procession which turned out to be a demonstration against the new tsars of Soviet revisionism. Since then Palach has always been remembered by his people. Palach's grave at Olsany Cemetery in Prague had no plaque bearing his name, but almost every day flowers or candles are placed there to honour his memory.

The Czechoslovak people's mourning for him is a silent protest against the Soviet revisionist occupiers. The spectre of this Czechoslovak patriot now at rest gives the chieftains in the Kremlin sleepless nights.

The Soviet revisionist overlords were uneasy, and last August they ordered a wooden palisade which rose overnight around the grave. But the next day saw a steady stream of mourners pouring into the

cemetery. They laid wreaths at the foot of the palisade and then left in a sullen mood.

The die-hard occupiers never give up. Last October 26, it was reported, they had Palach's remains secretly dug up, cremated and the ashes taken away. One of the Soviet revisionist renegades' pet projects has been to dig up the grave and burn the remains of the dead, but when they had to do this again on another country's soil, shaking in their boots at an ordinary young patriot, it shows how they seem strong outwardly but are fragile inwardly.

The Czechoslovak people are furious at this despicable and cowardly act on the part of the Soviet revisionists. Jan Palach's grave has been demolished, but people keep streaming to the site to place their offerings on the mound there. A woman spelt out the initials J.P. with candles. Another mourner angrily said: "They have taken him away, but he is still here symbolically."

Soviet revisionists' tanks rumbled into Prague more than five years ago and all of Czechoslovakia was under occupation. They thought their tanks were all-conquering and these tanks would make a nation succumb to their rule. But they are completely wrong. The incident

of removing the remains of Jan Palach shows that tanks may roam the country but they can never crush the will of a people who aspire to freedom and independence.

The contradiction between the Soviet revisionist ruling clique and the Czechoslovak people is one between occupation and opposition to occupation, between enslavement and opposition to enslavement. The Czechoslovak people's struggle against aggression will never cease as long as the Soviet revisionist occupation troops remain in the country. Where there is oppression, there is resistance. This is an irrefutable truth. The Soviet revisionist "temporary" occupation of Czechoslovakia lie can no longer fool anyone. More than five years have passed, but how long will this "temporary stationing"

continue? The harsh reality is that once the Soviet revisionists have occupied a place by force, they will not easily give it up.

The Czechoslovak people who cherish independence and freedom have persevered in their just struggle against Soviet revisionist occupation. There will be no tranquillity in Czechoslovakia before the withdrawal of the Soviet revisionists' occupation troops. The flowers and candles at the grave of Jan Palach have been an inspiration and hope to the Czechoslovak people. The candlelight of national hatred will eventually enkindle a raging flame of resistance. The occupiers may have tanks, but truth is on the side of the people. Truth will win out and the occupiers are sure to lose.

Trouble Ahead for Japanese Economy

by Ching Jan

AFTER weathering its sixth postwar crisis (1970-71) in early 1972, Japan's economy rapidly entered a so-called "boom" period. However, numerous problems have now caused deep concern in Japanese economic circles over prospects in 1974.

The economy greatly developed in the postwar years. According to statistics by the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, the annual average growth rate of Japan's gross national product was 9.1 per cent in the 1950s and 11.3 per cent the following decade. Such a rate surpassed that of the United States, the Federal Republic of Germany, France, Britain and other countries.

Some people claimed this was an "economic miracle" "seen by historians for the first time" as they tried to use it as an example to embellish the decadent capitalist system. In reality, it was a lopsided growth for, although it grew rapidly, the economy had a very weak basis. Though capitalist economy, generally speaking, develops in a more or less lopsided manner, Japan's economy is more pronounced and serious in this respect. There are now some serious and difficult-to-solve problems confronting the economy which are caused by one-sided growth or very closely related to it.

Serious Agricultural Slump

Poor grain harvests in some countries and price increases of many farm products in recent years, particularly the U.S. restrictions on the export of soyabeans and other agricultural products last year, caused great

alarm in Japan. This difficulty, which might seem like a bolt from the blue, was in reality the inevitable result of Japan's economic policy over many years.

The one-sided growth of the economy is strikingly evident in the serious imbalance between the two big sectors — industry and agriculture. Industrial and mining output in 1970 already was 13.4 times that of the prewar level (1934-36). The rapid pace of Japan's industrial growth was obtained at the expense of agriculture. Beginning from 1960, the so-called policy of rapidly developing the economy and doubling the national product within ten years was carried out. The Basic Agriculture Law drawn up in 1961 for reforming the agricultural structure called for drawing 60 per cent of the peasants into the cities within a decade. The so-called rural industrialization plan in 1971 enabled industry to further take up large tracts of farmland and caused large numbers of peasants to leave the countryside. Statistics show that the number of people employed in agriculture (including forestry) fell from 14.54 million in 1960 to 7.05 million in 1972. Since 1969, Japan's farm output value either stagnated or dropped for three consecutive years. Total output value for 1971 was 4,330,700 million yen which was a 5.2 per cent drop compared with the previous year, despite a 32.1 per cent increase in the price index of agricultural products. From 10.2 per cent of the national earnings in 1960, agriculture's net output value fell to 5.5 per cent in 1970.

Except for some increase in rice production, in the more than 20 years since World War II, the country has

seen a big decline in production of many agricultural products such as wheat, barley, soyabeans and miscellaneous grains. For example, 1955 wheat output was 1.46 million tons, but by 1972 it had dropped to about 300,000 tons, less than one-tenth the amount needed by Japan for domestic consumption. Japan's rate of self-sufficiency in grain is the lowest of the major industrial countries. It is reported that this rate, if expressed in terms of grain prices, showed a drop from 90 per cent in 1960 to 74 per cent in 1972. Personnel in Japan's Agricultural and Forestry Ministry said that Japan is now only 62 per cent self-sufficient in nutritives. From 1956 to 1959, Japan only had to import 700-800 million U.S. dollars' worth of agricultural products, but in 1970 the amount had soared to 3,250 million dollars.

Japan has become more and more dependent on the United States for farm products. Under U.S. pressure in recent years, it has steadily expanded the sphere of free trade in agricultural products and carried out ahead of schedule the liberalization of agricultural imports for 61 agricultural products in 1971. When there was a surplus of agricultural products, the United States often complained that Japan had not bought enough of its farm products. But last summer when the United States saw that farm products were selling well on the international markets, it turned round and restricted exports of certain items. This brought about a shortage of soyabeans and other farm products in Japan, with food prices rocketing and people feeling very apprehensive.

Many capitalist countries experience the imbalance between the rapid growth of industry and a relatively backward agriculture. But in Japan this is much more serious than in some other countries. Take grain production in a few countries as an illustration. From 1960 to 1970, while the Federal Republic of Germany showed a 9.7 per cent increase, France 33.4 per cent and Britain 36.4 per cent, Japan had a 17.8 per cent drop (the decline was mainly in wheat, barley and miscellaneous grains). This was because the West European countries had made great efforts for many years to protect their own agriculture as well as that of the Common Market's whereas Japan had preferred to ensure the monopoly capitalists as much profit as possible from a very rapidly growing industry at the expense of agriculture.

Worsening Inflation

Rising prices and currency inflation are economic ills common to all capitalist countries and Japan is no exception. Indeed, it is afflicted even more seriously.

In the 1960s, the trend of rising prices in Japan heightened as the economy rapidly expanded. This was particularly so for prices of consumer goods, ending the situation where these prices for most years in the 1950s were relatively stable (prices rising not much in an ordinary year and showing a slight decline in years of an economic crisis). During the

6th postwar economic crisis (1970-71), prices continued to rise: consumer prices in 1970 rose 7.3 per cent over those in 1969 while wholesale prices went up 2.4 per cent; consumer prices in 1971 were 6.2 per cent more than in 1970 while wholesale prices dropped 0.8 per cent.

Japan's economy began picking up again from the crisis and the market showed a big price hike in 1972. This was especially so in the fourth quarter of 1972 when prices began to explode as never before and then continued shooting up in 1973. According to figures released by the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, by October 1973 Japan's consumer prices had risen at an annual rate of 14.4 per cent. In addition, wholesale prices, which had shown only slight increases for many years, soared steeply. According to official figures, the wholesale price index for June 1973 was 13.6 per cent more than in the same month of 1972. The rise in wholesale prices for foodstuffs, fibre products, timber, iron and steel, and other goods broke all postwar records. As for retail prices, they shot up even more shockingly, particularly for daily necessities. As compared with April 1972, the April 1973 prices in the Tokyo area for fish, glutinous rice, bread and beef rose more than 20 per cent; soyabeans 41.7 per cent; turnips, potatoes and cabbages more than 95 per cent; and a square yard of cotton cloth in March 1973 cost 52 per cent more than at the beginning of the year. The rising prices of commodities together with increasing transport costs on the state-owned railways and rent hikes have seriously menaced the labouring people in clothing, food, housing and travel.

Compared with other major capitalist countries, Japanese workers' wages have always been low, though the gap is gradually closing. At present, the situation is that the pay increases for many workers are not enough to offset the rises in prices.

The steep rises in prices are the result of the government's inflationary policies (issuing an excessive amount of currency, sharp expansion in financial investments, etc.). The price increases in recent years of raw materials and agricultural products in world markets are also a factor stimulating price rises in Japan. Since the spring of 1973, the Japanese Government has adopted a series of price measures, such as readjusting financial outlays, expanding imports, raising the official interest rate several times, etc., in an attempt to check rampant price rises of commodities for a time. But this was to no avail. Prices kept going up and up. In particular, the Arab oil-exporting countries' curtailment of Japan's oil supply and the increase in the price of crude oil after the October Middle East war last year were like pouring oil on fire for Japan's spiralling prices. Rising oil prices have pushed up production costs of nearly all industrial products. This coupled with large-scale speculation have recently accelerated without let-up the sharp increase in wholesale and retail prices. In November alone, wholesale prices went up 3.2 per cent. The rise in the retail prices of many commodities was 40 to 50 per cent

and even as much as 70 to 80 per cent in one jump. Early this year, the Japanese Government was therefore forced to make price stabilization the policy question of first priority.

Sharpening inflation, particularly skyrocketing wholesale prices, has aggravated the economic difficulties at home and will weaken the competitiveness of Japanese goods on international markets and adversely affect foreign trade. It is reported that in the six months from April to September last year, Japan's foreign trade showed an unfavourable balance of 1,067 million U.S. dollars, the first trade deficit Japan ever had in five years. Since last March, Japan's balance of payments had a deficit for seven months running. This also was something unheard of in the past few years. Of course, there are many factors (such as the influence of up-valuing the Japanese yen, the increase in the import of capital, the effect of policies to promote imports, etc.) leading to this state of affairs, but inflation is undoubtedly one of the main factors for Japan's unfavourable balance of payments.

Resources Problem Aggravating

With a lopsided growth of the economy, Japan's resources problem has grown acute.

Japan is poor in resources. Sharp industrial growth has made it more and more dependent on overseas raw materials. According to statistics, reliance on foreign sources for copper, aluminium, lead, zinc, nickel, iron ore, coal, petroleum, natural gas and uranium, ten major raw materials and fuels, was 71 per cent in 1960 and 90 per cent in 1970, with aluminium, nickel and uranium 100 per cent and petroleum 99.7 per cent. Mineral imports in 1970 were as much as 8,600 million U.S. dollars, 44 per cent of the country's total imports. Japan is the world's biggest importer of resources.

Many capitalist countries today face an energy problem. This is more serious for Japan. The curtailment of oil supplies to Japan by the Arab oil-exporting countries after the 1973 October Middle East war put the Japanese economy in a very difficult situation.

Lopsided development of the economy has caused big changes in both Japan's energy and industrial structures. As far back as the 1950s, Japan gradually cut down its coal production and replaced coal with cheap imported oil. Thus, oil has made up 73 per cent of the power resources. At the same time, the structure of the chemical industry also changed. After the 1960s, the petro-chemical industry replaced some other chemical industries and today its products make up about 35 per cent of the chemical industry's total output. Oil consumption went up drastically from a mere 3.7 million tons in 1955 to more than 240 million in 1972. As 80 per cent of Japan's oil imports comes from the Middle East, the Arab oil-exporting countries' cutting down oil supplies represents a drop of about 16 per cent in Japan's total oil imports. According to official Japanese estimates, during the latter half of fiscal 1973 (October 1973-March 1974) petroleum imports will drop 20 per

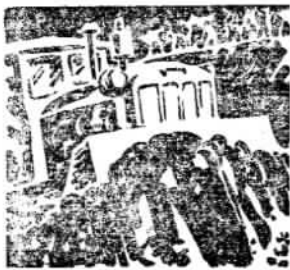
cent from 160 million kilolitres as planned to about 128 million kilolitres.

The drop in oil imports seriously affects all sectors of the national economy. After the Japanese Government on November 20, 1973 decided on a 10 per cent reduction in oil and electricity supplies to 12 industries, production in such industries as iron and steel, non-ferrous metal, petro-chemical, synthetic fibre, paper-making, cement and automobiles was expected to fall 10 to 30 per cent in December. Production in the machine-building industry will also go down. As the oil companies have cut supplies to shipping companies by 30 per cent, 40 per cent of Japan's ships will lie idle. On December 22, the Japanese Government declared a state of emergency throughout the country. Its newly established People's Livelihood Stabilization Emergency Counter-Measures Headquarters held its first meeting the same day and decided on a 20 per cent cut in oil and electricity consumption in industry from January 1 this year. It also stipulated strict control of bank loans, postponement of public investments, reduction of investments by private enterprises in capital construction and paring down of the scale of the 1974 fiscal budget so as to reduce the demand for materials. The Japanese Economic Planning Agency predicted on December 21 that as a result of the drop in oil imports, the gross national product in fiscal 1974 would only show a 2.5 per cent growth in real terms, the smallest in the last 20 years and even lower than that during any postwar economic crisis.

Besides causing a drop in industrial production and slowing down the national economy's growth rate, the reduction in oil imports will also bring a new change in Japan's industrial structure. Price rise in imported oil will have an adverse effect on Japan's foreign exchange reserves and balance of payments.

The oil crisis has already affected various phases of social life—the ban on the use of private automobiles on holidays, shortening business hours of restaurants, theatres and other recreational facilities, reducing the number of pages in newspapers, cutting down broadcasting hours for television and radio, etc. It has also brought on a chaotic state in which people hurry to withdraw bank deposits, prices on the stock market fall and there is a rush to buy daily necessities.

The above facts fully show that Japan's economy, which expanded at high speed in the postwar years, is on shaky grounds. In the past there was a very close link between the "high-speed growth" of the economy sought by Japanese monopoly capital and the "rich and cheap sources of energy" which were easily obtained. With the energy supply becoming a big problem today, the fundamental weakness of the abnormal development of Japan's economy is exposed. Many people in economic circles and the bourgeois press talk about Japan having to make a "reappraisal" of its present "oil-wasting economy" and "change" the industrial structure into an "energy-saving economy." Of course, this at present is nothing more than what they are trying to envisage.



Revolution and Development (IV)

Mass Line in Road Building

by Our Correspondent Chiang Shan-hao

CARAVANS of twenty, thirty or more pack-horses inching along a narrow path deep in the mountains with someone in front beating a gong to frighten away wild animals; making a bonfire at night in a clearing in the woods with men carrying loaded rifles ready against any possible raid by outlaws. . . . This was how caravans owned by big officials, big landlords and big merchants travelled in pre-liberated Yunnan Province. The chief means of transport in many parts of Yunnan in those days, they usually took days and even months to reach the destination.

Caravan transport was supposedly necessitated by Yunnan's complicated topographical conditions, 90 per cent of the land being mountainous areas through which the upper reaches of the famous Yangtze, Salween, Mekong and Red Rivers flow. The mountains are so high and the valleys so deep that a mountain-top and the bottom of a valley sometimes are 1,000 to 3,000 metres apart. This geographical feature is aptly described by a folk rhyme: "Up on the mountains you can reach for the clouds, down below lie the deep valleys. People may be within earshot on both sides of a valley, but it takes a half-day walk for them to meet."

But today, 24 years after liberation, Yunnan has nearly 40,000 kilometres of highways, stretching from Kunming, the capital city, to 127 counties and cities in the province. Each county town is again connected with the rural communes and production brigades by new roads. Yunnan also has a huge transport force of home-made lorries using fuel supplied by China's fast growing oil industry. Bus service goes from the provincial capital to every county town except two which are tucked away in rugged, snow-bound mountains. But the highways have been extended to these two towns, and bus service will soon be opened. Fares are cheap, as little as 0.028 yuan a kilometre, slightly more than the cost of a box of matches.

Main Stumbling-Block

The terrain is the same as before. Why, therefore, this world of difference between past and present? The answer can be found only by looking into the social and political causes.

Yunnan's highway construction began in 1921. The Kuomintang government levied heavy duties and taxes to "finance" road construction, but most of the money collected went into the pockets of the bureaucrats. By

1949, the year of liberation, there were only 2,783 kilometres of highways in all, the average annual extension being about 100 kilometres. Just what kind of roads were they? Veteran lorry drivers still can recall the Burma Road built with massive "U.S. aid" during World War II and the pontoon bridges supported by empty oil drums spanning the swift currents. Driving vehicles over these "bridges" was quite hazardous. The inferior quality of the roads and poor maintenance led to numerous accidents. On the road to neighbouring Kweichow Province, for instance, one section was popularly known as *tiao shih yen* (The Crag of Hanging Corpses) because so many people had been killed there. For once, the Kuomintang government took the matter into its hands by renaming it *tiao ssu yen* (The Crag of Hanging Silk) which was supposed to sound easier on the ear.

But poor communication was a blessing to some members of the local ruling class. Given official posts after having greased Kuomintang palms, they could do whatever they pleased in their secluded "kingdoms" where their word was law. The economy in many places at that time was more or less in a primitive state. Matches, for instance, had not replaced the flinty rock. People there still depended on the outside world for some commodities they could not do without, in which case it was a hen for a needle, or eight kilogrammes of rice for half a kilo of salt! Exploiters like the caravan owners made big money by such transactions.

Building roads was what the people had longed for. Another folk rhyme said: "We run our legs off going uphill and break our backs downhill. When will there be a road to walk on?" In the especially isolated outlying places inhabited by minority peoples, there were tales of "golden birds spanning a river" or "flying horses crossing the mountains." Having told such a tale in a starry night, a grandfather would say to the children: ". . . And by then, there will be plenty of salt of course, and you can have as much as you like." But the impoverished and unorganized working people were unable to build roads.

It was the revolution that finally swept away the biggest stumbling-block — reactionary rule. Having confiscated the bureaucrat-capitalist enterprises (the principal portion of old China's modern industry), the honest and incorruptible People's Government now had funds for construction. Large-scale road building in Yunnan got started in 1951. Villagers decorated kinsmen

taking part in the work with big, red flowers as if they were going to a battle-front, enjoining them to work hard in building "roads of happiness" and "highways of liberation." In the tens of thousands, an army of professional road-builders (workers whose wages were paid by the government) was set up by the department of communications under the provincial people's government. With the help of the peasants along the projected routes, construction got under way.

The Decisive Factor

People working in departments of communications under both the provincial authorities and the administration of the Szumao Region in southern Yunnan had much to tell me. Most impressive was the power of the mass line.

Progress at the start was rather slow due to lack of experience and the backward tools used: hoes to dig up mountains, shoulder-poles and baskets to carry away earth and wooden levers to pry rocks. One comrade recalled how a detachment of 2,000 people advanced only five kilometres in eight months because it had to break up a big tract of mountain slope on every metre of road built. In the circumstances, the foremost question for the leadership was whether they believed that the masses could do the job.

Following the Party's traditional mass line, the Party organizations which led the work were firmly convinced that it is people, not things, that are the decisive factor and that so long as the initiative and creativity of the masses are brought into full play difficulties can be overcome. Various forms of political work on the construction sites soon produced results. Discussions by the builders on the significance of their job in relation to the motherland and their own villages, canvassing opinions on how to speed up the work, nominating model workers by popular recommendation and giving publicity to their labour enthusiasm and their methods of working more efficiently . . . all inspired everyone to do still better. The end product was steady extension of highway mileage and a gradual rise in work efficiency.

Things today are quite different, both in equipment and technology. For the professional road-builders, shoulder-poles and baskets have given way to rubber-tyre carts, the number of bulldozers has increased and blasting in a fixed direction is being employed so that sometimes a hilltop can be levelled by a single detonation. Machinery and other equipment, however, are manned by human beings and lively political work still goes on at construction sites.



A new highway is open to traffic.

The recent construction of a section of the highway across snow-capped mountains was a very tough engineering project. The workers had to dig tunnels in sub-zero weather whereas inside the tunnels temperatures would rise to 40° C. because of the heat generated by the various machines. In spite of such handicaps, the project was completed ahead of time. So it is still people, not the high explosives, that are the decisive factor.

The next question is: How to encourage the masses' initiative and creativity? By inspiring them with the lofty political ideals of the proletariat and encouraging them to achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism, do away with backwardness in the border regions of the motherland and help minority peoples in the remote areas. . . . And also by criticizing and repudiating the revisionist line which is diametrically opposed to these ideals. At one time when there was interference from the revisionist line, some people distorted the socialist principle of "from each according to his ability and to each according to his work" and used material incentives to "promote" production. As a result, political work was neglected, and undue emphasis was placed on more pay for more work. The aftermath was soon felt: speed was over-stressed at the expense of quality, fewer people were willing to take on difficult and dangerous jobs and the spirit of team-work was considerably weakened.

Walking on Two Legs

Another important aspect of the mass line in road building was to mobilize the masses to build roads on their own along with road construction by professionals. This is known as "walking on two legs." After all, gov-

ernment funds are limited, as are the abilities of the professional road-builders.

Chairman Mao has said: "Does this mean that the government alone must take care of everyone and everything? Of course not. In many cases, they can be left to the care of the public organizations or of the masses directly — both are quite capable of devising many good ways of handling things." More than half the new highways in Yunnan were built by the masses themselves. The most common method adopted here was "letting local inhabitants do the job with government help." This means the people living along the projected routes build the roads while the government provides a little subsidy and the necessary technical guidance.

Early last year 10,000 Chingtung County peasants in the Szumao Region were mobilized to build a road in the 3,600-metre-high Wuliang Mountain area. A 189-kilometre highway was built in 100 days. For this project, not only the peasants who worked directly on it but the masses in all trades were mobilized to use their initiative. One comrade said: "It really was a wonderful sight. Myriads of torches, which from afar looked like clusters of stars in the sky, lighted up the mountain at night. The whole county showed its concern for the road-builders as barbers, seamstresses, post office and bank clerks, doctors and nurses all came to offer their services. Singers and dancers also arrived at the site to perform. Tractor-drivers readjusted their machines to serve as makeshift bulldozers to lend a hand."

The masses figured out many good ways of doing things. The most difficult part of the job was getting through on a high peak called the "Wall of Drifting Clouds." Seeing bats flying out of a precipice, some peasants knew there must be a cave somewhere in the vicinity. They risked their lives to negotiate the cliff and finally found a natural cave. They blasted away the "Wall of Drifting Clouds" and saved a lot of time by not having to drill a tunnel for the blasting.

As in road building, highway upkeep also relies on the masses. There is a professional force for the purpose, but when the situation calls for it, peasants living in the surrounding area turn up to help out. Safe driving is also ensured by the masses — the drivers with a high sense of responsibility. Most of Yunnan's highways wind up and down the mountains with numerous sharp turns and hairpin bends. Looking down from the car, one often sees deep valleys shrouded in clouds and mists. But traffic accidents are few. While I was in Yunnan, the Provincial Trade Unions Council called on all drivers and other transport workers to emulate Comrade Kan Teng-chu who, since he started driving a Chinese-made lorry in 1956, had not had a single mishap in 17 years, not even a scratch on the mudguards!

In his political report to the Tenth Party Congress, Comrade Chou En-lai said: "Marx pointed out that **'the greatest productive power is the revolutionary class itself.'** One basic experience from our socialist construc-

tion over more than two decades is to rely on the masses." The highway network in Yunnan is another graphic illustration of this thesis.

In a Mountain Hamlet

If this highway network can be likened to the blood vessels in the human body, then I had come to the terminal of a capillary — a group of mountain hamlets which had always been isolated from the rest of the region. These hamlets now make up the Panpu Production Brigade. Talking about the changes brought by the newly built highways, the secretary of the Party branch pointed to a walking-tractor and the heavy cables lying in the courtyard of the brigade's office (a power station was under construction nearby) and said: "If we didn't have the highways, we couldn't possibly get all those things up here."

A guest in a peasant household, I was offered some tea by an old lady. It came in a glass she had just bought. Her grandchild was in the room, fiddling with his Shanghai-made toy motor bike; the grandfather showed me the family photo in a frame on the wall and told me that his eldest grandson was in the army and had been to Peking. . . . All this seemed like nothing special, but it would have been inconceivable in the past. Before liberation, the roads were so rough, or to be precise, there wasn't really any road at all and the old lady had not been to Szumao Town only 20 kilometres away for two decades. At that time, the provincial capital Kunming seemed so far away it was like a place in a legend. And they had never heard of Peking or Shanghai. Gourds were used for drinking and at meals; as for motor bike toys, they were not even mentioned in the fairy tales.

The Party branch secretary took me to the marketing and supply co-operative which was well-stocked with everyday consumer goods. More expensive items were the transistor radios and sewing machines. A coloured poster issued by a Shanghai export and import corporation which buys animal hides and furs hung on the wall. Wild animals are plentiful in this area and skins are in abundance. But in the old days, prices were very low. And hare skins, for example, weren't even used. Today one such skin is sold for an amount of money that purchases some 200 needles, the same they would cost in any big city.

Progress in building up highways, railways, civil aviation and post and telecommunications has vastly broadened the horizons of the people. In Panpu, newspapers and journals published in Peking are easy to get, not to mention radio broadcasts. Educated by the Party, people here are interested in both state affairs and the popular struggles in other parts of the world. The Party branch secretary said: "We farm for our socialist motherland. When our country is stronger, she will be able to support the revolutionary cause of the world's people still better." This is the sentiment of the Panpu people who 24 years ago were separated from the rest of the world.

ROUND THE WORLD

BRITAIN

Coal Miners Continue Struggle

Some 270,000 British coal miners have persisted in their ban on overtime work for two months.

The ban began last November 12 when the authorities rejected the miners' demand for a 16 per cent or more wage increase to meet rising prices.

Wild inflation and fluctuations of international market prices have pushed prices of industrial raw materials up 44 per cent in the past year. Retail prices jumped 10.3 per cent in November as compared with the corresponding period of the previous year.

Food prices rose the sharpest. As compared with last January, eggs increased more than 100 per cent, flour 65.7 per cent, pork 15.4 per cent, and vegetables an average of 47.6 per cent in mid-November 1973.

Inflation and rising prices have aroused growing resentment among the broad masses of people. The first half of 1973 saw struggles launched by workers in many trades demanding higher wages. Among them were miners, dockers and engineering, railway and gas workers as well as low-paid staff personnel, school teachers and government employees. Apart from the boycott by 270,000 miners against overtime work since last November 12, 29,000 train drivers have been on a work-to-rule strike since December 12.

After the start of the ban on overtime work, the British Government three times announced a state of emergency throughout the country, each for a month, which gives the government wide-ranging authority, including rationing of coal and other goods and materials. It was also announced that power would be supplied only three days a week beginning January 1. This has led to a three-day work week.

According to officials of the department of employment, 6 million workers will lose their jobs and 15 million others have less income as a result of reduced workdays.

Both before and after the start of the ban, the British Government had several talks with the representatives of the coal miners but without results.

During the ban, coal miners have held rallies in Scotland, Yorkshire and other areas to express their determination to fight to the very end. Many British people have voiced their support for the struggle in writing to the miners.

ARAB COUNTRIES

U.S. Defence Secretary's Threat Of Force Denounced

Official and public opinion in a number of Arab and African countries has denounced U.S. Defence Secretary Schlesinger's threat of force against the Arab oil producing countries and pointed out that this can only strengthen the Arab people's persistent struggle to safeguard their state sovereignty and national rights. On January 7, Schlesinger threatened that the United States would use force against Arab countries if they carry their oil embargo "too far."

Schlesinger's words triggered a storm of protest in the Middle East. Saudi Arabia sent a note on January 8 to the U.S. Government, warning that it would blow up its oilfields in case of U.S. military intervention against the Arab oil embargo. Kuwait Minister of Interior and Defence Saad Alabdullah in a speech on January 9 reaffirmed that the Arab nation is determined to regain its rights, no matter how long the battle and how big the sacrifices required.

In a commentary, the Algerian paper *El Moudjahid* said: "Most

"THE WORKER" (BRITAIN)

The Two Imperialists' Crises

The Worker, organ of the Communist Party of Britain (Marxist-Leninist), pointed out in an article in a recent issue that the present international situation is excellent and that the imperialists and social imperialists are riddled with internal and external crises.

The United States, together with the rest of the capitalist world, is suffering from deep and chronic economic and political crisis, the article noted. The periodic monetary crisis is nothing more than a reflection of the underlying economic crisis gripping the capitalist economies.

The article stressed: Exposed as an imperialist power that poses as socialist, the Soviet Union faces its own crisis. Failing in its economic plans for industry and agriculture, it increases exploitation of the countries of Eastern Europe, reducing them to mere dependencies.

The article said that the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. are both imperialisms, which are contending and collaborating as they subjugate and exploit their own people and other peoples.

seriously, the U.S. Defence Secretary openly declared that he did not recognize the state sovereignty of other countries. Schlesinger should know that the epoch of one-sided rights has gone for ever, just as the wild exploitation of the riches of Third World countries by imperialism is in the course of disappearing. The Third World is unanimous in its decision to end this relationship between horse and rider, and this was solemnly proclaimed at the 1973 September Summit in Algiers. With growing solidarity, the Arab countries and all the countries of the Third World will not be cowed by rattling of boots and sabres."

Mexico Presents Toys to Chinese Children. Several unexpected visitors arrived at the Hsinhua Primary School in Peking on January 3. They were Gilberto Ruiz Almada, Chief of the Secretariat of the President Office of Mexico, his wife and Mexican Ambassador to China Eugenio Anguiano, who had come to present 20,000 toys to Chinese children on behalf of Mexican President and Madame Echeverria. The President and his wife visited China last year.

At the presentation ceremony in the school, Gilberto Ruiz Almada, Deputy Secretary-General Wang Hsiao-yi of the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee who accompanied the Mexican guests and student representative Chen Yen spoke of the friendly ties between the people of the two countries.

Ten-year-old Juan Ruiz, the son of Gilberto Ruiz Almada, who is in China with his parents, taught his Chinese friends at the ceremony how to play with trompo (spinning toys) and balero (ball moulds), two traditional Mexican toys very popular with Mexican children. A Mexican national dress was also presented to the school.

The guests also attended a class. While they toured the school's factory, a pupil presented a Chinese chess set he had made himself to

Juan Ruiz, who accepted it with pleasure and said he would look after this meaningful gift.

Although China and Mexico are separated by a vast ocean, their people and children are closely linked by long-standing ties of friendship.

First Chinese Exhibition in the Netherlands. The Chinese Light Industrial Products and Handicrafts Exhibition took place from December 4 to 15 at the Rai Exhibition Centre in Amsterdam, the Netherlands' capital. The exhibition was the first of its kind held in the Netherlands since the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries. "I've found the New China!" These simple words by one visitor express the sentiments of many Dutch people.

There were some 3,000 visitors from all circles daily. Many came on foot or bicycle because of the oil crisis. One day when a middle-aged couple went to the carpet, drawn work and brocade stand, the man asked the Chinese staff there: "Can she touch these items?" His wife was completely blind and wanted to feel them. Of course, he was told. The woman felt the displays while her husband told her what he saw.

Some visitors came many times. One of them was Mr. Harn, who played host to some Hsinhua correspondents at his home. He told his Chinese guests how he had studied Chinese by himself and showed them his Chinese books. Mr. and Mrs. Harn praised the exhibition for promoting the Dutch people's understanding of China. They said that when the Dutch people saw the rich and colourful handicrafts, they naturally felt drawn to the valiant and industrious Chinese people.

Fruit of China-Tanzania Friendship. Islanders on Zanzibar, world-renowned for its cloves, were highly elated on January 12 in acclaiming the products of their newly built factory. This was the day the first Tanzania-Zanzibar state-

owned sugar refinery—the "Self-Reliance Sugar Refinery"—officially went into operation.

Located in Mohonda about 20 miles from Zanzibar City, the factory with an annual capacity of 6,000 to 6,500 tons of sugar was jointly built in over a year through friendly co-operation between Chinese engineering and technical personnel and Zanzibar workers. When it operates under full capacity, Zanzibar will be self-sufficient in sugar.

A ceremony inaugurating the factory took place on the island. Leaders of the Tanzanian Government Nyere-re, Jumbe and Kawawa and the visiting Chinese Government Delegation headed by Vice-Minister of Agriculture and Forestry Hsiao Peng attended the ceremony. They toured the factory and saw the sugar production process. While tasting the factory's "first grade" white sugar, many Tanzanian friends shouted: "Zanzibar sugar, Tanzanian sugar, sawasawa (fine)!" There was a festive air throughout the factory.

(Continued from p. 4.)

"Let everybody know," the Prime Minister said, "that our mutual relationship will always be on the side of peace and will be opposed to any form of intervention in the affairs of other countries and opposed to hegemonism."

Chang Tsai-chien in his speech expressed thanks for the warm welcome and hospitality given to the Chinese delegation. He thanked Prime Minister Bhutto for meeting the delegation three times in a day in spite of his extremely busy programme.

He also spoke highly of the enormous support given to China by the Pakistan Government and people in international affairs and other fields.

The delegation gave a farewell banquet before leaving Rawalpindi for home. Delegation leader Chang said at the banquet that the Chinese Government and people will, as always, resolutely support the Pakistan Government and people in their struggles and resolutely support the Kashmiri people's struggle for the right of national self-determination.



Hsinhua Primary School children playing with Mexican baleros.

ON THE HOME FRONT

Increasing Employment in Shanghai

NEARLY 3 million people out of a total urban population of 5.7 million in China's biggest city, Shanghai, are employed. The rest are mainly students, pre-schoolers, pensioners and other elderly people.

Shanghai solved its serious unemployment problem, a legacy of the old society, soon after the founding of the People's Republic of China. The People's Government encourages housewives to take part in socialist construction. Even handicapped people are given suitable jobs if they wish to work.

The vigorous development of industrial production provides favourable conditions for full employment. The number of workers and staff in Shanghai has increased threefold since liberation.

Oppressed by imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism before liberation, China's national industry and commerce, then heavily concentrated in Shanghai, were on their last legs. Many factories were forced to close down. With the rural economy going from bad to worse, large numbers of impoverished landless peasants moved to the city where they could not find jobs. According to 1946 statistics, more than 800,000 of the city's 5 million people were out of work. Many died of cold and starvation every year. Two "charity organizations" alone picked up more than 1,700 corpses in the streets in the winter of 1948.

After its founding, the People's Republic of China step by step carried out the socialist transformation of private industry and commerce in the cities, coupled with land reform and the socialist collectivization of agriculture in the countryside. The establishment of the socialist relations of production eliminated the social cause of unemployment.

A salient feature of Shanghai as far as employment is concerned is the great number of women now engaged in socialist construction. Since 1958, 280,000 housewives have joined state-owned enterprises, service trades or the neighbourhood factories that play an important part in supplementing big plants in the textile, instruments and meters, machine building and other industries.

China's socialist economy requires planned use of manpower. The state arranges work for the increasing number of employable people according to the needs of the revolution and their capabili-

ties. Gone are the days when graduation meant unemployment, a nightmare that haunted the students before liberation.

All workers in New China, men and women, get equal pay for equal work. Women workers are entitled to a 56-day maternity leave with pay and can retire five years earlier than men. Retired workers receive free medical treatment as well as 50 to 70 per cent of their original wages as pensions.

Fossil Skeleton of Extinct Elephant Found

THE biggest and best-preserved individual stegedon skeleton so far found anywhere in the world was recently excavated near the Malien River in Hoshui County in northwest China's Kansu Province.

The skeleton is that of an adult stegedon about four metres high and eight metres long. One of its tusks measures 3.03 metres.

This type of elephant lived during the end of the Tertiary period 3 million years ago and the beginning of the Quaternary 10,000 years ago. It is larger than its modern counterpart, with longer tusks and a transverse ridge on the chewing surface of the molars. Up until this discovery, fossil findings of such elephants were confined only to cranial bones or teeth unearthed in Africa and parts of Asia.

The fossil recently excavated provides important scientific data for an all-round, accurate understanding of the stegedon and the study of other theoretical questions. It also furnishes important palaeontological information for the analysis of strata as well as the study of geography and climate in eastern Kansu Province during the end of the Tertiary through the early Quaternary.

The Institute of Vertebrate Palaeontology and Palaeoanthropology of the Chinese Academy of Sciences is now studying and restoring this fossil.



Plant run by Shanghai housewives trial-producing new products.

THE TENTH NATIONAL CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA

(DOCUMENTS)

This new booklet in English contains:

- **Report to the Tenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China — Chou En-lai**
(Delivered on August 24 and Adopted on August 28, 1973)
- **Report on the Revision of the Party Constitution**
— Wang Hung-wen
(Delivered at the Tenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China on August 24 and Adopted on August 28, 1973)
- **Constitution of the Communist Party of China**
(Adopted by the Tenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China on August 28, 1973)
- **Press Communique of the Tenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China**
(August 29, 1973)
 - List of Members of the Presidium of the Tenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China
 - List of the 319 Members and Alternate Members of the Tenth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China
- **Press Communique of the First Plenary Session of the Tenth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China**
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