The Nation Studies Theory of Dictatorship of the Proletariat

For Workers, Peasants and Soldiers

--- The first of a series of four articles on medical and health work in China

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Published every Friday by PEKING REVIEW, Peking (17), China
Post Office Registration No. 2-922
Printed in the People’s Republic of China
The Nation Studies Theory of Dictatorship of the Proletariat

The February 9 Reamir Ribao editorial "Study Well the Theory of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat" (see Peking Review, No. 7, 1975) transmits Chairman Mao’s important instruction on the question of theory: Why did Lenin speak of exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie? This question must be thoroughly understood. "Lack of clarity on this question will lead to revisionism. This should be made known to the whole nation." This important instruction has received the serious attention of Party members, cadres and the masses. They are conscientiously studying this instruction and enthusiastically discussing it at Party meetings or in study sessions. Some of them are restudying theses on the dictatorship of the proletariat by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and by Chairman Mao, and some units have drawn up systematic plans for this study. Some places have compiled material on present-day class struggle to facilitate study and discussion.

Everyone realizes that Chairman Mao’s instruction on strengthening the proletarian dictatorship over the bourgeoisie is of great theoretical and practical significance. Workers at Shanghai’s No. 30 Cotton Mill said: Chairman Mao’s latest instruction is his great strategic planning. Its publication is a major event in combating and preventing revisionism, and it calls on us to carry the revolution through to the end. Worker-peasant-soldier students of Peking’s Tsinghua University said that Chairman Mao always keeps in mind the major issue of combating and preventing revisionism. They added that the younger generation must seriously study works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and by Chairman Mao, learn from the glorious tradition of the proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation, persevere in carrying the revolution through to the end and live up to the expectations of the Party and the people.

In studying, many comrades said they had fully supported the dictatorship of the proletariat in the past, yet, theoretically, they could not explain very clearly why they should do so. Because of this they sometimes could not distinguish capitalism from socialism. Some even were deceived and committed errors as a result of the interference of the revisionist line of Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao.

Through the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, both initiated and led by Chairman Mao, the comrades said that they have reached a deeper understanding of the need for strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat. Chairman Mao now has issued the call to clarify the question of exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie. This means that everyone should have a clear theoretical understanding of this question. This is of great significance to adhering to the Party’s basic line, winning new successes in socialist revolution and socialist construction and continuing the revolution through to the end under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Many comrades have arrived at a profound understanding that there will be no revolutionary action without revolutionary theory. To persist in the Party’s basic line and to continue the revolution, one must have a thorough understanding of the question of proletarian dictatorship over the bourgeoisie.

Many comrades in their study have dwelt on the present excellent situation and the tasks of continuing the revolution. They said that after the basic completion of the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts, industry and commerce, the system of ownership of the means of production has changed in our country. By shattering the two bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao in the Great Cultural Revolution, great victories have been won. The proletarian dictatorship in our country has been consolidated in an unprecedented manner. But, as Chairman Mao has pointed out, in a socialist country like ours there are still classes and class struggle and there is still the influence of bourgeois ideology. Even now she [China] practises an eight-grade wage system, distribution to each according to his work and exchange by means of money, which are scarcely different from those in the old society. This provides the soil for the emergence of new bourgeois elements and revisionism, and it would be quite easy for people like Lin Piao to push the capitalist system if they should come to power. During a discussion meeting, Chao Kuan-pin, a veteran worker in the Lanchow Chemical Company, said a condition giving rise to new bourgeois elements is bourgeois rights. If bourgeois rights were not restricted, things like "material incentives," "putting profit in command" and "free trade" would grow, and that would lead to capitalist restoration. In their study, comrades on the Party committee of Wuhan’s No. 3 State Cotton Mill held that to resist corruption of the working class by bourgeois ideology, the first thing was for the mill’s Party committee to enhance its consciousness of struggle between the two lines.

People all over the country have initially studied and discussed how
to view and how to act towards bourgeois rights and how these rights can be restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat. They have expressed the desire to make further efforts to study and read well so that they really have a clear understanding of this question, theoretically and ideologically. Only in this way can they enhance their consciousness in carrying out Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and various policies.

In the light of their study, some places have begun making investigation and doing research on special subjects so that they can have a rather comprehensive understanding of the situation of the struggle between the two classes, the two roads and two lines in the economic field and in the superstructure. Many comrades have made up their minds to carry out further investigation and analysis of the question that the overthrown reactionary classes always dream of a come-back, and the major issue that capitalism and the bourgeoisie can be engendered by small production and among a section of workers and Party members, and the phenomenon that the bourgeoisie way of life will find its way into the ranks of the proletariat and state personnel. They want to do this in order to carry out effectively the struggle against capitalism and the bourgeoisie. Workers at Tientsin's Water Supply Company held that analysis of the phenomenon of class struggle in conjunction with their study will help increase their ability to resist corrosion by bourgeois ideology, do away with the bourgeois style of work and uphold the new way of the proletariat.

Comrades in various places have stressed the importance of consciously making revolution, the necessity and urgency of studying Marxist theory and taking part in the three great revolutionary movements — class struggle, struggle for production and scientific experiment. Many comrades have expressed their determination to broaden, deepen and persevere in the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius and to carry out socialist revolution well in the superstructure, including all spheres of culture. Party members are setting strict demands on themselves as provided in the Party Constitution. Cadres have pledged to persevere in taking part in collective productive labour and to continually remodel their subjective world while transforming the objective world, so as to always maintain their revolutionary vitality.

A nationwide upsurge in studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat has emerged.

**China to Hold Third National Games**

The preparatory committee for the Third National Games of the People's Republic of China held its first meeting in Peking on February 15.

It was decided that the Third National Games will be held in Peking from September 7 to 27, 1975. This is for the purpose of further disseminating and implementing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on sports embodied in his teaching “Promote physical culture and sports and build up the people's health,” promoting mass sports activities on a wide scale, raising sports standards and reviewing the country's achievements in sports since the start of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius.

The games will include 28 adult events and 8 junior events.

Advanced units in developing mass sports activities at the grass-roots level in the various provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions and in the People's Liberation Army will be elected and experience in this work will be exchanged at the games.

Thirty-one sports delegations from various provinces, municipalities, autonomous regions and the People's Liberation Army will participate in the games. The preparatory committee for the Third National Games has issued a circular to physical culture workers and athletes of Taiwan Province welcoming them and those among Taiwan-born overseas Chinese compatriots to form a sports delegation to participate in the games in Peking.

Chen Hsi-ien, Vice-Premier of the State Council, is chairman of the preparatory committee of the Third National Games, and Chuang Tse-tung, Minister in Charge of the Physical Culture and Sports Commission, is secretary-general.

**Theatrical Festival**

A theatrical festival opened in Peking on February 11. A follow-up of the north China theatrical festival and the theatrical festivals of performances by troupes from Shanghai, the Kwangsí Chuang Autonomous Region and Hunan and Liaoning Provinces held in Peking in spring and summer last year, the current festival is participated by theatrical workers from the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region, and Shensi, Heilungkiang and Szechuan Provinces. Performances by theatrical troupes from other provinces and autonomous regions will also be staged in Peking later.

The five operas presented at the current festival are adaptations from the model revolutionary theatrical works. They include a Sinkiang opera in the Uighur language, a Chin opera from Shensi, a Szechuan opera, and two pingju operas from Heilungkiang. The model revolutionary theatrical works came into being in the course of the proletarian revolution in art and literature. Their adaptation in local forms is conducive to the popularization of these model works and the reform of local operas by drawing from the experience gained in creating the model works, thereby enabling the traditional art forms to depict revolutionary heroes and events in a still better way.

Most of the other items are dramas, in addition to chhiyi (ballad singing and story telling), music and dancing. Some reflect the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the socialist revolution and construction; some make revolutionary histories their themes.

(Continued on p. 8.)
LOOKING at war from the historical materialist view or from the historical idealist view is an important content in the struggle between the Marxist and the revisionist military lines.

War Is a Product of Private Ownership and Class Society

What is war and how is it produced? On the basis of the fundamental theories of Marxism-Leninism, the great leader of the Chinese people Chairman Mao has clarified these questions very profoundly. He pointed out: “War is the highest form of struggle for resolving contradictions, when they have developed to a certain stage, between classes, nations, states, or political groups, and it has existed ever since the emergence of private property and of classes.” (Problems of Strategy in China’s Revolutionary War.) This thesis of Chairman Mao’s ineluctively points out that war is the product of private ownership and class society, the highest form of class struggle and a phenomenon peculiar to class society.

Hand in hand with the criminal activities of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique in attacking the Marxist theory of war, Lin Piao explained the source of war by the abstract theory of “human nature” and left out the class nature of war in his vain attempt to negate fundamentally the Marxist view of war. This was in line with the views of Confucianists in the past. Confucius (551-479 B.C.) babbled that by nature men helped one another when they were happy and went at each other when they were angry and that war resulted from men’s anger and existed side by side with mankind. According to this view, when men glared at each other, abused or physically pushed one another and came together for a fight, Confucianists considered all of this the beginnings of war.

Contrary to the Confucianists, Shang Yang (?-333 B.C.), an exponent of the Legalist school which represented the interests of the newly rising landlord class, pointed out more than 2,000 years ago: In the society of ancient times men had worked together and the fruits of their labour were evenly distributed, so there was no war at that time. Later, when “the strong conquered the weak and the more populated bullied the less populated” among the states, punishment was used to consolidate internal rule and war was used against other states. The Legalists looked at war as a social phenomenon and regarded it as a product of human society when it developed to a certain stage. This view was a scathing criticism of the reactionary Confucian fallacy that explained war as coming from man’s natural character. Of course, owing to their class and historical limitations, the Legalists did not and could not reveal clearly the class origin leading to war. Only after the birth of Marxism was it possible to give a historical and scientific explanation of war.

Engels pointed out: The materialist conception of history “explains all historical events and ideas, all politics, philosophy and religion, from the material, economic conditions of life of the historical period in question.” (“Supplement on Proudhon and the Housing Question” in The Housing Question.) The historical materialism of Marxism holds that the reason for all social phenomena must be found in a given society’s material life and economic relations and not in men’s minds. War is a continuation of politics which is the concentrated expression of economics. The only reliable method for studying war is to start with an analysis of the economic base, class contradictions and political relations. The level of the productive forces in primitive communal society was very low. There was no private property and no class exploitation and oppression, and therefore no war. Though inevitably there were fights with weapons and conflicts between groups or classes, these were not expressions of class struggle.

With the growth of the productive forces and the emergence of private ownership, class antagonism between the ruled and the ruler evolved and the state apparatus, an instrument for class rule, appeared. The exploiting class relied on the state apparatus to suppress the exploited class by force and the latter took up weapons to oppose such suppression. It was only then that war, the highest form of class struggle, mounted the stage of history in human society. Private ownership and class exploitation lead to war which is a product of class society — this is the only correct theory of the origin of war and its nature.

February 21, 1975
Chairman Mao has said: "For several thousand years since the emergence of classes, the life of mankind has been full of wars." (On Protracted War.) These wars were fought between classes, nations, states or political groups. But, in the final analysis, all were sparked by class contradictions and class struggle and were a continuation of the politics of the related classes. By attributing war to man's nature and describing it as an eternal phenomenon coexisting with mankind, Lin Piao, Confucius, Mencius and their like tried to negate the objective law that war emerged with the formation of classes and will disappear with the elimination of classes. Their views are utterly absurd in theory and, politically speaking, extremely reactionary.

Today we are in the era of imperialism and the proletarian revolution. Imperialism is the hotbed of war in modern times. Since it is monopoly capitalism, imperialism is characterized by seeking maximum profits and hegemony to enslave the world. To attain this, the imperialist countries are bound to intensify their exploitation of the working class and other working people in their own countries and step up their oppression and exploitation of the colonies and semi-colonies, as well as engage in sharp struggles among themselves for a redivision of markets, colonies and spheres of influence. This makes the basic contradictions inherent in imperialism increasingly acute with each passing day, which will inevitably lead to war in the end.

The contention for world hegemony between the two superpowers—Soviet revisionism and U.S. imperialism—has become sharper than ever today and threatens the independence and security of other countries. Wherever their contention reaches, the situation becomes intensified. This creates big unrest in the world. As long as there is imperialism and social-imperialism and as long as there is contention for hegemony between the two superpowers—the Soviet Union and the United States, there is bound to be war of one kind or another. By peddling the idea that war is caused by man's nature and negating the class origin of modern wars, Lin Piao defended the all-over evil imperialist system and absolved the two superpowers of their crimes of launching aggressive wars in their contention for world hegemony. This fully exposes his counter-revolutionary revisionist renegade features.

Support Just Wars, Oppose Unjust Wars

Chairman Mao has pointed out: "History shows that wars are divided into two kinds, just and unjust. All wars that are progressive are just, and all wars that impede progress are unjust. We Communists oppose all unjust wars that impede progress, but we do not oppose progressive, just wars. Not only do we Communists not oppose just wars, we actively participate in them." (On Protracted War.) This is the correct differentiation of the nature of war and the fundamental attitude towards wars held by Marxists. In examining any war, we must keep an eye on its political aspect and make a class analysis, finding out which class wages the war, the continuation of which class' politics it is and which class' interests it serves. In this way we can pronounce it a just or an unjust war and determine our support or opposition.

Starting from removing the class origin from war, Lin Piao obliterated the difference between just and unjust wars. He wrote on a scroll what Confucius and Mencius trumpeted—"He who relies on virtue will thrive and he who relies on force will perish," hung it in his room, took it as the gospel and did all he could to distort and vilify the revolutionary violence of the revolutionary class.

Both "virtue" and "force" in class society have clear-cut class contents and are subservient to the political line of a certain class. Marx said: "Force is the midwife of every old society pregnant with a new one." (Capital.) Engels said: Force "is the instrument with the aid of which social movement forces its way through and shatters the dead, fossilized political forms." (Anti-Dühring.) To maintain their rule, all decadent, reactionary exploiting classes rely on force; the new emerging revolutionary classes also need force to seize political power and overthrow the rule of the exploiting classes.

Towards the end of the Warring States Period (475-221 B.C.), Chin Shih Huang (259-210 B.C.), who represented the interests of the new emerging landlord class, could not without the use of force have unified China, put an end to the chaotic situation caused by rival feudal states, founded the autocratic and centralized feudal state and completed the transition from slavery to feudalism throughout the country. (See "Chin Shih Huang—the First Ruler to Unify China," Peking Review, No. 50, 1974.) Similarly, the transition from feudal society to capitalist society was also brought about through the use of force. The revolution to substitute proletarian dictatorship for bourgeois dictatorship and socialism for capitalism is a revolution aimed at thoroughly eliminating the exploiting system, and this must be done through a violent revolution.

Chairman Mao has pointed out that "revolutions and revolutionary wars are inevitable in class society, and without them it is impossible to accomplish any leap in social development and to overthrow the reactionary ruling classes and therefore impossible for the people to win political power." (On Contradiction.) Lin Piao stubbornly took the stand of the landlord and capitalist classes and venomously used the words "he who relies on force will perish" to madly attack the revolutionary violence of the proletariat. This meant his complete betrayal towards Marxism-Leninism.

Lin Piao and his diehard followers put on the hypocritical mask of opposing all wars, raised a hue
and cry about the horrors of war and malign all wars as "disasters" of mankind, regardless of their nature. These were identical with the shouting of Mencius (390-305 B.C.), the No. 2 man of the Confucian school, in the Warring States Period that "the fields are strewed with dead bodies in a war to seize land; cities are strewed with dead bodies in a war to seize cities." They all tried to scare the masses of the people and turn them into lambs willing to be slaughtered by the reactionary rulers. This, of course, was a fruitless effort. Struggle entails sacrifice, and revolution has to pay a price. Human society advances and develops in big storms, and the revolutionary people never look at war from a pessimistic viewpoint. They know that only through revolutionary war can the road leading to the birth of a new system be blazed and can society continue its progress and enter communist society which has no classes and no exploitation.

Did Lin Piao, Confucius, Mencius and their like really oppose all kinds of war? Certainly not. Under the signboard of "opposing all wars," they opposed just revolutionary wars and promoted unjust counter-revolutionary wars. This was exactly what Confucius did. When he heard that the State of Cheng's slave-owners carried out a bloody suppression of the slaves taking part in an uprising, he was beside himself with joy and shouted "excellent."

Lin Piao even outdid Confucius. While attacking the people's revolutionary war for "killing people indiscriminately," Lin Piao hiding in dark corners recruited deserters and renegades, set up a self-seeking clique, organized fascist special task forces and plotted to launch an armed counter-revolutionary coup d'etat. He tried to assassinate Chairman Mao, put down the revolutionary masses and found a fascist Lin dynasty. Though they engaged in "glib talk about benevolence and righteousness," Lin Piao, Confucius and other reactionaries like them would not lay down their butcher's knives for a moment. Far from relinquishing force, they only wanted counter-revolutionary violence to restore the old order, and not revolutionary violence to propel history forward.

Lenin put it well: "All oppressing classes stand in need of two social functions to safeguard their rule: the function of the hangman and the function of the priest." (The Collapse of the Second International) Political cheating and suppression by force are the two counter-revolutionary tactics of all reactionary exploiting classes by which they rule over and enslave the people, and these classes cannot exist for a single day without counter-revolutionary force.

On the question of war, whether to uphold the Marxist class viewpoint, affirm the progressive historical role of just wars and therefore firmly support and assist just revolutionary wars or under the cover of phoney slogans of "peace" oppose just revolutionary wars while actually upholding counter-revolutionary unjust wars — this is one of the fundamental differences between Marxism and modern revisionism represented by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique.

Chairman Mao has taught us: "The banner of mankind's just war is the banner of mankind's salvation. The banner of China's just war is the banner of China's salvation." (Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War.) Just revolutionary wars can speed up the death of decadent things and accelerate the growth of new-born things. They not only can deflate the enemy's vicious arrogance but also cleanse the dirt in the revolutionary ranks. Revolutionary forces are always educated and tempered and continuously grow and expand in the course of war. The victory of the Chinese revolution was won through protracted revolutionary war; we should uphold just revolutionary wars and oppose unjust counter-revolutionary wars at all times.

Eliminate Counter-Revolutionary War With Revolutionary War

Lin Piao's views on the origin and nature of war are diametrically opposed to those of Marxism. This decided that he had to sing an entirely different tune from that of Marxism on the question of how to prevent and eliminate war. He spread the Confucian preachings of "benevolence and righteousness" and "doing away with war," and blamed that as far as imperialist aggression was concerned, war could be prevented and averted by just adopting the methods of "harmony is to be prized" and "taking forbearance as the best choice" and through the influence of "benevolence" and "loyalty and forbearance." These are out-and-out words of national betrayal and surrender.

Chairman Mao has taught us: "War, this monster of mutual slaughter among men, will be finally eliminated by the progress of human society, and in the not too distant future too. But there is only one way to eliminate it and that is to oppose war with war, to oppose counter-revolutionary war with revolutionary war, to oppose national counter-revolutionary war with national revolutionary war, and to oppose counter-revolutionary class war with revolutionary class war." (Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War.) We Communists stand for the elimination of war. We support just revolutionary war and, when necessary, take an active part in this kind of war in order to prevent and eliminate counter-revolutionary war with revolutionary war.

Many historical facts have proved: Seeking peace through compromise and concession can only inflate the enemy's reactionary arrogance and court still bigger disasters of war. Fighting tit for tat and matching the sword with sword is the fundamental method to prevent and eliminate counter-revolutionary war. In our war to resist Japanese aggression, the national traitor Chiang Kai-shek issued an order of "absolute non-
Countering reactionary Confucianist preachings, the Legalists emphasized farming and military affairs and considered them the fundamentals of a country. Shang Yang said: “It is right to conduct a war in order to eliminate war.” Here he clearly advocated using the revolutionary war of the new emerging landlord class to oppose the counter-revolutionary war launched by the slave-owning class. This Legalist view containing elements of simple dialectics was in sharp contrast to the reactionary Confucian view of eliminating war by “benevolence and righteousness.” History is a mirror of reality. We can see more clearly the ultra-Rightist nature of Lin Piao’s counter-revolutionary revisionist view of war by linking it with the struggle between the Confucian and Legalist schools.

According to the historical materialist view of Marxism, since war emerged with the birth of classes, it will of course be eliminated with the extinction of classes. The elimination of classes and exploitation means removal of the social origins of war. Only then will war leave the stage of human history as a historical antiquity. To spread the fallacies of “harmony is to be prized” and “taking forbearance as the best choice,” Lin Piao wanted us to lose our vigilance and give up our arms in the face of imperialist and social-imperialist aggression so that he could realize his counter-revolutionary ambition of surrendering to Soviet revisionism and becoming its puppet emperor.

The present world situation is characterized by “great disorder under heaven.” Countries want independence, nations want liberation, and the people want revolution — this has become an irresistible historical trend. But imperialism and social-imperialism are frantically engaged in arms expansion and war preparations and the danger of a new world war still exists. Under these circumstances, we should never believe the mythology of so-called “lasting peace” or “a generation of peace” and we must enhance our vigilance a hundredfold.

As to war launched by imperialism and social-imperialism, first we oppose it and secondly we are afraid of it. If they insist on imposing war on us, we will never be cowards trying to exist at the expense of principle, but will resolutely stand up and fight heroically. A just war will certainly defeat an unjust war and a revolutionary war will certainly eliminate a counter-revolutionary war. The only correct road of eliminating war is to defeat imperialist aggression by a just revolutionary war.

(Continued from p. 4.)

Theatrical workers taking part in the festival have done their best to implement the principles laid down by Chairman Mao of “making the past serve the present and foreign things serve China” and “letting a hundred flowers blossom: weeding through the old to bring forth the new.”

Peking’s workers, peasants and soldiers and broad masses enjoyed the first few performances during the Spring Festival holidays (February 11-13).

Under the impetus of the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucianism, this festival is of great significance in implementing Chairman Mao’s revolutionary line in literature and art, in carrying on the socialist revolution in the superstructure, in helping socialist art and literature flourish and in promoting the proletarian revolution in art and literature.
For Workers, Peasants and Soldiers

by Dr. Wu Chieh-ping

Medicine and public health in China have made tremendous developments through implementation of the following four principles under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line: medical and health work must serve the workers, peasants and soldiers; put prevention first; unite doctors of traditional Chinese medicine with those of Western medicine; and health work must be integrated with mass movements.

This is the first of four articles explaining how these principles have promoted our health work.—Ed.

One of the first principles for medical and health work adopted immediately after the founding of New China was that it must serve the workers, peasants and soldiers. This was based on Chairman Mao's instruction that "this question of 'for whom?' is fundamental; it is a question of principle." In a socialist state led by the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance, the workers and peasants are the masters, and the soldiers of the People's Liberation Army are armed workers and peasants. As they make up the overwhelming majority of the country's population, medical and health work undoubtedly must serve these working people. This "for the workers, peasants and soldiers" principle demands that all medical work, whether it be the prevention of disease, clinical practice, scientific research or the training of personnel, must proceed from serving the workers, peasants and soldiers.

In class society medicine always serves a particular class, and the direction of its development varies with the social system. The principle of "for the workers, peasants and soldiers" has achieved great results in effecting a fundamental change in the orientation of old China's medical and health services which served the exploiting classes.

Before liberation doctors trained in modern medical practice were few in number and they were mostly confined to the large cities. As most chemotherapy and medical appliances were imported, only the handful of rich could afford their use. There was not even minimal medical care in industrial and mining areas, and in the rural areas, apart from some practitioners of the then much despised traditional medicine, modern medical facilities were non-existent.

The number of senior grade medical workers turned out since the founding of New China is more than 27 times the total trained in the 20 years preceding the country's liberation. The number of hospital beds has risen more than 21-fold and the country is now basically self-sufficient in medicines and equipment, with some for export. Prices of medicines today are only one-fifth those of early post-liberation years. By and large, a national medical and health network covering both the urban and rural areas has been established. The people's health has improved visibly as a result of the development of socialist revolution and socialist construction, the gradual bettering of living standards and medical and health services, and the popularization of sports among the masses.

Stress on Rural Areas

The two-line struggle over the question of "for whom" in medical and health work was a bitterly fought issue prior to the start of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. For quite a long time after liberation, due to the interference and sabotage by Liu Shao-chi's counter-revolutionary revisionist line, the stress was on the cities. Although there were some improvements in rural medical and health services compared with pre-liberation days, the question of acute shortage of both medical personnel and medicines remained to be solved.

In June 1965, Chairman Mao severely criticized the Ministry of Health as the "Ministry of Health for Urban Overlords" for not paying attention to medical work in the rural areas. Chairman Mao issued the directive: "In medical and health work, put the stress on the rural areas."

That was the crucial point in the struggle between the two lines in medical and health work. Because agriculture is the foundation of China's national economy and the peasantry makes up 80 per cent of the population, a medical and health system designed to serve the people must not ignore the peasants, but should devote the main attention to changing the severe shortage in doctors and medicines in the rural areas. Energetic
efforts should be made to fundamentally close the gap between urban and rural conditions and make medical and health work serve the majority, instead of just a small percentage of the population.

Chairman Mao's directive has greatly encouraged the people of the entire country. Liu Shao-chi's revisionist line came under fire when the Great Cultural Revolution started in 1966 and Chairman Mao's revolutionary line went deep into the hearts of the people. Later, during the movement to criticize Lin Piao and rectify the style of work, revolutionary medical and health workers together with the people criticized the Lin Piao anti-Party clique's interference with and sabotage of Chairman Mao's line in health work. This clique had opposed implementing the Party's basic line in medical and health work, opposed putting politics in command over professional work, advocated idealist apriorism, been against medical and health workers taking the road of integrating with the workers and peasants and striven with might and main to destroy socialist new things emerging in the course of the Cultural Revolution.

A tremendous change in rural medical and health work has been brought about in the space of a few years owing to the implementation of Chairman Mao's directive mentioned above. By 1973, incomplete figures showed that more than 100,000 medical and health workers had voluntarily left the urban areas to settle in rural areas, mobile medical teams touring the countryside by turns had become an established system and the number of barefoot doctors who are both medical personnel and peasants had passed the million mark. Every rural people's commune today has a hospital and every production brigade (made up of one or more villages) has its own clinic. Rural health services have improved and preventive work has been strengthened. Peasants can now have prompt medical attention locally. More than half the brigades have a co-operative medical service financed by the commune or the brigade itself out of the public welfare fund, and rural commune members contribute only a small annual premium into the fund which then covers all their medical expenses.

Putting the stress in medical and health work on the rural areas has already shown initial results. However, bringing about a thorough change will take some time yet.

In Factories, Mines and Army Units

One important aspect of serving the workers, peasants and soldiers is doing a good job of medical and health services in industrial and mining enterprises.

Grass-roots medical and health organizations were established in all industrial and mining areas following liberation, and in 1951 the "Labour Insurance Regulations" were issued by the state in which it is stipulated that all enterprises set aside a monthly sum for labour insurance. Carried out over the last 20 years or so, these regulations have provided free medical care to workers and staff members and funds for treatment of injuries and disabilities, death benefits, old age pensions and maternity care.

Working conditions in factories and mines have been constantly improved. Health and industrial departments at all levels pay special attention to the prevention of occupational diseases and hazards. Peking alone has nearly 60 factories engaged solely in making protective clothing and safety devices and appliances.

Apart from research on wound surgery, the most important aspect of medical work in the Chinese People's Liberation Army is to protect the soldiers' health. Army medical personnel make regular calls on soldiers wherever they are stationed — island outposts, frontier posts and barracks — to treat patients and take preventive measures against diseases. Since the start of the Cultural Revolution, teams of army medics have been sent to rural areas, particularly the remote frontiers
and out-of-the-way villages in mountain areas, to treat
the sick. The peasants warmly welcome these teams.

Serve the People Wholeheartedly

Like those working on other fronts, medical and
health workers in China place primary importance on
serving the people wholeheartedly. The medical pro-

ession in the old days was a way and a means of winning
fame, position and high income. The medical workers
today follow Chairman Mao's teaching that "they must
gradually move their feet over to the side of the workers,
peasants and soldiers, to the side of the proletariat,
through the process of going into their very midst and
into the thick of practical struggles and through the
process of studying Marxism and society." They criticize
the bourgeois idea of seeking fame and fortune and are
striving to remodel their world outlook, despising all
ideas of seeking personal fame and gain while taking
pride in doing all they can for the public.

Inspired by the concept of serving the people whole-
heartedly, New China's medical and health workers
refuse to be shackled by dogmatism and past experience
and have thought up ways and methods of bringing
their subjective initiative into full play to conquer
diseases once falsely believed to be "incurable."

Many examples can be cited to demonstrate how
medical workers, out of profound love for the workers,
peasants and soldiers, shattered ideological fetters and
smashed through so-called medical limitations to restore
the seriously ill to health.

One good example is the instance of removing a
45-kilogramme abdominal tumour from a peasant woman
in 1968 by the People's Liberation Army medical
workers. The tumour had been discovered four years
earlier. But owing to the interference of the revisionist line at that time, even
some of the big hospitals held that it was "inoperable." The tumour grew
from the size of a bowl until it filled the abdomen and half of the thoracic
cavity. Unable either to sit or stand, the woman had to lie on her side or
kneel. Guided by Mao Tse-tung Thought, medical workers in a Peking
unit of the People's Liberation Army, after careful examination and analyses
ascertained the benign nature of the tumour and successfully removed the
tumour to give the 37-year-old woman a new life.

In 1963, Shanghai worker Wang Chun-po's right hand was severed
above the wrist by a punching machine. Surgeons of the Shanghai No. 6
People's Hospital replanted the hand and six months later the patient was able
to use it again. For the last ten years he has been working as usual at
his job. This first successful replan-
tation has been followed by others. In recent
years restorative surgery, particularly reattachment
of extremities amputated by trauma, has been
performed in many cities and towns and by mobile
medical teams that tour the countryside. Successful
rejoining of arms, hands, palms, legs and fingers are
on record.

Another example is the successful treatment of ex-
tensive burns. Before liberation, hospitals in this coun-
try seldom treated cases of severe burns because the vic-
tims, the working people to be precise, could not afford
hospital treatment. It was generally accepted that cases
of burns covering upwards of 80 per cent or third degree
burns on 30 per cent of the body surface were fatal.
In 1958 medical workers in Shanghai, under the leader-
ship of their Party organization, for the first time suc-
sessfully treated a steel worker with burns covering 80
per cent of his body, of which 23 per cent were of third
degree. Since the start of the Cultural Revolution at
least 14 cases with burns of over 90 per cent of the body
surface, of which 70 per cent were of third degree, have
been saved.

Going to factories and villages to work and live
with the workers and peasants has led China's medical
workers to understand the masses and form closer ties
with the working people. This has helped implant in
their minds the idea of serving the people wholeheartedly
and encouraged them to proceed from the proletarian
class stand to do their utmost for the sick and injured
and help them regain their work ability so they can
continue to take part in socialist construction.

The concept of serving the people wholeheartedly
motivates Chinese medical workers to work hard and
raise their professional proficiency and make new
achievements.

P.L.A. medics pass on acupuncture skills to barefoot
doctors in the countryside.  by Ching Wei-chun

February 21, 1975
At Calcutta

The 33rd World Table Tennis Championships

After 11 days of keenly-contested and friendly competitions, the 33rd World Table Tennis Championships closed on the evening of February 16. Taking part in these championships, which started on the afternoon of February 5 in Calcutta's newly built gymnasium, were over 400 men and women players from more than 50 countries and regions. This big gathering had promoted friendship and provided opportunities for an exchange of table tennis skills. As was shown by the competitions, the standard of play was high and the players from many countries were so evenly matched that on many occasions win or defeat was anybody's guess until the very last moment. The standard of players from many third world countries has shown marked improvement. All this indicates the widespread development of table tennis the world over.

The men's and women's team events took place from February 6 to 10. Five days of keen competitions ended with the Chinese men's and women's teams winning both championships. This was a repetition of their performance in 1965 when they carried off the two titles for the first time.

The women's team event final was fought out between the Chinese team and South Korean team, the defending world champion. After more than two hours of gruelling contest, the Chinese women players, daring to fight and daring to win, carried the day with a score of 3:2. This was their second success in the team event, the first being at the 28th World Table Tennis Championships in 1965.

The men's team event final was played between the Chinese and Yugoslav teams whose players had forged profound friendship at the previous world championships and other international tournaments. This final on the evening of February 10 lasted three and a half hours. It was a hard-fought contest of a high level, but more important, it was a friendly contest through which players of both teams exchanged experience and skills. This was the Chinese men players' fifth victory in the team event at the world championships.

After the Chinese players had won the titles in the men's and women's team events, the packed gymnasium burst into thunderous applause. Players from many countries and regions as well as the spectators waved their congratulations to the Chinese players who kept waving back to express their thanks. The Chinese players expressed that wins or losses in competitions are but temporary, whereas friendship is everlasting. They said they had learnt much from players of various countries during the competitions.

Following the team events were competitions in the individual events which took place from February 12 to 16.

Making her debut at the world championships, Pak Yung Sun of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea won the women's singles, the first such title ever won by a D.P.R.K. table tennis player at the world championships. The Hungarian player Jonyer carried off the men's singles title. He then partnered with his countryman Gergely to win the men's doubles. Gomozkov and Furdman of the Soviet Union won the mixed doubles.

The women's singles final between Pak Yung Sun and China's Chang Li was filled with the militant friendship between the Chinese and Korean players and peoples who are comrades-in-arms. Always encouraging, helping and
learning from each other, they rejoice at each other's progress and success.

Among the 18 Chinese players taking part in the championships were experienced veterans and up-and-coming youngsters, half of them being participants in the world championships for the first time. Earnestly following the principle of "friendship first, competition second," they have promoted friendship with players from other countries and regions, modestly learnt from them and had another good opportunity to temper themselves.

From the moment the Chinese Table Tennis Delegation arrived in Calcutta, its members were impressed by the friendly sentiments of the Indian people for the Chinese people. "There is a traditional friendship between the Indian and Chinese peoples!" "The Indian and Chinese peoples are brothers!" Such were the heart-warming words the Indian people conveyed to the Chinese players. On February 9, the All-India Kottis Memorial Committee and the India-China Friendship Association gave a tea party in Calcutta welcoming the Chinese Table Tennis Delegation. It was attended by more than 200 Indian friends.

During its stay in Calcutta, the Chinese Table Tennis Delegation had extensive contacts with friends from table tennis circles of various countries. They renewed old friendship and swapped table tennis techniques with their counterparts.

An Outcome of Struggle

During the world championships, friends from table tennis circles of various countries strengthened their unity and mutual support and achieved fruitful results in their struggle of defending the just cause and opposing the reactionary forces.

At a meeting held in Calcutta on February 8, the Congress of the International Table Tennis Federation adopted the I.T.T.F. Council's proposal for revising the I.T.T.F. Constitution and for recognizing the Asian Table Tennis Union. This was a major event in world table tennis. The founding of the A.T.T.U. in 1972 was a pioneering event. It is a new-type international sports organization which adheres to the principle of equality among nations, big or small, mutual respect and democratic consultations. It has won extensive support from the people and athletes of many countries and regions in Asia and Oceania, with the result that its member associations have increased from 16 to 29. It has successfully organized the First and Second Asian Table Tennis Championships and decided to hold the third championships in Pyongyang in April 1976. The A.T.T.U. has made energetic efforts to promote the development of table tennis in Asia and strengthened the friendship and solidarity among the people and athletes of various countries and regions in this continent.

Owing to the obstruction by a handful of diehards in the international table tennis circles, the A.T.T.U. had not been recognized by the I.T.T.F. Thanks to the support of friends from table tennis circles in the third world and some second world countries, the I.T.T.F. Congress has this time finally overcome all obstructions and adopted the proposal for revising the I.T.T.F. Constitution and for recognizing the A.T.T.U. This demonstrates the expansion of the progressive forces in world table tennis and the strengthening of their unity.

In addition to this, the organizing committee of the 33rd World Championships refused to allow the Israeli Zionists and the South African racists to send their teams to take part in the competitions. This conforms to the strong desire of the people of the third world and reflects the excellent situation characterized by the deepening struggle against imperialism and hegemonism waged by the people the world over, especially the third world people who make up the main force.

Meanwhile, the Palestine Liberation Organization sent a table tennis delegation from the frontline of the struggle against imperialism and Zionism. It was warmly welcomed by the players from various countries and by the spectators when it came to the competition hall. At a meeting on February 14, the I.T.T.F. Congress elected a Palestinian representative a council member for the first time in this world organization.

When the championships came to a close, players from many third world countries warmly shook hands and said goodbye to each other, promising to meet again at the Second Asian-African-Latin American Table Tennis Friendship Invitational Tournament to be held in Lagos, Nigeria, in July this year.
New Victories of Fighting in Unity

The five-day Conference of Developing Countries on Raw Materials came to a successful close in Dakar, capital of Senegal, on February 8. This was another triumphant gathering of the developing countries in their united struggle in the economic sphere and a further development of their struggle against plunder and exploitation by colonialism, imperialism and hegemonism. The Dakar Declaration, Programme of Action and a series of resolutions adopted by the conference vividly express the new awakening and growing strength of the third world countries and people.

The conference was a scathing denunciation of imperialism, which is exploitative by nature, and of the superpowers, which habitually wield the economic stick. With a host of facts, it showed that through the international market and various international monopoly organizations they have manipulated for so long, imperialism, hegemonism, colonialism and neo-colonialism have controlled the developing countries' economic lifeline, plundered their natural resources, raw materials and primary products, interfered in their domestic affairs, obstructed and sabotaged their economic development and shifted the burden of economic crisis on to them.

Increasingly awakening in struggle, the developing countries have united and, using raw materials as a weapon, they firmly resist the hegemonic acts and bullying by the "rich countries" and the superpowers.

There were over 80 delegations from Asia, Africa and Latin America — some from oil-exporting countries, some from other raw-material-producing countries, and some from coastal or land-locked countries. These countries' conditions differ from each other, but they have the common goal of opposing exploitation and plunder by imperialism and hegemonism, demanding the alteration of the unjust international economic order and stressing the need to control their own natural resources. The developing countries contributed to the positive achievements of the conference by strengthening co-operation through friendly negotiations and co-ordinating their positions.

Alarmed by the united struggle of the developing countries, the imperialists and superpowers spread all kinds of fallacies in an attempt to split the third world; they allege that "the third world is no longer in existence" and that it has been divided into "new rich countries" and "the fourth world." The developing countries indignantly refuted all these absurdities. Senegalese President Leopold Sedar Senghor solemnly pointed out in his opening speech that all these fabrications were out of ulterior motives and that the developing countries flatly rejected this "hegemonistic view."

The resolution on strengthening the unity and solidarity of the developing countries adopted at the conference solemnly declared: "Any measure of aggression, economic or otherwise, directed against any particular developing country or group of developing countries shall meet with a united response from all the developing countries."

The exchange of experience in their struggles at the conference has reinforced the conviction of the developing countries in developing their national economies independently and by relying on their own efforts. As pointed out by the delegates: "Our third world has a great capacity for development through its own efforts," "we of the developing world should promote collective self-reliance through economic co-operation to our mutual benefit," "we must build a diversified and independent national economy by constructing a national industry on the basis of our own resources and raw materials in the spirit of self-reliance and by equipping agriculture with modern technology." All this has become the common programme of action for the developing countries. For this end, the conference adopted resolutions and took a series of concrete measures to strengthen economic co-operation among the developing countries and co-ordinate their actions so as to create conditions more favourable to the development of their national economies.

The success of the conference demonstrated once again that it is the irresistible historical trend that countries want independence, nations want liberation and the people want revolution. Just as was solemnly pointed out in the declaration of the conference, "The developing countries undertake to advance along the road towards the complete eradication of their economic dependence on imperialism, to develop their economies, their science and their technology, to achieve prosperity in their countries, to systematically improve the lives of their people, to achieve complete economic independence, social justice and political sovereignty and to eliminate inequalities between nations in international relations, and so to establish a new international economic order." Although there will be all kinds of difficulties and the struggle ahead will be protracted and tortuous, the firm determination of the developing countries is unshakable and victory surely belongs to the fighting people of the third world.

(A commentary by Hsinhua Correspondent, February 9)

Peking Review, No. 8
Struggle Against Imperialist Plunder
Of Raw Material

LENIN pointed out: “Monopolies have stimulated the seizure of the most important sources of raw materials.” (Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism.) Since capitalism entered the monopoly stage, imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism have used every means to control the economies of their colonies and dependencies in Asia, Africa and Latin America in order to plunder the raw materials there to the fullest extent and make huge profits. To this day many third world countries have not yet freed themselves from the position of single-raw material producers. Many developing countries can produce and export only one or two raw materials, while having to import most daily necessities including food grains. Incomplete statistics show that there are 59 countries in the third world whose exports of one or two raw materials account for over 50 per cent of their total exports. The proportion exceeds 70 per cent for 39 of these countries.

The two hegemonic powers, the United States and the Soviet Union, are the biggest international exploiters and oppressors of today, vainly trying to continue to control and plunder the third world under the signboard of “interdependence,” “international division of labour” and other nonsensical excuses. Through transnational companies, the United States has dominated the production, shipment and marketing of most raw materials of the third world. It has been using every means to keep prices of raw materials down to grab maximum profits and shift the burden of its economic crisis on to the third world countries. Through “long-term trade agreements” and by demanding repayment for its “military aid” and “loans,” Soviet revisionist social-imperialism, on its part, has robbed the third world of its raw materials at prices 10 to 15 per cent lower than those in the international market. Sometimes it nets fabulous profits through re-sale at high prices.

According to United Nations statistics, raw material prices have been plummeting since 1952. During the ten years ending 1962, export prices of primary products of the developing countries dropped an average of 28 per cent, those of agricultural raw materials 46 per cent. Although there were fluctuations in the 1960s and early 1970s, primary product prices were basically kept at a low level. On the contrary, the export prices for manufactured goods of the economically-developed countries have been skyrocketing year after year. From 1961 to 1972, the economically-developed countries robbed the developing countries of a total of 98,300 million dollars through unequal trade terms. The developing countries lost 23,300 million dollars in this way in 1971 and 1972 alone.

The drop in raw material prices has resulted in a drastic reduction in the revenue of the raw material producers despite increased production of certain items of raw materials for export. Cameroon’s production of cocoa and cocoa products in 1971-72, for example, rose 8,000 tons over the previous fiscal year, but its earnings were down 2,000 million C.F.A. (Communaute Financiere Africaine) francs. That is why the third world countries and people have been waging a struggle against plunder by the imperialists and the superpowers on the issue of raw material prices. This struggle is an important aspect of the struggle by the third world countries and people to win or safeguard national independence and to defend their national resources and sovereignty.

Many third world countries have risen against imperialist monopoly of raw material production and prices. They have become increasingly aware that the only way to combat the international monopolies’ control and exploitation is solidarity in struggle.

The establishment of the organization of cocoa producing countries and its experience in struggle is a striking example in this regard. The major cocoa-producing countries in Africa became independent one after another in the 1960s and the Cocoa Producers’ Alliance was set up in 1962. Panic stricken, international monopoly organizations set up an International Cocoa Trades Federation in less than two months to counter the Cocoa Producers’ Alliance. Fighting in unity, members of the Cocoa Producers’ Alliance signed the first international cocoa agreement in October 1964 to the exclusion of the imperialist countries. And when the imperialists forced down prices, they countered by withdrawing from the market and destroying their stocks and other means. The firm struggle of the alliance foiled the imperialist schemes. But there is no lack of twists and turns in the struggle. Taking advantage of the newly independent cocoa-producing countries’ difficulties resulting from the fact that they have long been the victims of plunder, the imperialists
have tried to force them to resume cocoa sales and
taken the opportunity to press the prices down further.

Confronted with the imperialist schemes and sabo-
tage, the cocoa-producing countries refused to retreat
but persevered in a tenacious struggle for nearly ten
years and finally brought about an international cocoa
agreement favourable to them at an international cocoa
conference in Geneva in 1972. Because the agreement
hits the interests of imperialism hard, the United States
still refuses to sign it.

A more heartening example is the heroic struggle
of the Arab oil-producing countries when they used the
oil weapon against Zionism and its supporters during
the October Middle East war in 1973. This struggle
made certain industrialized countries change their
attitude in varying degrees on the Middle East question.
Outwardly strong, the superpowers too were at their
wits' end.

The victory of the oil struggle has greatly en-
couraged the third world countries and people. High
in spirit and strong in morale, representatives of the
third world countries cited numerous irrefutable facts
to denounce the plunder of the developing countries by
colonialism and imperialism, the two superpowers in
particular, at the 6th Special Session of the United
Nations General Assembly, a session on raw materials
and development, last April. They resolutely demand-
ed a complete change in the existing world economic
order which is based on control and exploitation by
colonialism, imperialism and hegemonism.

The raw material-producing countries today are
getting more closely united and their organizations are
growing. In the past year, seven raw material-produc-
ing countries' organizations, including those of banana
and bauxite producers, were formed or were being
established. The number of participants almost equals
the total number of member nations of the organiza-
tions of raw material-exporting countries in the last
decade. Co-ordinating their position on raw material
prices, fighting in unity and supporting one another,
the third world countries have started a torrential tide
of united struggle against the old world economic order
which colonialism, neo-colonialism and hegemonism are
desperately trying to preserve. The struggle is con-
tinuing; the road ahead will not be smooth and easy.
However, unity is strength. The third world countries
and people will surely close ranks and grow stronger
in struggle and win new victories.

Azania

United Struggle — The Road to
Independence

THE racist Pretoria authorities recently noiseily pro-
claimed “detente between blacks and whites” in a
feverish attempt to pursue their plans for the “home-
lands” (Bantustan) policy, claiming that through them
the different black tribes in South Africa could achieve
“independence” separately.

On January 22, J. Vorster, prime minister of the
racist regime, had talks with eight “homeland” leaders
to create an atmosphere of “detente.” Racist regime
supporters in the United States and Britain chimed in,
alleging that the Pretoria authorities had found an
“important means to settle racial problems.”

Will a handful of South African racists really be
merciful and hand independence to the Azanian people
on a silver platter? Will the “homelands” they have
devised really become the road to independence for the
Azanian people?

“Homelands” Are Prisons of Racist Rule

The fact of the matter reveals the glaring lies
being put out by the Pretoria authorities.

Since the promulgation of the “Bantu self-govern-
ment act, 1959” and the establishment of the first
“Bantustan” Transkei in 1963 by the authorities, nine
“homelands” have been set up in Azania. Political
power at various levels of these “homelands” is wielded
by white officials assigned by the South African au-
thorities whose police are free to enter the “homelands”
and search and make arrests at will. Appointed by the
racist regime, all “homeland” leaders have no power at
all, and even their freedom of movement is restricted.
Without permission, any leaders of the black people
cannot leave their “homelands” or have any political
connections with other “homelands.” This is anything
but “freedom” and “independence”!

The so-called “homelands” were set up on the “na-
tive reserves” under the notorious racial segregation
acts. The colonialist and racist white minority con-
tinues to occupy most of the fertile lands and natural
resources on which the Azanian people have worked
and lived for generations. Just as under the “reserves”
system, the Azanian people, accounting for over 70 per

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cent of the population, are still confined to the barren lands which constitute less than 13 per cent of the territory. Like the "reserves," the "homelands" are the source of an underpaid labour force for the white capitalists. A "homeland" leader has acknowledged that the "homelands" are merely "staging grounds for migratory labourers, and dumping grounds for the dispossessed." It is clear that the "homelands" are not in any way homelands of freedom and happiness for the African people in South Africa, but a hell on earth of unending enslavement and humiliation; they are not a road to independence and liberation, but a new version of the criminal rule of the "reserves," a new trick of the ruling white minority to stubbornly pursue their apartheid policy.

New Device Can't Deceive Azanian People

Why do Vorster and other racist rulers who live on the blood and sweat of the Azanian people now advocate with great fanfare that the "homelands" are the road to "independence" for the black people?

This is because in the past year, inspired by the great victories won by the people in Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and Angola in their struggle for national independence, the national-liberation movements in Africa are surging ahead and the Azanian people's revolutionary struggle against racist rule is on the ascent. In the circumstances, Pretoria feels that only using a "heavy hand" to maintain the reactionary rule will lead to the danger of "South Africa going under" and to "change its image soon" has become a necessity. Thus it has used the new device of slapping the independence label on the notorious "Bantustan" policy to lure the Azanian people from their struggle for independence.

A Tanzanian representative to the Special Political Committee of the United Nations General Assembly last year pointed out that the racist regime's policy of "Bantustan" was aimed at furthering apartheid, depriving the inhabitants of their inherent right to shape their own country's destiny and dismembering that country and dispersing its people. The Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania and the African National Congress of South Africa have repeatedly condemned the Pretoria regime for pursuing the "Bantustan" policy and reiterated their determination "to wage revolutionary warfare on the battlefields in Azania" for the purpose of "seizing power in Pretoria through armed struggle."

The history of the African national-liberation movement proves that the road to independence lies in united struggle. The people of Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and Angola have won their right to independence through protracted armed struggle. The independence lost because of the enemy's counter-revolutionary violence can only be won back through revolutionary violence. "The oppressed peoples and nations must not pin their hopes for liberation on the 'sensibleness' of imperialism and its lackeys. They will only triumph by strengthening their unity and persevering in their struggle." (A statement by Chairman Mao Tsetung on August 29, 1963.) The Azanian people are now united and carrying on an indomitable struggle. They will surely overcome obstacles on their way forward and eventually overthrow colonialist and racist rule and win real independence and liberation.

(A commentary by Hsinhua Correspondent)

Warsaw Treaty Organization

Soviet Social-Imperialism's Tool
For Aggression

by Ming Sung

Europe has become the strategic focus of intense contention for world hegemony between Soviet revisionist social-imperialism and U.S. imperialism. The Moscow-controlled Warsaw Treaty Organization has a special role to play in this rivalry.

Since Soviet revisionism embarked on the road of social-imperialism, the Warsaw Treaty Organization, founded in 1955, has become more and more a tool of the Soviet Union to go the United States one better in Europe and further its ends, expansion and aggression, there.

Under the "socialist community" signboard, the Brezhnev clique has reduced a number of East European countries to Soviet satellites and colonies and made the organization a tool to prop up its colonial rule by subjecting these countries to military control and occupation.

February 21, 1975
The joint command of the Warsaw Pact armed forces has all along been kept in the hands of Soviet revisionism; a Soviet deputy defence minister unfailingly is concurrent commander-in-chief and a Soviet brasshat chief of the general staff, while representatives of other member states can act just as deputies. Within the command, it is only the Soviet military chiefs' words that count, while other member states' representatives are at the former's beck and call. A former Czechoslovak minister of security once complained that the defence ministers of the Warsaw Pact countries did not have equal footing with their Soviet partner in the joint command and were actually deprived of their rights there. With the power of the joint command vested in the hands of the Soviet Union, Moscow in fact has the armed forces of a number of East European countries under its thumb.

Soviet representatives are permanently stationed in other Warsaw Pact countries as "representatives of the joint command" to discharge the function of "relying" the "directives" of the commander-in-chief to the defence ministers of the countries they are stationed in, to take part in various activities of the armed forces of these countries and directly interfere in the internal affairs of these armed forces. In addition, large numbers of Soviet military "advisers" and "experts" are assigned to these forces to keep them under strict surveillance.

With a view to tightening its grip on the armed forces of these countries, Soviet revisionism has pressed for "military integration," demanding that they operate under the same command, training and formation as the Soviet armed forces.

Using the pretext of "international division of labour" and "co-ordination" of military economic plans, the Soviet Union also controls arms production in a number of Warsaw Pact countries, incorporating their economies into its own militarized economy. The upshot is that these countries can only manufacture weapons according to the "standard" and "specifications" provided by Moscow and they have no independent and comprehensive defence industry of their own.

According to Western news reports, the Soviet Union at present has 31 divisions in Eastern Europe — 20 of them are stationed in the German Democratic Republic, 2 in Poland, 4 in Hungary and 5 in Czechoslovakia — where they enjoy extraterritorial rights. A Soviet-Czechoslovak treaty, for instance, stipulates that Soviet military personnel who commit offences when carrying out duty in areas in their charge shall be under the jurisdiction of Soviet law courts, procuratorial organs and other institutions functioning under Soviet law and that the country where Soviet troops are stationed does not have the right to intervene.

Soviet revisionism often threatens by conducting military exercises the people of some East European countries who are resentful of its control. On many occasions it has marshalled troops on the Balkan Peninsula through the Warsaw Treaty Organization, carrying out military exercises to apply open pressure on some Balkan states. These moves have seriously threatened the independence and sovereignty of these countries.

To maintain its colonial rule in Eastern Europe, Soviet revisionism even went to the length of resorting to force through the Warsaw Treaty Organization and launching undisguised military aggression against a member state. The salient case is the armed occupation of Czechoslovakia in August 1968. The incident thoroughly exposed the aggressive and reactionary nature of the Warsaw Treaty Organization and also bared the sinister motives of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism in manipulating the organization.

(II)

The organization at the same time serves Soviet revisionism as a tool for threatening Western Europe, carrying out expansion and contending with U.S. imperialism for hegemony in this area.

It is well known that Soviet revisionism has always deployed most of its armed forces against Western Europe. According to Western press reports, the Soviet Union now has three-fifths of its ground forces and over three-fourths of its air force in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union proper in Europe; over three-fourths of its intermediate range missiles are directed against Western Europe; three-fourths of its surface naval ships and over half its submarines are in waters around Europe. By controlling the Warsaw Treaty Organization, Soviet revisionism sees to it that the armed forces in some East European countries are attached to those of its own in Europe to form a military bloc, thus tying them to its war chariot to work for its aggression and expansion in Western Europe.

In recent years, the Warsaw Treaty Organization has continuously held joint military exercises aimed at Western Europe. According to Western military experts' analyses, these exercises usually took place with an "overall offensive" as the main theme. Through these, Soviet revisionism hopes to show the West European countries its military strength and blackmail them; simultaneously, these exercises are designed to improve the capability of the Warsaw Pact armed forces in co-ordinated fighting and its command and to step up war preparations.

While exploiting the Warsaw Treaty Organization to facilitate its arms expansion and war preparations, the Soviet Union also uses it as a means to back up its position of strength and a counter-weight in diplomatic negotiations with the United States and other NATO countries for a so-called European "detente," which is a political fraud.
Through the summit and foreign ministers’ conferences of the Warsaw Pact countries, the Soviet Union has published “communiques,” “declarations,” “statements,” “memoranda” and “proposals” on the convocation of the “European security conference.” After it was convened, it took further steps to “co-ordinate” the “joint actions” of the Warsaw Pact countries inside and outside the conference. It also tries to manipulate the Warsaw Treaty Organization and negotiate with the Western countries through the “European security conference” to consolidate its hegemonic status in Eastern Europe and pull and divide the West European countries and squeeze out the United States so as to make way for its expansion and infiltration into Western Europe.

As to the so-called Central European “force reduction” conference, it was convened between two blocs—the Warsaw Pact countries and the NATO countries. Through these negotiations, the Brezhnev clique hopes to maintain the Warsaw bloc’s superiority in conventional military strength and weaken the military strength of the United States and other Western countries; at the same time, it tries to use these negotiations to cover up its military reinforcements in Eastern Europe and renewing its weapons and equipment there. What the clique did both at the “European security conference” and the Central European “force reduction” conference fully exposed its ugly features of promoting sham detente and working for actual expansion in Europe.

The use of the Warsaw Treaty Organization to carry out aggression and expansion in Europe by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has aroused increasingly strong opposition among the people of various European countries. Immediately following the Soviet revisionists’ armed invasion of Czechoslovakia, Albania announced its withdrawal from the organization, dealing the Soviet revisionist renegade clique a head-on blow. The Czechoslovak people’s angry tide against Soviet revisionism’s colonial rule is rising unabated. Again and again some East European countries have expressed their determination to uphold their independence and sovereignty and have taken concomitant measures. Meanwhile, the West European countries have come to see more clearly the expansionist policy being pushed by Soviet revisionism behind the smokescreen of “detente”; they are heightening their vigilance against it. The tendency is that their unity in opposition to the Soviet revisionists’ hegemonism is being continuously enhanced.

**Facts & Figures**

**Japan’s Economic Situation in 1974**

ONLY two years after getting over its 6th postwar economic crisis at the end of 1971, Japan plunged into its 7th economic crisis almost simultaneously with the other major capitalist countries.

As recently published official Japanese statistics show, the industrial and mining production index last November stood at 118.1 (taking 1970 as 100), 13.4 per cent lower than the pre-crisis highest point which had been 136.3 in November 1973. The industrial and mining production decline continued for 12 months running. Despite measures to drastically reduce production in sectors experiencing “overproduction,” inventories of unsold goods are building up in large quantities because of the extremely acute contradiction between production and the market. The total volume of unsold-stock inventories of all kinds is reported to have exceeded 15,000,000 million yen (around 50,000 million dollars) in value. The inventory index in mining and other industries in October climbed to 162.1, 39 points higher than the corresponding period in 1973.

Shock waves of the economic crisis have already reached the overwhelming majority of different sectors. The auto industry, where production all along had been upward, saw total output for the first ten months of 1974 shrink by 8.6 per cent as compared with the same period of 1973. In October, eight of the nation’s 11 major auto companies were continuing to cut production by a wide margin.

Ship-building has always taken pride of place in Japan’s industrial production and export trade. In recent years in particular it enjoyed a boom unparalleled in other fields thanks to exports of super-tankers. But, beginning from last year, overseas orders for Japan’s main ship-building firms went into a tailspin. According to a recent announcement by the Ministry of Transport, September orders for new ships were 68.1 per cent less than those in the corresponding period of the previous year; not a single order for super-tankers was received from abroad.

Machine-building industry orders also nosedived. In October, orders for ordinary industrial machinery slipped 49 per cent from 1973’s corresponding period.

(Continued on p. 21.)

February 21, 1975
ROUND THE WORLD

FORD'S BUDGET MESSAGE

Marked Increase in U.S. Military Expenditures

U.S. President Gerald Ford presented an unprecedentedly huge budget for fiscal 1976 to Congress on February 3 calling for a marked increase in military expenditures and an all-round reinforcement of U.S. military strength, so as to maintain a “military balance” with the Soviet Union.

The budget message revealed that total U.S. federal outlays in fiscal 1976, starting July 1 this year, will reach 349,400 million dollars, an increase of 35,900 million dollars over the current fiscal year ending on June 30, 1975. The deficit will be as high as 51,900 million dollars, the biggest since World War II.

Total military outlays will rise from 85,300 million dollars in fiscal 1975 to 94,000 million dollars in fiscal 1976, a jump of 8,700 million dollars. U.S. diplomacy, the message stressed, “is backed by a strong national defence.” It added that to achieve and maintain a “military balance” with the Soviet Union and to cope with the “spectrum of potential threats,” “United States forces must be strengthened.”

The message declared that “improved strategic nuclear forces and the development of possible strategic systems for future deployment are planned” by the United States. For this purpose, it will continue its research and development of new strategic bombers and new strategic missile systems. “The research and development and underground testing of nuclear weapons will increase in 1976,” the message noted.

The message also stressed that “the fighting power of the general purpose forces will also be strength-ened.” It went on to say that there will be “an increase in the number of active army divisions from 13 in June 1974 to 16 by September 1976” and they will be armed with “modernizing weapon systems and equipment.” In view of “the rapid growth in the Soviet navy,” the message said, the United States must “maintain a vigorous programme of new ship construction and modernization for the naval forces.” In addition, it stated, “the tactical air forces will be modernized” and “work will continue on the development of a new tank, armoured infantry combat vehicle and attack helicopter system to overcome the Warsaw Pact advantage in armoured strength.”

The message dwelt at length on the daily deepening economic crisis in the United States, predicting that it will develop further. In 1975, it said, the gross national product will decline by 3.3 per cent compared with the 2.2 per cent drop last year. The unemployment rate, which averaged 5.6 per cent last year (7.1 per cent for last December), was expected to average 8.1 per cent. The message said. January’s unemployment rate was already 8.2 per cent, the absolute figure being 7.5 million.

G.D.R.

Moscow Cuts Raw Material Supplies

By reductions in supplies of some raw materials and additions to the terms attached, the Soviet Union has created difficulties for the German Democratic Republic’s economic development.

It is well known that through so-called “specialization in production” and “economic integration” in the “Council for Mutual Economic Assistance,” the Soviet Union for years has both manipulated the supply of raw materials to G.D.R. and controlled the production in some of its major industrial branches. This has resulted in the dependence of the G.D.R. economy on the Soviet revisionists. Of its imports of natural gas, rolled steel and zinc, the G.D.R. at times obtained 100, 80 and 60 per cent respectively from the Soviet Union according to official data. The same was true of 90 per cent of G.D.R.’s imported petroleum, iron ore, timber and cotton.

To make more profits, the Soviet Union has increased sales of raw materials to the developed capitalist countries in the West while continuously cutting exports to the members of its “community.” Data in The G.D.R. 1974 Yearbook of Statistics reveal that of the 26 raw materials supplied by the Soviet Union to the G.D.R. in 1973, 19 were down from the 1971 level. For example, the supply of coke decreased almost 20 per cent, scrap steel nearly 30 per cent, wool 93.4 per cent and grain 35.4 per cent. In oil supplies, the Soviet Union has refused to meet the ever-growing needs of the G.D.R., which forced the latter to import it from other sources. The share of Soviet oil in all G.D.R. imported oil decreased from 90 per cent in 1971 to 81 per cent in 1973.

By cutting the supplies of raw materials, the Soviet Union has attempted to exact from the G.D.R. more funds to help it exploit its own resources.

G.D.R. investments in the Soviet Union in the past few years reached 500 million marks. To meet the Soviet need for natural gas at home, the G.D.R. had to commit itself last year at the 28th session of the “Council for Mutual Economic Assistance” to invest a huge amount of funds and a big labour force in exploiting the Orenburg natural gas field in the Soviet Union and in laying 350 kilometres of the 2,750-kilometre-long natural gas pipeline from Orenburg up to the western border of the Soviet Union. The G.D.R. journal Die Einheit reported
that the laying of gas pipeline in this area costs 5-6 million marks per kilometre. This means that the G.D.R. has to invest 2,750 million to 3,300 million marks, to say nothing of gas prospecting and exploiting expenses.

In the latter half of 1974, time and again G.D.R. leaders showed their anxiety and discontent with such behaviour by the Soviet revisionists. At the 13th Plenary Session of the Party Central Committee, Werner Jarovinsky, Alternate Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the German Socialist Unity Party in charge of trade, said: "The possibilities and necessities arising from economic integration will have more and more influence on our economic development. To secure the supply of raw materials has become a fundamental problem for the further growth of our economy. The shortage of raw materials and their high prices create new demands on our economy." At the 12th Plenary Session of the Party Central Committee, Hermann Axen, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the German Socialist Unity Party, said: "The main cause of difficulties in the first few months of the year grew out of the delayed or disturbed supply of important raw materials."

"ACROPOLIS" (GREECE)

Soviet Union Fishing in Troubled Waters

The dirty role of the Soviet Union in the east Mediterranean region has been denounced by the Greek paper Acropolis in a signed article.

Recalling the notorious performance by the Soviet Union last summer when it supported "Mr. A against Mr. B today and vice versa tomorrow," the article pointed out that it did so because "it was in the interests of the Soviet Union to create quarrel and confusion in Cyprus."

"It was in the interests of Moscow to have the quarrel expanded generally in relations between Greece and Turkey," the article continued. "It was all the more in the interests of the Soviet Union to have the quarrel carried to the point of eruption instead of bringing it to an end."

To fish in troubled waters, Soviet Migis are chasing American-made Phantoms or F-104s, both marked with Greek or Turkish flags, the article said. If war broke out between Greece and Turkey, the Soviet Union would stop at nothing to take over the Bosporus and intrude into the Mediterranean to realize the long-cherished dream of the old tsars.

The article ridiculed the Soviet social-imperialists' shameless practice of posing as a "supporter" of this or that country. "The interests of the Soviet Union have been better served when there was a quarrel between Greece and Turkey. Therefore the Russian policy is not guided by any pro-Greek, pro-Turkish or contrary feelings, but by the interests of the Russians themselves, the interests of mother Russia and nothing else. This is a valuable lesson for all of us," the article concluded.

To shift the burden of crisis on to others, Japanese monopoly capital has begun dismissing workers in large numbers. The number of employed in the whole country in October was 1.14 million less than in the same month of 1973; the total for the machine-building industry alone dropped by 600,000.

Japan is one of the major capitalist countries that are suffering from most serious inflation. Compared with the corresponding period in 1973, September wholesale prices went up 30.6 per cent. October retail prices zoomed 25.5 per cent. The biggest hikes were in prices for such daily necessities as food and other items as well as rents. According to data published by the Prime Minister's Office, the wholesale rice price in November was 37.2 per cent higher than in the same month of 1973. Actual estimates by housewives, however, show that retail prices for staple foods were about 50 per cent higher than a year earlier. Hard hit by rising unemployment and soaring prices, working people's real wages keep plummeting and life is harder than ever.
ON THE HOME FRONT

China Achieves Self-Sufficiency in Jute and Ambari Hemp

UNDER the guidance of the principle of "maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands and relying on our own efforts," China has made rapid progress in the production of jute and ambari hemp, important materials for the bast-fibre industry. The total output for 1973 was double that of 1971; this was followed by a 16.4 increase last year — an achievement which made China fundamentally self-sufficient in these fibres.

Many parts of China are suitable for the cultivation of jute and ambari hemp. Yet before the liberation in 1949, disruption by the Kuomintang reactionaries retarded production drastically and most of the gunny sacks sold in Chinese markets were imported.

The founding of New China brought about an entirely new situation. With the support of the state, production of jute and ambari hemp expanded enormously, though it still could not keep pace with the needs of the fast-developing national economy. Consequently, a certain amount of bast-fibres had to be imported every year from a friendly neighbouring country on the principles of equality and mutual benefit and of each meeting the other's needs. In the early 1970s, the social-imperialists, while making trouble everywhere in the world, openly supported India's dismemberment of a sovereign state, hoping to disrupt that country's commerce with China and bring economic difficulties to China. This only made the Chinese people more determined to develop the production of jute and ambari hemp by relying on their own efforts.

In recent years, in connection with the struggle between the two classes and between the two lines over the question of promoting hemp production through self-reliance, rural cadres and commune members have thoroughly criticized Lin Piao's crimes in trying to hire himself out to social-imperialism and turn China into its colony. All this has enabled them to see more clearly the importance of raising better quality jute and ambari hemp in greater quantities to support national construction. While striving for higher per-unit yields, commune members in traditional hemp-producing areas worked hard to tap all productive potentials of the land and to expand acreage. Strenuous efforts were also made to open up hilly land and reclaim wasteland for the raising of jute and ambari hemp in regions where these crops had seldom been grown.

Kwangtung Province in south China raises an abundance of jute, ambari hemp and other industrial crops. Last year, while developing the production of grain and industrial crops, it interplanted jute on 11,700 hectares of land and expanded the area under ambari hemp by 20,000 hectares. The total output of the two crops accounted for 47 per cent of the province's bast-fibre production and surpassed the 1971 figure by 6 per cent. In addition, new bases for the production of jute and ambari hemp have emerged in Anhwei, Shantung and Honan Provinces where the total acreage under both plants in 1974 tripled that of 1971, with a fivefold increase in total output.

Motor Roads Built In 1974

China's new advances in road construction for 1974 included the completion and opening to traffic of nine trunk highways, in addition to over 10,000 kilometres of motor roads built by counties or people's communes. This has brought another 1,200 communes in mountain areas within reach of motor vehicles.

Last year workers and staff members on the highway transport and communications front were inspired with great enthusiasm for building socialism at a faster pace. This was a direct result of their conscientious study of works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and by Chairman Mao and their criticism of Lin Piao's revisionist line and the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius advocated by him. The road-builders surmounted many difficulties as they cut their way through high mountains, deserts, and forests on the frontiers. In this way they accomplished all their tasks including the last section of the Yunnan-Tibet highway.

With the completion of new motor roads, many people's communes and production brigades are no longer handicapped by inconvenient transport and communications. Honan Province's Huihsien County in the southeast part of the Taihang Mountains has complicated geographical features characterized by precipitous mountains and deep valleys. Since the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution began in 1966, the local people have launched a vigorous campaign to learn from the Tachi Production Brigade — national pace-setter in agriculture. Relying on their own efforts and working hard, they completed a county-wide highway network within a short time, in addition to improving the conditions for farming. By 1973 motorways had linked up all its communes and 90 per cent of its production brigades. Last year over 35 kilometres of roads winding through the mountains were built.

The Chienyang Prefecture, an area of big mountains, is situated on the borders between the Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous Region and the Provinces of Hunan and Kwei-chow. In the past it was virtually closed to travel and transport because of the terrain, but now all its towns and villages are linked up by nearly 4,000 kilometres of motor roads. This has stimulated both urban and rural economy and large quantities of local and special products can be shipped out, and much-needed industrial goods brought in.

New progress has been achieved not only in mileage but in road-building technique, especially the adoption of fast-tempo, high-quality asphalt sur-
facing. Over 13,000 kilometres of roads were paved in this way last year. By the end of 1974, China's total length of asphalt-surface roads was more than 10 times that of 1965, the year before the start of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Those constructed in Yunnan Province in 1974 alone exceeded the total mileage laid from 1949 to 1973.

Maintenance workers with the help of the people along the roads straightened and broadened many roads or reduced their gradients to facilitate the growing volume of traffic.

Mass Agro-Scientific Experiments

TENG Yen-tang, an ordinary member of a people's commune in south China's Kwangtung Province, worked on a commune experimental plot for 30 days and nights to develop new rice strains suited to local conditions. In answering why he toiled so selflessly, he put it well: "We are the masters of New China. We should engage in scientific experiments and develop agricultural production so as to quicken the pace of socialist construction."

Teng is but one among the tens of millions of peasants now engaged in comprehensive agro-scientific experimentation throughout the Chinese countryside including mountainous areas, extremely cold districts, and even rural people's communes on the Tibet Plateau — the "Roof of the World."

Over 13 million peasants are active on this front, while several times as many commune members are running seed-breeding and experimental plots. This contingent is composed of veteran peasants with years of experience behind them, commune youngsters bursting with a dare-to-create spirit, as well as school graduates who have settled down in the countryside. A large number of them are women.

Agronomy research institutes have been set up from central departments, provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions to prefectures. Below the prefecture level, in most counties, communes and production brigades, great numbers of organizations and groups for scientific experiment have sprung up.

In Kwangtung Province, every county has an agricultural research centre, most of the communes and production brigades have set up stations and 168,000 production teams have groups. Over one million peasants are busily engaged in scientific experiments. Many of them have become proficient in at least one agricultural scientific technique.

In the past, it used to take as long as eight or nine years for a few scientists or research institutes to produce a new strain. Now mass experimental organizations have shortened the time to no more than five years, by testing a new strain simultaneously in different areas.

When an advanced agro-technique or a farming method suited to local conditions is discovered, it is rapidly popularized by peasant research groups. Down through the ages, double or even single-cropping systems had been the rule in Kwangtung's agricultural production. Now this has given way to a more scientific triple-cropping system over large tracts, while some cultivated land has already been brought under a quadruple-cropping system.

New China has provided the peasants with every favourable condition for engaging in scientific experiments. Professionals from national agronomy research institutes are often sent down to take part in experiments, provide guidance for the peasants and hold study courses of various types to train agro-technicians from among them. According to plan, the state also selects experienced agro-technicians to study in universities and colleges.

Small Rice-Paddy Combine-Harvesters

A SMALL rice-paddy combine-harvester, the "Tungfeng 12" (East Wind 12), was successfully trial-produced through the combined efforts of workers, cadres and technicians of the Taiho County Farm Machinery Plant in Kiangsi Province and departments concerned. Trials carried out over a period proved the first prototypes to be up to the required technical standards. The machine will soon go into serial production.

The easy-to-operate "Tungfeng 12" gives steady performance and good results even in relatively small paddy-fields with mud as deep as 20 cm. below a layer of water. It harvests 0.15 hectare an hour with little loss or damage of grain. Implements can be attached to it for ploughing, harrowing, moving earth, furrowing and other purposes.

The prototypes were improved upon according to suggestions made by commune members after a number of tests in 12 cities and counties of south China. The new, small combine-harvester threshes cleanly and can be used for many operations in different kinds of fields — large tracts, small terraced plots, paddyfields or dry land. This is why it is so highly prized in the communes.

February 21, 1975
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P.O. Box 399, Peking, China