

# PEKING REVIEW

22

May 28, 1976

北  
京  
周  
報

**Huge Increase in Distribution of Works by  
Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and  
Chairman Mao's Works**

**Negating the Revolution in Literature  
And Art Aims at Restoring Capitalism**

**Soviet Social-Imperialism Pursues a Policy  
Of National Oppression**

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## Huge Increase in Distribution of Works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and Chairman Mao's Works

THE powerful East wind of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has brought about an unprecedented popularization of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought in China. In the decade since the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution started in 1966, bookshops in China have distributed 4,800 million copies of works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and Chairman Mao's works. This is eight times the total distributed in the 17 years prior to the start of the Great Cultural Revolution. Of these, 13 million copies are *Selected Works of Marx and Engels* and *Selected Works of Lenin*, equivalent to 71 times the number of copies distributed in the 17 years before the Great Cultural Revolution. The total number of *Selected Works of Mao Tsetung* distributed was 225.8 million, or 21 times the total distributed in the preceding 17 years.

The vast increase in the number of works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and Chairman Mao's works distributed shows that the great call of Chairman Mao "Read and study conscientiously and have a good grasp of Marxism" has taken deep root in the hearts of the people and that the revolutionary tide "Practise Marxism, and not revisionism" is irresistible. This is a splendid achievement of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, a great victory for Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and also a mortal blow dealt to the vain attempts by Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and the arch unrepentant capitalist-roader in the Party Teng Hsiao-ping to peddle revisionism and restore capitalism in China.

The printing and distribution of works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and by Chairman Mao in large numbers have taken place amidst acute struggles between the two classes and the two lines. Prior to the Great Cultural Revolution, the

bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-chi which had control of the work of culture and propaganda frenetically opposed Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and brazenly ordered that selected works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and the *Selected Works of Mao Tsetung* "should not be printed in large numbers." Due to their stringent suppressive measures, the masses found it very difficult to buy the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and Chairman Mao's works. At the same time, however, they unrestrainedly published and distributed vast quantities of feudal, bourgeois and revisionist publications. The masses of workers, peasants and soldiers were extremely angry about this.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution smashed the counter-revolutionary dictatorship exercised by the bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-chi in the publication and distribution circles. This was followed later by the shattering of the criminal schemes of political swindlers like Lin Piao who tried to sabotage the publication and distribution of the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and Chairman Mao's works. A profound change took place in the work of printing and distribution. The number of works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and Chairman Mao's works printed, the speed of printing, the scope of distribution and the results obtained were all unprecedented in the history of publication and distribution in China. Wherever these works are distributed, there is great rejoicing.

"We need Marxism in our struggle." Hundreds of millions of revolutionary people avidly study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and consciously apply this powerful ideological weapon in waging a tit-for-tat struggle against the bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party. The

revolutionary enthusiasm of the workers, peasants and soldiers in conscientiously reading and studying is a great encouragement and education to those engaged in distributing the books. Taking class struggle as the key link and upholding the Party's basic line, they consciously put the distribution of these works in the first place. In order to strengthen this task in the rural areas, close to 100,000 supply and marketing co-ops in the countryside are also acting as book distributors. Under the unified leadership of the Party committees of their localities, the Hsinhua Book Store and these co-ops work closely together and, with the leading cadres taking the lead, they deliver the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and Chairman Mao's works into the hands of the workers, peasants and soldiers wherever they might be throughout the year.

In the great struggle to beat back the Right deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts, the book distributors are fired with greater militancy. Defying fatigue and working continuously, they do their best to strengthen the distribution of the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and Chairman Mao's works to provide ideological weapons for the workers, peasants and soldiers to criticize Teng Hsiao-ping and beat back the Right deviationist wind of reversing correct verdicts. Book distributors in Sinkiang, Tibet and Inner Mongolia cross vast tracts of grassland and cover tremendous distances to deliver in good time these works in national minority languages to the people in the frontier pasturelands. In the mountainous regions of Yunnan, Kweichow, Kwangsi and Szechuan staff members of the Hsinhua Book Store and the supply and marketing co-ops, with baskets of books on their backs,

scale mountains, ford swift streams to bring these works to the far-flung production teams. In the coastal areas of Chekiang, Fukien and Kwangtung the booksellers, braving the wind and waves in junks or motor boats, take these ideological weapons to criticize Teng Hsiao-ping to the fishermen and outposts on the islands. As they distribute these books the booksellers study Chairman Mao's important directives with the workers, peasants and soldiers and together criticize Teng Hsiao-ping's counter-revolutionary revisionist line and his reactionary crimes.

### **Singing Festival in Commemoration of Chairman Mao's "Talks" in Yenan**

In commemoration of the 34th anniversary of Chairman Mao's *Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art*, a Singing Festival of the Capital's Workers, Peasants and Soldiers Repulsing the Right Deviationist Wind and Praising the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was held at the Capital Gymnasium on May 23 participated by 18,000 people.

Attending the festival were leading comrades of the Ministry of Culture, the Peking Municipal Party Committee, general departments of the Chinese People's Liberation Army and the various arms and services of the P.L.A.

A warm revolutionary atmosphere and militant spirit prevailed at the gymnasium where a huge portrait of our great leader Chairman Mao hung in the centre over the rostrum, flanked by the slogans "Warmly hail the great victory in the struggle to repulse the Right deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts!" and "Long live the great victory of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line!"

The festival started with the singing of the magnificent song *The East Is Red*. When the gymnasium resounded with the singing of Chairman Mao's two poems "Reascending Ching kangshan — to the tune of *Shui Tiao Keh Tou*" and "Two Birds: A Dialogue — to the tune of *Nien Nu*

*Chiao*" set to music, the audience was greatly inspired.

It was a festival singing the praises of the splendid victories of the Cultural Revolution as well as a rally criticizing Teng Hsiao-ping's revisionist line. The more than 40 songs sung by the workers, peasants and soldiers fully expressed the revolutionary people's indignation at Teng Hsiao-ping's crime of trying to reverse correct verdicts and restore capitalism and demonstrated their love for the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

This festival, sponsored by the Ministry of Culture and the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee, reflected the vigorous development of singing by the masses in the capital.

Singing festivals were also held in Shanghai, Tientsin and other places on the same day.

### **Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew Ends Visit**

Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew and the Singaporean goodwill mission led by him left Kwangchow for home on May 23 after a two-week visit to China.

The Prime Minister and his party visited Tachai, Sian, Yenan, Shanghai, Wuhsi, Kweilin and Kwangchow from May 14 to 23. Speaking about his journey through China, Prime Minister Lee said in a toast in Kwangchow that his two weeks in China are very instructive and all members of the mission are deeply impressed by the hard work of the Chinese people. He would carry home to Singapore this great experience. The way China solves its problem self-reliantly will remain in their memories, he said. He also expressed the wish that the friendship between the people of Singapore and China and the mutual understanding between the two countries will be enhanced.

Earlier, before leaving Peking for a visit to other parts of China, Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew gave a grand banquet on May 13.

Prime Minister Lee said in his toast: "During the three days of formal and informal talks, I have had personal experience of how

the views of the Government of the People's Republic of China are expounded on the international situation, the three worlds which China categorizes countries under, and the principles which guide the policies of the Government of the People's Republic of China in dealing with the countries of Southeast Asia. You have classified Southeast Asian countries in the third world together with China, which you have modestly described as a developing socialist country." He said: "The prospects for cordial relations between our two countries, though we have different economic and political systems, are good."

In his toast at the banquet, Premier Hua Kuo-feng said: "The current visit to China by Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew at the head of the goodwill mission is a major event in the relations between China and Singapore. Chairman Mao has met and had a friendly conversation with Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew. In the last few days, our two sides held talks and had a sincere exchange of views on matters of common interest." He pointed out: "This visit by Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew is of benefit to promoting the friendship between the peoples of China and Singapore and mutual understanding between our two countries." He expressed the belief that through joint efforts the friendly relations between the two countries will continue to develop on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence.

### **Passing Away of Comrade Hong Won Gil Mourned**

Chu Teh, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, and Premier Hua Kuo-feng on May 19 sent a message to President Kim Il Sung and Premier Pak Sung Chul expressing deep condolences on the passing away of Comrade Hong Won Gil, Member of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea, Deputy to the Supreme People's Assembly, Member of Central People's Committee and Vice-Premier of the Administration Council of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

# Negating the Revolution in Literature And Art Aims at Restoring Capitalism

by the Mass Criticism Group of Peking  
and Tsinghua Universities

INITIATED and led personally by our great leader Chairman Mao, the great struggle to beat back the Right deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts is now developing in a deep-going way.

In dishing up the revisionist programme of "taking the three directives as the key link," the arch unrepentant capitalist-roader in the Party Teng Hsiao-ping not only made a vindictive attack on the proletariat in the fields of education and science and technology, but also whipped up a Right deviationist wind in literary and art circles. With the spearhead directed at our great leader Chairman Mao, he frenziedly attacked Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line in literature and art, disparaged the model revolutionary theatrical works, slandered the proletariat's leadership over literature and art and tried to reverse the correct verdicts on the revisionist line in literature and art which held sway in the 17 years before the start of the Great Cultural Revolution in 1966. His vain attempt was to achieve the criminal aim of restoring capitalism not only in literary and art arena but in the political arena as well. In order to defend Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, keep to the orientation of carrying on the revolution in literature and art, consolidate and develop the achievements of the revolution in literature and art and exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie, we must resolutely beat back the Right deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts.

## The Present Is Better Than the Past

The arch unrepentant capitalist-roader in the Party Teng Hsiao-ping slandered that the revolution in literature and art was "in a mess" and said that it was "a question of line." Some even called for a "reappraisal" of the literature and art before the Great Cultural Revolution.

Is the line of the proletarian revolution in literature and art correct or not? Is the present better than the past or is the present not as good as the past on the literary and art front? These are major questions of right and wrong which must be clarified.

Prior to the Great Cultural Revolution, the bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-chi which controlled the leadership in literary and art circles pushed a counter-revolutionary revisionist line. He and his followers were "enthusiastic about promoting feudal and capitalist art, but not socialist art" and the old Ministry of Culture actually became "the Ministry of Emperors, Kings, Generals and Ministers, the Ministry of Talents

and Beauties or the Ministry of Foreign Mummies." A component part of the superstructure, literature and art in those days did not serve the workers, peasants and soldiers, proletarian politics, socialism and the socialist economic base, but played a disruptive role. Could such literature and art be allowed to spread unchecked without undergoing a revolutionary change? Of course not!

It was only after the proletariat had seized back the leadership in literary and art circles during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution that the domination of the revisionist line in literature and art was fundamentally demolished. Thanks to the revolution in literature and art marked by the creation of the model revolutionary theatrical works, China's drama, literature, cinema, music, dance, *chuyi* (balladry, storytelling and cross-talk) and the fine arts underwent a profound transformation, and tremendous changes have taken place in various aspects of literature and art, including the line, orientation, ideas guiding creative work, artistic form and the building of literary and art contingents. Emperors, kings, generals, ministers, talents and beauties have been driven off the stage and the heroic images of workers, peasants and soldiers have taken their places as the leading characters. The reversal of history over the past several thousand years has now been reversed. Our literature and art today reflect the militant course of the Chinese revolution, portray the magnificent scenes in socialist revolution and construction, depict the heat of the struggle and life of the workers, peasants and soldiers, praise the sturdy growth of revolutionary new things and eulogize the great victory of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. Many outstanding works of literature and art, like a sharp dagger, lash at the exploiting classes' ideology, and they are a clarion call inspiring hundreds of millions of people to advance valiantly along the road of continuing the revolution.

The revolution in literature and art in the past ten years or so has gone through twists and turns and has yielded solid fruits. All branches of literature and art have made big advances both qualitatively and quantitatively and large numbers of outstanding works, inspired by the model revolutionary theatrical works, have emerged and have attained high ideological and artistic levels as never before. Many new films of a fairly high ideological and artistic standard have been made. Amateur activities in literary and art creations among workers, peasants and soldiers

have flourished; and in giving theatrical performances, the emphasis is on the grass-roots units. Advancing triumphantly in the direction of serving the workers, peasants and soldiers, proletarian politics and socialism, literature and art have become a powerful instrument for consolidating the socialist economic base and the dictatorship of the proletariat. How can all this be put on a par with the situation in those days before the start of the Great Cultural Revolution when there were poisonous weeds all around and when ghosts and demons danced in riotous revelry, literature and art served only a small number of people and the bourgeoisie exercised dictatorship over the proletariat? The masses have put it well when they said: "In the past, the more performances we saw, the angrier we became; but nowadays, the more we see, the happier we are." Taking the reactionary stand of the bourgeoisie, Teng Hsiao-ping, however, ranted that the question concerning the line to be followed in literature and art had not been solved. This fully shows that what he wanted to follow was a revisionist line directly opposed to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

It goes without saying that the revolution in literature and art, like all other new things, is still developing and moving forward, and there is still a gap between the literature and art we have at present and the fervent expectations of the workers, peasants and soldiers and the fast developing excellent situation. This requires that we make continued efforts. But there is certainly nothing wrong whatever with the orientation of the revolution in literature and art.

Teng Hsiao-ping resorted to the base means of reversing correct verdicts and trying to stage a comeback under the pretext of opposing "ultra-Leftism." When he saw the feature film *Spring Shoot*, he went away disapprovingly before it ended, slandering it as "ultra-Left." People cannot but ask: Why did he fly into a rage at this film which has won acclaim from the masses? This is because it stung him to the quick, for the film sings the praises of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, successfully creates the typical image of Tien Chun-miao, one of a new generation of young people who have come to the fore during the Great Cultural Revolution, and sharply criticizes those Party persons in power taking the capitalist road. By attacking *Spring Shoot* as "ultra-Left," Teng Hsiao-ping revealed his own ultra-Right stand. In his eyes, not only this film but the revolution in literature and art and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution were "ultra-Left." He never admitted that there was a revisionist line in literature and art before the Great Cultural Revolution and that there were capitalist-roaders in the Party. As he saw it, the Great Cultural Revolution which is a political revolution carried out by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie was utterly wrong and any criticism of the capitalist-roaders was "ultra-Left."

While paying lip service to "never reverse the verdict," he was actually dissatisfied with the Great Cultural Revolution and wanted to settle accounts with it.

The moment he came up with his revisionist programme of "taking the three directives as the key link," he directed some people to engage in underhand activities, going around agitating, fomenting trouble and fabricating rumours. His aim was to negate the entire revolution in literature and art and Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, pull literature and art back to the revisionist line which was predominant before the Great Cultural Revolution, use again literature and art to corrupt the masses and poison their minds, and turn them into a hotbed for creating conditions for capitalist restoration. But reversing correct verdicts and working for a restoration goes against the will of the people, and will turn out to be nothing but a pipe dream!

### Literary and Art Creation Must Take Class Struggle as the Key Link

Model revolutionary theatrical works are the fruitful results of practice in line with Chairman Mao's *Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art* and the great achievements of the proletarian revolution in literature and art. The attitude one takes with regard to these works is the focal point in the struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines in the field of literature and art. In the course of their improvement and perfection, rich and valuable experiences have been accumulated which are of significance in guiding the creation of our socialist literature and art.

With ulterior motives Teng Hsiao-ping railed against the model revolutionary theatrical works, deriding them as "a single flower blossoming." After Teng Hsiao-ping had called the tune, a handful of persons followed up with a spate of absurdities designed to belittle the experience in creating these theatrical works, negate the guiding role these works play and distort the basic spirit embodied in them. This is a sharp manifestation of the current struggle waged by the bourgeoisie against the proletariat on the literary and art front. The focus of their attack is on the fundamental question of whether literary and art creation should take class struggle as the key link and whether we should do our best to depict typical heroic images of the proletariat.

Is there class struggle in socialist society? Members of the overthrown exploiting classes are still around and are not reconciled to their defeat, the petty bourgeoisie still exists in large numbers, a great number of intellectuals have not remoulded their world outlook, the force of habit and traditional influence inherent in the small producers still exist and the capitalist-roaders in the Party are still on the capitalist road — all this shows that class struggle has not died out. In creating their works, writers and artists must firmly grasp the key link of class struggle and "concentrate such everyday phenomena, typify the contradictions and struggles within them," making big efforts to depict present-day class struggle, especially the struggle waged by the proletariat and revolutionary people against the capitalist-roaders, and describe in a graphic and vivid manner the character, target, task and prospects of the socialist revolution. Those absurdities negating the need of lit-

erature and art to mirror class struggle are a reflection of the theory of the dying out of class struggle in literature and art and a refurbished version under new conditions of the theory of absence of conflict. In fact, they were merely a means used by the bourgeoisie to oppose the proletariat. Those who spread these absurdities wanted to put an end to the struggle by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie; as to their struggle against the proletariat, they certainly did not want to put an end to it, but reminded themselves of this struggle and carried it out with might and main every day.

Should writers and artists create typical heroic images of the proletariat? This is a question of paramount importance concerning which class would take over the stage of literature and art and whether the proletariat must exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in the superstructure. The model revolutionary theatrical works, which have successfully portrayed many typical heroic images of the proletariat, warmly eulogize the communist revolutionary spirit and scathingly criticize the reactionary and decadent ideologies such as bourgeois ideas and the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. This, however, was censured by the revisionists who babbled that if literature and art were all required to create lofty and perfect heroic images of the proletariat, it would lead to "similarity." This is out-and-out mudslinging at revolutionary literature and art. Sure enough, there is really "similarity" between the heroic images of the proletariat and that is the general character they share in common. In the model revolutionary theatrical works, however, the general character of the heroic images is embodied in their individual character and every one of them has his or her own clear-cut characteristics and personality. Is it not a fact that these theatrical works with a history of only a dozen years have already succeeded in depicting a wide range of important subject-matters and creating many vivid heroic images?

It is crystal clear that the model revolutionary theatrical works have helped bring about the blossoming of a hundred flowers in revolutionary literature and art, but why did Teng Hsiao-ping regard this as "a single flower blossoming"? Did he really want to have a hundred flowers blossom in proletarian literature and art? Not at all. Facts in the past and at present have proved that he, representing the bourgeoisie both inside and outside the Party, always harboured a bitter hatred for the fragrant flowers of socialist literature and art and prostrated himself in admiration before feudal, capitalist and revisionist literature and art. What he tried to do was to smother the fragrant flowers of proletarian literature and art and let feudal, capitalist and revisionist poisonous weeds grow instead, thereby turning literature and art into his tool for restoring capitalism. This is the very essence of the issue.

### **The Ranks of Literary and Art Workers Must Be Transformed**

To push his revisionist programme of "taking the three directives as the key link," Teng Hsiao-ping

vociferously called for "rectification" "in all fields." Flaunting the banner of "rectification," he attempted to "pull" literary and art circles back to the old track; from the formation of leading bodies to the building of literary and art contingents. His aim was to launch a vengeful attack against the proletariat and change Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in literature and art.

While slandering that the new leading bodies in the literary and art circles were incompetent and not even able to run a literary journal well, Teng Hsiao-ping lavished praises on the old Ministry of Culture with a view to reinstating those restorationist "professionals" and letting them again usurp the leadership. If this scheme had succeeded, the bourgeoisie would again exercise dictatorship over the proletariat in the literary and art circles. What a dangerous prospect it would be!

Having been tempered in the Great Cultural Revolution and having had practice in the revolution in literature and art, a contingent of literary and art workers who adhere to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line have been gradually formed and a number of up-and-coming young people from among the workers, peasants and soldiers are maturing on the literary and art front. Gratifying changes have taken place in the mental outlook of literary and art workers after they have assiduously studied works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and Chairman Mao's works, gone to the forefront of the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment, and taken the road of integrating themselves with the workers, peasants and soldiers. They learn from the workers, peasants and soldiers, depict them and reproduce their heroic images on the stage, thereby winning acclaim and support from the broad masses. Motivated by their class bias and artistic tastes, the bourgeoisie always tries its utmost to discriminate against things proletarian. They slander the revolutionary literary and art workers as being of a "low level"; what they are concerned about is not the maturing of the younger generation, they are actually trying to crush the revolutionary new forces. Their efforts, however, are merely a pipe dream.

Literature and art used to be the "hereditary domain" of the exploiting classes, where the pernicious influences of feudal, capitalist and revisionist trash were deep-rooted. Under the rule of the revisionist line of Liu Shao-chi and his gang before the Great Cultural Revolution, many people "have acted as high and mighty bureaucrats, have not gone to the workers, peasants and soldiers and have not reflected the socialist revolution and socialist construction." During the Great Cultural Revolution, literary and art workers have made progress, to varying degrees, in remoulding their world outlook. Nevertheless, bourgeois political views, ideas of bourgeois right and bourgeois literary and art thoughts still exist to a serious extent, and there are people who take to the bourgeois style of life. If this state of affairs is not changed, they will not be able to carry out successfully the historical task of the proletarian

(Continued on p. 18.)

# THE GREAT CULTURAL REVOLUTION WILL SHINE FOR EVER

*Editor's note: It is ten years since Chairman Mao personally initiated and led the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Practice over the past decade has proved that "the current Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is absolutely necessary and most timely for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing capitalist restoration and building socialism." Beginning with this issue is a new feature "The Great Cultural Revolution Will Shine For Ever" which will reflect the tremendous changes that have taken place on the various fronts in China since the start of the Great Cultural Revolution.*

## We Couldn't Do Without the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution

by the Feichiao Timber Mill Workers'  
Theoretical Study Group of Peking

OUR great leader Chairman Mao pointed out: "Apparently, we couldn't do without the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, for our base was not solid. From my observations, I am afraid that in a fairly large majority of factories—I don't mean all or the overwhelming majority—leadership was not in the hands of real Marxists and the masses of workers. Not that there were no good people in the leadership of the factories. There were. There were good people among the secretaries, deputy secretaries and members of Party committees and among the Party branch secretaries. But they followed that line of Liu Shao-chi's, just resorting to material incentive, putting profit in command and, instead of promoting proletarian politics, handing out bonuses, and so forth." "But there are indeed bad people in the factories." "This shows that the revolution is still unfinished." Chairman Mao's directive has penetratingly explained the necessity for the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and clearly pointed out that in carrying out socialist revolution we must wage struggles against the capitalist-roaders in the Party. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is the great practice of hundreds of millions of people in combating and preventing revisionism. It is precisely this broad, deep-going great political revolution which smashed the two bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-chi and Lin Biao, frustrated their plots to restore capitalism, criticized their revisionist line, tempered the masses and educated the cadres, and as a result Chairman Mao's revolutionary line has taken deep root in the hearts of the people. It is precisely this great revolution that has transformed that part of the superstructure which was not suited to the socialist economic base, criticized and repudiated the ideology of the exploiting classes, restricted bourgeois right and promoted the flowering of socialist new things; made the dictatorship of the proletariat more consolidated and brought about the situation in which industrial and agri-

cultural production and the entire national economy are thriving. Our great motherland presents a revolutionary scene: "Everywhere orioles sing, swallows dart."

The facts of the class struggle in our mill prior to the Cultural Revolution also completely confirm that "we couldn't do without the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution." A series of mergers of small private mills, 213 of them, finally resulted in the local state-owned mill it is today. Prior to the Great Cultural Revolution, under the influence of Liu Shao-chi's counter-revolutionary revisionist line, more than 60 capitalists at one time or another had been cadres of the mill, of whom seven had held the posts of director and vice-director, and 23 had been leading cadres of various sections and workshops. Making use of that portion of power they had, these capitalists dealt harshly with the workers or edged them out while cultivating the favour of cadres in a bid to win them over and corrupt them. Some of the cadres succumbed to their onslaughts by "sugar-coated bullets." At the same time some cadres, whose consciousness of class struggle and the two-line struggle was not high, did not uphold proletarian politics but followed the revisionist line of Liu Shao-chi and peddled such stuff as "material incentives," "putting profits in command" and "letting experts run the factories." All this showed that although the system of ownership had changed, there still was the question of which class not in name only but actually owned the mill, a socialist enterprise. If it had not been for the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the leadership of the mill would not have come into the hands of real Marxists and the workers. We understand profoundly that in factories like ours we just couldn't do without the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has brought deep revolutionary changes to our mill. During



the Great Cultural Revolution, the revolutionary workers and cadres mounted a criticism of the revisionist line. A mass movement to study the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and Chairman Mao's works swept the whole mill and the consciousness of the workers and cadres in class struggle and the two-line struggle has been steadily enhanced. The sturdy growth of socialist new things has forcefully restricted bourgeois right. The "Charter of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company" has been conscientiously implemented and the mass movement of "In industry, learn from Taching" has been unfolded, and irrational rules and regulations have been done away with. Relations among people have been adjusted according to socialist principles, the workers have become the real masters of the mill and the communist spirit has been greatly fostered.

Revolution promotes production. The total output value of the mill has progressively risen by an average of 18 per cent each year since 1969. The total output value of the mill today is 3.5 times that before the start

of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is simply wonderful! Hence we workers, peasants, soldiers and revolutionary cadres and intellectuals must defend, consolidate and develop the fruits of the Great Cultural Revolution.

Defending the Great Cultural Revolution means defending Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, and expanding the achievements of the Great Cultural Revolution means persevering in the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is with this understanding that our mill, under the solicitous care of Chairman Mao, is going exactly counter to the revisionist line and doing things contrary to what the arch unrepentant capitalist-roader in the Party Teng Hsiao-ping wanted. Firmly adhering to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and wholeheartedly relying on the working class, our mill has stood firm against the Right deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts and expanded the achievements of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

## Changes Brought to Our Brigade By the Great Cultural Revolution

by the poor and lower-middle peasants of the Nannao Production  
Brigade of the Tachai People's Commune, Hsiyang County, Shansi Province

THE Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution personally initiated and led by our great leader Chairman Mao is really fine and we poor and lower-middle peasants support it with all our heart.

### Teng Hsiao-ping Talking Nonsense

The great victory of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has brought about an excellent situation throughout the country and unimaginable changes have taken place in our Nannao Brigade. Teng Hsiao-ping, however, spread the nonsense that "the present is not as good as the past."

Let us first have a look at all the changes that have occurred and see whether "the present is not as good as the past" or it is better than the past.

The Nannao before the Great Cultural Revolution was indeed a typical case of poverty. In those days our brigade was just 15 little hamlets along a three-li-long ravine joined by narrow meandering paths. Water was scarce and it was a hard time we had trying to grow enough grain on the bare slopes. During the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, Nannao changed. Look at the land. There are terraced fields now and the hill-tops have been levelled and turned into "small plains." And the hill slopes, no longer bare, are green with trees. Look at the roads. A broad road now leads into the village and there is a constant stream of motor vehicles all day. Look at the water. Water is led in from afar and there is piped water right at our doorsteps. Look

at our village. Row upon row of new houses and brand-new cave-dwellings for the brigade members to live in.

The changes are many and great. Let us itemize the various changes.

**Output.** The brigade produced 55,000 kgs. of grain in 1966, an average of 1,373 kgs. per hectare. In 1975, the total output was 300,000 kgs., or 7,628 kgs. per hectare. An increase of almost sixfold in nine years.

**Income.** Total income for the brigade in 1966 was 21,000 yuan. In 1975 it was 92,000 yuan. More than quadrupled in nine years.

**Accumulation of fund.** The brigade in 1966 had 9,000 yuan in public accumulation, or 30 yuan per person. In 1975 the total was 120,000 yuan, or 400 yuan per person. A more than 13-fold increase in nine years.

**Contribution.** Before 1966 the brigade each year consumed 5,000 to 10,000 kgs. of grain supplied by the state. In 1975 the brigade sold 150,000 kgs. of grain to the state, equivalent to each person selling 500 kgs.

**Living standards.** Prior to the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution each workday was worth between 0.2 and 0.3 yuan. It is now 1.1 yuan. In those days the ration for each brigade member was 135 kgs. of grain per year. Today it is 260 kgs. Every household now has surplus grain and about 90 per cent of the families have bank savings.

The hills, roads, fields and output have all changed in Nannao but the biggest change of all is the ideologi-



Members of the Nannao Brigade flattening hilltops for cultivation of crops.

cal change in the people. Take the womenfolk for example. During the Great Cultural Revolution they have been emancipated from the hearth and, as the other half holding up the sky, they have played their part in emulating Tachai. Farming for the revolution, they are not afraid of hard work and difficulties. They carry loads and pull carts, reclaim land and handle explosives; they can do anything that needs doing. They take the lead in breaking with old customs and habits. Weddings are no longer extravagant affairs. They are enthusiasts for planned births.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has popularized Mao Tsetung Thought in the village on a scale unknown before and the ideological level of the brigade members has risen considerably. The shepherd Li Chin-sheng was once very egocentric. In addition to getting 15 work-points a day, he was given a stipend of 200 yuan each year as well as 100 kgs. of grain for looking after the collective's flock. But the flock did not prosper. After the Great Cultural Revolution began and Liu Shao-chi's "work-points in command" and "material incentives" were criticized, Li Chin-sheng gave up high work-points and a large subsidy, and the collective's flock multiplied. He also sees to it that the young shepherds are not obsessed by work-points but should strive to become worthy successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause.

It is as clear as day that the present is much better than the past as a result of the Great Cultural Revolution, yet Teng Hsiao-ping yabbered that "the present is not as good as the past." He is talking through his hat, that's what he is doing. Brigade book-keeper Li Fu-lu said: "I've been a book-keeper for 22 years since agricultural co-operation started and I've settled accounts

with Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao. The score I am settling with Teng Hsiao-ping now is a continuation of that. Teng Hsiao-ping wanted to reverse correct appraisal of the Great Cultural Revolution and settle accounts with it, that is very much against the will of the people. We must speak out for the great achievements of the Great Cultural Revolution and settle accounts with Teng Hsiao-ping for his reactionary crimes of trying to reverse correct verdicts and restore capitalism. We must settle accounts with him!"

### New Things Blossoming Everywhere

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has brought about the blossoming of socialist new things everywhere across the vast motherland. A lot of new things have also emerged in our Nannao Brigade. Take the co-operative medical service and the barefoot doctors. How pleased we poor and lower-middle peasants are with these! Why? Because we know too well from experience the bitterness of having no doctors and medicines. Way back in 1941 when our Nannao was merely a small village of 60 households, there was a typhoid epidemic. Some 80 persons were laid up and we lost more than 20 able-bodied young people in under a month. After liberation, it was easier to get medical attention and medicines; but before the Great Cultural Revolution began, the "Ministry of Health for Urban Overlords" held sway and doctors seldom could come down to the villages. So it was still difficult for us commune members to get medical treatment. During the Great Cultural Revolution this was solved when we set up a co-operative medical service and trained our own barefoot doctors. In the old society the doctors came on horseback or on sedan-chairs if they ever deigned to call. Now our barefoot doctors come to treat us and give us medicine in our own homes. Keng Feng, a barefoot doctor in our village, is a young man in his early twenties. In 1968 he graduated from the health school at Tachai and has since been back here with us. He works in the fields during the day and visits the sick in the evenings. He has no airs about him and doesn't expect special treatment. He has a red heart, several silver acupuncture needles and a bagful of medicinal herbs. They mean much to us poor and lower-middle peasants for they represent the love and solicitude shown by the Party for us.

The co-operative medical service and the barefoot doctors are fine, really fine, but the blackhearted Teng Hsiao-ping slandered that our barefoot doctors are of a "low standard." Socialist new things are the solid fruits of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and are full of vitality. They are conducive to restricting bourgeois right and to reducing the differences between town

and country, between worker and peasant and between mental and manual labour. They are the daily rising communist shoots which no one can suppress.

### The Great Cultural Revolution Is Indeed Fine

The Great Cultural Revolution is indeed fine. It is fine because it has settled scores with the two bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao in a timely way, settled the hash for the counter-revolutionary revisionist line, seized back that portion of power usurped by the capitalist-roaders and upheld the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Great Cultural Revolution has enabled us to distinguish Marxism from revisionism, and socialism from capitalism. Before the start of the Great Cultural Revolution Teng Hsiao-ping worked hand in glove with Liu Shao-chi to whip up the evil wind of *san zi yi bao*\* and "four freedoms.\*\*" Some people in our brigade became disorientated, and the Party branch of the brigade also did not bother about the line so long as it brought money into the brigade. During the Cultural Revolution we criticized the revisionist line and everyone decided to learn from the Tachai Brigade. We built a two-and-a-half-kilometre motorway to the east of our village to bring in tractors and open the village to motor transport. The mass movement of learning from Tachai in agriculture developed vigorously. Two roads, two lines brought about diametrically opposite results. One brought us happiness, the other bitterness. This is something we shall always remember well.

The Great Cultural Revolution has also taught us to take class struggle as the key link, adhere to the Party's basic line and take the bright road of learning from the Tachai Brigade in agriculture. Back in 1963 a terrific flood struck our brigade as it did Tachai. The watchword of the Tachai people was: "We do not want state relief funds, grain or materials, and we will not give the brigade members less rations than planned, set aside less grain as reserves or sell less grain to the state." They made good their losses and built a new Tachai by their own efforts. What about us in Nannao? We accepted everything. We got 15,000 kgs. of relief grain, 4,000 yuan, 40 kgs. of cotton and more than 30 metres of cloth from the state. We wanted everything except the self-reliant spirit. We put our reliance solely on the state. The more we relied on state help, the lazier we got and the weaker our will became. In the course of the Great Cultural Revolution, we repudiated the revisionist line peddled by Liu Shao-chi and Teng Hsiao-ping and we learnt from the Tachai Brigade, persisted in taking class struggle as the key link and relied on our own efforts to fight the elements and rearrange the mountains and rivers. We have put down more than

\* This refers to the extension of plots for private use and of free markets, the increase of small enterprises with sole responsibility for their own profits or losses, and the fixing of farm output quotas for individual households with each on its own.

\*\* The "four freedoms" means the freedom to practise usury, hire labour, buy and sell land and engage in private enterprises.

5,000 metres of water pipes of various calibres without using any state fund. We have put up more than 9,000 metres of high-tension power lines, again not asking for financial help from the state. We have flattened five hilltops and created 100 hectares of "little plains," built 140 new cave-dwellings of hewn rock and houses totaling 100 rooms as well as a small building of several stories — all by our own efforts without any financial help from the state. As the poor and lower-middle peasants of the Tachai Brigade put it: "A red heart, a pair of industrious hands and reliance on our own efforts give us everything we want."

In the course of the Great Cultural Revolution we have come to realize more and more clearly that in the long historical period of socialism, the principal contradiction is that between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and revisionism is the main danger, and the target of the revolution is the bourgeoisie, with the capitalist-roaders in the Party as the main target. Why was it so hard to get things done properly in Nannao prior to the Great Cultural Revolution? It was because of Liu Shao-chi, Teng Hsiao-ping and capitalist-roaders like them monkeying about up above, and because Chao Chih-wu, the responsible comrade of our Party branch, had a low political consciousness. He followed the revisionist line and led us down a blind alley. He could not see the class struggle going on, saying: "The landlords have no land now and the rich peasants are no longer rich. What's the use of grasping class struggle? We all live by earning work-points; so as long as production is being done well, then all's fine." The class enemies praised Chao Chih-wu as a good cadre: what they really praised was Liu Shao-chi and Teng Hsiao-ping's revisionist line. The Great Cultural Revolution has educated the cadres. Comrade Chao Chih-wu made a self-examination, admitted his errors and corrected himself, so the masses re-elected him as a cadre of the brigade. During the Cultural Revolution a new Party branch was elected which has been conscientiously implementing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. That is why the situation in Nannao today is so fine.

The realities of the two-line struggle in the Party clearly point out: "The current Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is absolutely necessary and most timely for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing capitalist restoration and building socialism."



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

# Integrate With Workers and Peasants and Be Vanguards in Combating Revisionism

by Tan Wen

WHEN we restudied on May 4\*, China's Youth Day, *The Orientation of the Youth Movement* written by Chairman Mao in 1939, we are filled with an exceptionally warm feeling for this brilliant work. In it Chairman Mao profoundly and from the high plane of the two-line struggle summed up the historical experience gained in the youth movement. It is a sharp weapon for us in the current struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-ping's counter-revolutionary revisionist line and beat back the Right deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts.

Chairman Mao pointed out in *The Orientation of the Youth Movement* that the young people can march in the forefront of the revolutionary ranks and can in a way play a vanguard role in the revolutionary struggle. This has been confirmed by the historical facts since the May 4th Movement in 1919.

Under the leadership of Chairman Mao and with his support, the Red Guards in their tens of millions rose in rebellion against Liu Shao-chi's bourgeois headquarters during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and played the role of vanguards in the struggle against the capitalist-roaders. In the struggle to smash the Lin Piao anti-Party clique and to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, the revolutionary young people were also bold and able pathbreakers. Today they are fighting in the forefront of the great struggle to criticize the arch unrepentant capitalist-roader in the Party Teng Hsiao-ping and repulse the Right deviationist attempt. This is an indication that the revolutionary tradition of the May 4th Movement has been carried forward and further developed.

## The Only Correct Orientation

*The Orientation of the Youth Movement* has expounded the relationship between youth who are "an important army" and the workers and peasants who are "the main force," and stressed that the young people "must unite with the broad masses of workers and peasants and become one with them, and only then can a mighty force be created." For the first time in the history of the international communist movement Chairman Mao advanced the thesis that, in the final analysis, the dividing line between revolutionary youth and non-revolutionary or counter-revolutionary youth is whether or not they integrate themselves with the workers and peasants and that this is the only valid criterion in judging them. These brilliant concepts of Chairman Mao's not only lit up the path of the youth

movement in the period of the democratic revolution, but remain to be the only correct orientation of the youth movement in the period of socialist revolution. The great contribution made by the Red Guard movement lies precisely in the fact that, in accordance with Chairman Mao's teachings, it has not only played a vanguard role in the struggle against the capitalist-roaders in the Party, but persisted in taking the historically inevitable road of integrating with the workers and peasants on an extremely broad scale. In response to the great call of Chairman Mao that "it is highly necessary for young people with education to go to the countryside to be re-educated by the poor and lower-middle peasants," more than 12 million school graduates have gone to settle in the countryside since the start of the Great Cultural Revolution, thus writing a magnificent chapter in the annals of the youth movement. Fighting in the forefront of the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment in the countryside, this vigorous revolutionary new army is braving the storms and facing the world, criticizing capitalism and revisionism, persevering in taking the socialist road, and making great contributions to the movement of learning from Tachai in agriculture as well as various other work in the rural areas. This is the great march of a mighty contingent to combat and prevent

\* "May 4" refers to May 4, 1919, when the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolutionary movement broke out. In the first half of that year, Britain, France, the United States, Japan, Italy and other imperialist countries that had emerged victorious from World War I held a conference in Paris to divide the booty. A decision was adopted which stipulated that Japan would take over all the privileges previously held by Germany in China's Shantung Province. On May 4 that year, the students in Peking took the lead and held rallies and demonstrations to protest against the decision. When the government of the Northern Warlords resorted to suppression, the Peking students suspended classes in protest. Students in other parts of the country quickly rose to express their solidarity. The Northern Warlord government made mass arrests in Peking, which aroused still greater indignation among the people of the whole nation. The patriotic movement so far participated mainly by the intellectuals rapidly developed into a nationwide movement participated by the proletariat, petty bourgeoisie and bourgeoisie. As the patriotic movement surged ahead, the new cultural movement against feudalism and for science and democracy unfolded prior to the May 4th Movement developed into a mammoth revolutionary cultural movement with the propagation of Marxism-Leninism as its main current.

After the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949, May 4 was officially proclaimed China's Youth Day.

revisionism. It has shattered the fond dream of class enemies both at home and abroad who vainly pin their hopes for a "peaceful evolution" on China's third and fourth generations. While tens of millions of school graduates have gone to settle in the countryside, more and more college graduates and large numbers of demobilized soldiers have volunteered to work in the countryside and the frontier regions and where the conditions are hardest. This has powerfully pounded away at the old traditional ideas and the force of habit, and is a bold declaration of war on the capitalist-roaders in the Party who obdurately cling to bourgeois right.

One incurable disease common to all revisionists is their downright opposition to the workers and peasants.

History has shown that **"in opposing the workers and peasants they are in fact opposing the revolution"** and that no matter what a colossus he may be and no matter how arrogant he is for a time, he will inevitably be swept away by the torrents of the revolution of the worker and peasant masses. The revolution is forging ahead and the struggle developing. The workers and the poor and lower-middle peasants have never stopped for a moment; they are advancing every day under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. Only by integrating themselves with the workers and peasants can the educated young people keep pace with the onmarching times, and only when they join the ranks of the workers and peasants can they truly dedicate themselves to the proletarian revolution.

Chairman Mao has time and again pointed out that it is often the young intellectuals who are the first to come to an awakening in a revolutionary movement, but they invariably tend to waver and lack the thoroughgoing revolutionary spirit. So if they fail to integrate themselves with the workers and peasants, these weak points will develop and what little revolutionary spirit they have will quickly vanish like the morning dew. It is by no means accidental that, after a vigorous development, youth movements in the past often split over the question of what attitude should be taken towards the workers and peasants. Following in the footsteps of Liu Shao-chi and Lin Biao, Teng Hsiao-ping tried to obstruct the educated young people from integrating with the workers and peasants. His aim was to turn them into instruments for restoring capitalism. We must seriously guard against this.

### **Fighting Tit-for-Tat Against the Revisionist Line**

As millions upon millions of school graduates go to the countryside, the road of integrating with the workers and peasants has become broader and broader. This is a profound socialist revolution. Teng Hsiao-ping and the others who stirred up the Right deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts, however, openly attacked this great movement and opposed this revolution. If we let them have their way, there would not be revolutionization of the youth, nor could there be modernization of the national economy; and the only result would be that the differences between industry

and agriculture, between town and country and between mental and manual labour would be enlarged, and this would lead to capitalist restoration.

What Teng Hsiao-ping and his followers who whipped up the Right deviationist wind grieved most is the fact that, in the excellent situation in the youth movement brought about by the Great Cultural Revolution, the students and other young people have become workers and peasants and ordinary labourers. They clamoured: "What's the use of running universities" if they don't train "cadres"? "To train workers and peasants amounts to liquidating these schools." Because there was no Marxist-Leninist truth on their side, they could not but borrow from the Confucian Shop the tattered banner that "he who excels in learning can be an official" and flaunted it after a little trimming. In *The Orientation of the Youth Movement*, Chairman Mao had already criticized Confucius who looked down upon manual labour and the working people and who never taught his students to cultivate the land and grow vegetables. Chairman Mao highly praised the youth movement in Yenan which followed a direction opposite to what Confucius had preached and acclaimed their campaign for production and integration with the masses of workers and peasants as **"the model for the youth movement throughout the country."** Times have moved far ahead since then, yet Teng Hsiao-ping tried to reverse even this old verdict. If things were handled in the way he wanted, the great cause of educated young people going to settle in the countryside would surely have been strangled halfway.

The issue provoked by Teng Hsiao-ping and his followers is still the same old one over which we struggled with Liu Shao-chi for 17 years, namely, to guide the young people to become successors to the cause of the proletarian revolution or to inveigle them into becoming bourgeois intellectual aristocrats. According to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, the young people should become **"workers with both socialist consciousness and culture"** in the course of integration with the workers and peasants. Successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause must be such ordinary workers. During the Great Cultural Revolution, the revisionist line of "studying in order to become officials" advocated by Liu Shao-chi was scathingly criticized. Important changes have taken place, such as educated young people going to settle in the countryside and selecting workers and peasants with practical experience to study in colleges, thus blocking the old path of training bourgeois intellectual aristocrats institutionally. This is a strategic measure adopted by our Party to combat and prevent revisionism and to prevent the restoration of capitalism. Historical experience tells us that whether the young people are trained to become ordinary labourers who are both socialist-minded and professionally competent or induced to become bourgeois intellectual aristocrats lordling it over the workers and peasants is a question which will not only affect the mental outlook of the younger generation but has a bearing on the future of the Party and state. This is an important issue concerning

whether Marxism is upheld or revisionism practised. The process of the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union serves as a mirror. In the Soviet Union, the majority of the young people have become wage slaves, while new bourgeois intellectual aristocrats have emerged one group after another. Sitting on the backs of the Soviet workers and peasants, they subserviently serve the reactionary policies of the bureaucrat-monopoly clique in suppressing and exploiting the people at home and in carrying out plunder and expansion abroad. They are the instruments and the social basis of the reactionary rule of the Soviet revisionists. Today, Teng Hsiao-ping and those who stirred up the Right deviationist wind tried to foster a bourgeois intellectual elite among the young people. Their attempt has fully revealed their wild ambition to follow in the footsteps of the Soviet revisionists and restore capitalism in China.

School graduates settling in the countryside, students "coming from the communes and returning to the communes after graduation," and college graduates becoming peasants—all these are socialist new things having communist elements. With such courageous actions the young people have made a most radical rupture with the traditional ideas regarded as inviolate

for several thousand years by all the exploiting classes. These socialist new things have restricted bourgeois right, promoted the great struggle to combat and prevent revisionism, strengthened the all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie, speeded up the construction of socialist new villages and steeled a new generation of people fighting for the realization of communism.

We must see through Teng Hsiao-ping's scheme and act in direct opposition to his revisionist line. As he opposed our integration with the workers and peasants, we must be more determined in doing so and always be pupils of the workers and peasants, receive re-education from them and make a lifetime effort to remould our world outlook. Many outstanding young people have already done so. All revolutionary youth should learn from them, strike root deep among the masses of the workers and peasants, persist in going to settle in the countryside, which is a great revolution to combat and prevent revisionism, and carry it through to the end, and strive for the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

*(Abridged translation of an article published in "Renmin Ribao" on May 4)*

## Back From the May 7 Cadre School

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*In our last issue, we published a report on the Liaoning Provincial May 7 Cadre School. We interviewed many students who all agreed that attending the cadre school was an excellent opportunity for them to study once again and remould their ideology and world outlook. Following are three articles written by students after returning from the school to their posts. — Ed.*

### Communists Seek Not Official Posts, but Revolution

by Li Yen

**A**FTER studying one year in the cadre school, I realize more deeply than ever the significance of Chairman Mao's teaching that "going down to do manual labour gives vast numbers of cadres an excellent opportunity to study once again."

I went to Yen-an in 1937 to join the revolution. While I was in Yen-an during the eight years of war against Japanese imperialist aggression, living conditions there were extremely difficult. More than half of China was occupied by the Japanese invaders and the Yen-an revolutionary base area was heavily blockaded by the Kuomintang reactionaries. We lived mainly on millet, pumpkin and salt. While we studied and worked,

we cultivated the fields, raised pigs, cut firewood and wove cloth to gradually achieve an ample supply of food and clothing by relying on our effort. All of us cherished the same lofty goal: to defeat Japanese imperialism and liberate the whole of China. Hard as life was, everyone was in high spirits and the sound of people singing revolutionary songs could be heard everywhere. There was close comradeship and our relationship with the local people was like that between fish and water.

After victory was won in the War of Resistance Against Japan in August 1945, I came to northeast China with our army. During the War of Liberation we fought the Kuomintang reactionaries with Chiang Kai-shek as their chieftain and defeated them after more than three years of struggle. I moved from the countryside to the city and have since then taken up various leading posts. In 1964 I came to Tantung city by the Yalu River. At present I am vice-secretary of the city Party committee and vice-chairman of the city revolutionary committee. Though in the past few years I had been to the countryside when I was called upon by my work, I had not actually lived among the poor and lower-middle peasants.

In March last year, I went together with other students of the school to Tawa County in southern Liaoning Province which was hit by an earthquake. We fought against the aftereffects of the quake and did

relief work there alongside the poor and lower-middle peasants. We lived, ate and worked together and in this way I got into close contact with them. At that time, the whole nation was studying Chairman Mao's latest instruction on the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It gave me quite a jolt while I studied with the poor and lower-middle peasants of the stricken area. Chairman Mao pointed out: "Our country at present practises a commodity system, the wage system is unequal, too, as in the eight-grade wage scale, and so forth. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat such things can only be restricted." My salary is much higher than the peasants' income, but they excel by far in revolutionary energy and the spirit of hard struggle. If something is not done to remedy this, how can I be called a public servant of the people?



Li Yen (second from right) making investigations and study at a grass-roots unit after returning to Tantung.

I redoubled my efforts to study the teachings of Marx, Lenin and Chairman Mao on the socialist principle of distribution—"from each according to his ability, to each according to his work"—and linked my study with the discrepancy between my income and that of the poor and lower-middle peasants. This made me realize that in the period of socialism, as far as the principle of "to each according to his work" is concerned, it still embodies bourgeois right—actual inequality covered up by equality in form. A genuine Marxist should at all times criticize bourgeois right which, though inevitable in the historical period of socialism, is a "defect" and a "birthmark" left over from the old society that must be restricted and abolished step by step. In the past, however, I regarded the high salary given me by the people as a matter of course, and I felt I was fully entitled to it. To regard the actual inequality left over from capitalist society as a matter of course is not the attitude a Marxist should take; anyone holding this view shows that his bourgeois world outlook has not been remoulded.

Before the Great Cultural Revolution, I was affected by the traditional concept that "the official is noble and the people are inferior," so I thought I was cleverer than the masses. I used to give orders right and left and didn't like the masses to criticize me. Instead of working in a down-to-earth spirit and making investigations and study myself, I relied solely on reports from below to guide my work. Whenever a report or something had to be drafted, my secretary did it for me. Thus instead of being a public servant of the society, I was turning into a lord high above the people. If I were to slide further down this road, there was indeed the danger of my becoming a revisionist.

I seldom took part in manual labour prior to the Cultural Revolution. This was another manifestation of my bureaucratic airs. Sometimes I excused myself for not taking part in physical labour on the ground that it was more important to play my part as a leading

cadre and handle the day-to-day affairs well, that I felt quite at ease in doing so. Even if I did take part in physical labour occasionally, I did not put off my airs and work as an ordinary labourer. Leading comrades of the Tantung City Party Committee took part in the afforestation campaign in spring 1965. But what did I do? I just planted several trees in the pits others had dug and shovelled in a bit of earth. If a leading cadre were to carry on in this way, he would surely divorce himself from the masses.

In the cadre school, a revolutionary furnace, however, I studied Marxism-Leninism with the others and took part in productive labour as an ordinary worker. Like disinfectants, the sweat exuded from the skin washed away the virus in my mind as well as my bureaucratic airs, and I was happy and in high spirits for being at one with the masses again.

I returned to Tantung from the May 7 Cadre School six months ago. Now I am more conscious in restricting bourgeois right. On guard against bureaucratic airs, I always remind myself that I am an ordinary labourer. I tidy up my own office every day and sometimes clean the lavatory in the office building. A group of Tantung workers had gone to another city in Liaoning Province to help build a chemical plant. Last October I went to see them and worked at the work-site. Though it was fatiguing work, I felt closer to the workers.

Chairman Mao has taught us: "We Communists seek not official posts, but revolution." Having studied once again in the cadre school, I understand that we must put this instruction into practice and not merely talk about it. Today I realize that only by taking the brilliant May 7 road and integrating with the workers and peasants can we retain the fine qualities of the working people and carry the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat through to the end.

# Raise Our Ability to Distinguish Marxism From Revisionism

by Pai Wan-hsi

I CAME from a peasant family and have been a cadre doing rural work for a long time. Since I went to Hsiuyen County in Liaoning Province in 1957, I have taken up various posts, such as secretary of a commune Party committee, deputy county head and deputy secretary of the county Party committee. Though I have worked in the rural areas for many years, I realize I have only a superficial knowledge of the socialist revolution in the countryside. This is even more so theoretically. In carrying out my work, I often fail to see clearly the two-line struggle between Marxism and revisionism.

When I was in the Hsinglung People's Commune in 1962, a severe natural disaster hit our area, bringing great difficulties to the peasants' life. How should I lead the masses to overcome the difficulties and how to mobilize the masses' initiative? One way was to enhance the people's enthusiasm for socialism through political and ideological work so that, by concerted efforts, they could quickly rehabilitate and develop the collective economy. Another was to stimulate their "initiative" by giving more work-points and material incentives. I followed the second method and stressed that those who did more work would get more work-points and those who did good work receive rewards. In pursuance of this arrangement, I worked out several ways of allotting work-points and giving rewards. The

result was the masses were led astray; they began to care only about individual interests instead of the collective and the future of the country, while a few commune members went so far as to engage in speculative activities in order to make a fortune. In this way, the capitalist tendency began to spread in the countryside.

When the Great Cultural Revolution started in 1966, I was criticized by the masses for having followed the revisionist line. Since I had not really distinguished the Marxist line from the revisionist line from a high theoretical level, I repeated the same errors in my work later. In spring 1973 when I was working in the county Party committee, a model workers' meeting was held in the county. While discussing whether prizes should be given to the model workers, I was all for it, saying that it was an encouragement to them for their contribution to socialist construction and therefore must not be regarded as "putting work-points in command." My proposal was adopted and over 10,000 yuan were spent on buying prizes for the model workers. With the county Party committee taking the lead, many organizations below followed suit. So the wind of giving out prizes swept the county. Later, this was sharply criticized by the masses who said that it was in essence the same as material incentives and was therefore revisionist.

The question which often perplexes me is: I want to work with my heart and soul for the cause of socialism, but why is it that I am often affected by the revisionist trash?

In September 1974, I went to the Liaoning Provincial May 7 Cadre School and studied there for one year. While taking part in manual labour, I eagerly studied works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and Chairman Mao's works and their important expositions on the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Using the revolutionary theory, I summed up the lessons to be drawn from the two-line struggles and linked them with my own thinking. I found a major reason why I had committed the error of resorting to "material incentives" was that theoretically I did not have a clear understanding of the principle of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work" which is implemented in the socialist period. Without revolutionary theory to guide my action, I was just like a blind man.

In the historical period of socialism today, the rural people's commune is collectively owned by the working people. In distribution, the "work-point system" or the principle of "from each according to his



Pai Wan-hsi (centre) mapping out a long-term plan for development together with cadres and members of a production team.



ability, to each according to his work" is practised. This is historically a great progress, for it has changed the situation prevalent in the old society in which the labouring people starved while the exploiters gained without doing any work. However, "to each according to his work" is still within the limits of bourgeois right, and is actual inequality covered up by equality in form. As Marx said: **"Just as it [socialist society] emerges from capitalist society; which is thus in every respect, economically, morally and intellectually, still stamped with the birthmarks of the old society from whose womb it emerges."** (*Critique of the Gotha Programme.*) This factual inequality is a birthmark left over from the old society and provides the soil for engendering capitalism. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat this can only be restricted, and must not be strengthened and expanded.

In the people's commune today, this is also the principle followed in distribution. If, instead of putting politics in command to promote the commune members' enthusiasm for socialism and achieve "from each according to his ability," we onesidedly emphasize "more work, more pay" and "stimulate" enthusiasm with work-points and bonuses, we will lead the peasants astray to the capitalist road of seeking personal gain and getting rich. Extension of bourgeois right in distribution will inevitably lead to class polarization and weaken and disintegrate the socialist collective economy, and the result will be just as what the masses criticized me: "The more you practise putting work-points in command, the more selfish people become; you just disintegrate the collective and deviate from the correct orientation." Therefore, we must persevere in putting proletarian politics in command, mobilize the masses through political and ideological work, and encourage them to work with a will for socialist construction. It is essential to look at the principle of "to each according to his work" dialectically. While acknowledging that it exists inevitably in the period of socialism, we must be aware that it is still a bourgeois trammel. Throughout the historical period of socialism, we must restrict it under the dictatorship of the proletariat and gradually abolish it so as to realize the communist principle of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs."

Another reason why in the past I was little aware of the danger of "putting work-points in command" was that I had a poor understanding of the fact that small production is the soil engendering capitalism and the bourgeoisie. Thanks to agricultural co-operation and the setting up of people's communes after liberation, the broad masses of peasants, who were formerly small producers, are now members of collectives. But because in socialist society there are still classes and class struggle, there is still the influence of bourgeois ideas and there is bourgeois right, these peasants inevitably still retain certain characteristics inherent in the small producers, and the capitalist tendency often manifests itself among a part of the peasants, especially among the well-to-do peasants. This is precisely what Chairman Mao has pointed out: **"Lenin said that 'small production**

**engenders capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously, and on a mass scale.'**"

Formerly I thought that once individual peasants become collective peasants, the transformation of small producers is accomplished. Such a viewpoint often finds expression in my work, as for instance I sometimes failed to firmly adhere to the Party's basic line, to grasp class struggle, and to pay attention to educating the small producers in communist ideas and remould their world outlook. Instead of repudiating capitalist tendencies in the countryside, I practised "putting work-points in command," this helped promote spontaneous capitalist tendency among the small producers.

Last September I returned to Hsiuyen County from the cadre school. Since then I have enhanced my consciousness in putting into practice Chairman Mao's policy of **"grasping revolution, promoting production."** Our county is located in the hilly regions in southeast Liaoning, so farming conditions are not very favourable. Together with other comrades of the county Party committee, I grasped class struggle as the key link and sharply criticized revisionism and the capitalist tendency in the countryside. This has greatly increased the county people's enthusiasm in building socialism and the mass movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture is developing vigorously. From last winter to spring this year, we have built 15,000 hectares of terraced fields, or 49 per cent of the county's hilly land, thereby creating favourable conditions for increasing grain output by a wide margin.

## Be a Worthy Successor to Revolutionary Cause

by Pan Kuei-chin

I AM 23 this year. I served as an attendant in the Shenyang Restaurant and was transferred in 1974 to the provincial committee of the Communist Youth League to be in charge of organization work.

I am a worker coming from a worker's family. Is it still necessary for me to temper myself in labour? The answer is in the affirmative, as facts have shown. From childhood I studied in schools dominated by the revisionist line and since I seldom took part in farm work, I knew practically nothing about the peasants who constitute the vast majority of China's population. Upon entering the cadre school, my first lesson was rice-harvesting. I had never handled a sickle before. Though I tried hard and did my level best, I trailed behind others. From this I realized that every grain harvested involves a great amount of labour on the part of the peasants. I can still recall those days when I worked in the restaurant. I often became impatient and annoyed when I was criticized for tardy service by the peasant customers who, much pressed for time, were in a hurry to resume their journey after taking a meal. At that time I thought that our work was strenuous, running back and forth and attending to the wants of the



Pan Kuei-chin returning to the Shenyang Restaurant to take part in labour.

customers. I did not realize that the peasants who grew crops worked much harder. Since I did not share their thoughts and feelings, I did not cherish any love for them and of course did not work wholeheartedly for them.

Obviously, if a leading cadre does not identify himself with the working people's thinking and feelings, it would be a far more serious question. With this understanding, I was determined to temper myself through farm work. In addition to doing physical work assigned by the school, I did odd jobs in the piggery during my off-hours.

I constantly remind myself that I can't be a worthy successor to the revolutionary cause if I don't take part in physical labour and if I am not familiar with the workers and peasants and do not share their thinking and feelings. As a cadre of the Communist Youth League, my task is to educate the young people to be good successors to the cause of proletarian revolution. To educate others, I must first be educated and earnestly remould my world outlook. Otherwise, how can I shoulder such a glorious and arduous task?

Besides taking part in physical labour in the cadre school, I conscientiously studied works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and Chairman Mao's works and,

linking my study with my own ideas, wrote down what I had gained ideologically. A major question I often pondered was how to consciously resist erosion by ideas of bourgeois right now that I had taken up a leading post. One incident is still fresh in my memory. When I worked in the Shenyang Restaurant, I had a small table which served as my desk. It was old and in disrepair, but I didn't mind about it. When I became a leading cadre in the provincial Communist Youth League committee, I was first given a new desk and a larger one instead a few days later. When I moved to another office, the desk there was not so good, so I had the large one moved in. There were similar examples which seemed to be insignificant, but they showed the change in my ideology. If I did not take steps to remedy this situation, I would eventually go astray and seek personal fame and gain as well as special privileges.

Why is it that a part of the workers and even Communist Party members sometimes degenerate into new bourgeois elements?

After studying theory I became aware that the existence of the influence of the bourgeoisie, international imperialism and revisionism is the political and ideological root cause of the emergence of new bourgeois elements, and the existence of bourgeois right is an important economic base giving rise to these new bourgeois elements. We young workers who have become cadres must consciously reject the material inducements of the bourgeoisie and all the blandishments of the ideology of bourgeois right. We must in no way think that because we were formerly workers, it is not necessary for us to remould our world outlook.

At the Ninth National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party held in 1969, Chairman Mao earnestly instructed the young leading cadres to "see to it that they do not divorce themselves from the masses or productive labour and that they must perform their duties." I have gained a better understanding of the significance of this instruction after being tempered in the cadre school. Since my return to the provincial Communist Youth League committee, I have taken every opportunity to do voluntary work in the Shenyang Restaurant. On weekends and especially during festivals when work in the restaurant is very busy, I often work with the other comrades serving the workers, peasants and soldiers. I also swap experience with other attendants on our work and what we have gained in our political studies. I am determined to retain for ever the fine qualities of a common labourer.

(Continued from p. 7.)

revolution in literature and art. Teng Hsiao-ping's opposition to the transformation of the ranks of literary and art workers was, in essence, an attempt on behalf of the bourgeoisie to win over this literary and art contingent from the proletariat and turn it into a social basis for capitalist restoration.

The Right deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts whipped up by Teng Hsiao-ping in the literary

and art circles was not isolated and accidental; it was a component part of his revisionist line which was opposed to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. The struggle to beat back the Right deviationist wind is actually a continuation and deepening of the struggle on the literary and art front between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines and a continuation and deepening of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. We must carry this struggle through to the end.

# Soviet Social-Imperialism Pursues A Policy of National Oppression

Since its usurpation of power, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has brought about an all-round restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, frenziedly trumpeted big-Russian chauvinism and brutally exploited and oppressed the non-Russian nationalities. The policy of national oppression pursued by the Soviet revisionist authorities has aroused strong indignation and resistance among the people of various nationalities in the country.

The following four articles tell from different angles how the Soviet social-imperialists push their policy of national oppression at home.

## Soviet Revisionists Zealously Push Big-Russian Chauvinism

TO oppress the non-Russian nationalities at home and contend for world domination, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique is feverishly preaching big-Russian chauvinism.

### Trumpeting "Russian Spirit"

Soviet revisionist chieftains, from Khrushchov to Brezhnev, have taken every opportunity to make reports or speeches publicizing big-Russian chauvinism and pan-Slavism. Soviet literature and art and the press also are replete with nauseating muck about big-Russian chauvinism.

Speaking of the national question, Lenin stressed: **"In any really serious and profound political issue sides are taken according to classes, not nations."** (*Critical Remarks on the National Question*.) Out of its counter-revolutionary needs, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has completely betrayed Lenin's teaching by wildly preaching a supra-class "Russian spirit" and openly advertising that an "eternally immutable Russian spirit" has existed since ancient times.

Engels pointed out in 1882 that pan-Slavism was a deceitful plan, under the mask of a non-existent Slav nation, in the scramble for world domination. It is also for world domination that the new tsars today should be so effusive about pan-Slavism. Time and again they have given publicity to the "traditions of Slav identity from time immemorial" between the Russians

and other Slavs and to "the ever-growing political, economic and cultural role of the Slavs in the modern world." The *Outline History of Southern and Western Slavs* published in the Soviet Union says that the southern Slavs "have been linked with Russia from time immemorial because of the closeness of their languages, culture and religious beliefs." The book even terms the Russian nation as the "grandad" and other nations as "junior relatives." "This strong, kind and brave 'Grandad Ivans,'" it goes on to say, "will liberate his junior relatives—the Balkan Slavs." A Soviet revisionist chieftain has even openly threatened that "those who oppose the Russians are opposed to all Slavs."

### Moscow's Racial Superiority Mentality

All national chauvinists take "racial superiority" as their theoretical basis. Hitler's great Germanism was based on the allegation that the Germanic race was superior to all others. This is also the case with Brezhnev and company. They have the effrontery to say that "there has never been greater human character than that (of the Russian nation) at any time and in any place of the world" and that only "the Slav nation, the Russian nation in particular, is most capable of inheriting and developing the wisdom created by all nations for generations." Marxist-Leninists maintain that a nation is divided into classes, and that the working people of all nations, including those of the Russian nation, are industrious, and have inexhaustible wisdom and creativeness and their own fine traditions and culture. The theory that a certain nation is superior to others has nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism. It is Hitler-type fascism advocating aggression and domination of other nations.

According to the logic of the Soviet revisionists, the Russian nation, being the best of all nations, should naturally play the role of "saviour." They make no secret of this unbridled ambition. They said that the occupation of Central Asian countries by tsarist Russia "brought an era of happiness" to the land of Central Asia, that the annexation of Moldavia "ensured the possibility of a quicker economic and cultural development for the Moldavians," and that "the Baikan peoples regard the Russians as their liberators," and so on and so forth. The new tsars today want to go a step further to perform their mission as "liberators" throughout the world. An alternate member of the political bureau of the Soviet party central committee openly claimed at a meeting last October that the Russian nation is a "lead-

ing nation" which "undertakes the major responsibility of striving for social progress and happiness of mankind." The Soviet revisionist renegade clique boasted that the Soviet Union under its rule is now "the prop of international revolutionary liberation movements" and that without allying themselves with the Soviet Union, the developing and liberated countries "cannot have genuine national independence." This is a malignant development of big-Russian chauvinism.

### "Aggression Is Justified" — A Fallacy of the Old Tsars

The new tsars have lavished praises on those Russian "heroes" who had performed service in aggression against other countries. This is part of their effort to instil the theory that "aggression is justified" into the Soviet people so as to drive them to serve as cannon fodder in the scramble for world hegemony. They openly proclaim that the "lust for conquest of unexploited land is a key factor of encouragement to the Russians." They describe tsarist Russia's aggression and expansion as a "process," accomplished in the early 20th century, of "amassing Russian land and seizing unclaimed land for centuries under the powerful hand of overlords." They laud the tsarist Russian aggressors' conquest of Siberia and the Far East as "enabling Russia to be very soon in sight of far-away and vast land as her soul." A Soviet admiral of the fleet has twaddled that tsarist Russia conquered the Astrakhan Kingdom simply because "the Astrakhan Kingdom blocked (Russia's) waterway to the Caspian Sea." Therefore, he added, the three nations along the Baltic Sea should also be conquered by Russia because they were in the way of Russia's passage to the Baltic Sea. It is the logic of both the old and new tsars that any nation which happens to be in the way of their access to the sea must be brought under their rule. Referring to tsarist Russia's contention with Britain for maritime hegemony, that Soviet admiral stated: "How good that the Russian peasants from the provinces of the interior, without waiting for the Englishmen to finish speaking, climbed down from his stove-bench and went to conquer the oceans." In the eyes of the self-styled "loyal Leninists" it was "good" indeed to be cannon fodder in tsarist Russia's conquest of the world! What they preach does not even have the slightest semblance of Leninism. They are echoing the words of the old tsars!

The Soviet revisionist authorities glorify the aggressors who rendered extraordinary services to tsarist Russia's expansion, describing them as "heroes" and even erecting monuments abroad as a tribute to them. The play *Gorchakov Free From Trial* portrays this tsarist Russian prime minister, who participated in the suppression of European revolution and served tsarist Russia in its contention for world domination, as a man symbolic of the "soul of the Russian people." In the novel *The Landmark of the Amur River*, Muraviev who forced China into signing the "Treaty of Aigun" and occupied large tracts of Chinese territory was portrayed as the "vanguard of the explorers in the Amur River area." On orders from Brezhnev and his like, a bronze

statue to Alexander II who was mocked by Engels as an aggressor in carrying out "Czarist variety of liberation" (*The Foreign Policy of Russian Czarism*) is still preserved intact on the Russia Boulevard in Sofia, the Bulgarian capital. Soviet diplomats in Sofia pay homage to the statue every year and the Bulgarian people are also made to do so. Such cases are too numerous to be mentioned here. The all-out efforts made by the Soviet revisionist authorities in this respect are motivated by their attempt to turn the younger generations in the Soviet Union into "worthy successors" to the aggressors to "exploit new land" for Russia now under the rule of the new tsars.

## Despicable Tactics in Moldavia

THE Soviet revisionists have resorted to despicable and malevolent tactics to Russify Moldavia.

**Afraid to Acknowledge Historical Facts.** In 1853 Marx and Engels pointed out that "the Wallachians or Daco-Romans" were "the chief inhabitants of the district between the Lower Danube and the Dniester." (*British Politics — Disraeli — The Refugees — Mazzini in London — Turkey.*) Both the old and new tsars are mortally afraid to acknowledge this fact because it is detrimental to their vicious scheme to Russify the Moldavian people. The old tsarist Russian ruling clique asserted that the Moldavians "were but slightly modified Russians," while the new tsars stress that "an independent nation of Moldavia" only came into being in the early years of the 20th century, and that, with regard to the Moldavian nationality group, the predecessor of this nation, "a number of Slav tribes (mainly the southern and eastern Slav tribes) also partook in its formation."

It is a well-known fact that the territory now under the jurisdiction of the Republic of Moldavia was grabbed by tsarist Russia by force. In 1791 Russia obtained the territory east of River Dniester through the Peace Treaty of Jassy and in 1812 it occupied the area west of this river and east of River Prut through the Peace Treaty of Bucharest. Later this area was renamed Bessarabia. Referring to this, Engels explicitly pointed out: "Here we are dealing with the naked conquest by force of foreign territories, with robbery pure and simple." (*The Foreign Policy of Russian Czarism.*)

Having taken over the old tsars' mantle, the new tsars are especially afraid of the exposure of the old tsars by the people. They fear most the narration by Moldavians of historical facts about the old tsars' occupation and oppression of their country. The Soviet revisionist authorities have openly declared against any permission "to make use of the Moldavians' respect for the past and their sense of national independence." While the new tsars have time and again criticized noted Moldavian scholars for their appraisal of "past events and phenomena," they themselves have distorted history by every possible means in defending the old tsars.

**Destruction of Moldavian Culture.** To ensure the Russification of Moldavia, the old tsars tried desperately to destroy Moldavian culture. The *Bigger Soviet Encyclopedia* published in 1954 states in its 28th volume that, under pressure by the tsarist authorities, schools where teaching was conducted in the Moldavian language in the first half of the 19th century were closed, and Russian was used instead in all organizations. The new tsars, pursuing the same tactics as the old tsars, have forced the use of the Russian language and repressed the use of Moldavian under the cloak of the "system of simultaneously using two languages."

The report by the first secretary of the Moldavian party central committee carried in *Soviet Moldavia* on April 27, 1973 declared that Russian must be studied from the kindergarten to the college in Moldavia. *Soviet Ethnography*, in its fifth issue last year, urged "popularization of Russian among the inhabitants of the (Moldavian) Republic." Moldavian language schools have declined under this policy, and the above-mentioned first secretary had to admit that little has been achieved in national education in some areas of Moldavia.

Publications printed in the Moldavian language have decreased in number. According to the *Yearbook of Soviet National Economic Statistics*, the number of newspapers in Moldavian decreased by 50 per cent between 1960 and 1974. Only 33 per cent of the books published in the republic in 1974 were in the Moldavian language as against 64 per cent in 1950. The Kremlin authorities banned the use of Moldavian terminology, denouncing it as "an attempt to substitute terms alien to the nature of mutual linguistic relationship among the Soviet peoples for unified internationalist scientific terminology." The Soviet Central Television Station disclosed in its "Answers and Viewers" programme on September 27, 1974 that viewers had written letters to the station complaining that in Moldavia "the native language is practically not used."

**Increasing Number of People Compelled to Move.** To speed up Russification and tighten their control of Moldavia, the Soviet revisionist authorities, under the pretext of "cadres exchange," have moved large numbers of Moldavian people from their homeland. *Moldavian Inhabitants*, published in the Soviet Union, admits that, compared with the 1959 figure, the number of Moldavians living in all other republics increased in 1970 with the increase being twofold and even sixfold in some republics. The 1970 census indicated that more than 390,000 Moldavians (that is, 14.6 per cent of the entire Moldavian people) had been forced to leave the republic. Those who had left were quickly Russified and, according to the results of the 1970 census, 17 per cent of them had adopted Russian as their own language.

The Soviet-published handbook *World Population* says: "Those people who have adopted another language will eventually lose their ethnic (national) identity." That is to say, they have been completely Russified.

**Repressing Moldavian Cadres.** With the Moldavians having now been reduced to a powerless position politically, the new tsars have done everything they can to repress the Moldavian cadres. After the October Revolution, the Bolshevik Party considered the training of large numbers of non-Russian cadres as one of the most important tasks in non-Russian regions. But the Soviet revisionist renegade clique is now doing exactly the opposite. *Soviet Moldavia* stressed in a report on April 27, 1973 that in Moldavia "the question of cadres should be handled in an internationalist way" and that cadres should have "received a higher education and be multinational." For years, the new tsars have on this pretext replaced many Moldavian cadres with so-called Russian experts with a higher education. The working people of Moldavia have lost their right to be masters of their own affairs. Many have been arrested and put into concentration camps merely because they wrote to the Moldavian authorities opposing forced Russification.

**Lowest Level of Development in the Soviet Union.** The old tsars turned Moldavia into a vast garden for growing grapes, vegetables and tobacco. The new tsars, flaunting the banner of "regional division of labour," have followed the old tsars' example. Today, Moldavia has the lowest level of industrial development in the Soviet Union. Its per-capita output of grain in 1974 was about 33 per cent below that of 1913 in tsarist Russia. The living standard of the Moldavian people also is the lowest in the Soviet Union.

**Indignation and Resistance of the Moldavians.** The new tsars' deeds have aroused strong indignation among the Moldavian people. Moldavian writers have used references to the evil doings of the old tsars to express their discontent with the new tsars. The first secretary of the Moldavian party central committee has complained that articles which deal with nationalism, give vent to apolitical views and distort past and contemporary history are found in certain Moldavian publications. The Soviet press has from time to time disclosed that some Moldavians have published books or distributed leaflets exposing the new tsars. It is reported that organizations whose aim is to get rid of the new tsars' domination have been set up. The Moldavian people's struggle against the new tsars is gaining strength.

## Kirghizia's Economy Worsens

SINCE the all-round restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has ruthlessly exploited and oppressed the non-Russian nationalities. As a result, the economy of the Kirghiz Republic has been seriously damaged and class contradictions and the contradictions among the various nationalities have become increasingly acute. This is best illustrated by the numerous facts given in a report by T. Usabaliev, first secretary of the central committee of the party of Kirghizia, which was carried in the

Soviet paper *Sovietskaya Kirghizia* on January 17 this year.

**Agricultural Plan Unfulfilled.** Referring to agriculture in Kirghizia, the report admitted that "the republic has failed to fulfil adequately the tasks of producing grain, meat and milk set in the five-year plan. Our output of vegetables and potatoes is low and their quality poor." "Many regions and districts have failed to accomplish both the production tasks of the five-year plan and the procurement plans of the national economy," the report added.

According to the report, the republic's purchase of agricultural and animal products fell far short of the plan. It disclosed that "167 collective and state farms have failed to sell or deliver livestock and poultry to the state according to plan."

Farmland water conservancy is in a sad pass. The report admitted that "many important questions concerning the rational use of land and water resources have not been solved satisfactorily here. For instance, over half of the water from irrigation networks has seeped away without being utilized and about 40 per cent of the irrigation networks are being operated in the absence of necessary facilities, while more than half of the farmland in need of soil improvement lacks a drainage network that is fully reliable."

**Industry in a Mess.** Industrial production is also in a mess in Kirghizia, with one-tenth of the enterprises failing to fulfil the sales plans every year.

The report pointed out: "Many enterprises under the Ministry of Building Materials Industry, the Ministry of Local Industry and the Ministry of Construction as well as machine-building and metal-processing departments have suffered heavy losses owing to the rejects they turned out." The report continued: "Shoddy products have brought considerable losses to the national economy" and "in the past two years alone, shoddy products ran to 5.8 million rubles in value in the total sales volume." "Do we consider it normal that only 3 per cent of our industrial products are up to the best-quality mark? The proportion of quality products turned out by enterprises under the Ministry of Light Industry and the Ministry of Meat and Dairy Industry is even smaller, ranging from 0.6 to 0.4 per cent only," the report disclosed.

Regarding problems existing in the construction departments, the report noted: "The situation in the Ministry of Construction and the Ministry of Rural Construction is even worse, with more than one-half of their bureaux unable to fulfil their plans for years running."

**No Welfare for the People.** The Brezhnev clique has time and again professed "concern for the people's welfare." But as a result of ruthless oppression and exploitation by the Soviet bureaucrat-monopoly bourgeoisie, the so-called "people's welfare" is nothing but a humbug. The report had to admit that in Kirghizia,

"many of the working people's needs are far from being fully satisfied. Housing is both backward and shoddy. Party organizations and local Soviet organs have shown little concern for service facilities, particularly those in rural settlements."

The Brezhnev clique's line of intensifying national oppression has led to the daily sharpening of class contradictions and the contradictions among the various nationalities in Kirghizia. The report disclosed that the so-called "Zlobin method," a new trick used by the Soviet revisionist authorities to step up the exploitation of workers in the construction departments, has met with resistance from the people in Kirghizia. As a result, out of the 84 building brigades that have adopted the "Zlobin method," only eight met their targets last year. The working people also show their resentment by absence from work and slowdowns. The report lamented that "the waste in working hours in enterprises of local and light industries is enormous, resulting from absenteeism, work stoppages and groundless leaves approved by the management." "In the republic's building units alone, absenteeism in the past five years amounted to a loss of more than 325,000 workdays," it added.

While boasting that "the objective prerequisites for any antagonistic contradictions in the relations between nationalities have been eliminated," the report wildly attacked the so-called "nationalist remnants," "localism" and "national conceit," and trumpeted the need to step up "the struggle against these manifestations."

In the face of the deteriorating economy and sharpening class contradictions and contradictions among the various nationalities, the Brezhnev clique has resorted to its stock tricks: wholesale removal of cadres in the economic departments as scapegoats and sweeping purges of cadres considered to be incompetent in repressing non-Russian nationalities. Kirghizia is no exception. The report admitted that "1,184 people in the list of leading personnel under the direct charge of the Kirghiz party central committee were removed from office in the last five years."

## Another Big Purge in the Ukraine

**T**HE Brezhnev clique recently removed a large number of cadres in the Ukraine. This is yet another big purge since 1972.

**Purge Wave.** The President and two Vice-Presidents of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukraine as well as 14 Vice-Chairman, Ministers and Commission Chairmen of the Council of Ministers, all appointed at a session of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukraine last July, have been replaced. Practically all the secretaries of municipal party committees of the Ukraine, many secretaries of regional party committees and secretaries of party organizations at various levels in charge of ideological work have been removed.

At the Ukrainian party congress held from February 10 to 13 this year, the Soviet revisionist authorities again replaced a number of important figures. I. K. Lutak, member of the political bureau and second secretary of the Ukrainian party central committee; N. T. Kalchenko, member of the political bureau and first Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers; V. I. Degtyaryov, member of the political bureau; and V. M. Tsybulyko, alternate member of the political bureau and first secretary of the Kiev regional party committee, were all removed.

**Reason for the Purge.** The Ukrainians are the largest non-Russian nationality in the Soviet Union. The big-Russian chauvinist policy of national oppression pursued by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique in the Ukraine since its usurpation of power has met with strong resistance from the Ukrainian people who have on many occasions held strikes and demonstrations against national oppression by the new tsars.

In the autumn of 1972, a large-scale strike by workers took place in Dniepropetrovsk, one of the biggest industrial cities in the Ukraine. In the spring of 1973, students of Ukrainy University, on the occasion of commemorating the Ukrainian poet T. G. Shevchenko, held a rally protesting national oppression by the new tsars. The Ukrainian people have also persisted in publishing underground journals and distributing leaflets to expose the new tsars.

Panic-stricken by these developments in the Ukrainian people's struggle, the Brezhnev clique has repeatedly arrested and suppressed those Ukrainians who dare to resist oppression and exploitation. It has more than once blamed the party and government leaders of the Ukraine for "failing to discharge their duties in overcoming the remnants of nationalism." P. E. Shelest was thus removed from his post as first secretary of the Ukrainian party central committee in May 1972. This was followed by successive purges of Ukrainian cadres.

## Moscow's Transnational Corporations Go by The Name "Joint-Stock Companies"

by Fei Chou

DEVELOPING countries have been striving vigorously in recent years to set up a new international economic order by which to safeguard their state sovereignty, expand their national economy and oppose exploitation and plunder by the imperialists, particularly the superpowers. It is an important integral part of the struggle of the countries and people of the third world against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism.

The Soviet social-imperialists, to keep a continuous flow of profits from their expansion and plunder abroad, have tried their utmost, including the use of counter-revolutionary dual tactics, to thwart and undermine this struggle of the developing countries. They use the same tactics in regard to transnational corporations. While hypocritically denouncing such corporations, in the same breath the social-imperialists speak highly of their "advantages," alleging that the Soviet Union fully understands that in order to obtain capital and technology a number of developing countries "might be interested in knitting ties with transnational corporations." Meanwhile, the Soviet revisionists are peddling everywhere "joint-stock companies" — transnational corporations of the Moscow brand.

What are these "joint-stock companies" so painstakingly paraded and peddled by the Soviet revisionists?

**Large-Scale Export of Capital.** Lenin pointed out: "Typical of the latest stage of capitalism, when

monopolies rules, is the export of capital." (*Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism.*) Since their rise to power and restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, the Soviet revisionists have exported capital on a large scale in the form of "economic and military assistance" to plunder and fleece many third world nations. At the beginning of the 60s, they started launching Soviet-run enterprises or "joint-stock companies" abroad by means of direct investment. In recent years, the Soviet revisionist authorities have set great store by such companies because they are a better means of hoodwinking people than the Soviet-run enterprises. From the granting of "aid" and loans to direct export of capital to run enterprises — this marks an important change in Soviet economic expansion in the third world. It shows how far the Soviet Union under the domination of the revisionists has travelled on the road of imperialism.

"Joint-stock companies" run by the Soviet Union in the third world appeared as early as in the time of Khrushchov's rule and developed after Brezhnev took office. Flaunting the banner of "developing trade," the Soviet Union stepped up its expansion abroad, especially in the developing countries, in the mid-60s and the "joint-stock companies" with trade as their main business followed in its wake. From 1964 to 1969, the Soviet Union opened four such companies with local private merchants in four countries in Africa and Asia.

Since the 70s, the Soviet-run "joint-stock companies" in the third world have been rapidly multiplying. Available statistics show that the Soviet Union set up ten such companies in ten countries in Asia and Africa from 1970 to June 1975.

In West European countries, the Soviet Union operates many industrial and commercial enterprises with exclusive Soviet capital or on a "joint-stock" basis. Take Belgium alone. Press reports say there are eight Belgian-Soviet "joint-stock companies" — with the Soviet Union investing the bulk of capital — whose business covers shipping, assembling motor vehicles and tractors, food grain, petrochemicals, mineral products, diamond, optical instruments, electronic computers and other electronic equipment. As the tempo of Soviet aggression and expansion abroad keeps rising, Soviet investments in these enterprises are rapidly on the increase.

**More Ruthless Exploitation and Plunder.** What are the Soviet-run "joint-stock companies" up to? Soviet publications plump for setting up production enterprises owned exclusively by the Soviet Union or jointly with local national or private capital to further raise the "efficiency of economic co-operation" with developing countries.

The form of direct investment is used by the Soviet Union to impose on the developing countries accepting its investment a situation in which the Soviet Union provides fund and technical equipment while the latter provide labour and raw materials. In this way, it subjects these countries to more ruthless exploitation and plunder. This kind of "joint-stock company" is exactly the same as the transnational corporation of the Western monopoly capital. In addition, as the capital exported from the Soviet Union is owned by that social-imperialist state, the areas where the investment goes, the projects to be undertaken and the spheres of activity are all selected strictly in accordance with the needs of the Soviet Government in aggression and expansion abroad. In this sense, the "joint-stock companies," the transnational corporations of the Moscow brand, have far outstripped their counterparts of the West in rapaciousness.

From what has been disclosed over many years, people already have an idea about what the "joint-stock companies" are doing.

Firstly, they carry out political infiltration under the signboard of "enterprise." Like other Soviet operatives abroad, many of those working in the "joint-stock companies" are given special political tasks by the Kremlin.

Secondly, they control the production and trade of the countries where they operate and interfere in their internal affairs. As a rule, a "joint-stock company" with Soviet investment must provide its products to the Soviet Union and carry out other harsh terms. Though the company is called "jointly owned," the other shareholder apart from the Soviet Union has no right to decide on what to produce and sell. A typical example

is the Erdenedin copper-molybdenum mine in the People's Republic of Mongolia. Of this so-called "joint-stock company," the share held by Mongolia is a loan granted by the Soviet Union. Therefore it should be called a Soviet enterprise. Under the contract signed with Moscow, Mongolia is allowed only to exploit ores but not to process them itself. Furthermore, the exploited ores can go only to the Soviet Union and not to any other country. Under the "joint-stock company" signboard, the Soviet Union has unscrupulously exploited the Mongolian labour force, plundered Mongolia's resources, and trampled underfoot its sovereignty in the process.

Thirdly, these "joint-stock companies" make it easier for the Soviet Union to export to the third world countries those machines, equipment and other industrial products which are difficult to sell on the Western markets. These companies put it in a better position to compete with the Western industrialized countries for markets.

Fourthly, the Soviet Union uses these companies to exploit cheap labour of other countries and plunder their natural resources. An African newspaper disclosed that the local workers of the "joint-stock companies" were poorly paid, the worst among those of the same trade. Take a rich fishing country in West Africa for instance. A Soviet-run "joint-stock" fishing company owns a fleet of ten vessels, on which all miscellaneous odd jobs and heavy physical labour are done by the local employees, and there are only six local apprentice technicians in all. At the same time, as the fleet uses Soviet-made closely knit fishing net, even small fish and fry cannot escape, thus seriously damaging the fishery resources there. Therefore, the people of this country fear that their maritime resources would be exhausted in a matter of a few years, if this situation continues. Moreover, the better catch by the company is all shipped away by Soviet refrigerator vessels, leaving only small and miscellaneous fish for the local people.

From what the Soviet "joint-stock companies" have done, people can clearly see that this new form of "co-operation" between the Soviet Union and developing countries is nothing but a carbon copy of Western monopoly capital's transnationals!

As the resolute struggle of the third world countries and people against the old international economic order and for the establishment of a new order on the basis of equality and mutual benefit is surging forward, the transnationals have become the target of attack by people everywhere. But Moscow is still so keen about the form of "joint-stock company" and brags about it with no sense of shame. This only reveals the nature of social-imperialism in all its greediness and wickedness. As the third world countries and people are awakening and their struggle further deepens, both the Western transnationals and the Soviet-run "joint-stock companies" will be swept into the garbage heap of history. A new international economic order based on equality and mutual benefit will certainly come into being.



# The Brezhnev Gambit of Getting "Returns a Hundredfold"

IN a recently published collection of his speeches and reports, Brezhnev expunged a sentence from a speech he made at a plenary session of the central committee of the Soviet revisionist party in December 1973. In a reference to the work of the Soviet people, he said at the session: "We must spare no expenditure to carry out material encouragement, for such expenditure will bring returns a hundredfold." These words are preserved intact in the 1974 edition of the book *Problems of the C.P.S.U. Agricultural Policy and Reclamation of Virgin Lands in Kazakhstan*, but the sentence "such expenditure will bring returns a hundredfold" has disappeared in the recent volume of Brezhnev's speeches and reports entitled *On Basic Problems of the C.P.S.U. Economic Policy at the Present Stage*. This deletion is not without its significance.

Getting "returns a hundredfold" is typical capitalist jargon; it betrays the class nature of the bureaucrat-monopoly bourgeoisie represented by Brezhnev. In *Capital*, Marx vividly described the greedy nature of the capitalists by quoting the following: "With adequate profit, capital is very bold. A certain 10 per cent will ensure its employment anywhere; 20 per cent certain will produce eagerness; 50 per cent, positive audacity; 100 per cent will make it ready to trample on all human laws; 300 per cent, and there is not a crime at which it will scruple, nor a risk it will not run, even to the chance of its owner being hanged."

Since a 300 per cent profit makes the capitalists run the risk of being hanged, then the Soviet revisionists naturally will "spare no expenditure" for getting "returns a hundredfold."

Brezhnev has banked on covering his traces by a stealthy deletion of a phrase, but his clumsy sleight-of-hand only gives the show away. The more he tries to hide, the more his ugliness is revealed.

Since getting "returns a hundredfold" is a reflection of the class nature of Brezhnev and company, similar phrases come natural to him, and it is difficult for him to retract every such utterance. In the above-mentioned speech, Brezhnev said: We can only "allocate each ruble to the place where we can be compensated by two, three and even ten rubles tomorrow. . . . All of us, from the central to local organizations, must learn the complex art of money-making. That is nothing to be ashamed of." These remarks which have the same meaning as the phrase "returns a hundredfold" have not been deleted from the book.

But even if Brezhnev is able to retract all the words he has uttered, no trick whatsoever can erase

the Soviet revisionists' ugly performance in seeking "returns a hundredfold."

## Exactng Maximum Surplus Value at Home

"Economic reform," "scientific organization of labour," "the Shchekino experience" and "the Zlobin method" and whatnot which the Kremlin revisionists have put into practice in the Soviet Union are an embodiment of that "art of money-making" expressed in the phrase "returns a hundredfold."

The Aksaisk Plastics Plant is chosen by the Soviet revisionist authorities as an outstanding collective for "learning the complex art of money-making." The Soviet journal *Communist* states that this plant is "outstanding" because "every ruble paid to the workers by the plant as material reward yields 16 rubles and 60 kopecks." In fact, even that ruble is not awarded gratis by the Brezhnev clique. For the Soviet treasury will be reimbursed by such measures as higher resident tax and increased commodity prices. The Soviet revisionists have announced that in 1960 alone they collected 5,600 million rubles in resident tax. This tax is expected to reach 19,600 million rubles in 1976; an increase of 3.5 times. Based on obviously doctored figures, the *Yearbook of Soviet National Economic Statistics* states that from 1960 to 1974, retail prices of meat and poultry in state-run shops rose 29 per cent and that of potatoes 14 per cent. The Soviet journal *Communist* has also admitted that in some Soviet enterprises cheap commodities are sold at higher prices in one way or another. How skilfully the new Soviet bourgeois elements in the central and local organizations have mastered Brezhnev's "complex art of money-making"!

To call a spade a spade, the "art of money-making" and getting "returns a hundredfold" are nothing but a trick to produce the maximum surplus value by means of minimum capital outlay, as described by Marx in his article on surplus value.

## Practising "Art of Money-Making" Abroad

Brezhnev and his ilk also put into practice the "complex art of money-making" abroad. The Soviet revisionists' much-vaunted "disinterested assistance" is a living example of this.

Referring to the German imperialists' export of capital in his work *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, Lenin pointed out: Finance capital is concerned "with skinning the ox twice — first, it pockets the profits from the loan; then it pockets other profits from the same loan which the borrower uses to make purchases from Krupp, or to purchase railway material from the Steel Syndicate, etc."

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# ON THE HOME FRONT

## ***Peking Workers' Theoretical Contingent Growing in Strength***

THE Peking workers' theoretical contingent is growing in strength in the mass movement to study Marxism-Leninism and in the struggle to criticize revisionism. It is playing an important militant role.

The contingent is made up of 160,000 workers in the capital; 16,000 of them have been organized in over 2,000 groups for studying special subjects which include philosophy, political economy, scientific socialism, literary and art theory, the international situation, law and history. By last autumn, they had written and brought out more than 170 books, and 1,200 articles written by them had been published in newspapers or magazines.

These theoretical workers have become the backbone force in the Peking workers' study movement. Of the million or so workers in Peking, 800,000 have joined study groups which have been formed in every factory or enterprise. They study works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and Chairman Mao's works during their spare time and hold discussions linking their study with the realities of China's socialist revolution and construction. Their activities have the support and help of Party organizations at all levels and professional theoretical workers.

Workers studying theory is a new-born thing that has emerged during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. After being tempered in the movement to criticize Lin Biao and Confucius in 1974 and the movement to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat which began last year, the workers' theoretical contingent has now become an important force on the ideological and theoretical front.

In the current struggle to criticize the revisionist line of the arch unrepentant capitalist-roader in the Party Tong Hsiao-ping, they have conscientiously studied the series of impor-

tant instructions given by Chairman Mao and works by Marx, Engels and Lenin. They have written many articles and made a deep analysis of many important questions, such as the character, task, targets and future of the socialist revolution and classes and class struggle during the period of socialism as well as the question that the bourgeoisie is right in the Communist Party.

The Peking workers' theoretical contingent, which has emerged and developed during the mass study movement, in turn helps promote this movement. In the movement to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the theoretical group of the No. 5 plant of the Peking Motor Vehicle Repair Company has written over a dozen articles after carrying out social investigations and collecting a large amount of materials. Over the last two years, members of the group have given some 200 lectures to the workers and staff of their own factory to help them in their studies. They have also been invited to give reports at the philosophy and social science department of the Chinese Academy of Sciences and some universities and colleges.

The development of the mass study movement and the growth of the workers' theoretical contingent have contributed to the working class occupying all positions in the superstructure with Marxism-Leninism. The theoretical group of the letterpress printing workshop in the Peking Hsinhua Printing House has carried out studies on special subjects, such as the Chinese currency system, the origin of commodities and the invention and development of letterpress printing. The articles they have written have been commended by the academic departments concerned. This printing house's study group on international affairs has made studies on the economic crises in the capitalist world, the struggle of the people of the third world against hegemonism, and the historical lessons to be drawn from

the transformation of the Soviet Union into social-imperialism. They have written and published some 20 articles and five books on these subjects.

## ***Microwave Communications Trunk Line Completed***

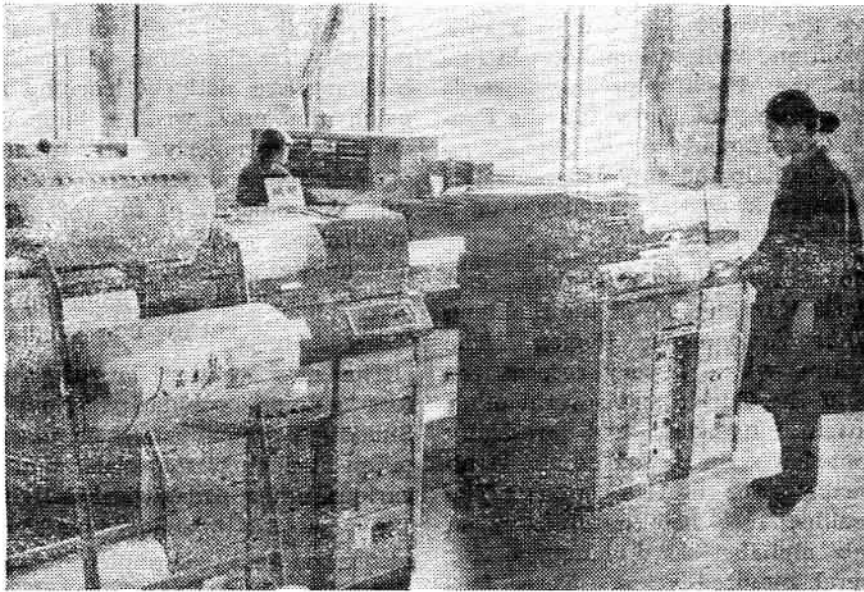
A MICROWAVE communications trunk line linking Peking with more than 20 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions throughout China has been completed. The line is equipped with a 960-channel transistorized and a 600-channel electron tube microwave signalling system — all designed, made and installed by our own efforts.

Transmission of television, facsimiles, telegrams and telephone message is now being carried through this trunk line between major cities from the eastern seaboard to the plateau in northwest China and from the Changpai Mountains in the northeast to the Pearl River in south China.

The trunk line is made up of multi-radio channels. Each radio channel of one signalling system has 600 or 960 voice channels, or is capable of transmitting television. The Peking Television Station now transmits through the microwave communications system coloured and other television to stations in more than 20 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions across the country.

Now readers in remote areas can read *Renmin Ribao* on the day of issue as the newspaper pages are transmitted by high-speed facsimile apparatus through this new line.

Microwave telecommunications is being developed in China amidst the fierce struggle between the two lines. China began to do research in this field and trial-manufacture equipment in the late 50s. But imperialism kept its techniques secret while the Soviet revisionist renegade clique tore up agreements and contracts and recalled all its technical experts in a vain attempt to check our progress. Workers and staff members at the postal and telecommunications departments, breaking through their blockade, succeeded in making the 60-channel electron tube microwave



The high-speed facsimile apparatus in the Peking Telecommunications Bureau.

signalling equipment. When they started to trial-produce the 600-channel electron tube microwave signalling equipment in 1964, Liu Shao-chi and his followers advocated servility to things foreign and the doctrine of trailing behind others at a snail's pace. The workers and staff members firmly implemented Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and, racing against time, successfully made the equipment by hard work and self-reliance within three years.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Biao and Confucius opened a broad road for the expansion of microwave telecommunications in China. Workers and staff members in the research institutes, factories and units concerned began in 1969 to study and build the 960-channel transistorized microwave signalling equipment which is of a higher level in techniques as well as in the degree of automation. At the same time, work got under way on a large scale to construct microwave communications trunk lines.

By conscientiously studying the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and Chairman Mao's works and deepening their criticism of the revisionist line of Liu Shao-chi and Lin Biao, workers and staff members of telecommunications departments further raised their level of consciousness in class struggle and the struggle between the two lines and

in continuing the revolution. They brought into full play the three-in-one combination of workers, cadres and technicians, overcame many major technical difficulties, solved the problems involved in high-precision manufacturing processes and succeeded in making the 960-channel transistorized microwave signalling equipment with Chinese-made parts and components.

### Salt Lakes

**T**HERE are numerous salt lakes in China. Tibet, Chinghai, Sinkiang, Inner Mongolia and some other provinces and regions are studded with them; the Tibet Autonomous Region alone has several hundreds. The Chaerhhan Salt Lake in Chinghai, the biggest discovered so far in China, covers an area of over 5,000 square kilometres, and contains enough salt to supply the world population for over 1,000 years.

Salt lakes are rich in resources. Potassium, boron, lithium, bromine and dozens of other elements can be found in the salt water. Some of these have already formed big natural mines and become a rich storehouse for the inorganic industry. Salt is not only a necessity of life but also indispensable raw material for the chemical, metallurgical and rubber industries, and agriculture as well.

China has a long history of extracting salt from lakes, beginning as

early as over 2,000 years ago. However, owing to the monopoly over salt resources by the reactionary ruling classes dynasty after dynasty, they remained largely undeveloped and unused for a long time.

Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line after liberation, the people of our country have adhered to the policy of maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands and relying on our own efforts and thus made possible the rapid development of salterns together with related scientific and technical undertakings. The contingent of scientific and technical personnel has been further broadened especially during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Biao and Confucius. A large amount of work in relation to salt lakes has been done in the field of geology, mining and the chemical industry. Factories have been set up in many regions, and the resources of the salt lakes have been exploited and comprehensively utilized in a big way, raising the quantity and quality of the products year by year. In 1975 the national plan for crude salt production was overfulfilled 80 days ahead of schedule. The output increased eightfold over 1949, hitting a record high. The Chinghai Chaerhhan Potassium Fertilizer Plant set up during the socialist big leap forward in 1958 has adopted a new technique in extracting potassium, and realized mechanization. In 1975 the output of potassium fertilizer was 21 times that of 1965, the year before the Great Cultural Revolution. Formerly some factories could produce only crude salt, but now they are able to produce potassium chloride, bromine element, metallic magnesium, iron trichloride and many other chemical products.

### Sinkiang Adopts New Written Languages

**N**EW Uighur and Kazakh written languages have been popularized since 1965 in the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region on China's northwest frontier, where minority peoples live in compact communities. This has promoted cultural and edu-

educational development in this region and raised the educational level of the labouring people. Both new written languages have become powerful weapons in waging revolutionary struggles.

The clearly formed letters of these new languages, which are convenient for use and study, not only enable people to acquire a quick mastery of vocabulary, but provide favourable conditions for modernization of typewriting, printing and communications. With the adoption of them, the rate of literacy has gone up more than 20 per cent as compared with that when the old written languages were used. Through diligent study, some workers, peasants and herdsmen, who were illiterate before liberation, can now read books and newspapers. Many cadres at the grass-roots level have enhanced their educational attainment and improved working ability, thus making greater contributions to both revolution and production. Popularization of the new written languages has helped strengthen the ties and unity among various nationalities.

The Chinese Communist Party and People's Government have shown great concern for the development of cultural undertakings of the people of various nationalities. While stipulating that minority peoples

have the freedom to use their own spoken and written languages in line with the Party's policy towards nationalities, the Party and the People's Government have also spared no effort to help the national minorities reform their written languages on a voluntary basis.

Some five million Uighurs and 700,000 Kazakhs live in the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region. The Uighurs, whose history records the use of the Turkic and several other written languages, had gradually adopted a script based on the Arab alphabet since the 11th century. The Kazakhs, too, had naturalized an Arab alphabet-based language for several hundred years. These languages, though to some extent playing a positive role in history, fell far short of the needs of the fast developing socialist revolution and construction, because they were too difficult for ordinary people to learn, write and use.

What with the social, political, economical and cultural developments today and what with the development in the languages themselves, it became necessary to reform the old written languages. This was the inevitable trend in the development of the Uighur and Kazakh written languages and the pressing demand of the people as well.

Workers and staff members of minority nationalities throughout Sinkiang are actively learning and using the new written languages, and they are eagerly joined by many of their Han counterparts. As a result, the majority of the cadres and intellectuals of Uighur and Kazakh nationalities as well as over 50 per cent of youngsters and adults in Sinkiang have learnt the new languages.

The new written languages are fast gaining popularity. Now all Sinkiang's schools use them in compiling teaching materials and in various other pedagogical activities. They are also introduced widely in society on seals, door plates, tickets and bills, certificates, slogans, trademarks, wall newspapers and telegrams. The four volumes of the *Selected Works of Mao Tsetung* and a number of works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin have been translated into the new Uighur and Kazakh languages and published and circulated in large amounts. Books in both new scripts account for 69 per cent of the total published by the Sinkiang People's Publishing House, while the new Uighur and Kazakh language editions of *Hongqi*, *Sinkiang Daily*, *Nationality Pictorial* and *Sinkiang Literature and Art* are now available.

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The Brezhnev clique has gone a step further. It fleeces the recipient countries many more times, forcing them to pay back the loans through the sale of their own products at low prices and through other ways. The Indian paper *Economic Times* estimates that because of Soviet revisionist exploitation in many ways, by the time India has cleared all its debts the Soviet Union will get 565.7 per cent of its loans back from India. In other words, for every ruble given to India by the Soviet Union, it will take back more than five and a half rubles.

The Brezhnev clique used many high-sounding words such as "internationalism" and "disinterested assistance" when it offered "aid" to Egypt. But it was not long before Brezhnev began to collect "returns a hundredfold" from that country. He demanded high rates of interest, low prices for raw materials, military bases, domination of the country's armed forces and even sacrifice of its sovereignty. When the Egyptian

people resisted, the Brezhnev clique pressed for immediate payment of the debts. This is a good illustration of the meaning of "disinterested assistance" by the Brezhnev clique.

The Soviet journal *World Economics and International Relations* states that loans to other countries "not only provide possibilities but also the right to benefit from them." It adds that "any loss incurred in the national economy by granting such loans can be made good or even more than made good by savings on imports" from the debtor nations. "More than made good" means getting back more money. This magazine has to a certain extent exposed what lies behind the so-called "disinterested assistance"; it is part of the "art of money-making."

To get back several and even a hundred rubles for every ruble they lend is the creed on which the Soviet social-imperialists and Soviet bureaucrat-monopoly bourgeoisie place great importance. They will not give up this creed at home and abroad.

# ROUND THE WORLD

## NAMIBIA

### Armed Struggle Stepped Up

In the past four months, the guerrillas of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) wiped out nearly 100 South African racist occupation troops in their intensified armed struggle. This was announced by SWAPO's Chief Representative resident in East Africa Lucas Pohamba at a press conference on May 20 in Dar-es-Salaam.

On April 22, SWAPO guerrillas, operating in the northeastern area, ambushed a motorized detachment of the racist army at Enana, 30 kilometres south of the Namibia-Angola border, inflicting heavy losses in men and material on the enemy side. In one of the battles, he said, 29 South African troops were killed, 60 others wounded and four armoured cars and four military jeeps completely destroyed.

On April 19, a SWAPO sabotage unit attacked the building of the Bureau of State Security in Windhoek, capital of Namibia, killing four agents and wounding 20 others.

From March 7 to 18, the SWAPO guerrillas engaged the South African troops patrolling the border areas between Namibia and Angola. Anti-aircraft units shot down three helicopters and one military plane of the South African occupation army. In another engagement, the SWAPO guerrillas destroyed seven enemy troop carriers, killing 45 enemy troops and wounding many others.

## ISLAMIC COUNTRIES

### 7th Foreign Ministers Conference

The 7th session of the Islamic Foreign Ministers Conference attended by 41 countries took place in Turkey's Istanbul during May 12-15.

A communique issued by the conference says that the conference affirmed its solidarity with and support for the struggle of the Palestine Liberation Organization and the Palestinian and Arab people for ending Zionist occupation, for liberating the occupied territories and for re-

storing the full national rights of the Palestinian people. The conference maintained that "the Palestinian cause is the core of the Middle East question," and that peace in the Middle East "can only be based on the total withdrawal of Israel from all occupied Arab territories and the restoration of the national and inalienable rights of the Palestinian people."

The conference, the communique adds, reaffirmed the commitments of the Islamic countries to the struggle against racism in Azania, Namibia, Zimbabwe and occupied Palestine, and called on all Islamic countries to extend greater moral and material assistance to the liberation movements in southern Africa.

The communique expresses concern at the difficulties experienced by Bangladesh as a result of sharing the water of the international Ganges River. "The conference," the communique says, "expressed the hope that this problem will be solved expeditiously and satisfactorily through discussions among the countries concerned in the greater interests of peace and stability in the region."

"The conference examined the new international circumstances resulting from the emergence of the group of third world states as a force that should play its role in directing international politics in order to realize international peace and justice," it says. "The conference underlined, in this connection, that the time has come to revise the United Nations Charter in accordance with these new circumstances in a manner that would guarantee all states justice and equality."

"The conference affirmed the commitment of the Islamic countries to the establishment of a new and just international economic order," the communique adds.

## NATO COUNCIL

### Spring Session

The NATO council held its spring session in Oslo on May 20 and 21. The session, attended by the foreign

ministers of the 15 member countries, put the stress on reviewing the recent trends in the relations between these countries and the Soviet Union.

After the conference on European security and co-operation last year, the Soviet Union stepped up, instead of slowing down, its military expansion. In particular, it made no attempt to conceal its interference in the affairs of Angola. This has aroused apprehensions and vigilance in the Western countries. To a certain extent, the session reflected the public feelings of these countries. The final communique released at the end of the session emphasizes that the members of the North Atlantic alliance must "maintain and, where necessary, enhance . . . their deterrent and defensive strength." It adds that they will "continue to strive for a relaxation of tensions."

The final communique says the ministers attending the session felt that "they must once again voice their concern at the sustained growth in the Warsaw Pact countries' military power, on land, at sea and in the air beyond levels apparently justified for defensive purposes." "The ministers again stressed the determination of their governments to take measures necessary to maintain and improve the efficiency of their forces, as an essential safeguard for the security of member countries whether against military aggression or political pressure."

The session discussed the Vienna negotiations on disarmament in Central Europe. The ministers present reaffirmed that "NATO forces should not be reduced except in the context of mutual and balanced force reduction agreements."

On the situation in the Mediterranean, the communique says that the ministers "emphasized the importance they attach to maintaining the balance of forces throughout the Mediterranean area."

Speaking at the opening ceremony, NATO Secretary-General Joseph Luns said that the Soviet Union "is not only pressing on by means of an unremitting defence effort, with the reinforcement of its nuclear potential and its conventional forces in

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# Friendship Notes

## Welcoming Thai Culture Mission

The Chinese people gave a warm welcome to the Thai Culture Mission during its China tour from April 15 to May 6. Members of the mission brought not only Thailand's dance artistry but also deep friendly feelings of the Thai people for the Chinese people.

Thai dancing has a tradition that goes back far into history and is accentuated by national flavour and colour. The rich programme the mission presented included lively, earthy folk dance, the martial art display with a distinctive national style plus traditional items.

The *Fishing Dance* portrays vividly the hardworking life of northeast Thailand's fishermen. Graceful movements and robust and humorous accompanying melody struck an immediate responsive chord among Chinese audience and artists. The Thai performers passed on their skills to interested Chinese dancers who wished to know how to dance the number.

Every performance was preceded by the *Thai-Chinese Friendship Dance*, created and rehearsed by the Thai artists in a short time before their coming to China. They said they would keep this item in their repertoire after their return home as a

token of furthering the friendship between Thailand and China.

During their stay in China they went to see factories and scenic spots. They also visited the School of Dance of the Central May 7 University of Arts as well as the art department of the Central Institute for Nationalities. The Thai artists took a great interest in the classroom training of the two institutions where they spent some time in learning the dance traits of China's nationalities. They also saw performances put on by teachers and students of the two institutions.

## China Pavilion at Cairo International Fair

The China pavilion at the 9th Cairo International Fair held in March was another illustration of the growing friendship between the Chinese and Egyptian people. In the 20 days when the pavilion was on view it was visited by 400,000 people, including workers, peasants, students, clerks, officials, servicemen and people from all walks of life. Some took their whole families. Some came from cities or villages 100 to 150 kilometres away from Cairo. Some schools organized trips for students to see the exhibition from China.

Egyptian visitors spoke highly of the achievements of China's construction. An old seaman said: "I've been to the old China. At that time she was poor and backward. There have been great developments since the liberation. You are now capable of making fine machines."

Egypt is mainly an agricultural country which produces fine quality cotton, rice and other crops and

the industrious peasants have rich cultivation experience. A peasant of over 70 with his grandson supporting him showed a great interest in the exhibited Chinese agricultural and side-line produce. An agro-engineer said: "Taking agriculture as the foundation in developing the national economy is absolutely correct and Tachai is indeed a brilliant example. I hope Egypt and China will exchange experience and technique in developing agriculture and help each other."

Having read the introduction to China's oil production, one visitor made the following remarks to the Chinese staff: "China was short of oil before 1961. The Soviet Union exerted pressures on you. You never yielded but developed your oil industry by your own strength. It's indeed a wonder that you have made such big strides in developing your oil industry."

At the time when the Egyptian people abrogated the Egyptian-Soviet "treaty of friendship and co-operation," the fair was still on show. Many viewers in their conversations with China pavilion staff members expressed their support for this important decision taken by their government. One visitor said: "The Soviet Union is not friendly to us. It bullied and pushed us around. It uses the same despicable means they once used against you. It does not honour its word. The so-called Egyptian-Soviet 'treaty of friendship and co-operation' is in essence a fraud."

## Foreign Sports Teams in China

- In early March, the Bucharest Women's Basketball Team had a friendly match with its Peking counterpart.

- Japanese and Chinese gymnasts gave a joint performance on March 26. Most of the gymnasts of both countries are in their teens.

- The Zambian Defence Force Men's Volleyball Team played a friendly match with the "August 1" Team of the Chinese People's Liberation Army on April 2.

- On May 5, a crowd of more than 18,000 turned out at the Peking's Capital Gymnasium to give a warm welcome to the French Army Hand-



The Thai-Chinese Friendship Dance.  
Sketch by Chou Hai

ball Team, the first sports team of the French armed forces to visit China. It was the occasion of a friendly match between the French visitors and the "August 1" Handball Team of the Chinese People's Liberation Army.

• The Malaysian National Football Team played a friendly match on May 6 with the Chinese Football Team after first visiting Kwangchow, Shanghai and Wuhsi.

• The Swedish men's and women's volleyball teams came to China on a visit in mid-May and had friendly matches with Peking men's and women's volleyball teams.

• A Mexican badminton team played a friendly match with a Chinese team on May 16.

### News Briefs

**France.** The French exhibition of industrial and scientific instruments and of telecommunications was on view in Peking in late March. Electronic instruments for surveying, analysis, control and regulation, electronic medical apparatuses, telecommunications facilities and instruments for nuclear research are among the items on display at the exposition.

**Yugoslavia.** Yugoslav tools were exhibited in April at the Peking

Exhibition Centre. It was co-sponsored by the Tools Association of Yugoslavia and the Feroelektro-Export-Import Sarajevo-Yugoslavia. On display were various kinds of drills, cutters, spiral drills and electric tools.

**German Democratic Republic.** Its electronic, automation and scientific instruments exhibition closed in Shanghai at the end of April after its opening ten days before. Exhibits on display were optical, analytical and measuring and surveying instruments, telecommunications equipment, electronics computers and office equipment.

(Continued from p. 29.)

Europe, but it is also providing itself with the means of engaging in power politics everywhere in the world and demonstrating that it intends to use these means even in areas which have hitherto been outside its traditional sphere of interest." Luns went on record to oppose the call by some West Europeans for defence spending cuts to ease economic strains.

Norwegian Prime Minister Odvar Nordli's speech at the opening ceremony and the speeches of foreign ministers of some other countries expressed worries about the Soviet Union's feverish military buildup, penetration and expansion everywhere.

U.S. Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger promised the NATO participants that U.S. foreign policy would support "a firm defence" of the West against Soviet aggression, no matter what administration is in power in Washington. He expressed concern about the possibility of another Angola and said that Soviet behaviour in that African country violated the spirit of the European security and co-operation agreement. But he tried to justify his policy towards the Soviet Union, describing it as "the only viable course."

#### SOVIET UNION

### Huge Foreign Trade Deficits

The Soviet total trade deficit reached a record high in 1975.

An article in the 19th issue of *Economic Gazette*, published at the

beginning of May, by V. A. Klochek, member of the Collegium of the Ministry of Foreign Trade and Director of the Administration of Planning Economy under the ministry, noted that last year the Soviet total foreign trade turnover reached 50,700 million rubles, among which import amounted to 26,700 million and export 24,000 million, resulting in a deficit of 2,700 million (some 3,600 million U.S. dollars). Its trade with industrially developed capitalist countries totalled 15,800 million rubles, among which import amounted to 9,700 million and export 6,100 million, leaving a deficit of 3,600 million (some 4,800 million U.S. dollars).

This huge deficit was caused by the aggressive social-imperialist policy of unbridled arms expansion and war preparations pursued by the Brezhnev clique to contend for hegemony with U.S. imperialism. It was also caused by the all-round capitalist restoration in all sectors of the Soviet national economy. According to Klochek, the Soviet Union imported in 1975 a large quantity of machinery and equipment, including many sets of equipment and vessels for various purposes. The import of machinery and equipment reached 9,000 million rubles, accounting for 34 per cent of the total import. It imported over 5.6 million tons of rolled steel last year. All this shows that the Soviet social-imperialists are trying their utmost to build up their economic and military strength with Western technology, equipment and raw materials.

Another important cause for its huge trade deficit last year was the repeated crop failures, particularly the unprecedented one of last year, which resulted in large purchases of grain on the international market. Since last July, the Soviet Union has bought some 30 million tons of grain, a record high in the history of Soviet grain import, with the United States supplying 16.5 million tons. In addition, the Soviet Union bought meat, edible oil, sugar and other farm and animal products from other countries.

What merits attention is that the huge trade deficit appeared at a time when the Soviet Union was busily engaged in arms sales and ruthless exploitation of developing countries and its "allies." An American press report says that "the Soviet Union enjoyed a surplus of about 400 million dollars in its trade with developing countries (last year). A portion of this came from arms sales that would bring in hard currency. It also had a larger surplus — about 660 million dollars — with its East European allies."

It is obvious that if the Soviet Union failed to reap some profits at the expense of the developing countries and its "allies," its trade deficit would become much bigger. In addition, the Soviet Union has obtained loans from the West and sold gold in large quantities in order to make up for the huge trade deficit. One press report says that the Soviet debts have reached 20,000 million U.S. dollars.

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