

PEKING REVIEW

50

December 12, 1975

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Territory Since Ancient Times**

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Founding of People's Democratic Republic of Laos Warmly Greeted

His Excellency Souphanouvong,

President of the People's Democratic Republic of Laos and Chairman of the Supreme People's Assembly of Laos,

His Excellency Kaysone Phomvihane,

Prime Minister of the Government of the People's Democratic Republic of Laos,

Vientiane

On the occasion of the proclamation of the founding of the People's Democratic Republic of Laos and your assumption of the office of President of the Republic and Chairman of the Supreme People's Assembly and that of Prime Minister of the government respectively, we wish, on behalf of the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese Government and people, to extend our warm congratulations and high salutations to you and to the People's Revolutionary Party of Laos, the Government of the People's Democratic Republic of Laos and the fraternal Lao people.

The birth of the People's Democratic Republic of Laos is a brilliant achievement won by the Lao people through their protracted and heroic struggle. In the last decades, for the independence of their motherland and the liberation of their nation, the heroic Lao people, under the leadership of the People's Revolutionary Party of Laos, defied the strong enemy, despised all difficulties and persisted in armed struggle; and after traversing an arduous and tortuous road, they at last triumphed over the imperialist aggressor and domestic ultra-Rightist reactionary forces and won the great victory of the national-democratic revolution. Henceforth, the Lao

revolution enters an entirely new historical stage. Your victory is not only a positive contribution to the revolutionary cause of the Indochinese peoples, but also a powerful inspiration to all oppressed nations and oppressed peoples in their just struggle for independence and liberation.

China and Laos are close friendly neighbours. Sharing weal and woe in the protracted revolutionary struggle against imperialism, our two peoples have forged a profound militant friendship. The Chinese people heartily rejoice over every victory won by the Lao people and regard it as their own. We feel sure that, under the leadership of the People's Revolutionary Party of Laos, the Lao people, with their tradition of revolutionary struggle, will build Laos into an independent, democratic and prosperous country by persisting in independence and self-reliance and continuously surmounting difficulties in their way ahead. We wish that the revolutionary friendship between the Chinese and Lao peoples grow in strength and develop steadily.

Mao Tsetung

Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China

Chu Teh

Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China

Chou En-lai

Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China

Peking, December 5, 1975

President Ford Ends China Visit

GERALD R. Ford, President of the United States of America, and his party left Peking by special plane on December 5 after ending his visit to China.

Seeing them off at the airport were Teng Hsiao-ping and Li Hsien-nien, Vice-Premiers of the State Council; Wu Teh and Li Su-wen, Vice-Chair-

men of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress; Chiao Kuan-hua, Minister of Foreign Affairs; Li Chiang, Minister of Foreign Trade; Huang Chen, Chief of the Liaison Office of China in the United States; Madame Lin Chia-mei and leading members of government departments, the Peking Municipal

Revolutionary Committee and other departments concerned as well as over 200 people from various circles who had visited the United States.

A send-off ceremony took place at the airport. The band played the U.S. and Chinese national anthems. Accompanied by Vice-Premier Teng, President Ford reviewed a guard of honour of men of the ground, naval and air forces of the Chinese People's Liberation Army.



Hosts and guests entering hall for farewell banquet given by President and Mrs. Ford.

The President gave a farewell banquet on the evening of December 4 in the Great Hall of the People.

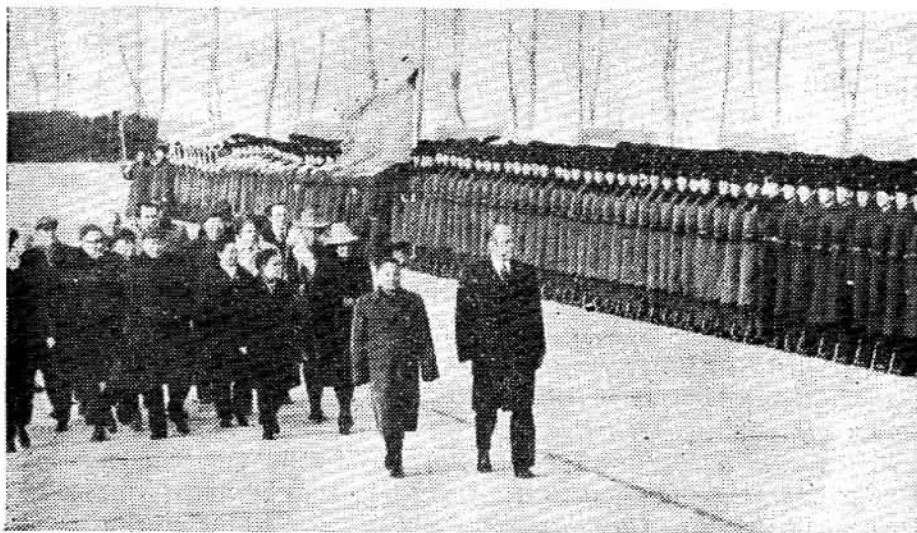
Among the banquet guests were Teng Hsiao-ping, Li Hsien-nien, Wu Teh, Li Su-wen, Chiao Kuan-hua, Li Chiang, Yu Hui-yung, Huang Chen and Lin Chia-mei.

Also at the banquet were members of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, leading members of government departments, the Peking Municipal Revolutionary

Committee and other departments concerned, representatives of workers and people's commune members in the Chinese capital as well as of minority nationalities and of different circles.

President Ford and Vice-Premier Teng proposed toasts at the banquet (for full texts of their toasts see p. 6).

While President Ford was in Peking, Vice-Premier Teng held three talks with him. The President and his wife and party visited various places of interest in Peking.



Accompanied by Vice-Premier Teng, President Ford reviews a guard of honour before his departure from Peking.

China's 14th Successive Good Harvest

China has gathered another good harvest this year after reaping rich harvests for 13 years running. Total grain output shows a big increase over that of 1974, while cotton, oil-bearing crops, sugar cane and sugar beet, bast fibre, tobacco, tea and other major industrial crops register rises in varying degrees.

A noteworthy feature of the 1975 good harvest is the rise in yields in the great majority of provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions. Output is up by about 10 per cent in the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region and the provinces of Shensi, Chinghai, Kansu, Shansi, Shantung, Kiangsi and Yunnan. A big increase has also been achieved in Liaoning, Heilungkiang, Kiangsu and Hunan Provinces and the Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous Region.

Another characteristic is the higher output recorded in each and every harvest season. The summer crops with wheat as the main item have hit an all-time high in both total output and per-unit yields. The northern provinces and municipalities, which together account for 70 per cent of the nation's total summer crop acreage, have all reaped better harvests. Output of the summer crops alone in Honan, Hopei, Shensi and Peking have topped their respective annual totals for 1949, the year of liberation.

This year's early rice has chalked up new records in both total output and per-unit yields. Average yield per hectare is 4.5 tons on 1.5 million hectares of land in Hunan, or three-fourths of its total area sown to early rice. In many places, a number of communes and production brigades have reaped 7.5 tons per hectare. Apart from rich harvests in summer crops and early rice, higher crop yields have also been achieved in autumn, with the total output of late rice up 10 per cent over that of 1974.

(Continued on p. 31.)

Lao People's Great Historic Victory

THE All-Laos Congress of People's Representatives successfully convened in Vientiane, the capital of Laos, on December 1 and 2, 1975 proclaimed the abolition of the monarchy, the establishment of the People's Democratic Republic of Laos, the appointment of Souphanouvong as President of the Republic and Chairman of the Supreme People's Assembly, and the appointment of Kaysone Phomvihane as Prime Minister of the government. The convening of the Congress and the birth of the People's Democratic Republic of Laos signify that the national-democratic revolution of Laos has won a great victory on a nationwide scale and the Lao people's revolutionary cause has entered a brand-new historical stage. The whole country is immersed in joy and songs of victory rise from the banks of the Mekong River. The Chinese people extend warm congratulations and pay their lofty respects to the fraternal Lao people.

The people of Laos are a heroic people and the Lao nation is a great nation. Under the leadership of the People's Revolutionary Party of Laos, the Lao people have for many years waged an unswerving and heroic struggle for the independence of the motherland and liberation of the nation. Defying brute force and sacrifice, the Lao people have, in their glorious, arduous and tortuous struggle of the last ten and more years, driven out U.S. aggressors, overthrown the ultra-Rightist Lao reactionaries and won a great historic victory. The people of all nationalities of Laos have gained control of the destiny of their country and become its masters. This great victory is another majestic paean to people's war. It gives powerful inspiration to the oppressed nations and people all over the world in their struggle for independence and liberation.

The Lao people's glorious course of fighting shows once again that so long as the revolutionary people take up arms, dare to wage struggle and persevere in struggle, they will gradually develop and build up their own strength, grow from weak to strong and finally defeat the aggressors and their lackeys. Displaying staunch revolutionary spirit and heroism in their struggle, the Lao people have advanced wave upon wave and fought valiantly. The whole country from the Plain of Jars to the Bolovenes Plateau and from the Truong Son to the Mekong River became a battlefield to annihilate the enemy. Despite the enemy's formidable appearance and his rampancy at one time, the Lao people finally defeated the outwardly strong enemy and achieved the liberation of the nation and the victory of the revolutionary struggle through persevering in protracted people's war.

The Lao people's glorious course of struggle once more proves that though the path of revolution is tortuous, the future is always bright. The revolutionary people must be skilled in countering the enemy's counter-revolutionary dual tactics with revolutionary dual

tactics, neither believing in the "honeyed words" of the imperialists and all reactionaries, nor fearing their threats. On the road of struggle over several decades, the Lao people have experienced many twists and turns. However, they summed up their experiences and continued fighting. Persisting in armed struggle in their revolution, the Lao people made their position invulnerable. They never relaxed their militancy because of the signing of the two agreements. On the contrary, they all along held fast to their guns, maintained vigilance all the time, dealt resolute and powerful blows to enemy sabotage and disturbances, advanced in triumph and finally carried the revolutionary cause of Laos from victory to victory.

The Lao people's glorious course of struggle also shows that unity is strength; a people fighting in unity for a just cause are invincible. Under the leadership of the People's Revolutionary Party of Laos, the Lao Patriotic Front, by resolutely relying on the people, uniting with the various patriotic forces and forming a broad national united front, won a shining victory in a protracted, courageous and tenacious struggle against the enemy. The Lao people and the Vietnamese and Cambodian peoples have supported each other and fought shoulder to shoulder in their revolutionary struggles. The Lao people's struggle has also won the sympathy and support of the justice-upholding countries and peoples throughout the world. Therefore, the Lao people's victory is also a common victory of the people of the three countries in Indochina, the third world and the world over.

History is progressing and the people are advancing. The great victories of the people of Laos, Cambodia and Viet Nam and the tremendous victories of the people of countries of the third world show convincingly that the great historic current — countries want independence, nations want liberation and the people want revolution — is surging forward irresistibly. U.S. imperialism has suffered defeat in Indochina and Southeast Asia. The other superpower which is ambitious and trying its utmost to penetrate into and expand in the area will also be doomed to failure.

China and Laos are close neighbours linked by mountains and rivers. The peoples of our two countries are close comrades-in-arms and brothers who have shared weal and woe and supported and encouraged each other in protracted revolutionary struggle. Today, in celebrating the great historic victory won by the Lao people, the Chinese people wholeheartedly wish the heroic Lao people continuous new and greater victories in the cause of building a prosperous and strong new Laos by bringing into full play the spirit of independence, self-determination and self-reliance, and wish the steady consolidation and development of the revolutionary friendship between the Chinese and Lao peoples.

(*"Renmin Ribao"* editorial, December 6)

President Ford's Toast

Mr. Vice-Premier, Mr. Foreign Minister, and all Chinese friends here tonight.

On behalf of Mrs. Ford and all the Americans present, I extend to you a warm welcome.

Tomorrow morning we leave China. It has been a significant visit.

The wide-ranging talks which I have held with Chairman Mao and with Vice-Premier Teng have been friendly, candid, substantial and constructive. We discussed our differences, which are natural in a relationship between two countries whose ideologies, societies, and circumstances diverge. But we also confirmed that we have important common points.

We reviewed our bilateral relationship. The visit confirmed that although our relations are not yet normalized, they are good; they will be gradually improved because we both believe that a strengthening of our ties benefits our two peoples. I am confident that through our mutual efforts we can continue to build a relationship which advances the national interests of the United States and the People's Republic of China. In our talks, I reaffirmed that the United States is committed to complete the normalization of relations with the People's Republic of China on the basis of the Shanghai communique.

Our bilateral ties are important. But both of us attach even greater significance to the international aspects of our relationship. It was certain common perceptions and common interests which brought our countries together four years ago. Among these is our agreement not to seek hegemony over others and our fundamental opposition to the efforts of others to impose hegemony in any part of the world. This reflects the realism which is a hallmark of our relationship. And realism is a firmer basis than sentiment for sound and durable ties.

It is only natural that the People's Republic of China and the United States will follow their own policies and tactics, governed by their perceptions of their own national interests. The United States is firmly dedicated to an international order of peace, justice and prosperity for all. The task which confronts us — which confronts all peoples of the world — is not easy. It requires both firmness of principle and tactics adapted to particular circumstances. It requires national strength and the will to use it, as well as prudence to avoid unnecessary conflict. It requires acceptance of peaceful change to accommodate human aspirations for progress. All must help to build a durable and equitable international system, though inevitably contributions will often be diverse.

I believe that our discussions this week have significantly promoted those objectives we share concerning both our bilateral relations and the international scene. They will benefit our two peoples as well as the peoples of the world.

In closing, I wish to express the sincere appreciation of Mrs. Ford and myself, and those travelling with us, for the warm hospitality we have received. Mr. Vice-Premier, I hope that you will convey my personal thanks to all who helped to make our visit so pleasurable.

I ask you to join me in a toast:

- to the health of Chairman Mao;
- to the health of Premier Chou En-lai;
- to the health of Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping;
- to the health of all Chinese friends here tonight;
- to the friendship between the American and Chinese people.

Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping's Toast

Mr. President and Mrs. Ford,

Mr. Secretary of State,

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Comrades and Friends,

President Ford will conclude his visit to China tomorrow. Here, on behalf of my Chinese colleagues present, I would like to thank President Ford for giving this banquet on the eve of his departure.

In the last few days, our two sides have held several beneficial talks on matters of mutual interest. What is particularly important, Chairman Mao Tsetung had an earnest and significant conversation with President Ford on wide-ranging issues in a friendly atmosphere. China and the United States have different social systems, our two sides have different ideologies, and naturally there are differences of principle between us. At the same time, in the present international situation, our two countries face problems of mutual concern and share

many common points. The direct exchange of views between the leaders of our two countries on this occasion helps to increase mutual understanding and serves to promote efforts by both the Chinese and American sides toward the direction and goal defined in the Shanghai communique. Both sides agree that the Shanghai communique is a document of historic significance and constitutes the basis of Sino-U.S. relations. As facts prove, it remains full of vitality today.

President and Mrs. Ford and their party have also visited places of interest in Peking and come into contact with people of various circles in our capital. Our American guests must have found that the Chinese people are friendly to the American people. On the eve of

the departure of President and Mrs. Ford from China, I would like to take this opportunity to convey the best wishes of the Chinese people for the American people.

I wish President and Mrs. Ford and their party a pleasant journey.

In conclusion, I propose a toast

to the friendship between the Chinese and American peoples,

to the health of President and Mrs. Ford,

to the health of the other American guests, and

to the health of our comrades and friends present!

At United Nations

Soviet Interference in Angola Condemned

CHINESE Representative Lai Ya-li made a speech on November 24 at the plenary meeting of the U.N. General Assembly on the question of anti-colonialism, exposing the acts of interference in Angola and hegemonism in Africa committed by the superpowers, particularly the Soviet Union.

He said: "The past year has witnessed the vigorous development and victorious advance of the national-liberation struggle of the great African people. Under the heavy blows of the African people, the five-century-old Portuguese colonial rule in Africa has disintegrated. After protracted heroic struggles, the peoples of Mozambique, Cape Verde, Sao Tome and Principe and the Comoros have finally attained national independence.

The people in the non-independent regions of southern Africa are deepening their liberation struggle and mass movement. Defying brute force and overcoming numerous difficulties, the people of Zimbabwe, with the support of the numerous African countries and peoples, have persevered in armed struggle and dealt telling blows at the Smith regime. The people of Namibia are continuing their advance along the road of opposing the illegal occupation by the South African racist authorities and striving for national independence. New progress has been made in the Azanian people's mass movement against apartheid and racial discrimination. The African peoples have supported each other in their joint struggle against the common enemy. The 12th Summit Conference of the Organization of African Unity held this year in Kampala, the capital of Uganda, adopted a series of resolutions reaffirming its firm support to the just struggle of the peoples of southern Africa. The militant call of unity against imperialism,

colonialism and hegemonism has resounded through all Africa."

Lai Ya-li pointed out: "The development of national-liberation struggle in Africa is by no means all plain sailing. On the one hand, the old colonialists are not reconciled to their defeat and are resorting to all kinds of intrigues and plots in a desperate struggle to preserve their vicious colonial system. On the other hand, the superpowers contending for world hegemony are stepping up their infiltration. Over a long period, one superpower has been doing its utmost to help sustain the racist regimes in southern Africa, while the other superpower which flaunts the banner of 'socialism' has been sowing dissension within the national-liberation movements, undermining their unity and inciting civil war with a view to replacing the old colonialists in exercising control over this region. A conspicuous case in point is the recent deplorable and distressing situation emerging in Angola."

He continued: "After valiant struggles with the support of the African people and the people of the rest of the world, the Angolan people have finally terminated the prolonged Portuguese colonial rule in Angola, which has become an independent sovereign state. This is a great victory won by the Angolan people in their dauntless struggle against Portuguese colonialism, particularly their armed struggle initiated in the 60s. We share the rejoicing of the African countries and people at this victory, and we wish to extend our warm congratulations to the Angolan people and the three Angolan liberation organizations.

"However, despite the termination of the Portuguese colonial rule, it has not been possible to form a

government of national unity, and an unfortunate situation of division and civil war has emerged in Angola after independence. This is entirely the result of the contention between the two superpowers, and particularly the undisguised expansion and crude interference by that superpower which flaunts the signboard of 'socialism.'

He pointed out that with the common goal of fighting against Portuguese colonialism and achieving national independence, all the three Angolan liberation organizations waged armed struggles over a long period in the past, and have made contributions to the cause of national liberation of Angola. "The Organization of African Unity has recognized and supported all the three liberation organizations that carried on armed struggles. In order to promote the co-operation among the three Angolan liberation organizations and avoid a civil war, the O.A.U. urged them to sign an agreement on strengthening their unity, renouncing the use of force as a means to solve the problem and achieving independence on a joint basis. The three liberation organizations together reached agreement with the Portuguese Government on the independence of Angola and on the joint establishment of a transitional government. However, in total disregard of the O.A.U. position and the agreement reached among the three organizations on unity against the enemy, the Soviet Union has gone so far as to identify one organization as revolutionary and censure the other two as reactionary in a deliberate attempt to sow discord and create division. Furthermore, it has sent large quantities of arms, even including such heavy arms as the Angolan people have never obtained during their fight against Portuguese rule, to support one of the Angolan organizations and thus provoked the civil war in Angola. It is also ceaselessly sowing discord and creating differences among the African countries. The overall situation of African unity is in unprecedentedly grave jeopardy. The other superpower has not lagged behind and is actively instigating intervention by the South African authorities. The conflicts among the three Angolan organizations have speedily expanded into a nationwide civil war. The situation in Angola is becoming more and more complicated."

Motives Behind Soviet Sabotage

"In order to contend with U.S. imperialism for hegemony in Africa, Soviet social-imperialism has placed itself entirely in a position hostile to the O.A.U., and it has wilfully undermined all O.A.U. efforts of mediation on the question of Angola. The O.A.U. has called on the three liberation organizations to realize reconciliation and to form a government of national unity on a joint basis, whereas the Soviet Union has been actively engaged in conspiratorial activities against their reconciliation. The O.A.U. has asked the three Angolan organizations to cease conflicts immediately, whereas the Soviet Union has done its utmost to expand the civil war in Angola and is stepping up the transport-

ation of various arms, causing continued escalation of the military conflicts.

"The O.A.U. and many African countries have done a lot of work to promote unity among the Angolan liberation organizations and stop the armed conflicts and have put forward a series of positive proposals on the immediate cessation of the civil war among the three Angolan liberation organizations and the formation of a government of national unity. Such a just position on their part is in full accord with the interests of the Angolan people and the people of all Africa. We highly appreciate and firmly support it. It is intolerable that the Soviet Union has carried out sabotage by every conceivable means and has even come out undisguisedly with repeated efforts to intimidate and exert pressure on some African countries. Obviously, the spearhead of the Soviet Union is directed not only against individual African countries but against the O.A.U. and the African people as a whole. Such acts on the part of the Soviet Union have evoked the antipathy and indignation of many African countries and the broad masses of the African people. We resolutely condemn Soviet social-imperialism for its hegemonic acts of hostility towards Africa."

He pointed out: "The Soviet Union harbours ulterior motives in its wanton sabotage of the liberation cause of the Angolan people. Situated in the southern part of Africa, bordering on the southern Atlantic and having excellent ports along its coast line of over a thousand kilometres, Angola is a place of great strategic importance. In an attempt to establish its spheres of influence in southern Africa, the Soviet Union has set its mind on placing Angola under its control and turning it into an important stronghold in its rivalry with the other superpower over southern Africa and for command of the south Atlantic. Moreover, it has long cast a covetous eye on the abundant resources of Angola, anxious to have a hand in their plunder. By splitting the Angolan liberation organizations, it plots further to divide the African countries so as to fish in troubled waters, thereby quickening its pace of aggression and expansion in the whole of Africa and strengthening its position of rivalry with the other superpower for world hegemony."

China's Attitude

Lai Ya-li declared: "The Chinese Government and people have always firmly supported the African peoples in their revolutionary struggle against imperialism and colonialism and firmly supported the Angolan people in their just struggle against colonial domination and for national independence. We have always treated the three Angolan liberation organizations on the same basis and in a friendly way, and we provided them with various kinds of assistance, including military assistance, in their struggle against Portuguese colonialism. In our opinion, the three Angolan liberation organizations are fraternal organizations, who were comrades-in-arms in

the days of arduous anti-colonialist armed struggle. They have every reason to restore their unity and no reason whatsoever for confrontation, division and war. That is why we have been trying to persuade them to seek common ground while putting aside their differences and to unite against the enemy. After they reached agreement with the Portuguese Government on achieving independence at a scheduled date, we stopped giving new military aid to the three liberation organizations. The Soviet slander about Chinese 'interference in the internal affairs of Angola' is the despicable trick

of a thief crying 'catch the thief!' Nothing can cover up the countless crimes committed by social-imperialism in Angola."

"It is our sincere hope that the three Angolan liberation organizations, taking to heart the national interests of Angola and bearing in mind the overall situation, will eliminate their differences and unite themselves against the common enemy, root out the superpower meddling and intervention and work together for the establishment of a truly independent Angola of national harmony, solidarity and unity," he stressed in conclusion.

China Supports Demands for U.N. Charter Revision

THE Sixth Committee of the U.N. General Assembly concluded on November 25 its debate on the report of the Ad Hoc Committee on the Charter of the United Nations. Despite the two superpowers' obstinate opposition, representatives of the numerous small and medium countries insisted on the necessity to review and revise the U.N. Charter in order to adapt it to present realities.

During the two-week debate, representatives of many countries stressed in their statements: There have been fundamental changes in international life in the past 30 years since the United Nations Organization was set up. Many countries have achieved independence and the number of U.N. members has increased to more than 140. Therefore, a necessary review and revision of the Charter which was adopted by 51 founder countries 30 years ago should be undertaken.

Chinese Representative Pi Chi-lung in his speech reiterated: The Chinese Delegation is in favour of a review of the Charter and of making the necessary amendments to it. It supports the reasonable demands of the numerous small and medium countries in this respect.

He said that all views regarding the revision of the Charter can be put forward, such as expanding the power of the General Assembly, restricting the power of the Security Council, changing the composition of the Security Council and limiting or abolishing the veto power of the states permanent members of the Security Council. These views deserve serious consideration, he said. He also supported the proposal for continuing the work of the Ad Hoc Committee on the Charter of the United Nations.

Refuting the two superpowers' absurdities on this question, the Chinese representative pointed out: "In the past three decades, tremendous changes have taken place in the international situation, and the situation within the United Nations has also changed." "The Charter formulated 30 years ago cannot reflect the aspirations of the people of the third world countries that account for the overwhelming majority of the world

population, nor can it meet the needs of our time," he continued.

He noted that the superpowers have kept on saying that the present Charter reflects the objective reality of international relations and fully suits the current international situation, and so on and so forth. The essence of their argument, he observed, is to obliterate the tremendous changes that have taken place in the international situation over the past three decades and refuse to recognize the emergence of the third world and its proper status and role in current international affairs.

He went on to say: In order to oppose the review and revision of the Charter, the superpowers have gone so far as to make preposterous attacks and slanders against those countries and representatives that stand for its review and revision. One superpower has attacked some of the resolutions adopted by the United Nations in recent years as representing the "tyranny of the majority." The essence of such an attack from this superpower is to oppose the principle of equality among all countries, big or small, and to oppose the full role of the numerous small and medium countries that represent the overwhelming majority in the United Nations.

The other superpower, Pi Chi-lung said, is clamouring that whoever stands for the review and revision of the Charter is undermining the United Nations. However, he pointed out, it is the superpowers that are emboldened by the privileges granted to them by the Charter, which they wilfully abuse. Their acts constitute in themselves a violation of the purposes of the Charter and are undermining the United Nations, he noted.

Continuing, Pi Chi-lung said: This superpower has bluffed that the revision of the Charter will lead to a world war. People can see that the danger of a new world war is growing as a result of the superpowers obstinately pushing hegemonism, perpetrating aggression and expansion everywhere and wantonly carrying

(Continued on p. 15.)

South China Sea Islands, Chinese Territory Since Ancient Times

by Shih Ti-tsu

Following is an article first published in Peking's "Guangming Ribao" on November 24 and reprinted in full in "Renmin Ribao" the next day. — Ed.

IN the vast South China Sea to the south of the mainland of our motherland are numerous islands, sand cays, reefs and banks built up mainly from coral accumulation. They are inlaid in the South China Sea like sparkling pearls in the blue rippling water. The Chinese people were the earliest discoverers of these islands, sand cays, reefs and banks; they discovered them in ancient times after long years of navigating and working the South China Sea. They followed up with sustained and assiduous efforts to develop them, and Chinese governments have exercised jurisdiction and sovereignty over them. Therefore these islands, sand cays, reefs and banks have always been Chinese territory. They are known throughout the world as the South China Sea Islands.

Geographical Outline of South China Sea Islands

The South China Sea Islands include more than 200 islands, sand cays, reefs and banks which, broadly speaking, form four groups, namely, the Tungsha, Hsisha, Chungsha and Nansha Islands. The Tungsha Islands in the northeast are composed of Tungsha Island and several nearby reefs. The Hsisha Islands in the west are divided into two sub-groups, east and west, based on location: The sub-group to the east is the Hsuan-teh Islands with seven bigger islands and some reefs and banks and the sub-group to the west is the Yunglo Islands made up of eight bigger islands and some reefs and banks. This is why the local fishermen describe the Hsisha Islands as "the upper seven and lower eight." Yunghsing Island, biggest of the Hsisha Islands, has an area of about 1.85 square kilometres and is the seat of the Revolutionary Committee of the Hsisha, Nansha and Chungsha Islands. The Chungsha Islands on the southeastern side of the Hsisha Islands are composed of many banks and shoals; and about 160 nautical miles to the east of the Chungsha Islands is Huangyen Island. The southernmost grouping, the Nansha Islands, is a big island group, having the greatest number of, and most widely scattered, islands and reefs in the South China Sea island groups; the centre, dotted with numerous islands, reefs and shoals, has long been called a "danger zone"; the main islands

include Taiping, Nanwei, Chungyeh, Chinghung Hungshiu, Feihsin and Mahuan.

The South China Sea is an important junction for navigation between the Pacific and Indian Oceans and an important maritime gateway from China's mainland and nearby islands. The South China Sea Islands are very important geographically as a key link on the arc shipping lane between Kwangchow, Hongkong, Manila and Singapore. These islands abound in forests and guano and the surrounding waters with rich marine resources form one of China's best fishing grounds. They have been fishing centres for Chinese fishermen since ancient times.

Chinese People's Discovery and Development Of South China Sea Islands

More than 2,000 years ago, Chinese people were already sailing on the turbulent waves of the South



Administrative building of the Revolutionary Committee of Kwangtung Province's Hsisha, Nansha and Chungsha Islands, which is on Yunghsing, one of the Hsisha Islands.

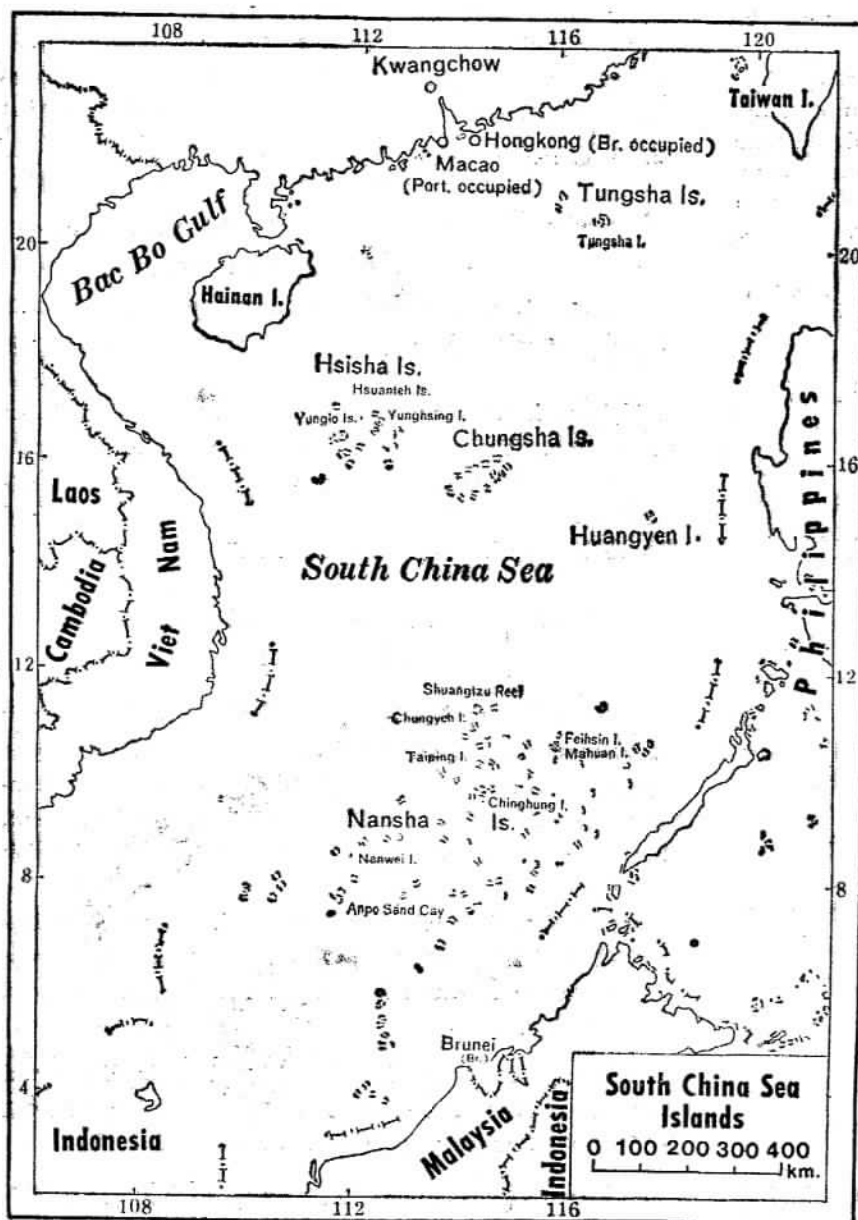
China Sea, as recorded in ancient Chinese literature. By the time of the Western and Eastern Han Dynasties (206 B.C.-220 A.D.), the South China Sea had become an important navigation route for China. As navigation steadily developed, long years of sailing the seas enabled the Chinese people to become the first discoverers and the masters of the South China Sea Islands. Surveyed and named time and again and worked and administered without a break, these valuable islands became an inalienable part of our beautiful motherland.

(1) Ancient Geographical Discoveries

In ancient China, the South China Sea was called Changhai [surging sea]. Owing to communications needs, a navigation route was opened through Changhai between China's mainland and the Indochina Peninsula during the Western Han Dynasty (206 B.C.-25 A.D.). During the subsequent Eastern Han Dynasty, local Chi-

nese administrative officials began inspection tours of Changhai (see *Tai Ping Yu Lan*, Vol. 60, quoting Hsieh Cheng's *Hou Han Shu*). In that period, part of the coral reefs were submerged, creating navigational hazards. Consequently during the Three Kingdoms (220-280), Wan Chen, when describing the Han Dynasty navigation route from the Malay Peninsula to the Chinese mainland in his *Nan Chou Yi Wu Chih*, wrote: "... sailing northeastward, we came upon a stupendous cape and, in passing Changhai, we found the water shallow with many magnetic stones." The "magnetic stones" referred to were the numerous submerged reefs and shoals, and were described thus because when a ship was trapped among them, it had difficulty in extricating itself. This is a record of the early discovery and a description of the South China Sea Islands. Kang Tai's *Fu Nan Chuan* records this: "In Changhai are coral islands and there are firm rocks beneath, on which corals grow." This shows that in the early years of the third century the Chinese people already had a fairly clear understanding of the morphology and origin of the South China Sea Islands.

During the Sung Dynasty (960-1279), Chinese navigators began using the compass for sailing and were already able to determine a ship's location by the different sea-bed materials (see *Ping Chou Ko Tan*). This marked a big advance in ancient China's navigational skill. Geographical knowledge of the South China Sea increased, giving some idea of the underwater configurations, and the various South China Sea Islands were then officially named, as can be found in many vivid accounts on record. For instance, in 1178 Chou Chu-fei in his *Ling Wai Tai Ta* wrote: "In the big eastern sea there are long sand cays and rocky reefs stretching tens of thousands of li," indicating the vast area on which the South China Sea Islands are scattered. Then in *Chiung Kuan Chih* compiled in the early 13th century, the South China Sea Islands were first called "Chienli Changsha" [thousand-li long sand cays] and "Wanli Shihtang" [ten thousand-li rocky reefs], and the geographical features of the sea and navigational details were specified. It was precisely during this period of increasing maritime communications that China's earliest sea map was drawn, which included the South China Sea Islands. In 1225, Chao Ju-kuo in his preface to his *Chu Fan Chih* mentioned this old sea map, saying it recorded "the hazards of rocky reefs and long sand cays."



By that time, many of the reefs of the South China Sea Islands had risen above the sea level, and the waters around the Hsisha Islands which hold a vital position on the South China Sea navigation route were named "Chiujuloshih" [nine white shell rocks] or "Chichouyang" [seven-island sea] because of the many low coral reefs above water. The name "Chiujuloshih" first appeared in the *Wu Ching Tsung Yao* of the Northern Sung Dynasty (960-1127), and in literature of the Ming (1368-1644) and Ching (1644-1911) Dynasties it was renamed "Chiujulochou." In a map attached to Yen Ju-yu's *Yang Fang Chi Yao* [Outline of Sea Defence] (1838), "Chiujulochou" was clearly marked at the location of the Hsisha Islands. The name "Chichouyang" first appeared in the book *Meng Liang Lu* (1274) by Wu Tzu-mu of the Southern Sung Dynasty (1127-1279). From the above, we can see that the Chinese labouring people had extended their knowledge of the geographical conditions of the South China Sea as early as the 13th century.

The "Shih Pi Chuan" [Life of Shih Pi] in *Yuan Shih* [History of Yuan] records how in early 1293 General Shih Pi of the Yuan Dynasty commanded a thousand seagoing vessels, "starting from Chuanchou . . . passing through Chichouyang and Wanlishihtang, and the coastal waters of Cochin and Campa." Thus, it is clear that as early as the late 13th century large fleets of Chinese vessels visited the islands of the South China Sea.

Shoots of capitalist economy during the Ming Dynasty promoted China's maritime navigation, and the increasingly frequent exchanges between the people of China and Southeast Asian countries via the South China Sea Islands were recorded in greater detail and with greater precision.

From 1405 to 1433, the noted Chinese navigator Cheng Ho and his fleet sailed to the Western Seas on seven occasions, calling at the South China Sea Islands time and again and leaving many articles on them, and the places they visited were recorded in special books. *Cheng Ho's Navigation Map* (see *Wu Pei Chih* compiled by Mao Yuan-yi of the Ming Dynasty), which is extant, records the route and geographical conditions of Cheng Ho's last voyage in 1430 (the fifth year of the reign of Hsuan-teh, Ming Dynasty). The map clearly indicates the relative positions of the South China Sea island groups called "Shihhsing Shihtang," "Shihtang," and "Wansheng Shihtangyu" respectively.

Many navigational guide books appeared in this period to serve the needs of maritime navigation, including Huang Chung's *Hai Yu* [Sea Words] and Chang Hsieh's *Tung Hsi Yang Kao* [A Study of the East and West Seas] of the Ming Dynasty, *Shun Feng Hsiang Sung* [Sailing Before the Wind] of the late Ming Dy-

nasty and *Chih Nan Cheng Fa* [Orthodox Guide] of the early Ching Dynasty. These books record not only the navigation routes of the South China Sea, the location of the islands and the distribution of the reefs, but also the sea areas around the islands, regular changes in the tides, the relations between navigation and wind direction, and marine life in great detail.

An even greater number of maps and records concerning the South China Sea Islands were published in the Ching Dynasty, especially from the time of the middle period of the reign of Kanghsi (1662-1722), when the Chinese people's activities in the South China Sea increased further. Some of the maps, such as Shih Shih-piao's *Map of the Sea Routes of the East and South Seas*, present the South China Sea Islands quite clearly. There were also specific written descriptions of the various islands, such as those in *Hai Kuo Wen Chien Lu* [What I Saw and Heard on the Seas] written by Chen Lun-chiung in 1730 and *Ying Huan Chih Lueh* written by Hsu Chi-yu in 1848. Later, *Shih Hsi Chi Cheng* [My Travel Notes as Envoy to the West] written in 1876 by Kuo Sung-tao, Chinese Minister to Britain during the Ching Dynasty, explicitly states that the Hsisha Islands belong to China:

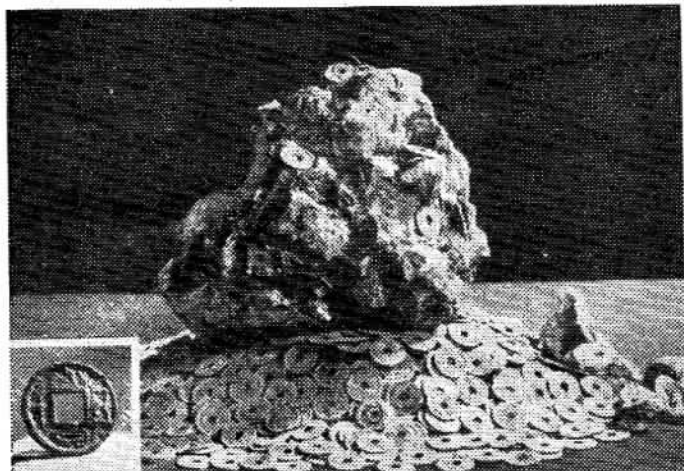
"At noon on the 24th day (of the tenth month of the second year of the reign of Kuanghsu), the ship had sailed over 831 *li*, arriving at a place 17 degrees 30 minutes north of the Equator, estimated to be 200 to 300 *li* south of Chiungchou. The sailors called it the China Sea. The nearby islands are called the Paracels (the Hsisha Islands) which produce beche-de-mer. They also produce coral which is not of very good quality. These islands belong to China. . . ."

(2) Development of Islands by Sustained, Hard Work

After discovering the South China Sea Islands, the industrious and brave Chinese people went there one group after another, sailing the surging sea and surmounting all kinds of difficulties in a dauntless spirit. They reclaimed and built up the islands by hard work and with their sweat watered the sacred land on the southern frontiers of the motherland. They made immortal contributions to the development and construction of these treasure islands in the southern part of our country.

A large number of archaeological finds discovered in modern times are the best historical evidence of the efforts of Chinese people to develop the islands.

Before liberation, large numbers of ancient copper coins, porcelain objects and other relics were found on



Ancient copper coins discovered on the Hsisha Islands include Ta Chuan Wu Shih of the Hsin Dynasty (9-25), Wu Chu of the Eastern Han Dynasty (25-220) and Yung Lo Tung Pao of the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644).

various occasions on the South China Sea Islands. Many essays and a great deal of data recorded these discoveries. This is further confirmation of the historical fact that our ancestors worked on and developed the South China Sea Islands.

Based on clues offered by local inhabitants, archaeological workers in Kwangtung Province made two surveys of the Hsisha Islands in 1974 and 1975. They found a historical site which dated from the Tang (618-907) and Sung Dynasties on Kanchuan Island in the western part of the Yunglo Islands. Large numbers of porcelain objects of the Tang and Sung Dynasties were excavated, including celadon pottery jars of the Tang Dynasty and big porcelain bowls and small porcelain vases, all with a celadon glaze, and other ceramics of the Northern Sung Dynasty. Also found were iron knives and pots and other utensils of daily use, as well as kitchen middens containing the bones of birds which had been eaten and conch shells. All these relics evoke a vivid picture of how the Chinese people in the period of the Tang and Sung Dynasties worked on this treasure island under harsh conditions. This irrefutably proves that the Chinese people have lived and been engaged in production on the South China Sea Islands since the Tang Dynasty. In addition, relics were uncovered on Yunghsing, Chinyin, Shanhu, Tung, Chinching and Kuangchin Islands and other relics were salvaged or collected at the base of the reefs on Peichiao, Chinyin and Chuanfu Islands and from the sea bed. These show that the Chinese people have lived on many of the Hsisha Islands since ancient times, and without interruption since the Tang and Sung Dynasties.

Since the Ming and Ching Dynasties, an increasing number of Chinese fishermen along the south coast of

our country have gone to develop and work on the South China Sea Islands, gradually turning them into one of China's important fishing centres.

Chiung Tai Wai Chi written by Wang Tso of the Ming Dynasty says: "Whenever a typhoon blew up, tempestuous waves would damage houses and inundate fields along the coast of Changsha and Shihtang in the east of Wanchou." This shows that, at the turn of the 15th-16th centuries, fishermen from China's Hainan Island, apart from using the South China Sea Islands as a fishing centre, built houses and reclaimed land there to engage in farm production after overcoming all kinds of natural difficulties.

Many Hainan fishermen began to settle on the Nansha Islands long ago. There they built houses and temples and lived by fishing. As more and more people settled on the South China Sea Islands, the scope of economic activities grew. In addition to fishery, the islanders developed horticulture, reclaimed land, raised poultry and engaged in mining phosphate ores, working diligently to open up these precious islands in the south of the motherland.

Since the beginning of the 20th century, even foreign aggressors who attempted to occupy these islands, in the face of the activities of the Chinese inhabitants and the historical relics on the islands, had to admit that the Chinese people were masters of the islands. For example, a Japanese named Unosuke Ogura, who went to the Nansha Islands to spy things out at the beginning of this century, admitted openly that Hainan fishermen had long settled there. He said that he had seen wells, tombs and temples built by Chinese inhabitants on Peitzu Reef, Hsiyueh (the Hainan fishermen call it Hungtsaochih), Chungyeh and Taiping Islands of the Nansha island group.

The activities of Chinese fishermen in opening up Anpo Sand Cay, Nanwei, Taiping, Nanyueh and Chungyeh Islands, and Shuangtzu Reef were recorded by French imperialists in the 1930s during their armed occupation of the Nansha Islands. The location of houses, farmland and temples and temple furnishings were given in detail. One passage in their notes which refers to Chungyeh Island says: "Five fishermen from China's Hainan Island live here. They share a fresh water well that provides enough drinking water for the five of them. Apart from fishing, they also grow cocoanut and banana trees and pumpkins. They also dig for phosphate ores." (Quoted from an article by Ling Chunsheng "Geography of French-Occupied South China Sea Islands" carried in *Fang Chih Yueh Kan*, Vol. 7, No. 5.) Nobody can deny the fact that the soil on the South China Sea Islands has been soaked with the sweat of

Chinese labouring people who have tapped the resources there by hard work.

Chinese Governments' Administrative Jurisdiction Over South China Sea Islands

As the South China Sea Islands were discovered and developed, the successive Chinese governments of various dynasties exercised jurisdiction and sovereignty over them. The records of inspection tours of Changhai by local officials during the Eastern Han Dynasty show that at the beginning of the second century the Chinese Government already sent officials to inspect the sea areas around the South China Sea Islands. The records of the *Wu Ching Tsung Yao* of the Northern Sung Dynasty further prove that the government of the time built forts for naval patrols in the south seas to protect the southern sea frontier areas of the motherland. Relevant chapters in Wang Hsiang-chih's *Yu Ti Chi Sheng* and the "Shih Pi Chuan" in *Yuan Shih* all prove that the sea areas around the South China Sea Islands were already included in China's sea frontier areas during the period of the Sung and Yuan Dynasties. By the time of the Ming and Ching Dynasties, jurisdiction over the South China Sea Islands had been strengthened further.

Between 1710 and 1712, Wu Sheng, Captain of the Kwangtung Naval Force, "went on an inspection tour himself, setting out from Chiungya, going through Tungku and ranging Chichouyang and Szukengsha, covering 3,000 li." (*The Annals of Chuanchoufu* during the reign of Chienlung, Vol. 56.)

Yang Fang Chi Yao, a book devoted to sea defence which was published in the 1830s, indicates the various South China Sea Islands on the *General Chart of Seas of Various Provinces* and, furthermore, the Hsisha Islands described as "Chiujulochou" and "Shuangfan-shih" are clearly marked in the *Sea Chart of Kwangtung*, listed as within the sea defence areas of our country. *The Annals of Chiungchoufu* compiled in 1841 clearly states that "Wanchou, having rocky reefs and sand cays extending one thousand or even ten thousand li, is the most hazardous area in the Chiungchou Sea." It also specifies the assignment of the naval battalion under the Yachou brigade as covering the waters up to the seas off Siam and Campa to the south. All the works on sea defence published up to the end of the Ching Dynasty describe the South China Sea Islands as the "gateway" and "natural barrier" in China's sea defence as well as the "boundary between China and other lands."

The fact that the South China Sea Islands have been Chinese territory since ancient times is not only stated in a large number of history books but also proved by many official maps. For example, the South China Sea Islands were charted in *An Atlas of the Prov-*

inces Directly Under Ching Empire Authority drawn in the 20th year of the reign of Chienlung (1755) and the *Map of the Unified Territory of the Great Empire of Ching* produced in the 22nd year of the reign of Chiaching (1817). Nobody can deny these iron-clad facts.

After Japanese imperialism occupied the Tungsha Islands in 1907, Chang Jen-chun, Governor of Kwangtung and Kwangsi, made representations to the Japanese Consul in Kwangchow to recover the Tungsha Islands and, in April 1909, sent more than 170 people under Admiral Li Chun and Captains Wu Ching-jung and Liu Yi-kuan to the Hsisha Islands. They went by warships, including the *Fupo* and *Chenhang*. There they examined 15 islands and engraved the names of the islands on stone tablets. They hoisted the flag and fired a salvo on Yunghsing Island, and reaffirmed in a proclamation to people in China and abroad that the South China Sea Islands were China's sacred territory. At that time, there were many Chinese fishermen on the island.

From then on, it was widely recognized by various countries that the South China Sea Islands were China's territory and many countries time and again requested the Chinese Government to set up weather stations, radio stations and beacons on these islands. The Chinese Government many times sent study groups to survey the resources there, authorized businessmen to run phosphate mines and continued to develop the resources of the islands. During the period of the war against Japanese aggression, the Japanese imperialists occupied the South China Sea Islands. After V-J day, toward the end of 1946 the then Chinese Government sent the warships *Yunghsing*, *Taiping* and *Chungyeh* to take over the various islands and to draw charts and rename the islands, sand cays, reefs and banks. Stone tablets were erected on Yunghsing, Taiping and other islands and troops were garrisoned there. In 1947, the then Chinese Government placed the Tungsha, Hsisha, Nansha and Chungsha Islands under the jurisdiction of Kwangtung Province.

Sacred Territory Brooks No Encroachment

As stated above, the Tungsha, Hsisha, Chungsha and Nansha Islands have long been China's territory; the Chinese people were the earliest discoverers and builders of these islands; the Chinese governments since ancient times have exercised jurisdiction and sovereignty over them. Proof of all this is to be found in voluminous historical records, in the extensive relics unearthed, in the wells, stone tablets and Chinese architectural structures still standing on the islands and in the accounts by foreign aggressors themselves; Chinese fishermen also bear witness to this. The South China Sea Islands have always been part of China's territory and the Chinese people have indisputable sovereignty over them.

This is also mentioned abundantly in foreign documents and literature. For example, *The China Sea*

Directory published in Britain in the 1860s gives a detailed, factual account of how people along China's coast were developing the South China Sea Islands. There are descriptions of Hainan boats fishing in the area of the Hsisha Islands, Hainan fishermen digging a well into which the salt water filters and an island affording sheltered anchorage for Chinese junks. In addition, it accurately describes the life and production of fishermen from Hainan Island who lived on the Nansha Islands for a long time.

Even French colonialists who in the 1930s were bent on annexing China's South China Sea Islands openly admitted that "according to reports from various sources, the Hsisha Islands should be regarded as belonging to China" (Chinese translation appeared in *Fang Chih Yueh Kan*, Vol. 7, No. 4, April 1934).

Atlases and books published in many countries in recent years also unequivocally confirm the objective fact that the South China Sea Islands are Chinese territory.

The *Worldmark Encyclopedia of the Nations* published in the United States in 1963 says explicitly that the "islands (of the People's Republic of China) include the reefs and islands of the South China Sea, extending as far as four degrees North. These reefs and islands include the Tungsha (Pratas), Sisha (Paracel), Chungsha, and Nansha archipelagoes." The *Carte Generale du Monde* of the Institut Geographique Nationale put out in France in 1968, the *Atlas of China* published in Japan by the Japanese Heibon Sha in 1973, the *Haack Grosser Weltatlas* published in the German Democratic Republic in 1968 and *The Daily Telegraph World Atlas* published in Britain in 1968 all clearly indicate the South China Sea Islands as belonging to China.

The many world atlases published in the Soviet Union over the years also indicate the Tungsha, Hsisha, Nansha and other South China Sea Islands as being Chinese territory. For example, the Russian and English editions of *The World Atlas* published in 1967 carry a map indicating the Tungsha, Hsisha and Nansha

Islands as China's territory. But early in 1974 when Chinese army men and people defended China's territory and sovereignty by hitting hard at the troops of the Nguyen Van Thieu clique which were invading the Hsisha Islands, Soviet revisionists viciously attacked China. This fully exposes the vile features of Soviet social-imperialism.

In the past hundred years, the rich and beautiful islands in the South China Sea have been coveted time and again by foreign aggressors. Especially from the beginning of the 20th century, group after group of colonialists set foot on the treasure islands of the South China Sea. They savagely occupied China's territory and unscrupulously plundered the resources of the islands. But these aggressors suffered blows from revolutionary storms and one after another had to leave the South China Sea Islands before the eyes of the heroic Chinese people. With the liberation of the Chinese mainland in 1949, we liberated part of the South China Sea Islands. But some of the islands have not yet been returned to the hands of the Chinese people. The Chinese people are determined to liberate Taiwan, and all islands belonging to China will certainly return to the embrace of the motherland.

After the founding of New China, back on August 15, 1951, Chinese Foreign Minister Chou En-lai, in his Statement on U.S.-U.K. Draft of Peace Treaty With Japan and San Francisco Conference, solemnly declared that the Hsisha, Nansha, Chungsha and Tungsha Islands "have always been China's territory." Then in May 1956, September 1958, February 1959 and up to 1974, the Chinese Government and Foreign Ministry successively issued statements reiterating the same position. This solemn declaration fully expresses the firm will and determination of the Chinese people to defend their sacred territory.

China is a socialist country. We have never invaded or occupied the territory of other countries, but will never allow others to invade or occupy our territory whatever the pretext. The South China Sea Islands are China's sacred territory. We have the duty to defend them and build them up.

(Continued from p. 9.)

out arms expansion and war preparations in their intensified contention for world hegemony. The super-powers are the source of a new world war, and the danger of war mainly comes from the wildly ambitious social-imperialism. Therefore, to assert that the revision of the Charter will lead to a world war is a sheer deceptive talk confounding black and white.

He said: Since the Charter is drawn up by man, it can certainly be revised by man. It is entirely lawful to review the Charter and make amendments to it.

This is the right and duty of every member state. He pointed out that if no review and revision of the Charter is permissible, it would be tantamount to denying the right of the great majority of the member states which joined the United Nations after 1945.

He pointed out: "All the arguments of the super-powers against the review and revision of the Charter are a mere excuse. They fear that the numerous third world countries should play their full role in the United Nations and that they themselves would lose their privileges in the United Nations. Herein lies the crux of the matter."

East Timor People's Right to Independence Brooks No Violation

INDONESIAN paratroops and marines on December 7 carried out a large-scale invasion of the newly independent Democratic Republic of East Timor and occupied its capital Dili. The armed invasion now is being enlarged. This is a serious event of sabotaging the East Timor people's struggle for independence by the Indonesian Government in its attempt to annex East Timor. It has aroused serious concern among the people of the world.

Everyone knows that the people of East Timor who have suffered from prolonged Portuguese colonial domination have waged a protracted and heroic struggle to win their country's independence and national liberation. The Revolutionary Front for Independence of East Timor proclaimed the independence of the former Portuguese colony and the founding of the Democratic Republic of East Timor on November 28 this year. This reflected the East Timor people's aspiration for independence and won the sympathy and support of the people of the third world. However, the Indonesian Government has constantly engaged in threats and intimidation against the people of East Timor in their struggle for independence. Now, it has flagrantly dispatched troops to invade East Timor, trampling upon the sovereignty of the people there. This has exposed Indonesia's attempt to annex East Timor and aroused the opposition of the people of East Timor and condemnation from just public opinion in the world.

Both Indonesia and East Timor belong to the third world. The people of the two countries have suffered from imperialist colonial domination, and share a common historical fate. Indonesia, which has attained independence, ought to have shown understanding, sympathy and support for the East Timor people's aspiration and action for independence. The governments of the two countries have every reason and the conditions to establish normal relations and live in friendship with each other on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. The Democratic Republic of East Timor has time and again offered to establish friendly relations with Indonesia. But, turning a deaf ear to the East Timor people's just request, the Indonesian Government has done exactly the opposite, publicly declaring that the solution to the issue "is now in the frontline of battle" and launching a new armed invasion of East Timor.

The Indonesian Government invented all kinds of pretexts for its invasion, saying it "regards the situation in East Timor as a threat to Indonesia" and as "undermining the stability in Indonesia and Southeast Asia." These are indeed unwarranted charges. The East Timor people have the legitimate right to win and defend independence. A small and newly independent country with a population of several hundred thousand, East Timor "has not a single ship or aircraft, no tanks nor artillery." How can it "threaten" the security of Indonesia which has over 100 million people and a huge state machine? How can it "undermine" the stability of the area? On the contrary, it is precisely Indonesia's armed invasion that threatens the security of East Timor and undermines the peace and stability of the area. This is as clear as daylight.

The international situation is now continuing to develop in a direction favourable to the people of the world. Countries want independence, nations want liberation and the people want revolution — this tide of the present era is surging forward. The struggle of the people of East Timor for national liberation and independence is an integral part of the third world people's struggle against colonialism, imperialism and hegemonism. The social system of East Timor can only be chosen and decided by the East Timor people themselves and cannot be imposed by any other country. With a glorious tradition of struggle, the East Timor people have put forth the resounding militant slogan of "independence or death," emphasizing that they will carry out armed resistance to safeguard national independence and defend state sovereignty. The struggle of the East Timor people is a just one and a just cause will certainly win. Their just struggle will undoubtedly win the respect and support of the people of the whole world and of all countries upholding justice. The Chinese people firmly support the East Timor people's struggle for national liberation and independence. We hope that the Indonesian Government will at once stop its armed invasion of East Timor, withdraw all its invading armed forces, establish friendly and good-neighbourly relations with East Timor on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and solve pending problems between them through peaceful consultation.

(*"Renmin Ribao"* Commentator, December 9)

"Red Tachai Flowers Are Blossoming Everywhere"

— Third in a series of reports on the nationwide movement to build Tachai-type counties

by Our Correspondent Chin Chi-chu

STRENGTH derived from an example is inexhaustible.

Ever since Chairman Mao issued the call "In agriculture, learn from Tachai" in 1964 and especially since the popularization during the Great Cultural Revolution of Hsiyang's experience in transforming itself into a Tachai-type county in three years, an extensive and deep-going revolutionary mass movement has been taking place in China's countryside to learn from Tachai and build Tachai-type counties. It is a powerful impetus to the development of socialist agriculture in China. Tachai-type people's communes and production brigades have mushroomed, and more than 300 of the nation's 2,200-odd counties have emerged as advanced units in learning from Tachai. A popular song in this country graphically illustrates the situation. It begins like this: "Red Tachai flowers are blossoming everywhere."

During the National Conference on Learning From Tachai in Agriculture, which ended in mid-October, the delegates reviewed the achievements made and pledged to build Tachai-type counties throughout the country.

Emulating Tachai, cadres and peasants have deepened their studies of the Party's basic line in the historical period of socialism and criticized revisionism and capitalism. As a result, the force of socialism has been further strengthened and that of capitalism has become greatly weakened. The socialist position in the countryside and the dictatorship of the proletariat have thus been further consolidated.

In learning from Tachai, millions upon millions of peasants contribute their share in building large-scale socialist agriculture. Farmland capital construction centring on soil amelioration and water conservancy is going ahead in a big way. Over the last four years, the area under irrigation increased annually by 1.6 million hectares on the average. Farm mechanization has been speeded up. Irrigation and drainage machinery, tractors and chemical fertilizers produced for the countryside in this period topped the total amount in the previous 15 years. Mass activities in agro-science experimentation have resulted in one high-yield record after another.

Compared with the time of the founding of New China in 1949, the nation's total grain output in 1974 rose 2.4-fold and cotton more than fivefold. This

year, 1975, is the 14th successive good harvest year. The collective economy in agriculture is steadily gaining in strength and the vast countryside is a scene of growing prosperity; there is food and clothing for China's 800 million. This is a great victory for Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, a fruitful outcome of learning from Tachai in agriculture.

A Significant Turn

The capital of Hopei Province, Shihchiachuang is over 200 kilometres south of Peking. The Shihchiachuang Prefecture, which consists of 18 counties and cities, is for the most part a vast plain extending as far as the eye can see. The farmland is cultivated meticulously and surrounded by power-operated wells. But, historically, conditions for agricultural production here were poor — arid in spring and waterlogging in autumn; grain and cotton output was low and unsteady. Prior to 1965, part of its annual grain consumption had to be supplied by the state. After it began learning from Tachai, however, things improved and it has been producing more than enough grain beginning from 1967. In 1974, the average per-hectare grain yield in the prefecture increased 81 per cent over that of 1965, the year before the Great Cultural Revolution started, and was 4.3 times that of 1949. In the last eight years, it has delivered and sold to the state 2,215,000 tons of grain and 525,000 tons of cotton. Today, this prefecture is a grain- and cotton-growing area with steady and high yields.

Similar changes have taken place on a still wider scale, for instance, in the three northern provinces of Hopei, Shantung and Honan as well as in northern Kiangsu and northern Anhwei — places which take in altogether a quarter of the nation's population and over one-fourth of the country's arable land. In the past these were famine-stricken areas frequently hit by flood, drought and other natural disasters. Farm production there made some progress after liberation, but until 1970 there was no fundamental change in the situation in which grain yields were low and insufficient to meet local consumption. For a long time, part of the grain needed in these places had to be shipped in by the state from grain-producing areas south of the Yangtze River. Since the beginning of the Great Cultural Revolution, however, these provinces and prefectures have augmented their ability to resist natural disasters and

rapidly increased farm production after learning from Tachai and transforming mountains and harnessing rivers. They now produce enough grain for local consumption and have a surplus, thus beginning to reverse the age-old pattern of transporting grain from the south to the north. This is a turning point of great economic and political significance.

The Less Advanced Catching Up

In the movement to learn from Tachai, many less advanced counties, communes and production brigades have come to the fore and caught up with the advanced.

Shouyang and Hsiyang, two neighbouring counties sharing the same mountains and rivers, have similar natural conditions and are equal in the size of population (210,000 each), except that the former has twice as much land. Since going into agricultural co-operation, Shouyang received more and more financial and material aid from the state every year. But, while Hsiyang had built itself into a Tachai-type county as early as 1970 and made greater contributions to the state each year, Shouyang still lagged behind with total grain output only half that of Hsiyang's. Some people said: "Shouyang is not like Hsiyang. What Hsiyang can do, Shouyang simply cannot." Later, cadres in Shouyang realized that Shouyang was not like Hsiyang because it had not learnt from Tachai in earnest and had not seriously criticized revisionism and capitalism. That was why Shouyang had failed to bring into play the initiative of the masses in running socialist agriculture. Beginning from 1974, under the impact of the movement to criticize Lin Biao and Confucius, Shouyang conscientiously learnt from Tachai and that same year increased its total grain output by 70 per cent. This year's summer harvest posted a 50 per cent increase over last year. Shouyang is now one of the nation's advanced counties in learning from Tachai.

Suchien in Kiangsu Province was another county with low yields and deficient in food grain in the past. Most of its land was alkaline or on mountain slopes with thin topsoil. Situated on the lower reaches of the Huai River and often plagued by natural disasters, it was once known as the "floodwater corridor." By learning from Tachai it has taken five big steps forward in the last five years: achieving self-sufficiency in food grain in the first year; selling surplus grain to the state the second; per-unit grain yield exceeding the target set by the National Programme for Agricultural Development the third; increasing output by a wide margin the fourth and fifth. Thus, in five years, total grain output jumped from over 100,000 tons to more than 300,000. Suchien is now one of the late-comers in learning from Tachai that has made remarkable progress.

New Endeavours in "Land of Fish and Rice"

In southern China and especially in the Yangtze River delta and the southeastern coastal regions, the climate is mild and farm production fairly well developed. These areas are commonly known as the "land of

fish and rice." In recent years, they have raised production further in the movement to learn from Tachai.

The Soochow Prefecture near the city of Shanghai is on the lower reaches of the Yangtze River. It has eight counties and a population of 5.8 million, and there is only an average of 0.08 hectare of arable land for each inhabitant. By 1964, its grain yield had already passed the target of six tons per hectare set by the National Programme. Since it started learning from Tachai, the cadres and masses there have through hard work turned their land into high-yield fields and are bringing in three harvests instead of two each year. In the Soochow Prefecture today, the fields are well-ploughed squares, watered by a network of irrigation canals, the roads are tree-lined, the ponds abound in fish and the fragrance of rice-paddy fills the air. In 1974, each hectare of land in the prefecture produced an average of more than ten tons of grain, with the grand total topping the 3.5 million mark. The whole prefecture delivered and sold to the state marketable grain, cotton, rapeseed and hogs that year in such large quantities that the average contribution by each commune member there was by and large enough to feed one person, clothe eight, provide two with edible oil and three with meat.

High Yields on "Roof of the World"

Chiungchieh is situated about 100 kilometres south-east of the city of Lhasa in the Tibet Autonomous Region. This mountain county, 3,700 to 4,000 metres above sea level, has a population of 12,400 and 1,860 hectares of land. Under reactionary feudal serfdom before liberation, the forces of production there were very



Chiungchieh's cadres and commune members mapping out a plan of developing agriculture and animal husbandry for 1975-80.

backward. It was a locality where famine took place every year and the serfs just starved. The serf system was overthrown in 1959 during the democratic reform. People's communes were established in 1969. Having embarked on the socialist road and learnt from Tachai in recent years, Chiungchieh too has undergone radical changes. The whole county has built close to 1,000 hectares of Tachai-type farmland ensuring good harvests irrespective of drought or waterlogging. It has also built 137 reservoirs and ponds in the snow-capped mountain valleys and 221 canals along the precipitous cliffs, thereby extending the area under irrigation to 90 per cent of the farmland. In 1974, per-capita grain output in the whole county averaged 492.5 kilogrammes, which is 3.6 times that of 1959 or 68 per cent more than 1969. Both forestry and animal husbandry also have made considerable progress.

Chiungchieh's changes are a microcosm of the leap forward in the Tibet Autonomous Region as a whole. In 1974, with the emergence of a large number of Tachai-type communes and production brigades and with eight counties having surpassed the target of three tons per hectare set by the National Programme for Agricultural Development for the region, Tibet became self-sufficient in food supplies. In places where it was said that crops could not grow, people have successfully transplanted maize, sugar beet, tobacco and tea saplings brought in from other parts of the motherland; and at 4,100 kilometres above sea level, they have worked

wonders in growing wheat with a yield of six tons per hectare. The million emancipated serfs, confident that man will conquer nature, are writing a new chapter in the annals of building up socialist agriculture.

Lending "Golden Wings" to Agriculture

The Yentai Prefecture on the Shantung Peninsula has 17 counties and cities and a population of nine million. Before liberation it had practically nothing that could be called industry; bare hands and some outmoded small farm implements were all that were used in farming. After agricultural co-operation, the state sent some farm machinery to the prefecture but it could not meet the great demand there. In the movement to learn from Tachai, cadres and the masses in Yentai decided to go into mechanized farming by relying on their own efforts — to lend "golden wings" to socialist agriculture, as they put it.

Since raw materials were needed, they began with mining, and then set up a small iron and steel complex and a number of small collieries, non-ferrous metal works and chemical fertilizer plants. There were no ready industrial plants to produce farm machinery, so they arranged for the existing 100-odd small factories to get organized and co-ordinate their efforts to produce mini-type tractors and diesel engines. Using the pig iron, rolled steel and other metals they produced themselves over the last four years, they have with some state help manufactured more than 7,000 mini-type tractors, 33,000 diesel engines and over 55,000 pieces of farm machinery and tools.

In 1974, grain output in this prefecture, which is to the north of the Yangtze River, averaged more than five tons per hectare. This year it went up to six tons per hectare, which is the target set for areas south of the Yangtze River by the National Programme for Agricultural Development. Farming, forestry, animal husbandry, side-occupations, fishery and commune-run industries are developing in an all-round way and the collective economy keeps expanding. Earnings at the commune and production brigade levels now make up 32.9 per cent of the total income of the three-level economy (generally speaking, the people's communes in the present period still adopt the system of three-level ownership, with the production team as the basic accounting unit).

A number of advanced prefectures having achieved mechanized farming by self-reliance like Yentai have come to the fore in various parts of the country.

Grand Vistas

The achievements already made in learning from Tachai are tremendous, but this is only a fresh starting point for continued advance.

The national conference on learning from Tachai has put forward the militant task of building Tachai-type counties throughout the country, a task that has inspired the whole nation. The Chinese people have



Diesel engines made in the Yentai Prefecture ready for shipment to the countryside.

drawn the strength for continued advance from the relevant instructions of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee. The present standards for a Tachai-type county set by the National Conference on Learning From Tachai in Agriculture are: (1) The county Party committee should be a leading core which firmly adheres to the Party's line and policies and is united in struggle. (2) It should establish the dominance of the poor and lower-middle peasants as a class so as to be able to wage resolute struggles against capitalist activities and exercise effective supervision over the class enemies and remould them. (3) Cadres at the county, commune and brigade levels should, like those in Hsiyang, regularly participate in collective productive labour. (4) Rapid progress and substantial results should be achieved in farmland capital construction, mechanization of agriculture and scientific farming. (5) The collective economy should be steadily expanded and production and income of the poor communes and brigades should reach or surpass the present level of the average communes and brigades in the locality. (6) All-round development should be made in agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, side-occupations and fishery with considerable increases in output, big contributions to the state and steady improvement in the living standards of the commune members. With these standards as their goal and in the light of the basic experiences gained by Tachai and Hsiyang, commune members throughout China are examining themselves to see

where and how they have lagged behind so as to work out measures for immediate action.

Looking ahead to the next five years, it can be envisaged that by then China will have over one-third of its counties built into Tachai-type counties while more Tachai-type communes and production brigades will appear in the rest of the counties. There will be a fairly large increase in grain output and further development in farming, forestry, animal husbandry, side-occupations and fishery. Agriculture in China will in the main be mechanized, with 70 per cent of the main jobs in farming, forestry, animal husbandry, side-occupations and fishery mechanized, and mechanization in ploughing, draining and irrigation and transport alone will be as good as more than double the labour force in the rural areas throughout the country.

By that time, there will be more enterprises run by the communes and production brigades in the vast countryside, and the economy of the people's communes and the nation as a whole will have developed greatly. As the foundation of the national economy, agriculture in China will be greatly strengthened and this will speed up the modernization of industry, science and technology and national defence and so further consolidate and develop the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist system in China.

These bright and splendid prospects are inspiring the people to fight and forge ahead.



Workers' Forum (V)

Fighting With the Pen and Steel Rod

This is the last in a series of five articles written for "Peking Review" by six workers of the Shanghai No. 5 Steel Plant reviewing their factory's movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius. The first four appeared in issues No. 46, 47, 48 and 49. — Ed.

WORKERS in our plant often have said: "We should shoulder the dual responsibility of using both the pen and the steel rod in battle." That is to say, we should carry out revolutionary mass criticism with the pen and produce more and better steel with the rod.

Through mass criticism, the Marxist-Leninist theoretical level of our plant's workers and cadres has been steadily raised, their ability in distinguishing Marxism from revisionism has been increased and their enthusiasm for building socialism has soared to greater heights. The battle with the steel rod also has scored successes. With no increase in major buildings, equipment and staff, annual steel output in our plant is now

double that of 1965, the year prior to the start of the Great Cultural Revolution. Varieties and specifications of rolled steel have risen to 11,800 as against 1,800 in the same period.



Rolling mill worker Chou Teh-hsi, one of the writers of this series of articles.

Spurred on by the movement to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat this year, our plant has made further progress. Compared with the corresponding period last year, output of steel, rolled steel

and new products from January to July increased 8.83, 6.4 and 30 per cent respectively.

Facts are eloquent proof of the correctness of Chairman Mao's principle of "grasping revolution, promoting production."

Revolution Means Liberating Productive Forces

Marxism holds that revolution means liberating the productive forces and promoting their development. The Chinese people have in the last 26 years turned the poor and backward old China into a socialist country with the beginnings of prosperity by relying on their own efforts. Take iron and steel production for instance. Our plant's annual output has outstripped the highest yearly mark for the whole of old China; Shanghai's daily output now is far more than the annual output in all of old Shanghai. How could the productive forces have expanded so swiftly? The answer is the Chinese people have, under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, carried out a thoroughgoing democratic revolution, overthrown the rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, and since then carried on the ever-deepening socialist revolution.

Our plant was born in a revolutionary high tide. In 1956, China had in the main completed the socialist transformation with respect to ownership of the means of production in individual agriculture, individual handicrafts and privately owned industry and commerce. The following year saw the defeat of the attack by the anti-Party, anti-socialist bourgeois Rightists on the political and ideological front. These revolutionary successes heralded the big leap forward in socialist construction beginning from 1958. At that time, builders flocked to the site where our plant was to go up and, working with enormous enthusiasm on this tract of desolate land, erected the first group of workshops and put them into operation in just three months. Annual steel output in the three years 1958-60 rose from tens of thousands to several hundred thousand tons.

However, we were not sailing a smooth sea. China's national economy went through a temporary difficult period as a result of sabotage by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique and natural calamities for three successive years. Taking advantage of this, Liu Shao-chi and his gang spared no effort to restore capitalism and strangle socialism. They opposed workers studying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, babbling that we couldn't understand it. While ordering the "dismounting" of many new factories, they did their utmost to peddle the Soviet revisionist line in running enterprises, such as putting profits in command, material incentives, the system of one-man leadership and letting specialists rule the factories. These evil trends also showed up in our plant. Some workshops put out the fire in the furnaces, workers' enthusiasm was throttled and output dropped by a big margin in the early 60s.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has smashed the two bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-

chi and Lin Biao. Revolution has liberated the productive forces, and our plant's production has gone ahead at an unprecedented speed. Both successes and setbacks have enabled us to see clearly that **"without a correct political approach to the matter the given class will be unable to stay on top, and, consequently, will be incapable of solving its production problem either."** (Lenin: *Once Again on the Trade Unions, the Current Situation and the Mistakes of Trotsky and Bukharin.*)

Consciousness Turns to Matter

A continuation of the Great Cultural Revolution, the movement to criticize Lin Biao and Confucius also had played the role of further liberating the productive forces. The movement is a political and ideological struggle in the superstructure by which Marxism triumphs over revisionism and the proletariat over the bourgeoisie.

Chairman Mao long ago pointed out: **"While we recognize that in the general development of history the material determines the mental and social being determines social consciousness, we also — and indeed must — recognize the reaction of mental on material things, of social consciousness on social being and of the superstructure on the economic base. This does not go against materialism; on the contrary, it avoids mechanical materialism and firmly upholds dialectical materialism."** (*On Contradiction.*)

From our own experience we can see well-defined examples of how production stagnated because the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, remnants of the ideology of the exploiting classes, had shackled people's minds. Once this garbage has been swept away and replaced by the new ideology of the proletariat, production will forge ahead. But it must be realized that such rubbish cannot be cleared out all at once. After one corner has been cleaned, it can be found in another corner. After one form of expression has been criticized, it will appear in another form. Thus only repeated cleaning over a long period of time will yield the desired result. The movement to criticize Lin Biao and Confucius is another such clean-up.

To put proletarian politics in command or "to put profits in command" and go in for "material incentives" has always been a focus of the two-line struggle in running an enterprise. The struggle has a bearing not only on whether production can be done well but, of more fundamental importance, on whether a socialist enterprise will degenerate into a capitalist firm or not. Through study we have come to understand that the "new economic system" by means of which the Soviet revisionists have restored the capitalist economic base has "the principle of profits" and "material incentives" at its core.

The Soviet revisionist "new economic system" actually is nothing new. The exploiting classes have always held that "each for himself" is the "eternal hu-

man nature." Confucius said that "the inferior man thinks in terms of gain." Lin Piao and his gang also said that "self-aggrandizement and avarice are objective laws." Those whose minds are poisoned by such thinking do not understand that proletarian politics should be in command of economic work. Instead of relying on the workers' political enthusiasm for building socialism and on the proletariat's high sense of responsibility of fulfilling its historical mission, they are bent on promoting production by means of "material incentives" or other similar "incentives."

We criticized "putting bonuses in command" in the initial stage of the Great Cultural Revolution. Later, though it was out of the commendable desire to increase production, cadres in a workshop thought of another way to "boost" output by "beating drums and gongs." Thus, if a team fulfilled a high quota, it could proclaim its "achievements" with drums and gongs. Doing this to celebrate successes in socialist construction is permissible, and, indeed, customary. However, if it is treated as a means of self-glorification, then a team will be led astray to the bourgeois road of chasing after fame and gain. Facts proved that this method did not promote production but enhanced the "departmentalism" of the various teams and groups. Criticisms from the workers helped the cadres correct their errors and give prominence to political and ideological work in real earnest. They organized workers to study revolutionary theory and criticize revisionism and the bourgeoisie. They took part in manual labour like ordinary workers, made investigations at the furnaces, listened to workers' opinions, visited workers' families. . . . As a result, the workshop's production went up by big margins. The plant's Party committee led all the workers and cadres in analysing and discussing this typical example which was a profound education for everyone.

The movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius forcefully pounded away at the decadent idea that

"those who work with their minds govern, those who work with their hands are governed." Cadres in our plant have since been more conscious in working together with the workers and listening to their criticisms. And, as masters of the country, the workers have become more active in supervising the work in the plant so that it will proceed along Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

A Big-Character Poster. Some workers during the movement suggested that small quantities of leftover molten steel in the furnaces be cast into small ingots to increase production, something that had been neglected previously. Underestimating the workers' enthusiasm for socialism, a cadre in charge decided that this was good, but "extra pay" should be given since the workers would be doing "extra work." When comrades in the workshop's theoretical group learnt this, they immediately put up a big-character poster in front of the mess hall. The poster sharply pointed out that the idea of giving "extra pay" was simply a refurbishment of the Confucian thinking that "the inferior man thinks in terms of gain" and a retrogression to the revisionist principle of "putting bonuses in command" which had been criticized. The title of this poster "There's No Future in Going Backwards!" was an eye-catcher.

The poster won the extensive support of the workers and educated the cadre concerned. Together, they worked out appropriate technical measures to utilize the leftover steel. Output went up without any "material incentives."

Another example was the "system of deducting from the production quota." A rule in one of the workshops stipulated that if the necessary preparations were not made to facilitate the work of the next shift, then part of the output of the preceding shift would be deducted and added to that of the next shift. Such "material punishment" increased the contradictions among

teams. The workers criticized and abolished this rule during the movement. In its stead the communist style "offering others what is convenient while tackling the difficulties oneself" was vigorously advocated. The result was closer unity and higher output.

Numerous facts have proved that selfless communist spirit can be fostered only when the influence of bourgeois ideology has been criticized. For instance, a rolling-mill heater in workshop No. 12 once had a hitch. The usual way was to overhaul it after it had cooled for 72 hours. The workers



Fighting with the pen and steel rod.

Woodcut by amateur worker-artists in Shanghai

said: "Time means steel and the state needs steel." Only eight hours later the workers and cadres, wearing protective clothing, went into the centre of the heater to overhaul it. Examples like this showing the difficulty-defying spirit of the workers without any thought of getting rewards are too numerous to cite. Shanghai workers often have said: "Lin Piao wanted to restore capitalism. We must go all-out to build socialism." Can this kind of spirit be "incited" by "material incentives"? The bourgeois and revisionist Shylocks naturally can never understand this mentality of the proletariat.

The manifestations of "putting profits in command" were also criticized during the movement. How to prevent the practice of thinking in terms of profits is important in business transactions between factories. Under unified state planning, our plant has dealings with some 10,000 factories and our products are sent to all parts of the country. When orders come from other factories, so long as the products are badly needed in socialist construction, we will fulfil them regardless of profits or difficulties involved. We will do our best to satisfy the demands, be they steel ingots weighing many tons or capillaries used in precision medical instruments. If a new equipment is needed to manufacture the products, we make it by our own efforts. If the order is a new product we never made before, we learn to produce it in the course of work. By doing so, the state first of all benefits, and it also spurs us on to increase the varieties and specifications of our products and raise our technical level. We do not chase after profits. Does this mean we will lose? Of course not. Because of our efforts in increasing production and practising economy, annual profits turned over to the state by our plant in the last few years amounted to half its fixed assets. Contrary to the case in capitalist society, such profits do not go to a few people, but are used by the state for construction which benefits the people of the whole country.

A New Technique. The movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius opened fierce fire on the decadent idea that "the highest are the wise and the lowest are the stupid." Thus cadres acquired a firmer faith in the workers' collective strength and wisdom and we workers showed greater daring to blaze new trails. The upshot: more and better technical innovations.

The story of "cutting the tiger's tail" has spread in our plant. Molten steel first has to be poured into the ladle and then into the mould to be cast into ingots. In the past, a hand-operated rod was used by workers standing close at hand to function as the ladle's locking stopper. The rod had to be replaced once it was used. This held back production. Several technical innovations ensued and a hydraulic pump was introduced to control the ladle's slide valve. This raised efficiency a great deal. But the splashes of molten steel sometimes caused the pump's wire to snap. Workers called this wire the "tiger's tail," meaning it could not easily be removed and replaced with something else. Some work-

ers suggested making another innovation to solve the problem. Others had apprehensions. "Don't pull the tiger's tail," they cautioned lest normal production might be affected if it was not handled properly.

The movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius strengthened our determination and confidence. Confucius and Lin Piao preached that "some are born with knowledge," but we deem that "real knowledge comes from practice." A "three-in-one" group was formed with veteran workers as the backbone and with the participation of leading cadres and technicians to tackle the problem. After overcoming numerous difficulties, they finally succeeded in getting rid of the "tiger's tail."

This example is only one of many showing that mass technical innovations have played a big part in raising output, improving quality, reducing labour intensity and guaranteeing safety in production. In New China, of course, automation will not lead to sacking of workers and unemployment, which is often the case in capitalist countries.

Since the workers' collective strength and wisdom have been given fuller play, the spirit of self-reliance has soared higher. While criticizing Lin Piao's plot to turn China into a Soviet colony, workers in the No. 2 central testing room strengthened their determination to build up the country independently and self-reliantly. Reviewing the designs of two projects, they said: "We will not import any piece of equipment if a domestic one can be used; we will not ask for anything our plant can make." During the movement, the No. 13 workshop began mass-producing cold-rolled high-speed steel strip, which we had to import in quantities previously.

A New Record. The movement also dealt a heavy blow to conservative ideology. Chairman Mao has taught us: "Man has constantly to sum up experience and go on discovering, inventing, creating and advancing. Ideas of stagnation, pessimism, inertia and complacency are all wrong." This is the proletarian method of thinking and is diametrically opposed to the Confucian preaching that "I pass on what is ancient and do not create anything new. I have firm confidence in and love the ancient things."

The No. 5 blast cupola of the No. 4 workshop had produced 4,000 heats. According to the old practice, it should have been pulled down and rebuilt. Based on their rich experience, many workers said that it could still be used. However, a few people wanted to follow the beaten track, saying that this would be safer. A controversy ensued. Many pointed out: "Since we have criticized Lin Piao and Confucius for their attempts at restoration and retrogression, we should persist in making revolution and progress. The cupola is working properly, so why should we do things according to the old rules?" The workshop Party branch supported the workers' initiative and organized them to work out necessary technical measures. Another 4,000 heats were

(Continued on p. 27.)

"Marx, Engels and Lenin on the Dictatorship of The Proletariat": Questions and Answers (11)

The bourgeoisie in our country has been vanquished, but it has not yet been uprooted, not yet destroyed, and not even utterly broken. That is why a new and higher form of struggle against the bourgeoisie is on the order of the day, the transition from the very simple task of further expropriating the capitalists to the much more complicated and difficult task of creating conditions in which it will be impossible for the bourgeoisie to exist, or for a new bourgeoisie to arise. Clearly, this task is immeasurably more significant than the previous one; and until it is fulfilled there will be no Socialism.

V.I. Lenin: *The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government* (March-April 1918)

Question: How should we understand the central idea of this passage from Lenin?

Answer: It means that after the proletariat has seized political power and basically expropriated the bourgeoisie from the means of production, its central task is to struggle for "creating conditions in which it will be impossible for the bourgeoisie to exist, or for a new bourgeoisie to arise." This task is immeasurably important, for unless it is fulfilled, capitalist restoration is possible at any time.

Question: Why is the creation of conditions in which it will be impossible for the bourgeoisie to exist or for a new bourgeoisie to arise a higher form of struggle against the bourgeoisie and a much more complicated and difficult task?

Answer: To understand this question, it is first necessary to clearly recognize the nature and characteristics of socialist society. Socialist society is a society which has just emerged from capitalist society and is thus in every respect, economically, morally and intellectually, still stamped with the birth marks of the old society. In this society there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle, the remnants of private ownership and the spontaneous capitalist tendencies of the small producers, the influence of the bourgeoisie and the force of habit of the old society, bourgeois right with respect to distribution and ex-

change, and so forth. All these are conditions for the continued existence of the old landlord and capitalist classes and the soil for engendering new bourgeois elements. Therefore, if people like Lin Piao come to power, it will be quite easy for them to rig up the capitalist system, as Chairman Mao has pointed out. To create conditions in which it will be impossible for the bourgeoisie to exist or for a new bourgeoisie to arise, it is imperative to adhere to a correct Marxist-Leninist line, exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in the economic, political, ideological, cultural and all other spheres, carry the socialist revolution in every field through to the end, keep criticizing revisionism, capitalist tendencies and the ideology of bourgeois right and gradually eradicate all the birth marks of the old society. The process of creating such conditions is one of completely defeating the bourgeoisie under the dictatorship of the proletariat and finally abolishing all classes. Needless to say, this represents a higher form of struggle and a much more difficult and complicated task as compared with the simple task of expropriating the capitalists. This extremely arduous task cannot be accomplished at one stroke. It can be gradually fulfilled only through long and in-depth struggles on all fronts under the guidance of the Marxist-Leninist thesis integrating the theory of uninterrupted revolution with the theory of the development of revolution by stages.

Clearly, in order to abolish classes completely, it is not enough to overthrow the exploiters, the landlords and capitalists, not enough to abolish their rights of ownership; it is necessary also to abolish all private ownership of the means of production, it is necessary to abolish the distinction between town and country, as well as the distinction between manual workers and brain workers. This requires a very long period of time.

V.I. Lenin: *A Great Beginning* (June 1919)

Question: Why is it that to abolish classes completely, it is necessary to abolish all private ownership of the means of production? How should we look at the situation in this respect in China at its present stage of development?

Answer: Private ownership is the source of the emergence of classes. To abolish classes completely, it is necessary to abolish not only ownership by the landlord and capitalist classes, but also all private ownership of the means of production, that is, private ownership by the small producers, because it gives rise to class polarization daily and hourly. That is why we must educate and remould the small producers, free them from the shackles of private ownership and guide them to keep to the socialist road of collectivization. In China, we have abolished private ownership by the landlord and capitalist classes, in the main transformed private ownership by the small producers and introduced socialist ownership by the whole people and collective ownership by working people. But a tiny portion of small private ownership in industry, agriculture and commerce still remains at the present stage. The Constitution of the People's Republic of China provides: "The state may allow non-agricultural individual labourers to engage in individual labour involving no exploitation of others, within the limits permitted by law and under unified arrangement by neighbourhood organizations in cities and towns or by production teams in rural people's communes. At the same time, these individual labourers should be guided on to the road of socialist collectivization step by step." It also stipulates: "Provided that the development and absolute predominance of the collective economy of the people's commune are ensured, people's commune members may farm small plots for their personal needs, engage in limited household side-line production, and in pastoral areas keep a small number of livestock for their personal needs." All this is entirely necessary at the present stage. These stipulations clearly point out that while this tiny portion of small private ownership is now allowed to exist, it is necessary to confine it within the limits permitted by the policies and laws of the Party and state and at all times prevent it from giving rise to capitalist tendencies of exploiting others and from jeopardizing the absolute predominance of the collective economy. In this way, it is beneficial to stimulate the urban and rural economies. The complete elimination of small private ownership, however, remains a long-term task.

Question: Why is it necessary to abolish the distinctions between town and country and between manual workers and brain workers if classes are to be completely abolished?

Answer: The abolition of the distinctions between town and country and between manual workers and brain workers as set forth by Lenin plus the abolition of the distinction between industry and agriculture often mentioned by Marx, Engels and Lenin constitute what we usually refer to as the abolition of the three major differences. Closely connected with classes, they are a reflection of class differences and class antagonism in class society. In capitalist society, the three major differences have all developed to the extent of sharp confrontation. In socialist society, as a result of

the realization of socialist public ownership of the means of production and the abolition of the exploitation system, the antitheses between industry and agriculture, between town and country and between manual and mental labour have disappeared, but great differences still remain between them, and bourgeois right that reflects these differences inevitably exists. These remain the soil for engendering capitalism and the bourgeoisie. Because of the existence of the three major differences, some people value industry while disdaining agriculture and want to stay in the cities and not in the countryside; others who have acquired some knowledge and skill look down upon manual labour and the labouring people and even are haughty to them. The bourgeoisie and its representatives on their part would use these differences to undermine the worker-peasant alliance, sabotage the socialist cause, develop the urban and rural capitalist factors and foster new bourgeois elements and intellectual aristocrats. One of the tactics employed by the Khrushchov-Brezhnev renegade clique to bring about an all-round capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union is to energetically widen the three major differences. Therefore, in socialist society, to gradually narrow or to widen these differences is an important content of the struggle between the two classes and the two lines. To continuously deepen the socialist revolution, thoroughly defeat the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes and finally abolish classes completely, it is necessary to gradually narrow and finally eliminate the three major differences. Under the leadership of Chairman Mao, the Communist Party of China has taken a series of revolutionary measures to gradually narrow the differences. These measures include the whole Party going in for agriculture; industry and other trades and professions giving active support to agriculture; vast numbers of cadres, workers, peasants, commercial workers, students and soldiers taking the "May 7" road; cadres taking part in collective productive labour; workers, peasants and soldiers going to colleges; educated youth settling in the countryside; the forming of worker-peasant-soldier theoretical contingents. All these are of paramount importance for gradually narrowing the three major differences and we must persist in doing so in the days ahead. To reduce the three major differences is a long-term task, but we must strive to fulfil it unswervingly, consciously and persistently.

"Communist" features begin only with the appearance of subbotniks, that is, the unpaid work of individual persons, unregulated by any government or state, performed on a wide scale for the public good. This is not help rendered to a neighbour, such as was always practised in the countryside; this is labour to satisfy a general need of the state, organized on a wide scale, and unpaid. It would therefore be more correct to apply the word communist not only to the name of the Party, but also, and exclusively, to such economic phenomena in our social life as are "com-

munist" in fact. If there is anything communistic in our present system in Russia it is the subbotniks, and only the subbotniks; everything else is but a fight against capitalism for the consolidation of socialism, from which, after its complete triumph, should grow that communism which we observe in the subbotniks, not as a theoretical thing but as an actual fact.

V.I. Lenin: *Subbotniks* (December 1919)

Question: What are the "subbotniks" all about?

Answer: The "subbotniks" were initiated by the Moscow-Kazan Railway workers in 1919. Deducting an extra hour each day from their rest, they accumulated these extra hours and put in six extra hours of labour without pay for the socialist cause on Saturday beginning 6 p.m.

In summer 1919, the newborn Soviet regime was beset with difficulties arising from the imperialist armed intervention and domestic counter-revolutionary armed rebellion. To support the front and defend the fruits of victory of the October Revolution in this critical period, the Communist Party members and activists in the Moscow-Kazan Railway Sub-Bureau responded to the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) Central Committee's call to "work in a revolutionary way" and initiated and organized the "subbotniks," or voluntary and unpaid labour on Saturdays. Lenin spoke highly of this revolutionary new thing the moment it appeared, acclaiming it as "a great beginning" and praising the workers' "mass heroism" and "initiative." He pointed out that it was something "communistic" and issued the call that "every Communist, . . . everyone who wants to be true to the principles of communism should devote all his attention and all his efforts to the explanation of this phenomenon and to its practical implementation." (*Subbotniks*.) Thanks to Lenin's attention and support, the "subbotniks" rapidly spread to many cities in Russia like a surging tide.

Question: Why are the "subbotniks" something communistic?

Answer: Communism means a system under which it is a common phenomenon that people are accustomed to performing social duties without the need of special organs of force and they work for the public good without pay. This cannot be universally accomplished in socialist society. In socialist society, with the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the realization of socialist public ownership of the means of production, the working class and other labouring people have become masters of the state and labour itself has undergone a fundamental change in nature. They no longer work for the landlord and capitalist classes and other exploiting classes but for their own country and the whole society. However, since socialist society has directly emerged from capitalist society, it inevitably

carries with it the birth marks of the old society in every respect. So far as labour is concerned, it is still performed with fixed quotas and pay and in a sense remains a means of making a living, and the state has to supervise and set various stipulations as to the labourers' amount of labour and pay. That the "subbotniks" are something communistic is because they fundamentally break through the narrow confines of bourgeois right of receiving equal pay for an equal amount of labour; they are conscious, voluntary, unpaid labour for society based entirely on a high degree of political consciousness and conforming to the communist spirit. (See "Historical Tasks of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat" in issue No. 11, 1975.)

Socialist society is a period in which rising communism and declining capitalism are locked in battle. In this period, new things containing communist factors are bound to emerge continuously. These newborn things represent the direction in which history advances. Only by energetically supporting them and continuously waging struggles against the old things can the proletarian dictatorship be consolidated, capitalism thoroughly defeated and conditions created for the realization of communism. Warmly praising and fully supporting the "subbotniks" the moment this new thing appeared, Lenin set a brilliant example for us in taking a correct attitude towards revolutionary new things.

The revolution we have begun and have already been making for two years, and which we are firmly determined to carry to its conclusion, is possible and feasible only provided we achieve the transfer of power to the new class, provided the bourgeoisie, the capitalist slave-owners, the bourgeois intellectuals, the representatives of all the owners and property holders are replaced by the new class in all spheres of government, in all government affairs, in the entire business of directing the new life, from top to bottom.

V.I. Lenin: *Report at Second All-Russian Trade Union Congress* (January 1919)

Question: How should we understand the basic spirit of this quotation from Lenin?

Answer: It means that the proletariat must resolutely carry the socialist revolution through to the end and can certainly do so. The question is that the proletariat must keep a firm hold on the political power it has seized, replace bourgeois rule with proletarian leadership in all spheres of the state from top to bottom and exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie. That is to say, whether the leadership of all departments is really in the hands of Marxists and the proletariat is a fundamental question concerning whether the socialist revolution can be carried through to the end.

After overthrowing bourgeois rule and taking state power into its own hands, the proletariat must carry out

step by step a comprehensive and thoroughgoing revolution in the economic base and the superstructure. This inevitably will come up against frenzied resistance by the bourgeoisie which, though already overthrown, still hangs on to a few positions in quite a number of places, especially in many spheres of the superstructure, and seeks and fosters opportunist and revisionist elements within the Party as its agents so as to usurp the leadership of various departments in the Party and the state. Under such circumstances, it is essential to have a consolidated, powerful and all-round proletarian dictatorship if the proletariat is to carry the socialist revolution through to the end. In other words, it is necessary to put political power at all levels entirely under the control of the proletariat, enable it to occupy all the positions in all spheres of the state — political, economic, ideological and cultural spheres as

well as social life — and eliminate the “hereditary domains” of the bourgeoisie, the capitalist slave-owners (referring in general terms to exploiters who possess land, factories, mines and banks), the bourgeois intellectuals and the propertied. In leading the Chinese people's struggle to continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, Chairman Mao has issued a series of important instructions: **“The proletariat must exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in the superstructure, including all spheres of culture.”** **“The working class must exercise leadership in everything.”** And the dictatorship of the proletariat **“must be fully achieved in every factory, village, office and school.”** Both in theory and in practice, Chairman Mao has inherited and developed the aforementioned ideas of Lenin.

(To be continued.)

(Continued from p. 23.)

produced to create a record in our plant for a blast cupola.

Many other examples pointed to the fact that with the change in people's mental outlook, production went up. Those whose minds are shackled by the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius always look down upon new emerging forces. Before the Great Cultural Revolution, a young recruit usually spent his first three years in the shop sweeping the floor or looking after tools. Now many outstanding youngsters have been put in leading posts. In the movement, the older generation paid more attention to supporting and training the young workers while the latter have increased their own confidence and thus played a more dynamic role. Workers in the supply department, where quite a big proportion are females, work better after they criticized the widely circulated old book *Guide to Women's Manners* which advocates that man is superior to woman. They also criticized a popular saying that **“a man can be bolder, but a woman should always be timid.”** Sweep away such rubbish, they said. Now more and more women comrades in our plant have stepped to the forefront of revolution and production in the spirit that **“women build half the world.”**

Chairman Mao has said: **“Once the correct ideas characteristic of the advanced class are grasped by the masses, these ideas turn into a material force which changes society and changes the world.”** (*Where Do Correct Ideas Come From?*) Every criticism of the ideology of the exploiting classes makes the new ideology, new culture, new customs and new habits of the proletariat strike deeper root in people's minds, and this becomes a powerful material force. We therefore say: The victories in the battle with the pen bring with them big achievements in the battle with the steel rod.

Like the rest of the country, our plant has achieved tremendous victories in the Great Cultural Revolution

and the movement to criticize Lin Biao and Confucius. In this excellent situation, the Fourth National People's Congress was convened in Peking last January. The congress adopted a new Constitution and set forth the magnificent task of building China into a powerful socialist country before the end of the century.

It was at that crucial historical moment that Chairman Mao issued the important directive on studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Chairman Mao has said: **“Why did Lenin speak of exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie? It is essential to get this question clear. Lack of clarity on this question will lead to revisionism. This should be made known to the whole nation.”** Like a beacon, this directive illuminates our road of advance. At present, just as is the case in the whole country, an ever-deepening study movement is taking place in our plant. We are confident that mastering the Marxist theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat by the hundreds of millions of Chinese people is sure to guarantee that our country will march forward on the road charted by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. And this will ensure the eventual accomplishment of the task of the dictatorship of the proletariat set forth by Marx, that is, abolishing class distinctions generally, abolishing all relations of production on which class distinctions rest, abolishing all social relations that correspond to these relations of production and revolutionizing all ideas that result from these social relations.

Marx and Engels issued the great call **“Working men of all countries, unite!”** more than a hundred years ago. We workers in the Shanghai No. 5 Steel Plant will unite with the people throughout the country and with all the oppressed people and nations in the world to fight for the complete elimination of the system of exploitation of man by man and for the realization of communism — the loftiest ideal of mankind. **“Let each stand in his place. The internationale shall be the human race.”** (*The Internationale*.)

ROUND THE WORLD

EAST TIMOR

Large-Scale Invasion by Indonesian Troops

Indonesian troops blatantly launched a massive invasion of East Timor on December 7 and occupied Dili, capital of the Democratic Republic of East Timor.

The troops captured the town of Atabae on November 28, the day East Timor proclaimed its independence. The area along the Loes River was shelled by Indonesian warships on December 3 and 4. More than 1,000 paratroops and marines landed on Dili on December 7 and occupied the Dili military headquarters and administration building.

Leaders and troops of the Revolutionary Front for Independence of East Timor (FRETILIN) and many local residents were evacuated to the mountains around Dili. The FRETILIN spokesman in Sydney said the people of East Timor "will mount a never-ending campaign against the invaders. We will fight to the last drop of blood. We will never surrender."

To create public opinion for a further invasion of East Timor, the Indonesian Government issued a statement on December 4 alleging that the situation in East Timor "endangers the security of Indonesia" and that Indonesia "is obliged to protect the people there." The day when Dili was invaded, Indonesian Foreign Minister Malik said the Indonesian troops were there to "help restore order and prevent unnecessary bloodshed." However, a Reuter report said that women and children in Dili were being killed indiscriminately by invading Indonesian troops.

Long subjected to colonial rule, the people of East Timor had waged a continuous struggle leading to the official announcement of independence on November 28. Openly against the independence of East Timor, the Indonesian Government refused to enter into negotiations on disputes between the two sides. Indonesia's present large-scale armed invasion has fully revealed its undisguised ambition to annex East Timor. This is bound to be strongly condemned by progressive public opinion in the world.

JAPAN

State-Enterprise Workers Strike

More than a million workers in state railway, postal and telecommunications and in other state enterprises started an eight-day nationwide strike beginning November 26, demanding the restoration of their right to strike.

The strike paralyzed Japan's railway traffic and disrupted postal, telegraph and telephone services.

Defying intimidation and threats, the workers smashed every attempt to sabotage the strike and their struggle won the Japanese people's understanding and support. Workers in omnibus and subway lines run by local governments responded by striking.

The authorities of U.S. forces then occupying Japan issued an order in March 1946, depriving Japanese state-enterprise workers of their right to strike. The Japanese Government continued to do the same by enforcing a law in July 1948. Since then, all strikes by workers in state enterprises have been suppressed by the Japanese authorities.

The latest strike, which was the longest and largest postwar one by state-enterprise workers, evidenced the deepening of Japan's political and economic crises.

E.E.C.

Summit Conference

The heads of state or government of the nine European Economic Community (E.E.C.) met in Rome on December 1 and 2 to discuss promotion of West European political union and the current economic situation. They agreed on such questions as sending a unified E.E.C. delegation to the forthcoming international economic co-operation conference.

The summit decided to hold election of a European parliament by direct voting and to introduce a unified passport system in E.E.C. countries as of 1978. The above-mentioned agreement was regarded by the West European press as a new step towards closer political union among the nine.

Britain asked for a separate seat regarding E.E.C. representation at the international economic co-operation conference scheduled to take place in Paris. However, after repeated consultations in and out of the meeting, it was finally decided that the E.E.C. will be represented at the conference by a single delegation with the current Chairman of the Council (Italy) and the President or the Commission as its spokesmen. The leader of the E.E.C. delegation can allow the representatives of Luxembourg and Britain which will take over the executive chairmanship next year to express their views at the Paris conference at the ministerial level.

This was the third E.E.C. summit this year, the first two having been held in Dublin and Brussels respectively. At the end of last year, the E.E.C. decided to have three summits annually in order to strengthen political co-operation among member countries.

ON THE HOME FRONT

Railway Construction Achievements

CHINA has added 30,000 kilometres of railway lines over the 26 years since 1949, the year of the founding of the People's Republic of China. Railways now link all of China's provinces, municipalities under the central authorities and autonomous regions, with the exception of the Tibet Autonomous Region. This has changed the irrational concentration of lines in the coastal areas before liberation when only 20,000 kilometres of railways were built in 70 years.

With the accent on railway construction in the southwest and northwest which were relatively backward economically, New China has so far completed the Chengtu-Kunming, Hunan-Kweichow and Kweiyang-Kunming Railways and electrified the Paoki-Chengtu Railway. The Lunghai Railway, which starts at the port of Lienyunkang on the east coast and ends at Shensi Province's Paoki, was renovated and rebuilt into a double-track line after liberation, and then extended to Urumchi, capital of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region, forming a trunk line across the northern part

of the mainland. Besides, there are the newly built Lanchow-Sining, Lanchow-Paotow and other railways. These lines, which connect the remote southwest and northwest regions with east China's cities and ports, have helped promote the economic development of areas peopled by minority nationalities.

In addition, many branch lines have been built in industrial, mining and forestry areas to link up with railway trunk lines all over the country. Meanwhile, those railway lines with busy traffic are gradually being double-tracked and electrified.

Many of the new railways were built under extremely hazardous and complicated conditions. Some wind through high mountains or cross turbulent rivers; others pass through deserts, virgin forests, stretches of permanently frozen earth or marshlands.

Eighty per cent of the 669-kilometre-long Paoki-Chengtu Railway snakes through towering mountains and across deep gullies. Its construction involved the removal of 90,000 cubic metres of earth and stone per kilometre on the average, with tunnels taking up 12.6 per cent of its entire length. Chinese workers and

technicians, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, completed the railway in three years of hard work.

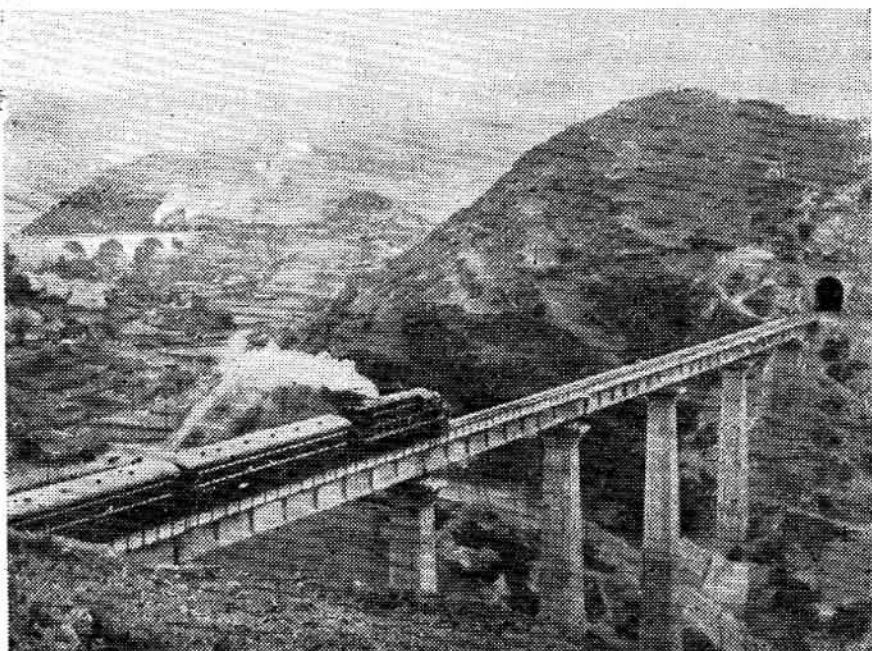
The 632-kilometre-long Hunan-Kweichow Railway runs through two mountain ranges, crosses five big rivers and passes many stretches of fault areas, erosion-cavities and soft soil. The builders displayed dauntless heroism in overcoming one difficulty after another to bring the project to completion.

All railways built after the founding of New China have been designed and constructed by relying on her own efforts. At the same time, with the setting up of locomotive and rolling-stock factories, China now can produce high-duty diesel and electric locomotives.

Books in Minority Languages

Sinkiang. A number of new books have been published recently in Uighur, Kazakh, Mongolian and other minority languages. Among them are works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and Chairman Mao's works, related materials to help with the study of these works as well as novels, collections of proses and selections of poems by minority nationality authors in the region. Some of the works of the great writer Lu Hsun (1881-1936) and the classical novel *The Dream of the Red Chamber* have been translated into minority nationality languages for the first time and are coming out one after another. Other outstanding works created in the past few years have also been translated into languages of minority nationalities and printed in large numbers. They include *Bright Sunny Skies* (a novel), *Battle of the Hsisha Islands* (a reportage in verse), *Bright Red Star* (a film libretto) and the scripts of some model operas born during the proletarian revolution in literature and art.

Over 60 per cent of the total population in Sinkiang are members of minority nationalities. The number of books and textbooks in their own languages published since the start of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in 1966 is 80 per cent



A section of the Hunan-Kweichow Railway.

higher than the aggregate total in all the 15 years before that year. In the first eight months of 1975, 120 varieties of books totalling more than 4 million copies appeared in minority nationality languages, marking a record high.

Tibet. Since 1972, this autonomous region has published nearly 100 different kinds of books in Tibetan covering the fields of politics, history, literature and art, medical and health work, science and technology. The number of volumes exceeds 4 million.

In old Tibet under the rule of feudal serfdom, there were only several small printing works in the whole region. Using woodcut technique, they put out scriptures and material propagating religion and superstition. After the 1959 democratic reform in Tibet, large numbers of people were trained as linguists, translators and writers in the Tibetan language, directly serving the million emancipated serfs. The People's Publishing House of Tibet, which publishes books mainly in Tibetan, and a comparatively modern printing works were set up during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. At present throughout the region, there are bookstores in almost every county and over 250 centres for selling books.

To meet the needs of the broad masses of emancipated serfs, large numbers of Marxist-Leninist works, textbooks for literacy classes and various kinds of easy-to-understand reading material have been published, in addition to books on scientific farming and scientific stock-breeding.

During the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, workers and staff of the Pengpo State Farm planted winter wheat successfully for the first time. The publishing department sent its staff members to join them in summing up their experience and write a book entitled *Experience in Planting Winter Wheat*. In the course of popularizing the cultivation

of winter wheat on large tracts of land throughout the region in the last two years, this book has been warmly acclaimed by the masses.

Workers, peasants, herdsmen and soldiers have been invited by the publishing department to join the work of writing, editing and translating. Apart from inviting two experienced poor peasants to help with the work, the editorial group in charge of compiling *The Tibetan Calendar* sent investigation groups to a number of places to solicit the masses' opinions, study and collect material on the characteristics of the farming seasons in various places and learn about the practical experience of the people in observing and interpreting meteorological phenomena. As a result, the task of editing and publishing the book was fulfilled in a comparatively short time.

Inner Mongolia. Staff members of the Hsinhua Bookstore in this autonomous region have used every means possible to make books in the Mongolian language available to the labouring people in the pastoral areas. In recent years they have made the rounds of these areas, selling over 100,000 copies of works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and Chairman Mao's works in the Mongolian and Han languages. In 1974 many banners and counties more than tripled the sales of such works published in Mongolian as compared with the preceding year, thus meeting the growing needs of the broad masses of Mongolian people in the pastoral areas. At the same time, the workers and staff of the bookstore also increased the distribution of literary works and other publications in Mongolian.

Travel and communications on the vast grasslands are inconvenient. Nevertheless comrades of the bookstore serve the herdsmen of Mongolian nationality wholeheartedly, not flagging in their enthusiasm in the freezing cold of winter or the sweltering heat of summer. Once when two of them were on their

way to deliver books to a commune, it began to rain. They covered the books with their raincoats and trudged on pushing their bicycles for over ten kilometres. They got soaked to the skin and their clothes were drenched, but not one of the books was wet.

College Teachers in the Countryside

MARKED progress has been made by teachers of Shensi Province's Northwest Agricultural College in integrating themselves with the workers and peasants.

Towards the end of 1971, veteran teacher Shen Yu-ching and others went to Nancheng County to carry out "open-door" education. The poor and lower-middle peasants' noble quality of loving the state and the collective educated him and helped change his thinking and feelings step by step. In the past, he thought only about how to achieve personal fame through teaching agriculture and doing experiments in the college. After going among the poor and lower-middle peasants, he did much the same thing — running experimental plots and making scientific experiments, but what was on his mind was how to raise grain output for the state. It was generally believed that two rice crops a year could only be planted in areas south of 33° N. Shen Yu-ching thought that it would lead to significant increases in grain output if two rice crops could be planted in areas north of 33° N, where he then lived. Supported by the Party organization, he began to experiment on double rice crops on a teaching plot together with the poor and lower-middle peasants.

Earlier, such a cropping system had been tried out in this locality without success. Shen Yu-ching earnestly studied the causes of failure and worked with the poor and lower-middle peasants from sowing to harvesting in order to find out the law of cultivation involved. After



Veteran teacher Shen Yu-ching (middle) chatting with a peasant.

several years' efforts he developed a strain suited to local conditions and also found out the law governing the growth of rice under a double-cropping system. Now double-crop rice has been successfully trial-planted for three years in a row, and its acreage enlarged to more than eight hectares in 1974 as against only one-fifth of a hectare in the first year. The average per-hectare yield of early and late rice combined is 50 per cent higher than that of single rice crop. This year, double-crop rice has been popularized in more than a dozen places in the nearby five counties.

There are many other teachers like Shen Yu-ching in the Northwest

Agricultural College. Kao Shao-tang, a teacher in the forestry department, has done exemplary work. In 1970 when he went to a teaching base in Lonan County, he found that the leaves of the walnut trees had turned yellow and branches had withered; some trees were dead. Learning that he was a college teacher, the commune members asked him for help. Though specialized in the study of walnut trees, he was at a loss as to how to deal with the blight. He had never seen the live insects causing it, nor could he make a correct diagnosis, to say nothing of prescribing a cure.

He modestly learnt from veteran poor peasants and technicians and

carried out investigations together with them. After careful observation and analysis, they came to understand that the trees had been attacked by flat-headed borers. Determined to discover the law governing the growth of this insect, he spent four days cutting more than 500 branches and found the larvae hidden in the woody part of the tree. After that, he cut 20 diseased branches every day, observing the growth of the larvae in order to find methods of exterminating the pest and preventing further invasions. Later he and his comrades worked in shifts round the clock observing the diseased trees. Several months later, the larvae became full grown and the adults began to lay eggs. They finally found out the whole process. Another year's effort enabled Kao Shao-tang to learn the law governing the growth of this insect and how it does harm to walnut trees. He devised an effective method of dealing with it, which helped increase walnut output.

Later Kao Shao-tang compiled a 40,000-character book, *Lonan Walnut Trees*, which not only crystallizes the masses' experience but also summarizes his gains in integrating with the workers and peasants.

(Continued from p. 4.)

This year's rich harvest stems from the mass movement of learning from Tachai in agriculture, from adherence to the principle of self-reliance and hard struggle and from efforts to overcome serious natural disasters.

In southern China where early rice is grown, there was a long period of overcast days, sustained drizzle and low temperatures during the first half of this year, while a severe drought hit northeast, north and southwest China in summer. In

some places in Honan and other provinces, there was flood. Confident that man will conquer nature, cadres and commune members in these areas fought and overcame the natural adversities.

From winter last year, capital construction on the farmland has been undertaken on a scale unknown before. This includes the expansion and improvement of irrigated areas, levelling land, building terraced fields, amelioration of low-yielding land and reclaiming wasteland. In some northern areas, a great number of power-operated wells have been sunk.

With the spread of the mass movement for scientific experimentation in the countryside, peasant scientists and technicians now number more than 13 million. All trades and professions actively support agriculture. In increasing production of 12 kinds of farm machines, machine-building departments in the first nine months this year turned out 40 per cent more than in the same 1974 period. Output of chemical fertilizer went up 24 per cent. These were some of the important factors underlying this year's good harvest.

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