

# PEKING REVIEW

29

July 15, 1977

北  
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周  
報

**Soviet Social-Imperialism —  
Most Dangerous Source  
Of World War**

**Solidarity in Struggle, Advance  
In Victory**

— Greeting the successful conclusion of the  
14th summit conference of the O.A.U.

**All-Round Growth of Industrial Production**

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## CONTENTS

<b>THE WEEK</b>	3
All-Round Growth of Industrial Production	
Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien On Sino-American Relations	
<b>ARTICLES AND DOCUMENTS</b>	
Soviet Social-Imperialism — Most Dangerous Source of World War	4
Solidarity in Struggle, Advance in Victory — Greeting the successful conclusion of the 14th summit conference of the O.A.U. — <i>Renmin Ribao</i> editorial	11
For Your Reference: Chronology of African Events (July 1976-June 1977)	13
5th Anniversary of North-South Joint Statement: Korean People's Struggle for Reunification of Their Country — Ya Ping	14
Guide to Socialist Revolution and Construction in China's Agriculture — Notes on studying Volume V of the <i>Selected Works of Mao Tsetung</i> — Wang Chien	16
Unveiling the Mysteries of the "Roof of the World"	22
Mass Criticism: "Gang of Four" — The Nation's Scourge:	
Struggle in the Building of Workers' Theoretical Contingents	25
A Mouthpiece of the Gang	26
<b>ROUND THE WORLD</b>	27
"Revolution" (Britain): The Central Task Is to Establish a Revolutionary Communist Party	
Pakistan: Armed Forces Take Over Administration	
Caribbean Countries: Agriculture Developing Apace	
E.E.C.: Customs Union Completed	
<b>ON THE HOME FRONT</b>	30
Yellow River Highway Bridges	
Electric Pumping Stations in a County	
Underground Oil Tank	

## All-Round Growth of Industrial Production

China's total industrial output from January through June outstripped that of the same 1976 period. Output of most of the 80 major products in April, May and June met or topped the monthly targets, and many of them hit all-time highs.

Leading the way were the petroleum, coal and power industries which smashed all previous records. Output of crude oil in the first half of this year upped 10.6 per cent compared with the corresponding period of 1976; the coal industry fulfilled its half-yearly targets 21 days ahead of schedule and went on to turn out an additional 17,680,000 tons of coal by the end of June; and the average daily output of electric power steadily increased in the second quarter.

China's industrial production has moved full steam ahead since the beginning of the year, with considerable increases in the second quarter over the first. Twenty-nine provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions across the country reported all-round increases. Particularly notable increases were chalked up in Honan, Szechuan, Chekiang, Kweichow and Yunnan Provinces and a number of key enterprises, which suffered serious damage at the hands of the "gang of four."

Recovery of the national economy after the overthrow of the "gang of four" was so fast

that it exceeded all expectations. A new leap forward is taking shape.

The steel industry, which marked time for years as a result of the interference of the gang, again got into its stride in the first half of this year. The Anshan Iron and Steel Company, China's largest, raised its output by a big margin. Steel output also rose sharply every month at the Penki, Wuhan, Paotow and Taiyuan steel complexes and at the Shoutu Iron and Steel Company in Peking.

Railway freightage went up considerably, with new records set in waggon loading every month in the second quarter. The first six months' targets for shipping and cargo handling at the harbours were also fulfilled.

Output of cotton piece goods, plastics, paper, cigarettes and 12 other major light industrial products in May was the highest ever since the founding of New China, and the output of many items continued to rise in June.

The all-round growth of China's industry has been achieved in the struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four." Since the National Conference on Learning From Taching in Industry in May, plans and concrete measures to catch up with and surpass advanced national and world levels have been mapped out by various industrial departments and enterprises. With a socialist labour emulation campaign now

in full swing, production records are toppled in quick succession.

## Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien On Sino-American Relations

"The Shanghai communique is the foundation on which current Sino-American relations rest. Such relations will continue to improve provided both sides, China and the United States, seriously implement the principles laid down in the Shanghai communique."

This was reiterated by Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien on July 4 in Peking at a meeting with Elmo Zumwalt, former American Chief of Naval Operations.

"To realize the normalization of the relations between China and the United States," Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien said, "the U.S. Government must fulfil the following — severance of diplomatic relations with the Chiang clique in Taiwan, withdrawal of all U.S. forces and military installations from Taiwan and the Taiwan Strait and abrogation of its mutual security treaty with the Chiang clique — and none of the three can be dispensed with."

"As to when and in what way the Chinese people will liberate their sacred territory Taiwan," the Vice-Premier declared, "that is entirely China's internal affair which brooks no interference from other countries."

Vice-Premier Li and Mr. Zumwalt also had a friendly talk on other issues of common interest.

# Soviet Social-Imperialism — Most Dangerous Source of World War

THE Soviet revisionist renegade clique has recently found the going tougher in the pursuance of its counter-revolutionary global strategy for world domination. Internationally, it has become more isolated and found itself in narrow straits. In an effort to ease its predicament and divert public attention, it has started another anti-China campaign. In public speeches, articles and in a diplomatic note, it made a determined attempt to assail, malign and slander the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people who are upholding Marxism-Leninism and persevering in carrying the struggle against the hegemonic powers through to the end. The ballyhoo is deafening, but a closer examination reveals nothing new apart from a pack of fantastic lies. They repeat their old accusations of "bellicosity" and "anti-Sovietism" against China, coupled with hypocritical professions of their own "love of peace" and "friendship" for all other nations. They fondly hope to make people believe that it is not Soviet social-imperialism but China which is pursuing policies of aggression and war and is, therefore, the most dangerous source of world war today. These vile activities of the Brezhnev clique remind one of a well-known passage by Stalin: "When bourgeois diplomats prepare for war they begin to shout very loudly about 'peace' and 'friendly relations.' When a Minister of Foreign Affairs begins to wax eloquent in favour of a 'peace conference,' you can take it for granted that 'his government' has already issued contracts for the construction of new dreadnoughts and monoplanes. A diplomat's words *must* contradict his deeds — otherwise, what sort of a diplomat is he? Words are one

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thing — deeds something entirely different. Fine words are a mask to cover shady deeds." (*The Elections in St. Petersburg, 1913.*) The outcry of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique should be judged in the same light.

## Soviet Union on Strategic Offensive

One of the salient features of the contemporary international situation is the visible growth of the factor for war, and Soviet social-imperialism is now the most dangerous source of world war. While singing paeans of "peace" at the top of its voice, it harbours sinister ambitions and reaches out for advantages everywhere. Its expansionist activities are gathering ever greater momentum. Brezhnev has publicly declared: "We now have to reckon, in one way or another, with the state of affairs in virtually every spot on the globe." This arrogant and ambitious craving for world hegemony is setting Soviet social-imperialism on a rampage all over the world like a wild beast running amok; and wherever it goes, it leaves a trail of turmoil and unrest.

Lenin said that in their rivalry for hegemony, the imperialist powers strive mainly "to weaken the adversary and undermine his hegemony." (*Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism, 1917.*) The aim of the Kremlin's global strategy is to weaken the United States and undermine its hegemony. Europe is the strategic focal point of Soviet-U.S. contention. Western Europe, the heartland of capitalism and a centre of modern industry, trade and finance, is of vital strategic importance. By going all out in contention for Western Europe, the Soviet Union expects to deal the United States a fatal blow and, with the help of the great economic and technological facilities of

Western Europe, to attain its goal of global domination. With this in view, Moscow takes great pains to assert its control over Eastern Europe. It sent troops to occupy Czechoslovakia and butcher Czechoslovak people. It has converted Eastern Europe into the forward position for its attack on Western Europe. This is what Soviet social-imperialism means by "respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity" of other countries and "non-interference in internal affairs and non-use of force"! Posing a grave military menace to Western Europe, the Soviet Union has deployed the bulk of its army and the overwhelming majority of its medium-range guided missiles in the European sector of its own territory and in Eastern Europe, while three-quarters of its navy is now cruising in European coastal waters. It takes advantage of the contradictions among the West European nations as well as between them and the United States to sour their relations and try to alienate them from each other in the hope that this will break up NATO. It strives to dominate the North European waters and increase its influence in Northern Europe, and does everything possible to carry out expansion in Southern Europe and the Mediterranean area. It undermines the unity of the Arab states and creates tension there in order to control the Middle East. In so doing, it prepares for a pincers movement from the north and south flanks against Western Europe. This is what Soviet social-imperialism means by "peaceful coexistence"! The Soviet Union intervened by armed force in Angola and masterminded the mercenaries' massive invasion of Zaire, slaughtering great numbers of African people with Soviet-made arms. It is stepping up its penetration and expansion in the Red Sea area and causing grave concern to the littoral countries. All these are strategic moves not only for the control of Africa, but for the outflanking and eventual conquest of Western Europe. This is what Soviet social-imperialism means by "consolidating the security of the peoples and bringing about extensive international co-operation"!

In Asia, as part and parcel of its bid for world domination, the Soviet Union has high-handedly insisted on occupying Japan's northern territories. Massing a million troops along the

Chinese border, it has as its primary targets the United States and Japan, while posing a serious threat to China's security as well. It dreams of control over the whole of Asia through rigging up an "Asian security system." It has already managed to penetrate into the backyard of the United States — Latin America. In rivalry with the United States for maritime hegemony and challenging U.S. naval supremacy, Moscow is frantically bidding for control of the Mediterranean, forcing its way into the Atlantic, the Indian and the Pacific Oceans and trying to acquire more military bases. It is building up a line of blockade extending from the Baltic to the Atlantic and from the Black Sea through the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean to the Pacific, so that when the moment is opportune it can cut the sea lanes to America and Europe and throttle the lifelines of the United States and Western Europe in order to isolate them, divide them up, encircle and crush them one by one. To sum up, Soviet social-imperialism has entered into fierce contention with U.S. imperialism on land and sea and is strategically on the offensive. It is reaching out with a voracious appetite to swallow the whole planet.

The new tsars dwarf the crusade of aggression and expansion of the old tsars. The latter had used every opportunity to seize territories from other countries and built a Russian colonial empire straddling Europe and Asia. Taking over the mantle of the old tsars, Soviet social-imperialism has entered the arena for world hegemony by inflating its military strength, though, like the Russian empire, it lags far behind the West in economic capacity. Surpassing the old tsars in aggressive ambitions, it now strives to build a great empire embracing all five continents.

In its rivalry with the United States for world domination, the Soviet Union is feverishly engaged in arms expansion and war preparations. It endeavours not only to hold its numerical nuclear edge but also to catch up with and surpass U.S. nuclear might qualitatively, not only to maintain its preponderance in ground forces, but also to match and surpass the United States in naval and air power. The whole Soviet military buildup is geared to its offensive strategy. The Soviet navy is being converted

from an instrument for inshore defence into one for deep-water attacks. The Soviet forces in Europe have stage by stage been rearmed with new-type weapons to strengthen their offensive capabilities. Soviet concentration is on the development of nuclear missiles, nuclear submarines, strategic bombers, tanks and other offensive weapons, and large-scale military manoeuvres have been carried out in preparation for attack. Soviet brass have publicly clamoured that they "are preparing to fight a war with any kinds of weapons" and it shall be "a surprise, lightning war with nuclear arms, aircraft and tank masses." But nobody else is allowed to comment on this. Any talk about Soviet social-imperialist military buildup invariably incurs wild ravings from them about "smearing the Soviet foreign policy of peace" or even counter-charges of "instigating a world war."

Lenin said: "**'World domination' is, to put it briefly, the substance of imperialist policy, of which imperialist war is the continuation.**" (*A Caricature of Marxism and Imperialist Economism*, 1916.) In its scramble for world hegemony, the Soviet Union can make no advance without infringing on the vital interests of the United States. Though it fell from the apex of its power with the defeat in its war of aggression against Korea, and was gradually forced into a strategic defensive by subsequent defeats, the United States will not easily give up its vested interests in any part of the world. It is strenuously working to fortify its positions and beef up its strength. It is adjusting its relations with Western Europe and Japan, trying to seize the initiative in the Middle East and other areas and seeking to penetrate into Eastern Europe. The Soviet-U.S. contention for hegemony is the root of the unrest in the world, and their scramble will eventually lead to war. As Soviet social-imperialism engaged in a strategic offensive is feverishly pushing its policies of aggression and war, it has now become the most dangerous source of world war.

### **Economic Basis — State Monopoly Capitalism**

The Soviet Union today is no longer a socialist state; it is "**socialism in words, imperialism in deeds.**" (Lenin: *The Tasks of the Third International*, 1919.) The reason for the Soviet

Union's becoming the most dangerous source of world war is deeply rooted in its economic system.

Chairman Mao said: "**The rise to power of revisionism means the rise to power of the bourgeoisie.**" He also pointed out: "**The Soviet Union today is under the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, a dictatorship of the big bourgeoisie, a dictatorship of the German fascist type, a dictatorship of the Hitler type.**" After usurping Party and state power in the mid-1950s, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique began to push a counter-revolutionary revisionist line and to restore capitalism in all spheres. Consequently, the first socialist state which was founded by Lenin degenerated into a social-imperialist state. At the time of Lenin and Stalin, state ownership was the dominant feature of the Soviet Union's socialist economy. In the Marxist-Leninist view, the nature of state ownership is primarily determined by the nature of state power, by the class exercising that power. With the change in the nature of state power in the Soviet Union, ownership by the state degenerated into ownership by the bureaucrat-monopoly-capitalist class. The collective farms and co-operatives also degenerated into capitalist collectives in line with the changes in the nature of Soviet state power and in state ownership.

In the Soviet Union, monopoly capital is merged into state power, and the big bourgeoisie is a new bureaucrat-monopoly-capitalist class. It is a clique of bureaucrats who control state power and is at the same time the aggregate capitalist gripping the economic lifeline of the whole country. In the Soviet Union, as distinct from the capitalist-imperialist countries where several financial groups compete with each other, monopoly capital is concentrated in the hands of a state apparatus under the dictatorship of a bureaucrat-monopoly-capitalist class. This bureaucrat-monopoly-capitalist class not only directly owns and controls, in the name of the state, the whole of industry, construction, transport and communications, domestic and foreign trade, finance, public services and state farms — all of which were formerly under the ownership of the whole people — but also brings the farm economy, formerly under collective ownership, under its control by various political and economic means. This is how a hand-

ful of bureaucrat-monopoly-capitalists have come to own and dominate almost all the basic means of production and social products of the whole country.

The monopoly capitalists seek the maximum profit. Stalin pointed out: **"It is not the average profit, nor yet super-profit — which, as a rule, represents only a slight addition to the average profit — but precisely the maximum profit that is the motor of monopoly capitalism."** (*Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.*, 1952.) It is precisely this motive force, seeking the maximum profit, that pushes the monopoly capitalists in the capitalist-imperialist countries to most cruelly exploit the people at home, to enslave and plunder the people of other countries, to militarize their own economies and even launch wars of aggression. Soviet state monopoly capital, because of the higher degree of its concentration and monopoly, is more avaricious for the maximum profit.

In its drive for the maximum profit, Soviet state monopoly capital is not only sucking the life-blood of its own people but is madly pursuing a policy of aggression and expansion and carrying out most ruthless colonialist plunder abroad. Soviet social-imperialism has become one of the biggest international exploiters. Within the "Council for Mutual Economic Assistance," under the signboard of "international division of labour" and "economic integration," it seeks to bring under its strict control the major economic departments of other member countries, including industry, agriculture, finance as well as planning, scientific research, production, marketing and other activities, through the medium of "co-ordinated planning," "joint investment," the establishment of supranational economic organizations and the "centre for co-ordinating scientific research." It is plundering these countries of their raw materials, products, capital and labour power on a shocking scale. Styling itself the "natural ally" of the developing countries, the Soviet Union exports capital to these countries mainly in the form of "economic aid" and "military aid" in addition to making direct investments and establishing all sorts of "joint enterprises." The difference in capital export between the capitalist-imperialist countries and Soviet social-imperialism is that

the latter exports capital solely through the state apparatus. Using capital export as bait, the Soviet Union grabs shockingly high monopoly profit from these countries and at the same time seeks political and military domination over them, endeavouring to bring them within the orbit of its colonial system.

Economic expansion abroad inevitably results in a mounting struggle for colonies, since the possession of colonies is the effective guarantee for seizure of sources of raw materials, for protection and expansion of the interests of the export of capital and goods, for ensuring the maximum profit and consolidating the rule of monopoly capital. Soviet monopoly capital is more avaricious and predatory than any other, but economically and technically it cannot keep pace with the most advanced capitalist-imperialist countries, and lacks the ability to compete in international markets. This makes it more eager to seize colonies, and hence it has become more expansionist and aggressive in character. The new tsars openly advocate and practise "limited sovereignty," "international dictatorship," "big community" and the allegation that "our interests are involved" as they strenuously push power politics and hegemonism, and engage in subversion, intervention, aggression and other criminal activities. They encroach upon the sovereignty of other countries and enslave the people of other lands. All these neocolonialist crimes of Moscow expose the Soviet social-colonialists as the most vicious enemy of the oppressed people and oppressed nations of the whole world.

The bureaucrat-monopoly-capitalist class in the Soviet Union, because it controls the entire state apparatus and economy, is able to mobilize the political, economic and military forces of the whole country in the interest of its aggression and expansion. It is therefore more frenzied and adventurous.

Lenin said: **"There can be no concrete historical assessment of the current war, unless it is based on a thorough analysis of the nature of imperialism, both in its economic and political aspects."** (*Preface to N. Bukharin's Pamphlet, Imperialism and the World Economy*, 1915.) Our remark that Soviet social-imperialism is the most dangerous source of world war

is our conclusion after a conscientious study of reality, both from its political and economic aspects. Chairman Hua Kuo-feng pointed out: "By their very nature, imperialism and social-imperialism mean war." ("Speech at the National Conference on Learning From Taching in Industry.") State monopoly capitalism is the economic basis of Soviet social-imperialism and this determines that it must pursue policies of aggression and war and definitely not the "peace-loving foreign policy" it professes to follow.

### **Moscow Has Caught Up With and Is Surpassing Washington in Military Might**

The Soviet revisionist renegade clique keeps clamouring that "detente is irreversible" and that "detente has become the predominant trend in world development." What are the facts?

Lenin pointed out: "**Uneven economic and political development is an absolute law of capitalism.**" (*On the Slogan for a United States of Europe*, 1915.) Therefore, "**imperialist wars are absolutely inevitable.**" (*Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, 1917.) This scientific thesis is not outdated. The changes in the balance of forces between the Soviet Union and the United States and the ever sharpening strife for hegemony between the two super-powers over the past decade, particularly since the beginning of the 1970s, prove that what Lenin said is the irrefutable truth.

Soviet social-imperialism is forcibly increasing accumulation by ruthlessly exploiting the Soviet labouring people through the complete integration of highly concentrated monopoly capital with the state machine of a fascist dictatorship, and is overcoming the deficiency of capital by exploitation and plunder abroad through every neocolonialist method possible and by obtaining numerous loans from the West. For a long time, the Kremlin has been steering the country's national economy into the orbit of arms expansion and war preparations, forcing militarization of the national economy and bringing about lopsided development of the war industry and its related heavy industrial sectors through concentration of large amounts of manpower, material and money on them. More than 85 per cent of Soviet industrial in-

vestments are in heavy industry, about half the amount being used for the development of the machine-building, oil, chemical and steel industries which are directly related to arms production. The result: a malignant growth of the war industry. The speed of Soviet development of guided missile, aviation, shipbuilding and atomic industries far exceeds that of other Soviet industrial sectors and also that of the corresponding U.S. industries. Therefore, while falling behind the United States in economic strength, the Soviet Union is catching up and even surpassing it in certain aspects of military strength. This is a striking change demanding close attention.

The Brezhnev clique incessantly beats the drum for "an end to the arms race," "disarmament" and "prohibition of nuclear weapons." But the fact is that with the Soviet Union, the more it trumpets "reduction" of military expenditure, the bigger the outlay; the more it preaches "disarmament," the huger its army; and the more it advocates nuclear "prohibition," the more nuclear weapons it stockpiles. The Soviet Union is running fastest in the arms race. It has greatly surpassed the United States in military expenditure in recent years, and is now leading the way in the world. The Soviet military expenditure more than tripled in the period 1961-75. It accounted for over 20 per cent of the Soviet national income in 1975. This proportion is not only above the highest levels the United States reached during the years of its wars of aggression against Korea and Indochina, but is also close to that Hitler Germany attained just before it launched World War II. The number of intercontinental ballistic missiles the Soviet Union had in 1962 equalled only a quarter of the U.S. figure, but by 1975 had greatly surpassed it. In 1964 the number of Soviet submarine-launched ballistic missiles was a little more than a quarter of that of the United States, but it now exceeds the U.S. total. In conventional weapons, the Soviet Union now has over four times as many tanks as the United States. Soviet military personnel in active service is twice that of the United States. The Soviet navy has also grown enormously. By 1975, the number of its strategic nuclear submarines and major surface warships surpassed that of the United States. The Soviet Union is now striving with might and main to excel



the United States in all aspects of military strength.

Lenin pointed out: "Any other basis under capitalism for the division of spheres of influence, of interests, of colonies, etc., than a calculation of the strength of the participants in the division, their general economic, financial, military strength, etc., is inconceivable." (*Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, 1917.) The growth of Soviet military strength greatly stimulates its wild ambitions for world hegemony. As a late comer, elbowing itself into the ranks of imperialism out for world hegemony, it found that the division of the territories of the world by imperialist countries had long been completed. The existing spheres of influence of the Soviet Union and the United States have failed more and more to correspond with the changes in the balance of power. The Soviet Union is exerting great pressure for a redivision of the world, and seeks to get the better of the United States in order to establish its hegemony over the world. This inevitably sharpens the contradictions between the two hegemonic powers. Such contradictions, according to Lenin, "are not settled voluntarily in this world of capitalism. This issue could only be settled by war." (*War and Revolution*, 1917.)

Two world wars were started by late-coming imperialist countries for a redivision of the world and for world hegemony. Today, Soviet social-imperialism's serious challenge to the U.S. dominant position in the world is a continuation of the history of imperialist rivalry. War will inevitably break out as a result of the increasingly bitter rivalry between the two hegemonic powers. The "irreversibility of detente" peddled by Moscow is an out-and-out fraud intended to keep the world's people off their guard against the danger of war and cover up its crimes of aggression and war preparations.

### **Soviet Revisionism Is a Paper Tiger Too**

At a time when the revolutionary struggle of the people of the world is mounting vigorously, the new tsars' desire to build a great empire to rule the world can only be a pipe dream.

Lenin said: "Imperialism is . . . moribund capitalism." (*Imperialism and the Split in Socialism*, 1916.) Since the Soviet Union has degenerated into social-imperialism, it cannot but be governed by the law of imperialism, with clear manifestations of the inherent contradictions of imperialism. The development of these very contradictions has landed Soviet social-imperialism in profound political and economic difficulties. For all its arrogant and ferocious appearance, it is feeble in essence, and as Chairman Mao pointed out: "Revisionist Soviet Union is a paper tiger too."

Blowing its own trumpet, the Brezhnev renegade clique recently claimed that the Soviet economy has "changed beyond recognition." Indeed, the Soviet Union has "changed beyond recognition" since the restoration of capitalism by the Khrushchov-Brezhnev renegade clique. Socialist public ownership has degenerated into bureaucrat-monopoly-capitalist ownership and collective capitalist ownership. The ultra-reactionary and ultra-decadent relations of production under Soviet social-imperialism have become a major obstacle to the development of productive forces. The Soviet revisionist renegade clique's forcible militarization of the national economy is wreaking havoc with the economy of the country. The malignant growth of its munitions industry is a huge drain on the social productive forces. The abundant social wealth created by the Soviet labouring people has been turned into lethal weaponry of no benefit to social production and the people's livelihood. This, in itself, directly sabotages expanded reproduction. Furthermore, as a result of the one-sided emphasis on development of the munitions industry which is adversely affecting agriculture and light industry as well as undermining the normal proportionate economic development, the national economy has become more and more lopsided. The Soviet Union claims to be a modern power that has "conquered space" and mastered the most sophisticated science and technology. But, ironically, its agriculture is very backward; grain production has decreased in 10 out of the 20-odd years since the Soviet revisionist renegade clique came to power. Its arsenals are filled with all kinds of military hardware, but its shop counters are poorly stocked and goods are of poor quality. It is a superpower craving world

hegemony but forced to go begging for loans and grain from other countries. Its munitions industry continues to develop at an "excessive speed," but the growth rate of its national economy falls steadily. The Soviet revisionist renegade clique has made a mess of Lenin's homeland but still has the effrontery to call it an "advanced socialist society."

Simultaneously with the sharpening of economic contradictions, political problems in the Soviet Union are becoming ever more acute. The restoration of capitalism has reduced the Soviet working people, once masters of the country, to the status of enslaved hired labourers. Ruthless economic exploitation and political oppression have plunged them into the abyss of misery. In the Soviet Union today, secret agents infest the land, police and troops run amuck, repressive decrees are put into operation one after another, and people are being jailed on false charges. This is the real condition of the "state of the whole people" glorified by the renegade clique, and the substance of the so-called "citizen's rights," "freedom" and "democracy" advertised in the new draft constitution of the U.S.S.R. Under the fascist rule of the Soviet bureaucrat-monopoly-capitalists, clashes and confrontations between the rulers and the working class as well as other working people are breaking out into the open more and more.

The Soviet ruling clique is practising national discrimination and oppression on a massive scale. Stepping into the shoes of the old tsars, it is pushing ahead with great-Russian chauvinism. The recently published new draft constitution sermonizes that "a new historical community of people" has come into being in the Soviet Union. On the other hand, the Soviet press proclaims that the Russian people is "the guiding nation," "the first nation" and "the leading nation" in the "community" and that it is necessary to "wipe out national boundaries" and to create "one nation" and "one language." This is an attempt to dress great-Russian chauvinism in legal garb and to carry out the forcible assimilation of non-Russian peoples. The Soviet Union has been converted into a prison of nations like the Russian empire. The new tsars have outstripped the old in the ruthless persecution of non-Russian peoples by sor-

did and savage means. This cannot but lead to the unprecedented sharpening of national contradictions.

Internationally, Soviet social-imperialism is running into snags everywhere in its aggression and expansion, and its schemes are constantly being foiled. With the exposure of its brutality, truculence, rapacity and cunning after its being unmasked, Soviet social-imperialism is being more clearly revealed as the most ferocious enemy of the people throughout the world. More and more awakening, third world countries and people see with increasing clarity the gangster characteristics of this "natural ally." They are closing their ranks to wage a resolute struggle against this fiend. The Zairian people, backed by the people of Africa and the whole world, have recently smashed the invasion engineered by Soviet social-imperialism, thus setting a new example for the world's people in their united struggle against hegemonism. Facts prove beyond question that the third world has become the main force in the anti-hegemony struggle. The second world's struggle against the superpowers, particularly Soviet hegemonism, is steadily growing in strength. Even in the "big community" under the tight Soviet control, headway is being made in the fight against oppression, control and plunder. The so-called "big community," beset with contradictions and falling apart at the seams, will disintegrate sooner or later.

The contradictions at home and abroad, out of which no way can be found, are shaking the reactionary rule of Soviet social-imperialism. It is thus being more and more impelled to look to aggressive war for a solution. However, war cannot save it from its doom, but will only hasten it. We should be aware of the danger of Soviet social-imperialism unleashing a world war and at the same time perceive its feeble nature as a paper tiger. Under no circumstances should we be cowed by its blackmail and intimidation. More and more people in the world now realize that any accommodation or concession to Soviet social-imperialism is dangerous and that the lesson of the appeasement policy pursued on the eve of World War II must not be forgotten. All the countries and people subjected to aggression,

*(Continued on p. 21.)*

# Solidarity in Struggle, Advance In Victory

— Greeting the successful conclusion of the  
14th summit conference of the O.A.U.

“Renmin Ribao” editorial

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**T**HE 14th Session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity (O.A.U.), which was a focus of world attention, successfully closed in Libreville, capital of Gabon, on July 5. In an atmosphere of united struggle, the heads of state and government of the O.A.U. or their representatives discussed the urgent questions facing Africa today and adopted a resolution of major significance on the problem of interference in the internal affairs of (African) countries and a series of resolutions in support of the national-liberation movements in southern Africa. The conference also approved a convention submitted by the O.A.U. Ministerial Council on the prevention and suppression of mercenarism in Africa. The conference held high the banner of struggle in unity, and is sure to push forward the struggle of the African countries and people against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, big-power hegemonism, racism and Zionism, and thus make bigger contributions to the common cause of the third world countries and people.

The past few years have witnessed a fierce and widespread struggle between interference and anti-interference on the African continent. In their rivalry for Africa, the superpowers have unscrupulously interfered in the internal affairs of Africa and the African countries. The actions of the Soviet social-imperialists are particularly frenzied and flagrant in this respect. Wild with ambition, they meddle in others' affairs everywhere in Africa, from the east to the west and from the north to the south, make a grab at

every opportunity and are burning with desire to dominate the whole of Africa and go on to achieve their criminal aim of outflanking Western Europe and attaining world hegemony. Everybody knows this. And it is precisely this which is the source of turmoil and intransquillity on the African continent and constitutes the gravest threat to the African countries and people who have become increasingly aware of this through their own experience. At the summit, leaders of many countries justly and severely exposed and condemned in different ways and from different angles the criminal acts of the Soviet social-imperialists. Ridiculously, the Soviet revisionists, who were put in the dock, had the effrontery to sing their old tune while the conference was in session, asserting that “the Soviet Union is against any interference in the internal affairs of African countries,” and that it is “not after advantages and privileges in Africa.” This is really shamelessness beyond description! However, the awakened African people were not taken in. The summit conference passed the Resolution on the Problem of Interference in the Internal Affairs of (African) Countries, dealing a head-on blow at imperialism and the superpowers, Soviet social-imperialism in particular, in their interference in Africa.

Soviet social-imperialism is the biggest interventionist in Africa's affairs and the most dangerous enemy of the African people. Its interference takes the form of hiring, arming and directing mercenaries to launch direct invasion of an African country, conspiring to

subvert the legitimate government of a sovereign state, sowing dissensions and creating confusion in Africa, and arbitrarily calling one African country "progressive" today and another "reactionary" tomorrow. This was what the Soviet Union did in Angola, Zaire, the Sudan and elsewhere in Africa. Unscrupulous Soviet intervention in Africa cannot but arouse serious concern among the African countries and people as well as their high vigilance and strong opposition. President Gaafar Mohamed Nimeri of the Sudan has repeatedly warned people to be careful not to fall into the trap of social-neocolonialism. President Anwar el-Sadat of Egypt has also said pointedly that what happened in Zaire might be repeated elsewhere. These wise comments have been evoking widespread support in African countries. It is to be expected that under the inspiration of the summit's resolution the struggle of the African countries and people against superpower intervention will certainly achieve greater development in the future.

The resolution against outside interference adopted at the summit is a summary of the experience and lessons of the African people's struggle against forces of outside interference in the past few years, drawn up in line with the reality and necessity of the present struggle in Africa. It conforms to the important objective of the O.A.U. Charter — to promote Africa's unity and solidarity. The adoption of the resolution eloquently shows that more and more African countries have come to realize that only by strengthening unity can they effectively resist outside interference and "give no chance to those who violate the stability of Africa." It also shows that no force on earth can check African unity which is the urgent desire of the African people, the mainstream of their struggle.

The African countries belong to the third world, and there are no basic conflicts of interest among them. Due to historical reasons and specific situations, it is natural that the African countries have different views on some problems. In the spirit of seeking common ground on major issues while leaving aside minor differences, the African countries have, through discussions and consultations, adopted positive resolutions to solve existing problems. This reflects a new awakening of the African continent, and is a noteworthy feature of the conference.

The Chinese people highly appreciate and support this. Expounding the five principles on China's relations with African and Arab countries soon after the establishment of the O.A.U., our respected and beloved Comrade Chou En-lai expressed unequivocal support for the settlement among African and Arab countries of their differences through peaceful consultations; he held that the sovereignty of African and Arab countries should be respected by all other countries, and encroachment and interference from any quarter should be opposed. This remains our principled stand towards promoting African unity and opposing outside interference.

To overthrow the racist regimes and liberate southern Africa is another fighting task facing the African countries and people. At present, the racists are putting up a desperate struggle. The two superpowers, proceeding from their own interests, are intensifying their contention in this area. To preserve its prerogatives in Africa, one superpower is offering advice to the reactionary Vorster and Smith regimes and trying to boost their sagging morale. To achieve its wild ambitions of complete domination of southern Africa, the other superpower, under the signboard of "socialism" and shouting "support for the African national-liberation movement," is stepping up its interference in the African national-liberation movements; it deceives and beguiles, creates splits and sabotages the African countries' support to the southern African people's cause of fighting in unity against racism. This is one important reason why the fiendish racist regimes are still struggling with their back to the wall. The conference decided to increase the material, military and political support to the southern African liberation movements to strengthen their armed struggle. This energetic measure is sure to advance the southern African people's liberation cause and thus speed up the death of racism.

We warmly congratulate the O.A.U. summit conference on its great success. Africa belongs for ever to the great African people. The 400 million African people will surely be able to defeat all intervention and sabotage and, united in struggle, march onward victoriously to the liberation and prosperity of Africa!

(July 10)

## Chronology of African Events

(July 1976 — June 1977)

### 1976

**JULY 2-6.** The 13th Session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity (O.A.U.) held in Port Louis, capital of Mauritius, stressed strengthening armed struggle in southern Africa against racist regimes and striving for the total liberation of Africa.

**July 19.** Egypt and the Sudan signed a joint defence agreement. Later, the two countries set up a joint staff.

**October 28-December 14.** The on-again off-again Geneva conference on the Rhodesia question, presided over by Britain and backed by the United States, came to a stalemate after a little over a month because the Smith regime unreasonably demanded continuing white control of the army, police, courts and other key departments. The Zimbabwean people drawing the appropriate lesson from this teaching by negative example are determined to step up armed struggle. Guerrilla activities have spread to two-thirds of the Zimbabwean territory.

### 1977

**January 29-February 4.** The 28th Session of the O.A.U. Liberation Committee in Lusaka discussed the situation in Rhodesia and reaffirmed Africa's commitment to the liberation of Zimbabwe through armed struggle.

**February 27-28.** Sudanese President Nimeri, Egyptian President Sadat and Syrian President Assad in a summit conference in Khartoum signed an announcement on setting up a unified political leadership among the three governments.

**March 7-9.** The first Afro-Arab summit conference held in Cairo passed a number of docu-

ments, including the Cairo Declaration of Afro-Arab Co-operation, the Political Declaration, the Declaration on Afro-Arab Economic and Financial Co-operation, and the Organization and Method for Realization of Afro-Arab Co-operation. These documents show the determination of 60 African and Arab countries to strengthen unity and co-operation in their common struggle against imperialism, colonialism, hegemonism, Zionism and racism.

**March 8.** Soviet-paid mercenaries invaded the Shaba Region of Zaire. The Zairian army and people fought back, with support and assistance in various forms coming from other African countries. Morocco sent troops to the Shaba front, Egypt dispatched airmen, and many other countries offered military and medical materials. The heads of state or government of the Sudan, Mauritania and a number of other countries sent letters or cables of solidarity to Zaire in its struggle against aggression. On May 26, Zaire retook Kapanga, the last mercenary-held stronghold, and recovered all enemy-occupied territory.

**March 22.** The heads of state of the four southern Red Sea countries (Yemen Arab Republic, the Sudan, Democratic Yemen and Somalia) met in Taizz to discuss strengthening unity and co-operation and other questions. They unanimously held that the Red Sea area must be for ever an area of peace and harmony. In July last year, the heads of state of the two northern Red Sea countries (Egypt and Saudi Arabia) and the Sudan met in Jiddah to discuss the question of unity among the Red Sea countries.

**March 22-April 3.** N.V. Podgorny, then President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., visited Tanzania, Zambia, Mozambique and Somalia at the head of a huge delegation. During his visit, he signed a "treaty of friendship and co-operation" with Mozambique and met leaders of national-liberation organizations of southern Africa. Cuban Prime Minister Castro visited the Red Sea area and a number of African countries from March 10 to April 2. It was pointed out that these African tours reflect stepped-up Soviet-U.S. rivalry for Africa and the Soviet Union's mounting infiltration and expansion in Africa following its transient success in Angola.



The Korean people's struggle for the reunification of their country is a just one. It has been winning wider and wider support throughout the world. At the 28th Session of the U.N. General Assembly in 1973, the three principles for realizing the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea were affirmed and the "commission for the unification and rehabilitation of Korea," an instrument of U.S. imperialist aggression, was dissolved. The draft resolution on the Korean question put forward by 43 countries and adopted by the 30th U.N. General Assembly in 1975 stands for dissolution of the "U.N. command," withdrawal of all foreign troops from south Korea, and replacing of the armistice agreement with a peace agreement signed by the real parties to the armistice agreement.

However, flouting the desires of the Korean people and the people throughout the world, U.S. imperialism has supported the south Korean authorities in trampling on the principles of the North-South Joint Statement. It has created various pretexts to enable the U.S. aggressor troops to hang on in south Korea. Recently the U.S. Government made gestures of willingness to withdraw its ground forces in south Korea together with nuclear weapons within four or five years. However, it still insisted on leaving large naval and air forces in south Korea. This shows that the United States has not made a basic change in its stand of intervening in Korea's internal affairs and obstructing Korea's cause of independent and peaceful reunification.

As to the Pak Jung Hi clique, it has done everything to sabotage the reunification of Korea in the past five years since the publication of the North-South Joint Statement. When the statement was published, the clique promptly slandered it as "empty phrases on a scrap of waste paper." The clique fabricated the so-called "threat of southward aggression" from the north. Using this as a pretext, it carried out frequent military exercises in preparation for war and forced the south Korean people and students to join the "civil guards," and the "student national defence corps" to receive military training.

The clique has stepped up its suppression of the south Korean people. It has foisted 5,000 reactionary decrees on the people and engineered over 260 political incidents to crack down on tens of thousands of patriots and students demanding democracy and national reunification.

Internationally, the clique has put forth the proposition of "simultaneous entry of two Koreas into the United Nations." When this scheme failed, it submitted an "application for unitary entry into the United Nations," which was vetoed by the U.N. Security Council.

The clique still clings to its ludicrous proposal for the signing of a "mutual non-aggression treaty" by the two sides — north and south — with a view to perpetuating the division of Korea by means of a treaty within a country of one nationality.

After the United States made the gesture of willingness to withdraw troops, the clique did its utmost to oppose the U.S. withdrawal of ground forces, and urged the United States to give further aid before troop withdrawal so as to step up the "modernization" of the puppet troops. The clique even deliberately engineered incidents in provocations against the north.

Undermined by the clique, the north-south dialogue has been suspended. The North-South Co-ordination Committee was compelled to suspend its activities after the third meeting held in June 1973. Later, the meetings at a lower level between the two vice-chairmen of the North-South Co-ordination Committee were also discontinued after their tenth meeting in March 1975. Talks between the north and south Red Cross Societies have also come to an end.

On the 5th anniversary of the publication of the North-South Joint Statement, the Korean people held mass meetings and rallies exposing and condemning the crimes committed by the Pak clique in obstructing its fulfilment. They demanded the complete withdrawal of U.S. troops from south Korea. They expressed their resolve to launch a more powerful struggle for the early attainment of the reunification of their fatherland.

# Guide to Socialist Revolution and Construction In China's Agriculture

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

by Wang Chien

CHAIRMAN Mao, dwelling at length on the question of the co-operative transformation of agriculture in Volume V of the *Selected Works of Mao Tsetung*, enriched and developed the Marxist-Leninist theory on agricultural collectivization and modernization. Chairman Mao's teachings have guided China's peasants in their hundreds of millions to embark on the bright road of socialism and pointed out the orientation of continuing the revolution in the rural areas.

## The Direction of 500 Million Peasants

Chairman Mao pointed out: "We are now carrying on the socialist revolution, the spearhead of which is directed against the bourgeoisie, and at the same time this revolution aims at transforming the system of individual production, that is, bringing about co-operation; consequently the principal contradiction is between socialism and capitalism, between collectivism and individualism, or in a nutshell between the socialist road and the capitalist road." (*Be Activists in Promoting the Revolution.*) In China's rural areas, the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and between the Marxist line and the revisionist line has always been focused on the question of taking the socialist road or the capitalist road.

The land reform liberated the peasants from the feudal system of ownership. There

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existed at that time the capitalist system of ownership by rich peasants and the system of ownership by individual peasants, the latter being like a vast sea engulfing the countryside. If the individual economy of the peasants were allowed to develop spontaneously, the inevitable result would be class polarization. Investigations made in six villages in Wuhsiang County of Shansi Province showed that 139 families — 11.8 per cent of the total households — began to sell their land two or three years after the land reform. Quite many well-to-do peasants were eager to become rich, and in some places usury was practised and a few new rich peasants emerged.

Confronted with this serious struggle between the two roads, we must decide whether to guide the peasants on to the socialist road through setting up mutual-aid teams and co-operatives or let the peasants go on farming individually and take the capitalist road? Chairman Mao said very clearly that scattered, individual economy in agriculture "can and must be led prudently, step by step and yet actively to develop towards modernization and collectivization; the view that they may be left to take their own course is wrong." He also pointed out that "if there were only a state-owned economy and no co-operative economy, it would be impossible for us to lead the individual economy of the labouring people step by step towards collectivization, impossible to develop from the new-democratic society to the future socialist society and impossible to consolidate the leadership of the proletariat in the



state power." (*Combat Bourgeois Ideas in the Party.*)

Some old liberated areas in Shansi Province had experience in getting the peasants organized to develop production during the War of Resistance Against Japan (1937-45). By 1950, over 40 per cent of the total number of peasant households in the province had joined mutual-aid teams, of which over 30,000 were year-round mutual-aid teams. Not satisfied with this form of organization, the peasants wanted to advance to a higher form of co-operation. So in spring 1951 the provincial Party committee formed on a trial basis ten agricultural producers' co-operatives of an elementary type in the southeastern part of the province. This newborn thing demonstrated its superiority immediately after its emergence. The grain output of the co-operatives that year outstripped that of the previous year by 21 per cent and both production and the income of the members surpassed the level of mutual-aid teams and well-to-do middle peasants.

However, this newborn thing aroused the anger of Liu Shao-chi, a representative of the bourgeoisie in the Party. In July 1951, behind the backs of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, he reprimanded: "Someone has suggested that we step by step shake and weaken the foundation of private ownership and finally abolish it, help the mutual-aid teams develop and become agricultural producers' co-operatives and use these as the new factor to 'defeat the peasants' spontaneous factor.' This is an erroneous, dangerous and Utopian socialist idea in agriculture." He opposed the setting up of agricultural co-ops, advocated "firmly protecting private property" and the "four freedoms"\* in a vain attempt to lead China's countryside on to the path of capitalism.

Chairman Mao sharply refuted Liu Shao-chi's revisionist line and personally took charge of drawing up the "Resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on Mutual Aid and Co-operation in Agricultural Production (Draft)" in September 1951. In December of the same year, he instructed the

whole Party to take mutual aid and co-operation in agriculture "as a major task." (*Take Mutual Aid and Co-operation in Agriculture as a Major Task.*) In 1952, the movement for agricultural co-operation developed vigorously in Shansi, as was the case in other parts of the country. By the spring of 1953, the number of co-ops of the elementary type\*\* had reached 2,200, and by the spring of 1955, it had increased to 31,700, embracing 41 per cent of the total number of peasant households.

On the eve of the socialist upsurge in China's countryside, Liu Shao-chi again came out to attack the co-operative transformation of agriculture as having "gone beyond the actual possibilities," "gone beyond the masses' level of political consciousness" and "gone beyond the cadres' level of experience." He set about slashing the co-ops, disbanding 200,000 co-ops throughout the country within two months. At that critical juncture, Chairman Mao delivered the report "On the Question of the Co-operative Transformation of Agriculture" at a conference of secretaries of provincial, municipal and autonomous region Party committees called by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, and wrote a series of articles expounding the theory, line, principles and policies in the socialist transformation of China's agriculture and criticizing Liu Shao-chi's counter-revolutionary revisionist line.

Enthusiastically supporting the mass movement, Chairman Mao commended the three poor-peasant households in Hopei Province who persisted in running a co-op and said that they represented "the direction the 500 million peasants of the country will take." (*On the Question of the Co-operative Transformation of Agriculture.*) Using the materialist dialectical viewpoint, he made a scientific analysis of the new situation arising from changes in class relations in the countryside after the land reform and clearly defined the class line for the

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\*\* Co-ops of the elementary type were semi-socialist agricultural producers' co-operatives developed step by step in China's countryside since 1951. The land and other major means of production of the peasants who joined them were pooled together as shares in the co-ops. Apart from what they earned from labour, the co-op members received remuneration from their shares of land and other means of production.

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

co-operative transformation of agriculture as: Reliance on the poor and the lower-middle peasants, firm unity with the middle peasants and restriction and elimination of exploitation by the rich peasants. This shattered the fallacies spread by Liu Shao-chi and Chen Po-ta that, after the land reform, the countryside was dominated by the middle peasants and that reliance on the poor peasants no longer had any significance. It also solved the question of the Party's reliance on the majority of the peasants in the socialist revolution in the countryside.

Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, the high tide of the co-operative transformation of agriculture swept the country in 1955 like a hurricane. In this upsurge, both the cadres and the masses realized that the elementary producers' co-operatives, which were semi-socialist in nature, no longer suited the development of production. So they quickly launched a movement to set up advanced co-operatives.

In the socialist transformation of the system of ownership in the rural areas, "we are

Newly built houses in the Paiyangyu Production Brigade of Hsiyang County, China's first Tachai-type county.



taking steady steps, moving first from mutual-aid teams which contain rudiments of socialism to semi-socialist and later to fully socialist co-operatives.\*" (*Two Talks on Mutual Aid and Co-operation in Agriculture.*) It was because of this that the co-operative transformation of agriculture was realized in a relatively short period of time and output increased year after year. Shansi Province accomplished in the main the socialist transformation of agriculture in spring 1956. That year, grain output in the province hit an all-time high.

### **Hold High the Red Banner of Tachai, Persist in Continuing the Revolution**

Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, in 1958 the people's commune, a brand-new form of social organization, emerged like the morning sun over the eastern horizon of the world. It merged the agricultural producers' co-operatives with dozens or hundreds of households engaged only in agricultural production into a large organization which develops agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, side-line occupation and fishery in an all-round way, combines industry, agriculture, commerce, culture and education and military affairs and integrates government administration with economic management. Thus it has further spurred the development of the productive forces.

In 1964, Chairman Mao issued the great call **In agriculture, learn from Tachai.** The red banner on the agricultural front put up by Chairman Mao, Tachai is an outstanding example in adhering to the Party's basic line, continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building large-

\* That refers to the advanced agricultural producers' co-operatives. They were co-operatives of a socialist nature developed step by step in the country in 1956. Co-op members got their income in accordance with the principle of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work." Land and other major means of production were owned by the collective and no remunerations were paid for them.

scale socialist agriculture. It has provided us with valuable experience in deepening the socialist revolution in the political, economic and ideological spheres in the countryside. The orientation of Tachai is the orientation of the rural areas throughout the country.

After the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production had in the main been completed, the question of which will win out in the countryside — socialism or capitalism — was still not entirely solved. On the one hand we must consolidate the new relations of production and the system of the people's commune, and the struggle in this respect remains a long one. If we should fail in our efforts, there would be the possibility of a capitalist restoration at any time. In 1962, Liu Shao-chi peddled *san zi yi bao*\*, and in the last few years, under the serious interference and sabotage by the "gang of four," the land in some places was divided up for the peasants to farm on their own while some units developed capitalism under the signboard of collective economy which, as a result, was disintegrated; and there were also cases of people in the city collaborating with those in the villages to engage in speculation, which of course undermined the socialist economy. All this tells us that we must fight resolutely against the capitalist restorationist activities.

On the other hand, with the growth of the productive forces, it is necessary to make timely changes in those aspects of the relations of production that do not correspond to the development of the productive forces. We must pay attention to improving and adjusting the relations among people in the course of production, and adhere to the principle of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work" and implement the Party's economic policies in the rural areas so as to put those things to rights which were turned upside down by the "gang of four." As regards the system of ownership, if we take the situation in most parts of China into consideration, the present



Large-scale farmland capital construction is being undertaken in Hsiyang County. Photo shows a specialized team on their way to work.

system of three-level ownership\*\* with the production team as the basic accounting unit is in the main in harmony with the development of the productive forces. However, with the expansion of farmland capital construction, the gradual realization of farm mechanization and the growth of commune- and brigade-run enterprises, the number of communes with the production brigade as the basic accounting unit will surely increase.

After the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production had been completed in the main, the revolution in the superstructure became even more important. To make revolution in the superstructure means to ensure that the task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat is fulfilled right through to the grass-roots level. The superstructure serves the economic base. Under given conditions, the superstructure plays the decisive role in consolidating and developing the economic base. Whether the revolution in the superstructure is carried out well or not has a direct bearing on the consolidation and development of the revolution in the economic base. Chairman Mao timely pointed out in 1957, the year after the agricultural co-operation: "By itself, the socialist revolution of 1956 on the economic front (that is, in the ownership of

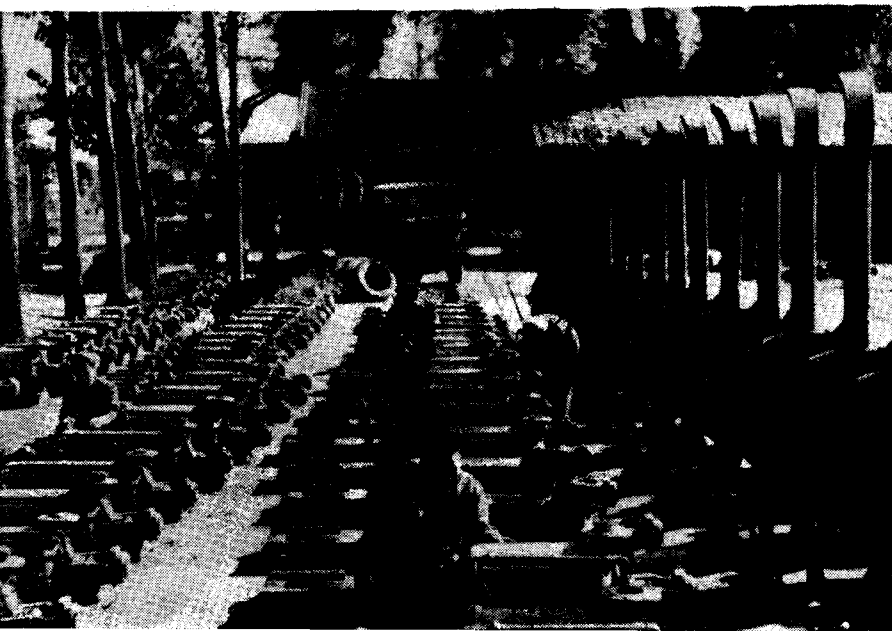
\* *San zi yi bao* means the extension of plots for private use and of free markets, the increase of small enterprises with sole responsibility for their own profits or losses, and the fixing of farm output quotas for individual households with each on its own.

\*\* Rural people's communes at present generally consist of three levels: the commune, production brigade and production team. The means of production belongs to the three levels respectively. At present, collective ownership at the production team level is basic in the three-level ownership.

the means of production) is not enough, nor is it secure." "There must also be a thoroughgoing socialist revolution on the political and ideological fronts." (*The Situation in the Summer of 1957.*) In accordance with Chairman Mao's instruction, a socialist education movement was carried out in the countryside from 1963 to 1966. This was immediately followed by the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution which is a big and most profound political revolution in China. Education in the Party's basic line has been conducted in the last few years in the rural areas in close connection with the struggle to criticize the Lin Piao anti-Party clique and particularly with the current struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four." All this has played an enormous role in making the revolution in the superstructure in the countryside a success and in consolidating and developing the system of the rural people's commune.

To carry out the revolution in the superstructure and ensure the fulfilment of the task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat right through to the grass-roots level, it is imperative to solve the following two problems. One is to strengthen the revolutionization of the leading bodies and ensure that the leadership is firmly in the hands of Marxists and the poor and lower-middle peasants. The other is to educate the peasants in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. While it is important to transform the social system in the socialist revolution, it is even more important to remould people's ideology. We must therefore make constant efforts to "imbue the peasant masses with the socialist ideology and to

The Hsiyang Agriculture Machinery Plant.



criticize the tendency towards capitalism." (*Introductory Note to "The Socialist Upsurge in China's Countryside."*) We must also strengthen the ideological education in communism, encourage the peasants to display the communist style of loving the country and the collective and guide them to gradually emancipate themselves from the trammels of the forces of habit of a small peasant economy.

### Develop Large-Scale Socialist Agriculture At High Speed

To expand socialist production is a basic task of the dictatorship of the proletariat, Chairman Mao said: "Only when the productive forces of our society have been fairly adequately developed . . . will it be possible to regard our socialist economic and political system as having obtained a fairly adequate material base (now far from adequate), and will it be possible to regard our state (the superstructure) as fully consolidated, and a socialist society as fundamentally built." (*The Situation in the Summer of 1957.*) Therefore, we must expedite the technical innovations and technical revolution in agriculture. Only thus can we expand the agricultural productive forces and develop large-scale socialist agriculture at top speed and consolidate and expand the socialist positions in the rural areas.

As early as in the period of agricultural co-operation, Chairman Mao pointed out: "We are now carrying out a revolution not only in the social system, the change from private to public ownership, but also in technology, the change from handicraft to large-scale modern machine production." "The social and economic features of China will not be completely changed until the socialist transformation of the social and economic system is completely accomplished and, in the technical field, machinery is used in all possible branches and places." (*On the Question of the Co-operative Transformation of Agriculture.*) Chairman Mao also issued the call that farm mechanization should in the main be achieved within 25 years, starting from 1955. This is Chairman Mao's behest, the wish of the people throughout the country

and the urgent demand in further developing the socialist revolution and socialist construction as well. We must redouble our efforts and quicken our pace to ensure that our country will basically accomplish farm mechanization by 1980 and the modernization of agriculture before the end of this century.

Chairman Mao also paid great attention to the question of increasing agricultural production and gave detailed instructions on the management of the co-operatives, on the innovation of farming techniques, and on building water conservancy works, intensive cultivation, livestock breeding and the protection of draught animals, raising more pigs and afforestation. During the upsurge of the country's agricultural co-operation, Chairman Mao put forward a 17-point programme which later became the National Programme for Agricultural Development, laying down not only the targets for increasing farm production but also listing various measures for achieving this. Chairman Mao also taught us that we should "strive to become expert in political and economic work, for which the prerequisite is a higher level of Marxism-Leninism." (*Speeches at the National Conference of the Chinese Communist Party.*) At present, guided by Chairman Mao's directive on grasping revolution and promoting production, the Chinese people are criticizing the "gang of four's" crimes in sabotaging revolution and production and are going all out to build socialism.

Since the co-operative transformation of agriculture, farm production in Shansi Province has progressed considerably, the collective economy has been steadily strengthened and farm mechanization has also advanced to a certain extent. Much, of course, remains to be done. In his report at the First National Conference on Learning From Tachai in Agriculture in 1975, Chairman Hua worked out some figures for our Shansi Province. He said: "If every county in Shansi is built into a Tachai-type county attaining this year's level in Hsiyang where every person on the average has produced 750 kilogrammes of grain and supplied 250 kilogrammes of marketable grain, then the total grain output in the whole province would increase 2.5-fold and marketable grain nearly fourfold compared with 1974." Chairman Hua has not only mapped out a splendid blueprint for developing agriculture in Shansi Province but has also given us added confidence and strength. The whole Party must be mobilized and make greater efforts to achieve this goal at the earliest possible date. As a first step, we must work hard for four years to build more than half of the counties in the province into Tachai-type counties by 1980 and raise the average per-mu (one-fifteenth of a hectare) grain yield to 200 kilogrammes. The second step is to raise the province's per-mu yield to an average of 300 kilogrammes by 1985 so as to accomplish the task Chairman Hua has set for our province.

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

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*(Continued from p. 10.)*

control, interference and bullying by Soviet social-imperialism should firmly unite to form a broad international united front to expose its policies of aggression and war and wage an unflinching struggle against it.

The present international situation is developing in a direction still more favourable to the people. Countries want independence, nations want liberation and the people want revolution—this has become an irresistible historical trend. We must despise the enemy

strategically but take full account of him tactically. We must follow Chairman Mao's teachings: "Be prepared against war, be prepared against natural disasters, and do everything for the people," "dig tunnels deep, store grain everywhere, and never seek hegemony." We must prepare well against an aggressive war and race against time to build up our national economy as speedily as possible so as to make ourselves invincible. Whoever dares to invade our great socialist motherland will be wiped out resolutely, thoroughly, wholly and completely in a people's war.

# Unveiling the Mysteries of the "Roof of the World"

ACCORDING to scientific data obtained thus far the Chinghai-Tibet Plateau, popularly known as the "Roof of the World," used to be a huge sea. But how was this area uplifted and when did it become today's "Roof of the World"? What changes took place in the natural environment in the course of the uplift? What natural resources are there and how should they be tapped and utilized? Owing to the unique complexities of the natural conditions there, these questions have, to a great extent, long been a scientific enigma.

Since 1973, a Chinese scientific expedition of some 400 scientific workers in more than 50 specialities from 14 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions has started a multiple-discipline scientific exploration of the area. After four years of hard work, they have lifted a corner of the veil over the "Roof of the World."

**Stratigraphy of the "Roof of the World."** The expedition's task was to conduct investigations and research on geophysics, stratigraphy,

**Veteran botanist Wu Cheng-yi (second from right) who spent two successive years on the Tibetan Plateau studying alpine plants.**



palaeontology, petrology, tectonics, geomorphology, Quaternary geology and geothermics. Over 6,000 specimens of fossils belonging to nearly 30 phyla were collected by the palaeontologists, who, after determination and treatment of the fossils, made an initial analysis of the strata in Tibet, drew up a stratigraphic zonation map for the area and basically clarified the evolution of the geological and palaeogeographical conditions of the Tibetan Plateau during the billions of years from the Proterozoic era to the present.

Vertebrate palaeontology scientists studied three kinds of dinosaur fossils (including those from the sauropoda), fossils of the hipparion and abundant marine fossils and continental plant fossils of the Cretaceous and Tertiary periods. Based on these fossils, they confirmed that in the early and middle Jurassic dating back 160-140 million years, the Chamdo region in the eastern part of the Chinghai-Tibet Plateau was covered by a shallow sea or was a depression and had a hot, humid environment. During the Pliocene epoch, although Tibet was uplifted and rose above sea level, the terrain was not high and its natural landscape approximated a subtropical zone. It was not until the last million years that the area had uplifted in such a big way as to become the present-day "Roof of the World."

**Main Cause of the Uplift of the Himalayas.** As the Qomolangma Feng area is the highest point on earth, people are apt to consider the earth's crust here to be the thickest. However, preliminary analysis and calculations by Chinese geophysicists of the data on gravity, earthquakes, and magnetotelluric sounding have



Wild donkeys in northern Tibet.

shown that the thickness of the earth's crust in this area is only about 48 kilometres while the crust in the vicinity of Lhasa where the mountains are not so high, is 70 kilometres thick.

Based in part on data on the residual magnetization of rocks north and south of the Yalu Tsangpo River, the scientists tend to believe that areas south of the river and the south Asian subcontinent are of the same land block, whereas the area north of the river shares the same land block in common with Kwangtung and Hupeh Provinces, the southern part of the Soviet Union and the southern part of Korea.

From the viewpoint of plate tectonics and on the basis of the investigations in the fields of the various branches of geoscience, Chinese scientists have made initial studies of the causes of the upheaval of the plateau and are of the opinion that the uplift of the Himalayas was caused mainly by the spreading of the Indian Ocean floor so that the plate carrying the south Asian subcontinent gradually moved northward, impacting the Eurasian plate, and, in different stages, obliquely compressed and thrust into the foreland of the Asiatic continent. The position of the sutural line of the two plates is roughly along the Yalu Tsangpo River.

**Effects of the Uplift of the Plateau on the Natural Environment and Human Activities.** A comprehensive survey was carried out in Tibet on its natural geographic conditions, climate, hydrology, glaciers, mud-rock flow, geomorphology, soil, vegetative cover, higher plants,

algae, moss, fungi and lichens, and its faunas including birds, beasts, insects and fish. Over 50,000 specimens of higher plants were collected in 20,000 numbers. Preliminary identification revealed more than 100 new species, some being peculiar to the Chinghai-Tibet Plateau, while others of relatively primitive types which appeared in the series of evolution that took place with the uplift. More than 70,000 specimens of birds, beasts, insects and fish and other aquatic life were collected. Many rare animals of the plateau were captured for the first time.

Members of the scientific expedition have basically clarified types, special characteristics and regularities of distribution of the various natural factors of the Tibetan Plateau. They have made a preliminary regionalization of natural conditions for Tibet, explained the special characteristics of these natural regions and worked out an outline on how they are to be utilized and transformed for multipurpose development.

Scientific workers engaged in research on glaciers and mud-rock flow concentrated on investigating the special features and the regularities of movement of China's glaciers of the oceanic type, and determined the differences between glaciers of this type and those of the continental type and their distribution. They also investigated the principles governing the origin and development of the mud-rock flow along the main highways on the plateau. They have collected abundant data for utilizing ice



and snow resources there, avoiding disasters caused by ice and snow and preventing mud-rock flows.

The huge quantity of exact, first-hand scientific data obtained in the course of the investigation have corrected many mistaken views of some foreign explorers concerning the Chinghai-Tibet Plateau. For instance, some held that this area was covered by glaciers and many ancient living things died out in the Quaternary period that lasted nearly 2.5 million years, leaving Tibet with extremely limited biotic resources. The survey showed, however, that biota in Tibet are characterized by a variety of phyla and a highly complex biogeographical pattern. Higher plants alone come to more than 4,000 species, some of which are left over from the Tertiary period 65 million years ago. Thus, the so-called "glacial cover" theory cannot stand.

Some foreign scholars subjectively insisted that the vast Chiangtang Plateau in northern Tibet was an "arid centre," "a barren land." Investigation has proved that the vegetative cover here is basically grassland or desert steppe and offers conditions for developing animal husbandry.

Research work carried out by Chinese scientists of alpine physiology (studies on the human body's ability to acclimatize on high mountains and effects on the human body of physical labour at high altitude) established that although human activities are greatly affected on the Chinghai-Tibet Plateau averaging over



Mesozoic era fossils some 100 to 200 million years old.

4,000 metres above sea level, the human body's ability to acclimatize is very strong and, under certain conditions, man can fully adapt himself to the plateau and conquer the highland.

**Rich Resources.** The expedition showed Tibet to be fairly rich in mineral and other natural resources. Southeastern Tibet has many types of forests. Trees grow fast and volume of accumulation per unit area is high. It is another major virgin forest area in our country.

Tibet, with its many rivers and lakes, has abundant water resources and great energy potential. The Yalu Tsangpo River has a greater energy potential than any river in China. Scientists have made preliminary plans for developing and utilizing the water resources for irrigation, power and other purposes.

Geophysicists reported that the belt lying south of the Gangdis Range and north of the Himalayas has very intense hydrothermal activity. Practically everywhere in Tibet there are geothermal indications. According to data collected, the heat may be due to magmatic activities near the earth's surface.

**Excellent Prospects for Developing Agriculture and Animal Husbandry.** Agricultural scientists did research work on crop cultivation, plant physiology, plant protection, seed-variety sources, agricultural meteorology, soil and fertilizer, grassland resources, and the ecological and physiological features of domestic animals here. They believe that potentially agricultural output in Tibet can be very high. They point to the abundant water and soil resources and such favourable factors for growing wheat and other cereals as the temperate plateau climate, ample sunshine, strong solar radiation and a wide temperature range between day and night. Tibet can be expected to provide a stream of new high-yield strains of wheat and similar cereals.

Scientists searched and discovered many species of wild barley and semi-wild wheat in Tibet, which will shed important new light on the origin of wheat and barley. With vast pastoral areas, nutritious grass and better breeds of animals, Tibet has good prospects for livestock development.



## “GANG OF FOUR” — THE NATION’S SCOURGE

### Struggle in the Building Of Workers’ Theoretical Contingents

**T**HE Shanghai No. 1 Automatic Instruments and Meters Factory and seven other enterprises jointly wrote an article exposing the “gang of four’s” crime in sabotaging the building of workers’ Marxist theoretical contingents.

Chairman Mao always attached great importance to the building of theoretical contingents. As early as in 1957, he issued the call: **“The whole Party should pay attention to ideological and theoretical work, build up contingents of Marxist theoretical workers and devote greater efforts to studying and propagating Marxist theory.”** He also pointed out that to build socialism we must train a huge contingent of working-class intellectuals including Marxist theoreticians.

Since then, under the leadership of Party organizations, much progress has been made in this respect. In addition to professional theoretical workers, spare-time groups for the study of Marxism-Leninism have been organized on a wide scale. Especially since the start of the Great Cultural Revolution, such groups have mushroomed in factories and other enterprises and they have played a tremendous militant role in the political movements.

In the last few years, the “gang of four” took pains to organizing a “cultural” and an “armed” force to serve its political aim of usurping Party and state power. Its “armed” force was the militia which the gang plotted to transform into a “second armed force” in opposition to the People’s Liberation Army and use it as a tool to usurp the supreme leadership of the Party and state. Its “cultural” force referred to the theoretical contingents.

Members of the “gang of four” trumpeted that it was they who founded and fostered the theoretical contingents and tried in every way to seize control of these contingents. Instead of encouraging the theoretical workers to study Marxism-Leninism, they shamelessly propagated so-called “Chang Chun-chiao’s thought” and “the road of Yao Wen-yuan.”

A follower of the gang in Shanghai said: **“The theoretical contingents don’t have to study many works. They should concentrate on studying articles by Chang Chun-chiao and Yao Wen-yuan.”** The gang’s confidants in Shanghai also made it compulsory for these contingents to study the articles turned out by the gang’s writing groups, which used such pseudonyms as Liang Hsiao and Lo Ssu-ting. They even had the cheek to say that “Chang Chun-chiao’s thought” was the “fourth milestone” in the development of Marxism-Leninism and that the “road of Yao Wen-yuan” was the “only road” theoretical workers should take.

They rejected the Party committees’ leadership over the theoretical contingents and declared that “workers’ theoretical contingents must be relatively independent.” Whenever the department concerned in the central authorities called meetings to discuss theoretical work or to assign tasks, the gang’s followers blustered: **“We don’t care what they say. We only listen to Chang Chun-chiao and Yao Wen-yuan.”** “Our Shanghai is an independent detachment.”

In the name of theoretical contingents, the gang’s toadies in Shanghai made several so-called “social investigations” to collect materials in order to frame charges against those comrades in the central and local authorities who were loyal to Chairman Mao’s revolutionary line. Once, a flunkey of the gang directed some people to make investigations in the shipbuilding departments. Not knowing this lackey’s real intentions, the comrades there collected facts about the workers’ experience in grasping

revolution and promoting production. When he heard this, he roared: "Who told you to make such investigations? Don't you know what we want is ammunition? Ammunition for our chiefs!"

The "gang of four" also used theoretical contingents to spread counter-revolutionary rumours. One of its followers in Shanghai clamoured: "We should build up a city-wide network comprising activists in theoretical study so that when I call a meeting attended by only a dozen or scores of people, the news would be known to the whole city in a very short time." They often used this method to spread rumours attacking Party, government and army leading comrades at the central and local levels and to create confusion in the society at large.

For all the gang's trickery to control the theoretical contingents, only a handful of persons danced to their tune. Many people saw through their schemes and struggled against them. In the Shanghai Workers' Political School, for instance, a theoretical group composed of eight veteran workers criticized by name many articles published in the journal *Study and Criticism* which was controlled by the "gang of four." They pointed out that opinions full of malice were quite rampant in Shanghai and these were aimed at subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat. Workers' theoretical groups in the No. 3 Electronic Tube Factory, the No. 1 Automatic Instruments and Meters Factory and other units in Shanghai had also exposed and criticized the gang's fallacies and plots.

The smashing of the "gang of four" has made it possible for theoretical contingents to develop in a healthier way. With the publication of Volume V of the *Selected Works of Mao Tsetung*, they are now provided with another ideological weapon. At the Second National Conference on Learning From Tachai in Agriculture held at the end of last year, Chairman Hua Kuo-feng pointed out: "Efforts must be made to train through struggle a backbone force for the Party's theoretical work, and truly organize and build a powerful Marxist theoretical contingent." "Worker-peasant-soldier activists in theoretical study and professional theoretical workers must be so organized that they can further temper themselves and play their role in the forefront of the struggle to criticize the 'gang of four.'" Following Chairman

Hua's instructions, the workers' theoretical contingents are now making big strides forward.

## A Mouthpiece of The Gang

**S**TUDY AND CRITICISM, a monthly published in Shanghai, made its appearance in September 1973 and conked out with the collapse of the "gang of four" in October 1976. Under the signboard of studying philosophy and social sciences, it had published a large amount of anti-Party articles, distorting facts, confounding right and wrong and concocting rumours, and had spread a lot of political venom.

It professed to be a journal of Fudan University, but its editorial department was not on the campus. The power of editing and publishing was actually in the hands of two trustees of the "gang of four" planted in the writing group under the Shanghai municipal Party committee. Ample facts that have been brought to light show that *Study and Criticism* was the gang's journal, and like the writing groups using the pen-names of Chih Heng, Fang Kang, Liang Hsiao and Lo Ssu-ting, it served as a tool for the gang to usurp Party and state leadership.

From the very outset, the journal had a hand in the gang's schemes. Following are two examples.

The gang regarded Premier Chou En-lai as an insurmountable obstacle to their seizure of power, so it was not surprising that the journal should in its first issue hurl veiled attacks at him. In the autumn of 1973 Yao Wen-yuan made a long-distance telephone call from Peking to his trustees in the said writing group of Shanghai, divulging the Party Central Committee's plan to deepen the criticism of Lin Piao through the criticism of Confucius, and instructed them to write an article criticizing a prime minister of the Chin Dynasty (221-206 B.C.). Obviously the aim was to make use of the ancient to satirize the present. As soon as the article was published, Yao Wen-yuan ordered the journal *Hongqi* to reprint it so as to spread it throughout the country.

Later, on orders from Chiang Ching to "criticize prime ministers," this mouthpiece of

(Continued on p. 31.)

# ROUND THE WORLD

"REVOLUTION" (BRITAIN)

## The Central Task Is to Establish a Revolutionary Communist Party

*Revolution*, the theoretical journal of the National Committee of the Communist Federation of Britain (Marxist-Leninist), carried an article entitled "Call to the British Marxist-Leninist Movements" in its issue No. 5. The article says:

"British monopoly capitalism has severely cut the standard of living of the British working class in the last two and a half years. Yet until recently the working class have hardly fought back. Why? Because the economic organizations of the working class, the trade unions, are in the grip of the revisionists, social-democrats and Trotskyists. These opportunists are the principal political prop of the bourgeoisie. Without the opportunists British imperialism would not last six months.

"Why has all the economic militancy of the British working class in the early 70s collapsed? Mao Tsetung pointed out: 'If the masses alone are active without a strong leading group to organize their activity properly, such activity cannot be sustained for long, or carried forward in the right direction, or raised to a high level.'

"The need for a genuine revolutionary Communist Party is now clearer than ever. Build-

ing the revolutionary Communist Party of the working class is the central task in Britain today around which all other tasks must be unfolded." British Marxist-Leninists have much to do.

"What are the factors in our favour? Firstly, we have Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought as the theoretical basis guiding our thinking. So long as we increasingly integrate it with the concrete practice of the class struggle in Britain we can be certain of ultimate success.

"Secondly, we have the rising class struggle in Britain. Although the opportunists have temporarily paralysed the organizations of the working class, the smouldering resentment and anger of the class is becoming ever more threatening to the imperialist bourgeoisie. The British Marxist-Leninist movement must go deep among the working class, learn from them and fan the glowing sparks of discontent into the angry flames of a powerful counterattack by the working class.

"Thirdly, the British Marxist-Leninist movement now has 14 years' experience. Most of that experience is negative; but one of the strengths of Marxism-Leninism is that it enables us to learn from negative experience; from our mistakes, as well as from our successes."

All in all, "the prospects are bright and the need is urgent.

We must set about our tasks energetically!"

"At present the few hundred Marxist-Leninists in Britain are divided into a dozen different organizations. This is an impossible position that prevents us mobilizing all positive factors."

"The reason is small group mentality. Chairman Mao hit the nail on the head when he wrote: 'Some people . . . act as though the fewer the people, the smaller the circle, the better. Those who have this "small circle" mentality resist the idea of bringing all positive factors into play, of uniting with everyone that can be united with, and of doing everything possible to turn negative factors into positive ones. . . .'

"It will be impossible to mobilize all positive factors for Party building in Britain without a complete victory over small group mentality. The thorough defeat and rooting out of small group mentality is our first and most immediate task in Party building."

The article holds that in order to build a genuine party of the working class, it is important now to take up the task of criticizing opportunist errors. There must be a large-scale movement in which all genuine Marxist-Leninists contribute. As Chairman Mao said: "What is correct invariably develops in the course of struggle with what is wrong."

The article goes on to say that in the course of struggle against opportunist errors, "we will grasp much more firmly the correct way forward in

Party building and in speeding the socialist revolution. The Marxist-Leninist movement cannot be united without making substantial progress on ideological and political lines." "It will have a powerful effect in speeding up the movement towards a single united democratic centralist Party building organization."

In conclusion, the article notes: "In the British Marxist-Leninist movement today there is a rising desire for unity. This is excellent. It must be strengthened." British Marxist-Leninist organizations "must unite to form larger democratic centralist organizations." This is the specific immediate task for them in the organizational field. "When two Marxist-Leninist organizations take up the task of uniting into a single, democratic centralist organization, the essential thing, as Mao Tsetung said, is to start from the desire for unity. This must be our fundamental attitude." **"Do more self-criticism and seek common ground on major questions while reserving differences on minor ones."** "This fundamental approach is of tremendous significance." "In the course of struggling for unity, organizations will come across certain major questions which are differences of principle. These must not be glossed over." "Lenin made the same point in different words in *What Is to Be Done?*: **'In order that we may unite, we must first of all draw firm and definite lines of demarcation.'** Drawing lines of demarcation firmly and definitely is a skill which requires repeated practice to perform well. With perse-

verance we can master it and put it to good effect in Party building."

"Struggling to form larger democratic centralist organizations takes hard work; but it is a principled solution which is certain to bring big gains in building the party of the working class over a period of time."

"There is much work to do in building the party of the working class in Britain. But with determination to stick to principle and overcome obstacles one by one, we can turn a bad situation into a good situation. The road is tortuous. The future is bright!"

#### PAKISTAN

### Armed Forces Take Over Administration

The armed forces of Pakistan formed an interim government after taking over the administration of the country on July 5.

President Fazal Elahi Chaudhry continues to perform his functions as head of state; a military council consisting of the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee and Chiefs of the Three Services will assist the President and perform important administrative functions of the country; Chief Martial Law Administrator heads the executive, a post held by Chief of Army Staff General Mohammad Ziaul Haq.

Referring to relations with foreign countries in his nationwide T.V. address that day, Chief Martial Law Administrator Mohammad Ziaul Haq

said: "I want to make it clear that I will abide by whatever agreements, commitments and understandings have been arrived at by the previous government with other countries."

He announced the imposition of martial law throughout the country and the dissolution of the national and provincial assemblies and declared that elections would be held in the coming October.

Speaking of the reason for taking over the administration, he said: "Elections were held in the country on last March 7. One of the contending parties [the Pakistan National Alliance], however, refused to accept the outcome. To press their demand for re-elections, they launched a movement which assumed such dimensions that people even started saying that democracy was not workable in Pakistan." He pointed out that he saw no basis for a compromise between the People's Party and the Pakistan National Alliance; it would only throw the country into chaos and a more serious crisis would result. It was primarily for this reason that the armed forces had no choice but to intervene.

The country was reported calm after the armed forces' takeover.

#### CARIBBEAN COUNTRIES

### Agriculture Developing Apace

Favourable conditions for agriculture prevail in the Caribbean region, but under colonialism the region was turn-

ed into a supplier of a few primary goods such as sugar-cane, oranges, cocoa, coffee and bananas and a market for manufactured goods with the result that all cloth, food grain and even vegetables needed by the people there had to be imported.

This situation has changed in recent years. Agricultural production in some member countries of the Caribbean Community (CARICOM) is developing rapidly, thanks to efforts devoted to transforming their lopsided economy.

- Annual rice output in Guyana has gone up steadily, reaching a record figure of 183,000 tons in 1975. Having overcome a dry spell in the first half of 1977, Guyana reaped an all-time record of 85,000 tons of spring rice. This year, it has launched a campaign to grow legumes in all parts of the country and cotton in the coastal areas and the hinterland.

- Jamaica has also gone in for growing rice and tuber crops. Its 1976 rice output was 4.37 million pounds, two and a half times that of 1967. Output of yam and cassava in 1976 doubled that of 1967.

- Simultaneous with raising per-unit output of traditional farm produce such as sugar-cane, coffee and cocoa, Trinidad and Tobago has expanded its acreage sown to grain. Paddy acreage this year will reach 24,000 acres, twice the size five years ago.

- Barbados' dependence on imported farm produce is lessening because of attention paid to growing tuber crops, maize, legumes and rice. The government has of late decided to open up 12,000 acres of wasteland.

CARICOM, set up to defend state sovereignty and promote economic integration, has promoted multilateral co-operation in agricultural production in the region. Not long ago, CARICOM's Corn and Soyabean Corporation, jointly run by Saint Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, Trinidad and Tobago and Guyana, planted maize and soyabean for the first time on the prairie of eastern Guyana. Last year the Caribbean Food Company was set up to aid and guide member countries in developing agriculture. A considerable part of loans issued by the Caribbean Development Bank in recent years has been for developing agriculture.

E.E.C.

### Customs Union Completed

The nine member states of the European Economic Community (E.E.C.) completed the formation of a customs union on July 1. This is a further step on their path to unification.

The customs union is one of the mainstays of the E.E.C. In accordance with the Rome treaty, the six founder states — Belgium, West Germany, France, Italy, Luxembourg and the Netherlands — agreed on January 1, 1959 to lower tariffs

among themselves and to introduce step by step uniform duties on goods imported from non-member countries so as to establish a customs union.

The union came into being on July 1, 1968.

On January 1, 1973, Denmark, Ireland and Britain joined the E.E.C. To enable the three new member states to join the customs union and adapt themselves to conditions of the community, the treaty on their entries calls for a transition period of four and a half years. When the period ended on July 1 this year, the fifth or the last tariff reduction came into effect between the six founder states and the three new members, bringing about the elimination of all tariffs.

The customs union has made contributions to the promotion of E.E.C. trade both internal and external. In its recent notice to the E.E.C. Ministerial Council and the European Parliament, the E.E.C. Commission pointed out that the customs union is "one of the most effective elements of European integration" and "the mainstay of most common policies." In addition, the formation of the union has accelerated the economic development of the E.E.C. countries, enabling the community to withstand tests of economic strength with the two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States.

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**CORRECTION:** On Page 4 of our last issue "Kamagoe" in the last line of the right-hand column should read "Kawagoe."

# ON THE HOME FRONT

## **Yellow River Highway Bridges**

**S**INCE the founding of New China, various types of bridges have been built across the 5,400-kilometre-long Yellow River. Speaking of highway bridges alone, up to now there are more than 30.

Until 1949, the year of liberation, there was only one highway bridge spanning the Yellow River at Lanchow (capital of Kansu Province). With a low bearing capacity, this bridge, less than 7 metres wide, was built by a Western firm using imported materials.

The source of the Yellow River is over 4,800 metres higher in altitude than its mouth. It is known throughout the world for containing large quantities of silt (about 1,600

million tons of sand are washed into the sea every year) which, together with other unfavourable factors, make it difficult to build bridges across the river. In the spirit of self-reliance, the Chinese labouring people, however, have put up bridges in the Chinese traditional style such as stone arched bridges and double-vault arched bridges, as well as truss bridges, steel suspension bridges and reinforced concrete girder bridges. All were designed and constructed by Chinese workers and technicians with domestic materials.

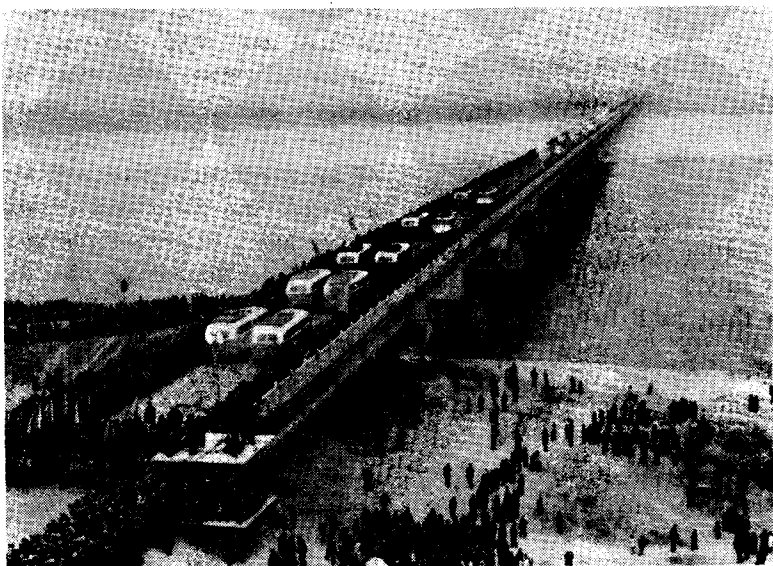
On the upper reaches of the river, there are six highway bridges in Chinghai Province. Built at a place over 4,000 metres above sea level, one of them is 87 metres long and is wide

enough for two heavy-duty trucks driving abreast.

Along the section from Kansu Province to the Chingtung Gorge in the Ningsia Hui Autonomous Region where the riverbed mostly lies in valleys, the flow is swift. Now several bridges span the river there. Two of them are steel suspension bridges built by members of the people's communes in the vicinity by relying on the collective economy. The building of these two bridges has provided the people of our country with new experiences in building bridges through self-reliance.

On the middle and lower reaches where the riverbed is wider and the main current ever-changing, huge amount of work is involved in building bridges. The highway bridge at Loyang in Honan Province, which was opened to traffic last January, is 3,500 metres long, so far the longest in China. In the course of construction, many new techniques and technological processes were adopted in laying the foundations and putting up the structures above the water.

Among the projects on the lower reaches close to the estuary, the most difficult one was the building of the highway bridge at Peichen, Shantung Province. Here the currents change with the seasons and a layer of loose silt goes over 100 metres deep down the riverbed. In view of this, the bridge builders took appropriate measures to get the work done. The bridge, 1,394 metres long and 12 metres wide, was completed in nine months, a record time in building road bridges of this



Opening of the highway bridge spanning the Yellow River at Loyang, Honan Province, January 2, 1977.

type in China with high quality and at low cost.

### **Electric Pumping Stations in a County**

**H**UNGHU County in Hupeh Province has over the last seven years or so built 43 electric drainage and irrigation stations whose total capacity of 46,970 kw. is 521 times the county's annual electricity consumption before liberation. Construction of another five is now under way.

Located on the northern bank of the Yangtze River, Hunghu, a place endowed with abundant rainfall and fertile soil, is known as an "area of fish and rice" on the middle reaches of the river. Under the Kuomintang reactionary rule before liberation, however, the water conservancy works there were out of repair and the decrepit dykes made it impossible to fend off floodwaters from the Yangtze and Hanshui (a tributary of the Yangtze) Rivers that skirt Hunghu on its east, south and north sides. Whenever rainy

season came, the rivers were in spate, often overflowing the dykes, while the excessive water behind the embankments could not be drained off.

Since liberation the local people have scored remarkable successes in building water conservancy projects in a planned way. From 1970 onwards, they have laid emphasis on the construction of electric drainage and irrigation stations. Bringing into full play the superiority of the people's communes and raising funds through the collective economy, they designed and built Hunghu's first electric pumping station, followed by many others thanks to the support from the People's Government. The biggest, with a capacity of 16,000 kw., can drain off 200 cubic meters of water per second.

These pumping stations have played a tremendous role in farm production. In June and July 1973, for example, there was a precipitation of 800 mm. which caused serious waterlogging. But with all the sta-

tions set to work, the excess water was soon pumped off and a rich harvest was reaped.

### **Underground Oil Tank**

**C**HINA has built its first underground watertight stone-cave oil tank. This has blazed a trail for storing oil and oil products in the country.

The oil tank, a cave dug into solid rock below the stable water table, can take in oil or oil products without using containers.

Compared with steel tanks built on the ground, the stone-cave tank saves rolled steel, takes up less space, keeps down losses, requires less maintenance work and is well covered for safety. It has many advantages over cave tanks lined with steel plates too. The question of steel plate erosion simply does not exist, the stone and earthwork involved is 30 per cent less and the investment and the building period are cut by one half.

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(Continued from p. 26.)

the gang churned out a series of critical articles against prime ministers of the past, euphemistically attacking Premier Chou. The journal was so arrogant and so vicious in its language that it outdid all other periodicals and papers controlled by the gang. Even after Premier Chou's death, it published an article framing charges against him by distorting historical facts.

The first issue of *Study and Criticism* carried another article about the workers' armed force, which was written at the bidding of Wang Hungwen and Chang Chun-chiao. The "gang of four" had for a long time plotted to turn the militia

into a "second armed force" directly under its command to counter the People's Liberation Army and make it instrumental to its usurping Party and state power. Using Marxist-Leninist terminology as a camouflage, the article tried to create opinion to facilitate the gang's seizure of leadership over the militia. It was again on orders from Yao Wen-yuan that this article was reprinted in a newspaper under the central authorities.

In order to overthrow a large number of experienced leading cadres at the central and local levels who had followed Chairman Mao in the revolution, the gang launched an attack on what it called "empiricism." *Study and Criti-*

cism lost no time in giving support. Parroting Chang Chun-chiao's clamour that "the Great Cultural Revolution aims at substituting a new regime for the old," the journal spread such fallacies as "those old fellows are no longer of any use" and "new people must accede to power." An article in the journal dealt at length with malicious intent the so-called law that "veteran cadres were revolutionary in the first half of their lives but are no longer revolutionary in the second half." This was an attack by innuendo on Premier Chou and a large number of leading Party, government and army cadres.

After Premier Chou's death, the "gang of four" directed the spearhead of its attack at Comrade Hua Kuo-feng. Acting in close co-ordination, *Study and Criticism* published a

series of articles about historical figures. Using past events to disparage the present, the gang opposed Comrade Hua, the successor chosen by Chairman Mao himself.

Lenin once pointed out: "The theoretical victory of Marxism compelled its enemies to disguise themselves as Marxists." (*Historical Destiny of the Doctrine of Karl Marx*.) Historical dialectics proves this to be the case. Members of the "gang of four" spared no effort to deck themselves out as Marxists. They larded their articles with Marxist-Leninist terminology while actually spreading idealism and metaphysics. The journal *Study and Criticism*, with a total of 38 issues in its three-year span, adds to the evidence of the "gang of four's" counter-revolutionary crimes.

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# PEKING REVIEW

## Arabic Edition (monthly)

The first issue of our Arabic edition came off the press on July 15, 1977. This edition of *Peking Review* will come out on the 15th each month.

Contents in this first issue:

Continue the Revolution Under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat to the End  
— A study of Volume V of the "Selected Works of Mao Tsetung" —  
Hua Kuo-feng

President Nimeri Visits China

Arab World Develops Education

Smashing the "Gang of Four" Is the Wise Decision of Chairman Mao

Taching Impressions

Regular features:

Briefs — relations between China and other countries;

Round the World;

China and the Arab World;

Friendship Notes;

On the Home Front.

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