

PEKING REVIEW

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September 23, 1977

北
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報

**President U Ne Win and
President Kountche
Visit China**

**Great Guiding Principle for
Socialist Construction**

— Commemorating first anniversary of passing of
Chairman Mao

**Where Chairman Mao Lived in
Chungnanhai**

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Chairman Hua Meets Foreign Guests

HUA KUO-FENG, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Premier of the State Council, on September 17 met U Ne Win, President of the Socialist Republic of the Union of Burma and Chairman of the

Council of State, his daughter Khin Sanda Win and other members of his party.

Chairman Hua had a warm and friendly conversation with President U Ne Win; Dr. Maung Maung, Member of the Council

of State; U Hla Phone, Minister for Foreign Affairs; Colonel Maung Cho, Minister for Industry II; and General Kyaw Htin, Minister for Defence.

Chairman Hua Kuo-feng on September 15 met Marcelino Dos Santos, Minister of Development and Economic Planning of Mozambique, and the Mozambican Government Delegation he led.

At the meeting Chairman Hua expressed the firm support of the Chinese Government and people for the Mozambican people who, under the leadership of President Samora, are persisting in their struggle to oppose imperialism, colonialism, apartheid and racial discrimination, defend their national independence and state sovereignty and develop their national economy and culture. He wished the Mozambican people still greater success in their march forward on the road of independent development.



President U Ne Win's Visit

Burmese President U Ne Win paid a friendly stop-over visit to China from September 18 to 20 on his way to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

Welcoming the President and the other distinguished Burmese guests at the airport were

Chairman Hua Kuo-feng, Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping and Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress Teng Ying-chao. Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping held talks with President U Ne Win in Peking. At the banquet given by the State Council in honour of the Bur-

mese guests, Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping said in his toast that as a result of the joint efforts of the governments and people of the two countries, their friendly relations have made new progress in recent years. He added that though President U Ne Win was only paying a short visit this time, the two sides still had the opportunity to exchange experience with regard to certain



aspects of their efforts to build and develop their own countries, and this was of great importance to deepening their mutual understanding and consolidating their friendship.

In his toast, President U Ne Win expressed his thanks to the Chinese leaders and people for their friendly sentiments to the Burmese people. He wished the People's Republic of China continued prosperity and expressed the hope that the friendship between the Burmese and Chinese peoples and the friendly relations between the two countries would be lasting.

During his stay in Peking, President U Ne Win, accompanied by Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping, paid his respects to the remains of Chairman Mao Tsetung at the Chairman Mao Memorial Hall.



President Kountche and the other distinguished guests from the Niger warmly welcomed at the airport.

President Kountche Visits China

Lieutenant-Colonel Seyni Kountche, President of the Supreme Military Council and Head of State of the Republic of the Niger, and his party arrived in Peking on September 18 on an official visit to China.

Chairman Hua Kuo-feng, Vice-Premiers Li Hsien-nien and Ku Mu, Foreign Minister Huang Hua and thousands of people in the capital were at the airport to greet the distinguished guests. A grand welcoming ceremony was held at the airport.

The following day, the State Council gave a banquet in honour of the guests at the Great Hall of the People. Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien and President Kountche spoke at the banquet (see pp. 18 and 19 for excerpts of their speeches).

During the distinguished guests' stay in Peking, Vice-

Premier Li Hsien-nien and President Kountche held talks. Accompanied by Vice-Premier Li, President Kountche went to the newly completed Chairman Mao Memorial Hall to pay his respects to the remains of Chairman Mao and to present a wreath.

The Republic of the Niger is a landlocked state in West Africa and its capital is Niamey. Over 90 per cent of its 4.8 million people are engaged in agriculture and livestock raising. When it proclaimed its independence on August 3, 1960, more than half a century of French colonial rule in the Niger ended. In 1974, China and the Niger established diplomatic relations. President Kountche's current visit to China will surely further promote the friendship and co-operation between the two countries.

the Mozambican people would certainly overcome any difficulties on their road of advance. Speaking of the situation in Africa, the Vice-Premier pointed out that the fierce contention between the two superpowers in this region has evoked strong resistance from the African people. Africa belongs to the African people. The heroic African people will surely be able to drive all forces of aggression out of Africa. Vice-Premier Yu said: The Chinese people will firmly implement Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and policies in foreign affairs, strengthen their unity with the international proletariat, the people of the third world countries and the people of the rest of the world, and make joint efforts to carry the struggle against imperialism and hegemonism through to the end.

In his speech, delegation leader Santos praised Chairman Mao Tsetung as one of the greatest leaders of the world revolution. He added that Chairman Mao's teachings had greatly enriched Marxism-Leninism, and that they were and will remain an inexhaustible source of strength for the revolutionary people the world over. The delegation leader said that the Mozambican people would make great efforts and wage a new battle in the economic field. He affirmed that Mozambique would, as always, continue to support the people of southern Africa in their just struggle.

Mozambican Government Delegation

The Mozambican Government Delegation headed by Minister of Development and Economic Planning Marcelino Dos Santos visited Peking from September 12 to 17.

During its stay in the capital, Vice-Premier and Minister of the State Planning Commission Yu Chiu-li held talks with

delegation leader Santos on developing economic co-operation and friendly relations between the two countries.

Vice-Premier Yu Chiu-li gave a banquet in honour of the distinguished guests on September 12. In his speech at the banquet he stressed that the people of China and Mozambique had established a profound friendship in their common struggle. He expressed the conviction that

Another Nuclear Test

China conducted another nuclear test on September 17.

The press communique said: This successful test is a new victory achieved by the workers, commanders and fighters of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, scientists, technicians and revolutionary cadres engaged in this work, who conscientiously studied works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and by Chairman Mao, adhered to the line of the Party's 11th National Congress, and followed Chairman Hua's instruction "Be meticulous in organization and direction," and fought in unity and close co-ordination. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, the State Council and the Military Commission of the C.P.C. Central Committee extended warm congratulations to all the comrades concerned and urged them

to make greater contributions to accelerating the modernization of China's national defence.

"The conducting of necessary and limited nuclear tests and development of nuclear weapons by China," the communique said, "is entirely for the purpose of defence and for breaking the nuclear monopoly by the superpowers and for the ultimate abolition of nuclear weapons. The Chinese Government declares once again that at no time and in no circumstances will China be the first to use nuclear weapons. The Chinese Government and people will, as always, work together with the other peoples and peace-loving countries in the world in the common struggle to achieve the lofty goal of complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons."

Congratulatory Message To Prime Minister Bista

Premier Hua Kuo-feng on September 18 sent a message to Kirti Nidhi Bista, congratulating him on his assumption of the office of Prime Minister of the Government of the Kingdom of Nepal. The message reads: "May the Nepalese Government and people continually achieve new successes in safeguarding national independence and state sovereignty and developing the national economy. I am convinced that the traditional

friendship between the Chinese and Nepalese peoples and the friendly relations and co-operation between our two countries will grow in strength and develop further."

Vice-Premiers Teng and Li Meet Foreign Guests

Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping on September 10 met a delegation of the Japanese Dietmen's League for Japan-China Friendship with Seigo Hamano as its leader and Susumu Kobayashi and Ichiro Watanabe as its

deputy leaders. At the meeting Seigo Hamano said: Owing to procrastination on the Japanese side, the Japan-China peace and friendship treaty remains uncompleted to this day. We feel very regretful for this. He expressed the conviction that the Japanese Dietmen's League for Japan-China Friendship, as an organized force, would take powerful steps to urge the Fukuda cabinet to make up its mind at an early date. Vice-Premier Teng thanked the Japanese friends for their efforts to promote an early conclusion of the China-Japan peace and friendship treaty. He said: Such efforts conform to the common desire of the peoples of China and Japan and the long-term interests of both countries. We hope that the China-Japan peace and friendship treaty will be concluded at an early date.

Vice-Premier Teng on September 14 met a delegation of the New Liberal Club of Japan with Yohei Kono as the leader and Seiichi Tagawa as the deputy leader. The New Liberal Club is a newly founded political party in Japan. The delegation to China is the first ever sent abroad by this party.

Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien on September 14 met Louis Alexandrenne, Minister of Industrial Development and Environment of Senegal, his wife and the government industry delegation led by the minister.

Vice-Premier Li met American columnist Carl T. Rowan, Mrs. Rowan and his party on September 14.

Great Guiding Principle for Socialist Construction

— Commemorating the first anniversary of the passing of the great leader and teacher Chairman Mao

by the State Planning Commission

This article deals comprehensively with Chairman Mao's theory and guiding principle for socialist construction. It gives expression to the Chinese people's determination to carry out Chairman Mao's behests, follow the course charted by him and build China into a great, modern and powerful socialist country under the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua.

The article is divided into four parts:

- *By grasping the principal contradiction in the historical period of socialism, that is, the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and between the socialist road and the capitalist road, Chairman Mao put revolution in command of production so that both revolution and production would move ahead simultaneously. This is a great contribution made by Chairman Mao in developing the Marxist theory on socialist construction.*

- *The general line for socialist construction and the correct handling of the relationships between the various departments of the national economy so as to accelerate socialist construction.*

- *The principles of maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands and relying on our own efforts and of being prepared against war, being prepared against natural disasters, and doing everything for the people.*

- *The mass line.*

Following is an abridged translation of the article published in "Renmin Ribao" on September 12. Subheads are ours. — Ed.

FOR more than half a century, Chairman Mao led the Chinese people in successfully overthrowing the reactionary rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism after protracted and extremely bitter and hard struggles, winning complete victory in the new-democratic revolution and founding the People's Republic of China. Following this, Chairman Mao led us,

through repeated trials of strength between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, in carrying out the socialist revolution, with each stage deeper than the previous one, in undertaking the task of socialist construction on a large scale, in consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, thereby turning China from a poor and back-

ward country into a socialist state with the beginnings of prosperity.

Under Chairman Mao's leadership, we abolished the feudal system of exploitation, confiscated bureaucrat capital, transformed the capitalist and individual economies, and set up an independent, new socialist economy. Industry owned by the whole people and by the collective now accounts for 99.9 per cent of China's gross industrial output value. Our industry has grown rapidly and is now able to supply increasing amounts of technical equipment for the various branches of the national economy and for defence construction. Organized in more than 50,000 people's communes, China's several hundred million peasants have been advancing along the broad road of socialism. Our agriculture has given powerful support to socialist construction; it feeds a population which exceeds one-fifth of the world's total although our cultivated acreage accounts for less than 7 per cent of the world's total. Rapid advances have also been made in communications and transport, finances and trade, science and technology, culture, education, medicine and health, and other undertakings. We have hydrogen bombs and guided missiles and have launched man-made earth satellites. Our revenue and expenditure are balanced, prices have remained stable, and people's living standards have greatly improved.

All the victories we have won are great victories for Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and Mao Tsetung Thought.

Chairman Mao's theory on socialist construction holds an important place in the comprehensive system of Mao Tsetung Thought. By summing up the experience of economic construction in the revolutionary base areas during China's democratic revolution and the experience of socialist construction since nationwide liberation, and making an incisive study of the positive and negative experience of socialist construction in the Soviet Union and the lessons of capitalist restoration there, Chairman Mao creatively set forth the theory, line, principles and policies for socialist construction and pointed out China's road of building socialism, thus advancing Marxist-Leninist theory on socialist construction to a new stage.

The basic concepts in Chairman Mao's theory on socialist construction are: Persevere in the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat; and correctly handle the question of classes, class contradictions and class struggle; correctly handle the relationships between the various branches of the national economy; boldly arouse the masses and fully mobilize all positive factors so as to achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism. Chairman Mao's concepts have not only guided us to great successes in socialist construction but will remain great guiding principles for us in winning new and still greater victories in the future.

Grasping Revolution and Promoting Production

Applying the dialectical materialist law of the unity of opposites to study and analyse socialist society, Chairman Mao created the great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Using this theory to guide socialist construction, he firmly grasped the principal contradiction, that is, the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and between the socialist and capitalist roads, and he used revolution to command production so that both revolution and production would forge ahead simultaneously. This is an important contribution by Chairman Mao to the development of the Marxist theory on socialist construction.

The founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949 marked the beginning of the stage of socialist revolution. With the completion of the agrarian reform throughout the country in 1952, the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and between the socialist and capitalist roads was focused on the issue of ownership. Capitalist ownership and widespread individual ownership seriously hampered the growth of the productive forces. Chairman Mao told us explicitly that, in order to consolidate its political power and carry out socialist construction on a large scale, the proletariat must **"destroy capitalist ownership and transform it into socialist ownership by the whole people, destroy individual ownership and transform it into socialist collective ownership."** (*Have Firm Faith in the Majority of the People*, 1957.) Grasping this central issue in resolving the

contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie at the time, Chairman Mao formulated in good time the general line for the period of transition, a line which called for the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce simultaneously with socialist industrialization. Chairman Mao closely integrated socialist construction with socialist transformation and combined the socialist transformation of agriculture with that of capitalist industry and commerce with great skill, so that they developed in coordination and promoted each other. In the course of fierce class struggle, Chairman Mao led our Party in rapidly and steadily bringing about such a great change as the transformation of ownership, and created the experience of carrying out socialist transformation and socialist construction simultaneously. During the transformation of ownership, agricultural production increased year by year, industry and commerce expanded steadily, the socialist economy grew from strength to strength, and the First Five-Year Plan (1953-57) for economic construction was crowned with complete success.

A new question arose at that time in our revolution and construction, a question which had not been correctly solved in the international communist movement. It was: After the issue of ownership had been settled in the main, were there still contradictions, classes and class struggle in socialist society and should socialist construction be still carried out in the course of socialist revolution? Chairman Mao pointed out in explicit terms for the first time in the history of the development of Marxism that there is correspondence as well as contradiction between the relations of production and the productive forces and between the superstructure and the economic base even after the socialist transformation of ownership has been completed in the main. Such contradiction remains the fundamental contradiction in socialist society, and class struggle is by no means over. In these circumstances, the productive forces must still develop in the course of constant efforts to resolve the fundamental contradiction and under the impetus given by class struggle. Chairman Mao formulated for our Party the basic line for the historical period of socialism (see *Peking Review*, No. 2, 1977, p. 11), and armed our Party and people with the theory of continuing the revolution

under the dictatorship of the proletariat. This ensures that China's construction always develop in the socialist orientation.

The principle of "**grasping revolution, promoting production**" advanced by Chairman Mao succinctly answered the question of the relationship between continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and carrying out socialist construction. Chairman Mao pointed out in a talk in 1964 that class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment must be integrated. If people engage only in the struggle for production and scientific experiment but neglect class struggle, they won't be really fired with great enthusiasm and they can't do well in the struggle for production and scientific experiment. Neither will it do to engage only in the struggle for production without making scientific experiment. If people who only wage class struggle without carrying out the struggle for production and scientific experiment claim that they "support the general line," the claim will eventually prove to be false.

What are the main points we should bear in mind and earnestly put into practice today as we restudy Chairman Mao's teachings about grasping revolution and promoting production in the light of the present situation?

1. Chairman Mao said: "**Class struggle is the key link and everything else hinges on it.**" In the historical period of socialism, all our undertakings in the field of construction will have a correct orientation and develop in a sound way only when we persevere in the class struggle waged by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie to ensure the triumph of socialism over capitalism, and when the task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat is carried out to the letter at the grass-roots level. The struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie at present finds concentrated expression in the struggle waged by our Party against the "gang of four." We must carry this struggle through to the end.

2. The power of leadership must be firmly kept in the hands of genuine Marxists and the broad masses of the working people. This is a crucial point in ensuring the implementation of the correct line and consolidating the socialist political and economic systems. The historical



Chairman Mao and Premier Chou receiving representatives from Taching and Tachai, the red banners on China's industrial and agricultural fronts.

Oil painting by Yuan Yao-ngo

experience of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has proved fully that if the three bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and the "gang of four" had not been smashed, if these renegades, enemy agents, new and old counter-revolutionaries and diehard capitalist-roaders had not been exposed and their counter-revolutionary revisionist line thoroughly repudiated, the power of leadership by the proletariat might have been usurped, the dictatorship of the proletariat subverted and the socialist economic base disintegrated. How then can we speak of socialist construction?

3. We must constantly repulse the attacks by urban and rural capitalist forces and defend socialist public ownership. This is one of our major tasks in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat in the realm of the relations of production, and it should be

done continuously and persistently for a long time to come. Chairman Mao reminded us time and again that in socialist society classes still exist, the new and old bourgeoisie seize every chance to attack us, illegal capitalist activities such as embezzlement, theft and speculation frequently occur and bourgeois ideology seriously erodes our ranks. He pointed out in 1975: "Lenin said that 'small production engenders capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously, and on a mass scale.' They are also engendered among a part of the working class and of the Party membership. Both within the ranks of the proletariat and among the personnel of state and other organs there are people who take to the bourgeois style of life." We must persistently deal blows at the class enemy's restorationist activities in undermining the socialist

economy and at the same time pay attention to overcoming capitalist tendencies within the ranks of the people.

4. We must continue to improve the relations among people in work and promote the consolidation of socialist public ownership and the development of the productive forces. Cadres at all levels, leading cadres in particular, should restrict bourgeois right of their own accord and conduct themselves as ordinary workers. They must consult with the masses when matters arise and be concerned with their difficulties. We must uphold the principle of cadre participation in collective productive labour and worker participation in management and apply the "three-in-one combination" of leading cadres, workers and technicians to a wide field of endeavours and keep up and carry forward the revolutionary tradition of unity between cadres and the masses and of sharing weal and woe, as we did in the revolutionary war years. We must criticize in a deep-going way the evil bourgeois tendencies encouraged by the "gang of four" to expand privileges and pursue personal gains.

5. Political work is the lifeblood of all economic work. We must strengthen political and ideological work so as to invigorate the revolutionary spirit of the millions and tens of millions of cadres and workers throughout the industrial sector (and commercial and agricultural sectors as well). The fundamental task in doing political and ideological work is to arm the masses with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and strive to bring up a large contingent of workers who are politically conscious, energetic, disciplined, good in their style of work and highly skilled.

6. Transformation in the relations of production and the superstructure is conditioned by the development of the productive forces and must help promote it and not vice versa. Political work should serve the economic base and ensure the accomplishment of economic work. Chairman Mao long ago said: "In the last analysis, the impact, good or bad, great or small, of the policy and the practice of any Chinese political party upon the people depends on whether and how much it helps to develop their productive forces, and on whether it fetters or liberates these forces." (*On Coalition Government*, 1945.) The "gang of four" asserted

that "it is all right for production to go down so long as we do a good job in revolution" and "it doesn't matter if no grain is reaped at all." These are utterly reactionary fallacies.

7. Increasing or decreasing production is an important criterion in judging whether a revolution is successful or not. While leading the Chinese people in unfolding a large-scale agricultural co-operative movement, Chairman Mao pointed out: "The main criterion by which every co-operative judges whether it is sound is to see whether its production is rising and by how much." (*Editor's Notes From "Socialist Upsurge in China's Countryside,"* 1955.) He also said: "In the Soviet Union and in some East European countries, agricultural collectivization invariably brought about decreases in grain production for a number of years. We have had agricultural co-operation for several years, and we went all out last year, yet, far from falling, our grain production has increased. If another good harvest is reaped this year, there will be no parallel in the history of the agricultural co-operative movement as well as in the history of the international communist movement." (*Talks at a Conference of Secretaries of Provincial, Municipal and Autonomous Region Party Committees*, 1957.) In fact, in the course of the agricultural co-operative movement, agricultural production in China kept rising for years running. Likewise, in every political movement unfolded under his leadership, Chairman Mao again and again taught us to strive for good results in both revolution and production.

8. It is necessary to learn to do economic work well. We must put revolution in command of production, but the former cannot replace the latter. Revolution has its own laws, so does production. We must be well-versed in politics and be proficient in professional work, that is, we must be both red and expert. If we Communists do not concern ourselves with industry and the economy and do not know how to do any other useful work, if we are ignorant of these things and incapable of doing anything except a kind of abstract "revolutionary work," we would be good-for-nothing "revolutionaries."

The General Line for Building Socialism

Chairman Mao made a profound study of the objective laws governing socialist revolution

and construction and put forward the general line of **going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism** and a complete set of principles of "walking on two legs," thus pointing out the correct orientation and road for us to develop our national economy as a whole in a planned way, proportionately and at high speed.

The question of speed in socialist construction is a very important one. It is even more so for our country, which has a backward economy and a large population and faces the threat of aggression and subversion by imperialism and social-imperialism. It is a question of life and death for our country, a state under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Lenin put it this way: **"Either perish or overtake and outstrip the advanced countries economically as well."** (*The Impending Catastrophe and How to Combat It*, 1917.) After nationwide liberation Chairman Mao more than once called on us to develop socialist construction at high speed and catch up with and surpass the developed capitalist countries economically so that our national economy will advance in the front ranks of the world. In 1956 he made a comparison between China and the United States and urged us to overtake the United States economically in 50 to 60 years.

In the 28 post-liberation years, China has outstripped many capitalist countries in the speed of economic development. But, owing to the interference and sabotage by Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and, in particular, the "gang of four," our socialist construction did not achieve the expected results. With the smashing of the "gang of four" a major obstacle to building socialism has been removed. Under the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, as long as we persevere in doing things in accordance with Chairman Mao's theory, line, principles and policies and in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and understand and grasp still better the objective laws governing socialist construction, we will certainly be able to expedite socialist construction so that our socialist system will display its superiority still more fully.

In the light of the objective laws governing socialist construction which Chairman Mao

made known to us, what then are the relationships which we must make special efforts to handle properly and what are the questions which we must solve well at present in order to quicken the pace of our socialist construction?

(1) Handle properly the relationship between industry and agriculture and the relationship among various trades and branches in industry and agriculture.

The general policy for national economic development put forward by Chairman Mao — **"Take agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor"** — fully reflects the importance of agriculture and industry in the national economy as a whole and the essential link between these two major economic departments. Agriculture concerns the question of feeding China's population of 800 million; it is the chief supplier of raw materials for light industry and an important source for accumulation by the state. The countryside is an important market for light and heavy industrial products. Unless agriculture develops, the growth of industry and the national economy as a whole is out of the question.

As far as agriculture is concerned, it is imperative to keep to the policy of **"taking grain as the key link and ensuring an all-round development."** Industry must support agriculture and serve it better. In other words, it must help promote the technical transformation of agriculture with modern equipment. It is necessary to persevere in **"taking steel as the key link,"** build a strong basic industry, and provide the various departments of the national economy and defence construction with advanced techniques and equipment.

Serious attention must be paid to grain and steel production, the fuel and power industries and railway construction, and it is necessary to work out a plan for developing the national economy in the order of agriculture, light industry and heavy industry.

(2) Bring into full play the initiative of both the central and the local authorities and carry out the policy of simultaneously developing the national and local industries, the large, medium-sized and small enterprises and simultaneously using modern and indigenous methods of production. Chairman Mao said: **"Our territory is so vast, our population is so large and the con-**

ditions are so complex that it is far better to have the initiative come from both the central and the local authorities than from one source alone." (*On the Ten Major Relationships*, 1956.) Time and again he instructed us to let the local authorities do more under unified planning by the central authorities, so as to promote the growth of the national economy with greater, faster, better and more economical results.

Concentration of power in the central authorities and distribution of power to the local authorities are a unity of opposites. We should proceed from the actual conditions and handle this contradiction properly so as to facilitate the development of the productive forces. While opposing rigid and all-inclusive control by the central authorities which might stifle local initiative, we must oppose departmentalism and decentralism which only take into consideration the interests of this or that locality or department at the expense of those of the whole nation. Centralization must be exercised wherever necessary. Power must be concentrated in the central authorities with regard to the following: formulation of the principles and policies in developing the national economy, setting major industrial and agricultural production quotas, making investments in capital construction and building key projects, distribution of important materials, the purchase and allocation of major commodities, setting the state budget and issuing currency, fixing the number of workers and staff to be added and their total wages, and the prices of major industrial and agricultural products. In such matter no locality or department is allowed to do as it pleases. The "gang of four," however, attacked centralized, unified leadership, which is indispensable for the state, as "exclusive control by the ministries concerned," adding that such control amounted to "dictatorship of the bourgeoisie." Obviously, it was with malicious intent that they distorted the relationship between the central and the local authorities as one of dictatorship by one class over another.

(3) Persist in working hard and building our country through diligence and thrift and correctly handle the relationship between accumulation and consumption and the relationship between the state, the collective and the individual.

Chairman Mao said in 1957: "We must see to it that all our cadres and all our people constantly bear in mind that ours is a large socialist country but an economically backward and poor one, and that this is a very big contradiction. To make China prosperous and strong needs several decades of hard struggle, which means, among other things, pursuing the policy of building up our country through diligence and thrift, that is, practising strict economy and fighting waste." (*On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*.) Since then, we have made tremendous progress in socialist construction, but the present level of our productive forces is still comparatively low. To speed up construction, we must unswervingly continue to implement the policy of working hard and building our country through diligence and thrift.

Accumulation is the source for expanded reproduction. Only by constantly increasing accumulation can we maintain a high-speed development of socialist economy.

The aim of socialist production is to meet the growing needs of the people. Herein lies the essential difference between socialist and capitalist production. Chairman Mao said: "We must lay emphasis on the development of production, but consideration must be given to both the development of production and the improvement of the people's livelihood." (*Combat Bourgeois Ideas in the Party*, 1953.) In economic policy, we must uphold the socialist principle of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work" and gradually expand and improve collective welfare.

(4) Make every effort to introduce advanced techniques, vigorously carry out technical innovations and the technical revolution and raise labour productivity. Chairman Mao always attached importance to the development of science and technology, regarding scientific experiment, class struggle and the struggle for production as the three great revolutionary movements for building a powerful socialist country. To achieve this, we must take effective measures to train and bring up a mighty contingent of scientists and technicians.

(5) It is imperative to have socialist unified planning and make earnest efforts to achieve an overall balance. Socialist economy is a planned

economy. This is a basic characteristic that distinguishes it from the capitalist economy. To build a powerful socialist country, it is imperative to have a strong and unified central leadership and unified planning and discipline throughout the country; disruption of this indispensable unity is impermissible.

Independence and Self-Reliance

Taking into consideration the world situation and drawing on the experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat in other countries, Chairman Mao pointed out that in our socialist revolution and construction we must adhere to the strategic principles of **maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands and relying on our own efforts and of being prepared against war, being prepared against natural disasters, and doing everything for the people.** These principles provide the most reliable guarantee that our country will be invincible.

China's socialist construction has all along been carried out in the midst of sharp and complicated international class struggle. The two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States, are intensifying their contention for world hegemony, and a world war is bound to break out some day. The Soviet revisionists are bent on subjugating China. The struggle against social-imperialist and imperialist aggression and subversion is a grave one that concerns not only the existence of China's socialist system but the world proletarian revolution as a whole. In this struggle, the above-mentioned strategic principles will always be brilliant banners guiding us to victory.

According to the Marxist viewpoint, a socialist country must rely chiefly on its own strength in construction. Only by proceeding from the specific conditions of the countries concerned, relying on the hard work and wisdom of their own people and making the best of all available natural resources can they achieve notable and effective results in building socialism.

Chairman Mao time and again told us that in the course of socialist construction we must build an independent and comprehensive industrial system and national economic system.

For a country to be independent it should first of all achieve political independence. But if it is not independent economically and is dependent on other countries for the things it needs, its political independence will not be secure. Therefore, building an independent and comprehensive industrial system and national economic system is not only an economic question but, first and foremost, a political issue. This is a requirement for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and for the struggle to oppose social-imperialist and imperialist aggression, subversion, interference and control. Over the last two decades and more, we have achieved great success in building a comprehensive economic system. In the years to come, we will continue to set up economic systems in the six big regions — northeast China, north China, east China, central-south China, southwest China and northwest China — which are different in their level of development and which will have their own special features, operate independently, co-operate with one another and ensure a fairly balanced growth of agriculture, light industry and heavy industry.

Building an independent and comprehensive economic system does not mean closing our doors to the rest of the world. We must expand our economic, technical and cultural exchanges with other countries on the principles of equality, mutual benefit and supplying each other's needs.

The Mass Line

Chairman Mao's theory concerning socialist construction is characterized by a very important concept, which is to arouse the masses boldly and launch mass movements under the leadership of the Communist Party. This is our Party's fundamental line in building socialism.

The essence of the general line of going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism formulated by Chairman Mao is to attach great importance to the initiative and creativeness of the hundreds of millions of people and to give full scope to their enthusiasm, wisdom and strength. The complete set of policies of "walking on two legs" advanced by Chairman Mao, namely, the simultaneous devel-

(Continued on p. 26.)

WHERE CHAIRMAN MAO LIVED IN CHUNGNANHAI

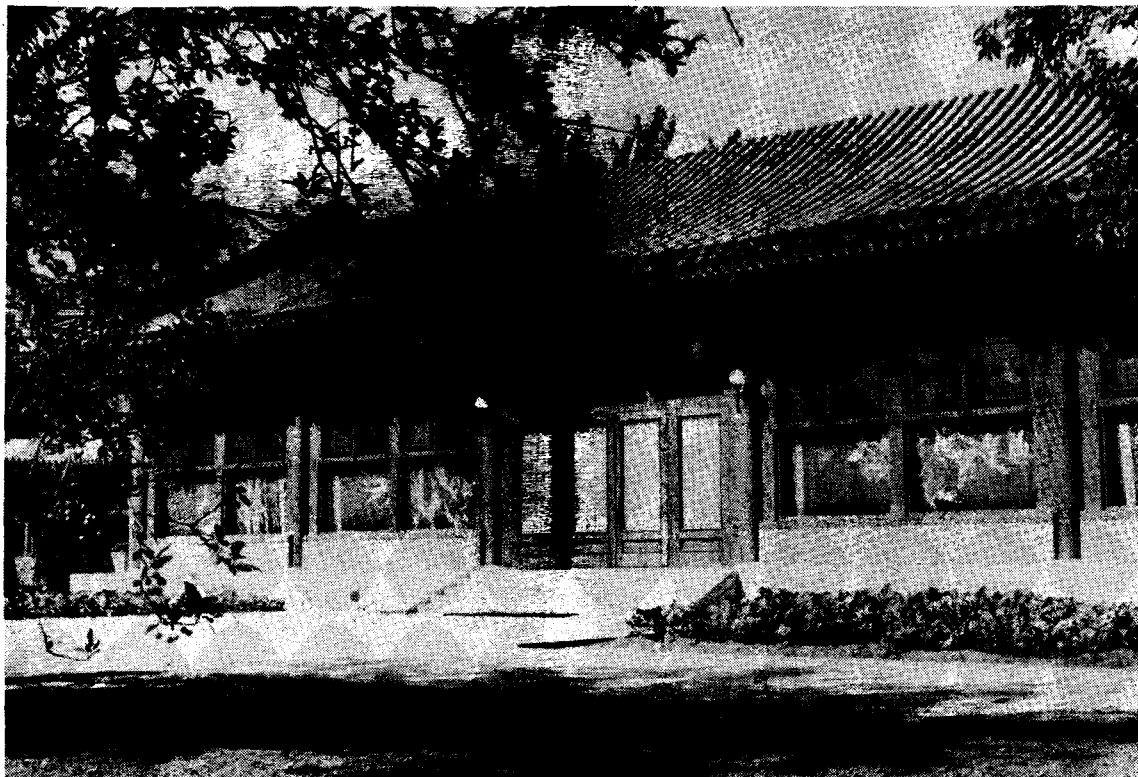
Chungnanhai in the centre of Peking is the place where the Party Central Committee and the State Council are located. It was also the place where Chairman Mao lived.

The following photos show Chairman Mao's office, the room where he received guests, his bedroom and the things he used.

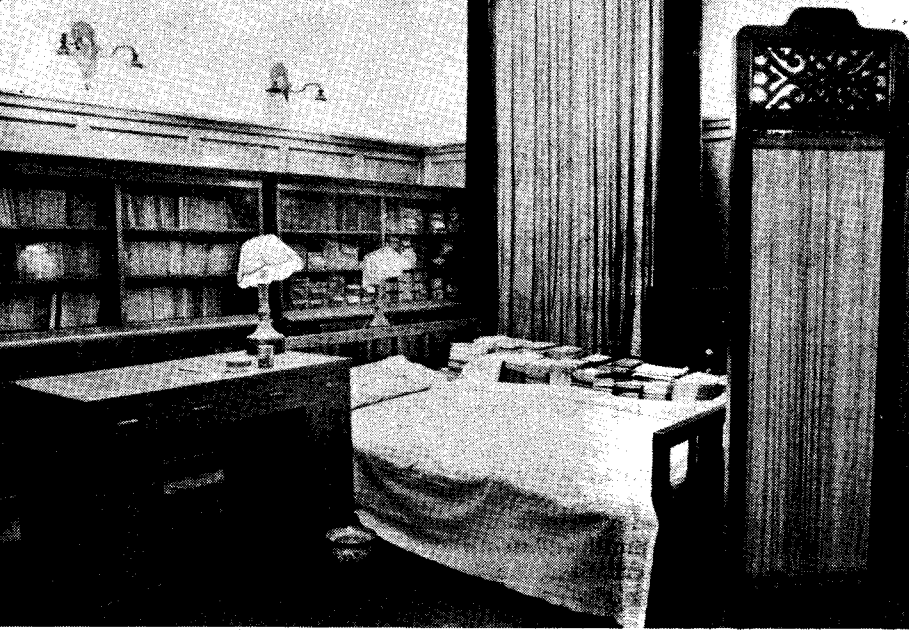
Chairman Mao worked day and night in Chungnanhai for the state and the people. There he presided over many important meetings of the Party and the government, made numerous major policy decisions for our socialist revolution and construction, received many foreign guests, and led our Party in winning victory in the ninth and tenth two-line struggles. It was also in Chungnanhai that Chairman Mao sternly criticized the "gang of four" and wrote for Comrade Hua Kuo-feng the inscription: "With you in charge, I'm at ease."

These photos show that Chairman Mao led a plain and simple life. In his rooms there were only desks, chairs, armchairs, a bed and bookshelves, with his books taking up much space. There were no flowers or other decorations, and his bed was an ordinary one made of wood. The towel quilt he used had more than 20 patches, and his nightgown had both sleeves replaced. The pair of leather shoes was the same pair he had worn since 1949, and his slippers also showed signs of wear and had been mended several times.

Even after the founding of New China, Chairman Mao had coarse rice and two or three simple dishes for his meals. In the early 60s when our country suffered from temporary economic difficulties, he did not eat any meat, eggs or fruit and he grew vegetables himself, sharing weal and woe with the people throughout the country.



Chairman Mao's residence before 1966.

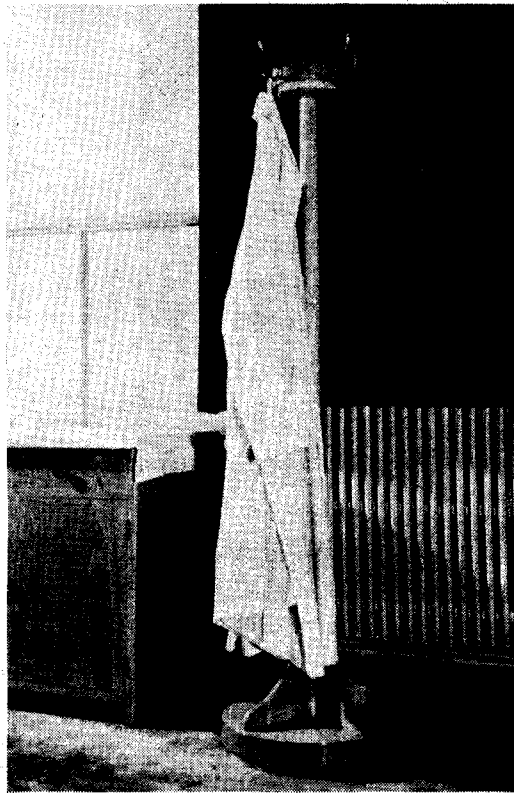


Chairman Mao's bedroom before 1966.



Chairman Mao's office after 1966.

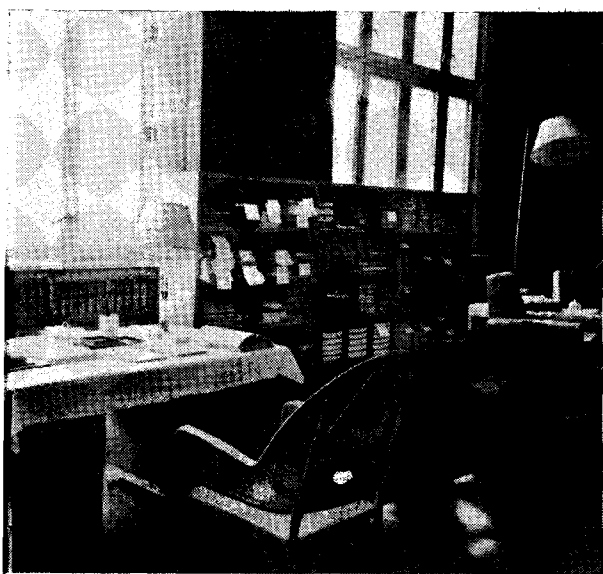
The armchair (right) in which Chairman Mao sat on April 30, 1976 when he wrote for Comrade Hua Kuo-feng (sitting in the left armchair) the inscription: "With you in charge, I'm at ease."



Chairman Mao's nightgown with a patch at the elbow.



The pair of leather shoes Chairman Mao had worn since 1949 and his slippers.



Copies of *Capital* and *Old History of Tang Dynasty* which Chairman Mao had read.



The room where Chairman Mao had meetings or received guests after 1966. It was in this room that the Chairman, in the presence of all the comrades of the Political Bureau then in Peking, sternly warned the "gang of four" for engaging in anti-Party factional activities.

The vegetable plot cultivated by Chairman Mao near his residence.



Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien's Speech

(Excerpts)

IN recent years, under the leadership of President Kountche, the Government and people of the Niger have waged an unremitting struggle to safeguard their national independence and state sovereignty and develop the national economy and culture and made much effort to overcome natural disasters, restore and develop agricultural production and animal husbandry, in which they have achieved gratifying successes. The Government of the Niger pursues a non-aligned policy, is firmly opposed to imperialism, colonialism and racism and to the expansion and rivalry of the hegemonic superpowers in Africa, and works energetically to uphold and promote the unity of African countries. It stands for Africans managing the affairs of Africa, opposes outside interference and supports the just struggles of the African national-liberation movements and the Arab people. In international affairs, the Niger has made a useful contribution to the unity of the third world against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism. The Chinese Government and people appreciate the just stand of the Government of the Niger, heartily rejoice at the successes of the Niger people and wish them continuous new victories along the road of independent development.

The numerous third world countries and people are increasingly playing their role as the main force in the concerted struggle of the people of the world against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism. United in the struggle, they have won a series of great victories, which have disintegrated colonialism and plunged the superpowers into difficulty. Facts have proved that the third world countries and people are a mighty force propelling the progress of the world situation. Standing against superpower interference and bullying, and particularly the hegemonic policies of aggression and war which

pose a direct threat to their independence and survival, the second world countries have shown an increasing tendency towards unity against hegemonism. At present, the international united front against superpower hegemonism is broadening. The ugly features of the superpowers are being exposed more and more clearly and they suffer repeated defeats and setbacks. Beset with difficulties and crises, they find the going tougher and tougher. The development of the international situation has proved time and again that the scientific thesis differentiating the three worlds advanced by our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao in 1974 is entirely correct. It gives a correct orientation to the present international struggle and draws a clear distinction between enemies, friends and ourselves. It is a mighty ideological weapon for the oppressed people and nations to win victory in their united struggle.

The situation in Africa is also very good. Africa, which for centuries suffered from enslavement and humiliation, has become an awakened and militant continent. The great African people have stood up. They are advancing triumphantly in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism. But it is also noted that the rivalry between the two superpowers in Africa is growing more intense and that the independence and security of the African countries are seriously threatened. The superpower which styles itself a "natural ally" of the third world countries is using all ways and means to carry out aggression and expansion everywhere, wantonly meddling in problems between African countries and interfering in their internal affairs. It is doing its utmost to seize strategic areas and grab strategic resources in Africa and control strategic routes in order to outflank Western Europe and strengthen its strategic position in

its rivalry with the other superpower for world hegemony. It is also working hard to infiltrate the liberation organizations in southern Africa, attempting to make the struggle of the people in southern Africa serve its rivalry with the other superpower. It wilfully labels some African countries "reactionary" or "conservative," trying to split the Organization of African Unity and undermine the unity of the African countries and people. Numerous facts have increasingly shown that it is the most dangerous enemy of the African countries and people.

Superpower aggression and interference in Africa is accelerating the awakening of the African people and arousing African countries to strong resistance. More and more African countries have come to realize that only by strengthening their unity and co-ordinating their actions in the struggle against their common enemy can they effectively safeguard their independence and sovereignty and resist superpower aggression and interference. It has already become a serious task of the African countries and people to take their destiny into their own hands, resist foreign interference and guard against the tiger at the back door while repelling the wolf at the front gate. The resolution on opposing foreign intervention formally adopted at the 14th Session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of O.A.U. not long ago and the statements by some African leaders at the session gave expression to the

African people's strong will to defy brute force, unite against hegemony and master their own destiny. The great African people are fighting courageously for the complete independence and liberation of the African continent. The Chinese Government and people firmly stand on the side of the African people, firmly support the African countries and people in their just struggle to safeguard national independence and state sovereignty and resist foreign aggression, interference, control, subversion and bullying, and firmly support the people of southern Africa in their just struggle against racism and for national liberation.

China and the Niger are both developing countries belonging to the third world. Our two peoples had similar experience in the past and have always sympathized with and supported each other. Today, we are encouraging and helping each other in the cause of safeguarding independence and sovereignty and building up our respective countries. We are very pleased to note that the friendly relations and co-operation between our two countries have steadily developed since the establishment of diplomatic relations. We are sure that President Kountche's current visit to our country will make a new contribution to the further increase of the friendship and co-operation between our two countries. We wish His Excellency President Kountche and all the other distinguished guests from the Niger a completely successful visit.

President Seyni Kountche's Speech

(Excerpts)

THE official visit which I have the great privilege of making in this hospitable land of the People's Republic of China gives me today the chance to reiterate orally to you our profound condolences and our solidarity with the people of China and their leaders at a time

when they observe with meditation, in this month of September, the first anniversary of the passing away of the founder of New China, whose thought and action left a unique mark on the contemporary world.

It is a matter of particular consolation for the people of the Niger, the Supreme Military Council and myself to see that the highly industrious and resourceful Chinese people, under the leadership of the Central Committee of the great Chinese Communist Party headed by Chairman Hua Kuo-feng, the worthy and wise successor to Chairman Mao Tsetung, are increasingly turning their grief into strength and unity, and have surmounted in less than a year the great trials and the destructive natural calamities which they faced in 1976.

We congratulate you on these brilliant victories, which we regard as our own, because the people of the Niger highly admire the Chinese people.

The birth of New China was a historical event of particular importance, for it ushered in a completely new era in economic, social and cultural development, an era essentially characterized by the mobilization of the masses, by intense and continued work, by the principle of self-reliance with a view to building an independent national economy for the sole benefit of the people.

The exceptional successes achieved by the Chinese people in all the fields of their national development make the People's Republic of China an example and a source of inspiration for many countries, for many third world countries, in particular.

The Chinese people and their great leaders, inspired by Mao Tsetung Thought, have also given an exceptional dimension to this brilliant national victory, which they have transformed into an efficient instrument of active solidarity with all oppressed peoples the world over, especially those in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

This solidarity, after greatly contributing to the liberation of colonial countries, constitutes today the adhesive force of the united front of the third world countries whose determination, both to safeguard their rights and fulfil their duties and to seek and consolidate peace through equitable co-operation and understanding between peoples, is exerting a notable influence on the contemporary international life.

It was essentially these sentiments of admiration and esteem, cherished by the people of the Niger for your people and translated into concrete action, which led the Supreme Military Council, over which I have the honour to preside, to take the decision, most happily, to recognize the People's Republic of China, one and indivisible, immediately after the historic events of April 15, 1974, and establish diplomatic relations at ambassadorial level with your great country.

It is particularly heartening to see how the way already traversed in the past three years is decisive in the relations between our two countries.

Furthermore, it is the result of our common desire and common will to see these relations reinforced and diversified in the coming years on the basis of mutual respect, reciprocal esteem and active solidarity.

In this regard, the Supreme Military Council and the Government of the Niger highly appreciate the friendly invitation of the Chinese Government that gives us, the members on my delegation and myself, the happy occasion to exchange viewpoints on the ways and means by which we can promote our friendly co-operation, further consolidate our friendship and reinforce our consultations on the important questions which agitate the international scene, particularly concerning Africa and the third world.

Why Does Moscow Attack ASEAN?

THE Soviet Union recently launched a barrage of attacks through its news media against the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). It accused ASEAN of embarking on a "road of military alliance" manipulated by imperialism. It condemned the ASEAN efforts for economic development as a "further gearing of ASEAN member states to the economy of the developed capitalist countries" and an attempt to "tie ASEAN to the Washington-Tokyo axis with the rope of economy."

The immediate reason for Moscow's fury is the convocation of the second ASEAN summit early in August.

The proposal to establish a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in Southeast Asia reiterated at the meeting reflects the desire of the third world countries to safeguard their national independence, get rid of foreign interference and be independent of the superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States, and their military blocs. This proposal runs counter to the Kremlin's attempt to manipulate and control third world countries.

In a move to bring ASEAN into its sphere of influence, Moscow asserted for a time that there were "common points" or even "consonance" between the ASEAN proposal and the Soviet-projected aggressive "Asian collective security system." When this scheme failed, Moscow turned to openly attacking ASEAN.

Another reason for Moscow's attack on ASEAN is that the August conference has strengthened unity and co-operation among the

ASEAN countries and widened the association's influence internationally.

The ASEAN countries' efforts to forge unity and develop economic relations with the second world countries on the basis of equality and mutual benefit are part of the struggle of the third world countries for a new international economic order. After the August summit, the heads of the five ASEAN states collectively met with the Prime Ministers of Japan, Australia and New Zealand on different occasions. These meetings were to a certain extent fruitful. In joint communiques issued by ASEAN and the three countries separately for instance, both sides voiced support for the integrated commodity programme proposed by third world countries and pledged to make common efforts for its early realization.

As this programme is a measure to change the old international economic order, it is opposed and obstructed in every way by the Soviet Union and the other superpower. With more second world countries supporting this programme, the superpowers will further be isolated. This, naturally, makes the Soviet Union unhappy.

The Soviet attacks were refuted by leaders and public opinion of ASEAN countries. Malaysian Prime Minister Hussein Onn said that the Soviet Union opposed the neutral zone in Southeast Asia because the Soviets wanted to push their own project for the region — the "Asian collective security system." The Malaysian paper *Sing Pin Jih Pao* said that the Soviet attack on ASEAN is in fact meant "to prepare public opinion for its

infiltration and intervention"; "this is an attempt to attack ASEAN's prestige and to undermine its independence, because ASEAN is not relying on the Soviet Union and does not welcome the Soviet-proposed 'Asian collective security system'." The Thai newspaper *Chao Phya Daily* said in an article: "ASEAN has been aware of the Soviet Union's design to expand its influence in the region. The 'Asian

collective security system' proposed by the Soviet Union has met with no response from the small countries in the region, especially ASEAN member countries. The Soviet Union is opposed to turning Southeast Asia into a zone of peace and neutrality. So long as the Soviet Union and ASEAN make no change in their foreign policy, no attachment is likely to develop between them."

Soviet Drive to Control Northern Europe

IN the two years since the convening of the "European security conference" in Helsinki, the Soviet military threat to Northern Europe has grown and given rise to an uneasy situation there.

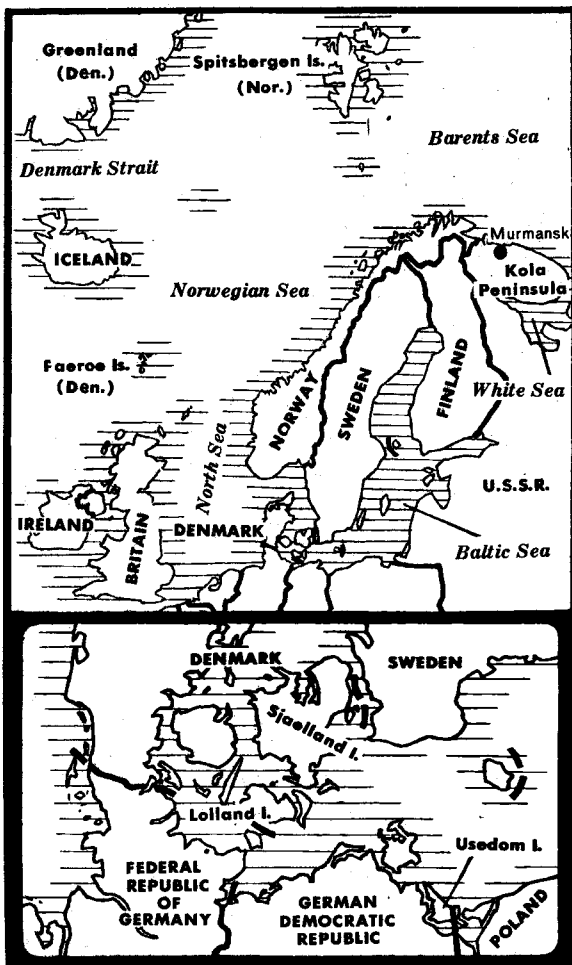
Northern Europe has always been an important strategic area. Soviet social-imperialism with its ambition of dominating Europe and the world has always sought to extend its control there. It has massed a large number of troops and built the biggest naval base in the world in the Kola Peninsula near the North European countries. Its biggest fleets, the North Fleet and the Baltic Fleet, have been dispatched to the seas off Northern Europe where 70 per cent of its strategic submarines and 45 per cent of its warships ply at will. Since July last year, the Soviet Union has further strengthened its naval and air forces in this area, and moved six submarines equipped with nuclear guided-missiles from Murmansk to the Baltic Sea. The spearhead is directed at the main industrial cities of Western Europe.

In keeping with the needs of war, Moscow has stepped up the building of strategic highways in areas near Northern Europe, laid double-track railway lines and expanded the

canal from the Baltic Sea to the White Sea, turning a waterway used only for civilian traffic into a passage for warships of more than 5,000 tons.

Ever busy with military deployment, the Soviet Union has held successive military exercises in Northern Europe. In June last year, it carried out large-scale combat manoeuvres north of Leningrad, taking the nearby North European countries as its imaginary enemies. Last April and June, it organized two large-scale war fleet exercises in the sea area adjacent to Norway. The Warsaw Pact Organization carried out another large-sized amphibious exercise in the Baltic Sea, the aim of which was to attack and occupy Usedom Island north of the German Democratic Republic. The water along the coast of this island is nearly as deep as the water off the coast of Denmark's Lolland Island. The Kremlin is holding more and more exercises like this nearer and nearer the North European countries.

By means of its military strength, the Soviet Union incessantly encroaches upon the territorial sovereignty of the North European countries, gravely menacing their national security. In its drive to wrest an exit south-



ward to the Atlantic Ocean through the Barents Sea and the Norwegian Sea, it has repeatedly pressured Norway to recognize Soviet "special rights" over the Spitsbergen Islands, and attempted to gain access to still wider Norwegian territorial waters during talks on the demarcation of the Barents continental shelf and fishing areas between the two countries. In the meantime, Moscow keeps Denmark under military threat in an attempt to bring the Denmark Strait under its control and gain a passage to the sea for its Baltic Fleet. At present the sphere of activities of the Soviet Baltic Fleet has penetrated within only 20 kilometres of Denmark's coastline. Large landing craft and mine-sweepers of the Soviet Union regularly prowl around the Sjaelland Island where the Danish capital is situated, and a large number

of Soviet bombers fly in formation close to Denmark's territorial air.

With a view to controlling the waters adjacent to Greenland, Iceland, the Faeroe Islands and Scotland, the Soviet Union holds fleet manoeuvres regularly near the Faeroe Islands and flies its strategic bombers over them, while its submarines and espionage boats operate in this sea area.

The growing menace and expansion of the Soviet Union has heightened the vigilance of the North European countries. Since the beginning of this year, all of them have taken concrete steps to strengthen their national defences. The Norwegian Government has proposed a national defence budget of about 1,000 million U.S. dollars this year.

In March this year, the Government of Sweden advanced a 5-year (1978-82) plan stressing the maintenance of a strong overall national defence, with military defence — the main link — incorporating with continued adequate civilian defence as well as various preparatory economic measures against war. In a special statement made in this connection, Swedish Prime Minister Thorbjørn Faellidin pointed out: Our overall defence reflects our resolve to maintain our country's security and independence.

In a speech on June 4 celebrating the 60th anniversary of Finland's independence and the Flag Day of the Finnish Army, Defence Forces Commander-in-Chief Gen. L. Sutela of Finland stressed the importance of strengthening national defence and safeguarding the independence of Finland. He said: The security policy of our country is aimed at maintaining national independence and sovereignty and protecting the safety and welfare of our people.

In Denmark, during a parliamentary debate on defence problems held at the beginning of this year, the defence minister and many MPs pointed out one after another that the country is faced with a fast growing Soviet military threat. Without exception they stressed the necessity for building up national defence. Iceland made known its intention to co-operate with other members of NATO in maintaining a dependable defence, and never for a moment to slacken its vigilance.

The 11th National Congress of the Communist Party of China Greeted

THE 11th National Congress of the Communist Party of China was held in Peking from August 12 to 18. After the closing of the congress, Marxist-Leninist political parties and organizations in many countries and regions and leaders of some countries sent messages or letters of greetings.

Following is the list of the senders in order of the dates on which the messages or letters were published in *Renmin Ribao*.

Kim Il Sung, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea

Le Duan, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Viet Nam

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Viet Nam

Nicolae Ceausescu, General Secretary of the Romanian Communist Party

Kaysone Phomvihane, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party

The Central Committee of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party

First Secretary Enver Hoxha on behalf of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour

Chairman E.F. Hill of the Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist)

Jacques Jurquet, Political Director of the French Journal *l'Humanite Rouge*

Chairman Paal Steigan on behalf of the Central Committee of the Workers' Communist Party (M-L) of Norway

Chairman K. De Boer on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Unity Movement of the Netherlands (Marxist-Leninist)

President Josip Broz Tito of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia

Habib Bourguiba, President of the Political Bureau of the Tunisian Socialist Destour Party

Fazal Elahi Chaudhry, President of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan

General Mohammad Zia-Ul-Haq, Head of the Government of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Malaya

Chairman Ari Trausti Gudmundsson on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist League of Union (Marxist-Leninist) of Iceland

The Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany and Chairman Christian Semler of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany

General Secretary Vincenzo Calo of the Central Committee of the Party of Socialist Revolution of Italy

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Thailand

Niels Henrik Hansen, Member of the Secretariat of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Workers' Party of Denmark

General Secretary Osvaldo Pesce of the Unified Communist Party of Italy

The National Political Committee of the Red Line of the Dominican "June 14" Revolutionary Movement

The National Directorate of the Marxist-Leninist League of Colombia

Chairman Roland Pettersson on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Sweden

The Provisional Central Guidance Group of the Japanese Communist Party (Left)

The Central Committee of the Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) of the United States

The Central Committee of the Spanish Workers' Revolutionary Organization

The National Committee of the Japanese Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist)

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Switzerland (Marxist-Leninist)

The Executive Committee of the Marxist-Leninist Groups of Finland

The Central Committee of the Marxist-Leninist Party of Italy

Chairman Thakin Ba Thein Tin of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Burma

The Political Bureau of the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of France

The Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Japan

The Central Committee of the Labour Party of Spain

President Didier Ratsiraka of the Democratic Republic of Madagascar

General Secretary Kazimierz Mijal of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Poland

Secretary Hans-Gerhart Schmierer of the Central Committee of the Communist League of West Germany

Chairman Wen Ming Chuan of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of North Kalimantan

The Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) of France

Jusuf Adjitorop, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Indonesia, Member of the Political Bureau of the P.K.I. Central Committee and Head of the Delegation of the P.K.I. Central Committee

The Standing Committee of the Revolutionary Communist League of Britain

Chairman Gunnar Andresson on behalf of the Executive Committee of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Iceland (Marxist-Leninist)

Arturo Acero, Political Secretary of the National Directorate of the Marxist-Leninist League of Colombia

Heduino Gomes (Vilar), General Secretary of the Communist Party of Portugal (Marxist-Leninist)

The National Committee of the Communist Workers Movement of Britain

Hafez al-Assad, General Secretary of the Arab Baath Socialist Party and President of the Syrian Arab Republic

French President Valery Giscard d'Estaing

Fernand Lefebvre, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of Belgium

Chairman C. de Hoogh and Secretary C. Petersen of the Central Committee of the Marxist-Leninist Party of the Netherlands

The Standing Committee of the Central Committee of the Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) of Argentina

Secretary Charles Doerner of the Political Bureau of the Communist League of Luxembourg

Chairman Ronny Schueler of the Red Youth of the Swedish Communist Party and Chairman Hans Jonsson of the Student Organization Clarte-Federation of the Swedish Communist Party

General Secretary Nagalingam Sanmugathasan of the Ceylon Communist Party

The Central Committee of the Canadian Communist League (Marxist-Leninist)

The Committee in Support of the Founding of the Party of Dominican Labourers (the Red Line of the "June 14" Revolutionary Movement, the "Proletarian Banner," the Marxist-Leninist Road)

General Secretary Juan B. Mejia of the Central Committee of the "Proletarian Banner" of Dominica

The Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Uruguay

Shahanshah of Iran Mohammad Reza Pahlavi

(To be continued.)

(Continued from p. 14.)

opment of industry and agriculture, of industries run by the central and local authorities and the building of big industries and medium-sized and small ones and the simultaneous use of modern and indigenous methods, are aimed not only at correctly handling the ratio between the various branches of the national economy but, more important, at bringing into fuller play the positive factors in all fields of endeavour, so that the people in their hundreds of millions can fully devote their energy to socialist construction which in turn will truly become an undertaking of theirs.

Chairman Mao said: **"Society's wealth is created by workers, peasants and working intellectuals. Provided they take their destiny into their own hands, provided they have a Marxist-Leninist line and energetically tackle problems instead of evading them, they can overcome any difficulty on earth."** (*Editor's Notes From "Socialist Upsurge in China's Countryside,"* 1955.) Practice in socialist construction over the past 20 years and more fully testifies to the correctness of this thesis of Chairman Mao's.

The theory, line, principles and methods Chairman Mao advanced for launching mass movements in socialist construction have enormously enriched and developed the basic Marxist principle that the people are the makers of history.

We must rely on the working class and the poor and lower-middle peasants wholeheartedly, have greater faith in the masses, rely on them more fully and respect their pioneering efforts.

We must keep to the line of "from the masses and back to the masses" and conscientiously follow this line in all our work. When we decide on the principles and policies, draw up

plans, establish rules and regulations and deal with problems, we must listen to the opinions of the masses and be good at gathering their correct opinions and carrying them through so as to turn them into conscious actions by the masses.

We must do well in combining soaring revolutionary spirit with a strict scientific approach and keep to the fine tradition and style of work of seeking truth from facts.

We must go deep into reality, make investigation and study, be adept in discovering and summing up the advanced experience of the masses and conscientiously popularize it. Meanwhile, we must show concern for the well-being of the masses.

We must strengthen Party leadership, uphold the principle of democratic centralism and do a good job of combining full democracy with centralized, unified leadership. In those enterprises and localities where the Party's mass line is correctly implemented and big efforts are made to launch mass movements, the people's political consciousness has invariably been enhanced and production has made rapid headway.

At present, our socialist revolution and construction have entered a new period of development. The revolutionary mass movements **In industry, learn from Taching** and **In agriculture, learn from Tachai** initiated by Chairman Mao are surging ahead. The socialist revolutionary emulation campaign is gaining momentum in all parts of the country and on all fronts. The people throughout the country are now working hard to build China into a great, powerful and modern socialist country. And in all this, Chairman Mao's great theory is the guide to our march forward.

An Ultra-Right Line

— A visit to Wenchow, Chékiang Province

by Our Correspondents Tien San-sung and Chao Yi-ou

CHAIRMAN Hua Kuo-feng said last December at the Second National Conference on Learning From Tachai in Agriculture that the members of the "gang of four" were ultra-Rightists, "out-and-out capitalist-roaders and the most ferocious counter-revolutionaries." "They could not have pursued a line farther to the Right!" During our several days in Wenchow we heard people everywhere denounce the gang's ultra-Right line.

One of the richest provinces in China, Chekiang in 1972 was the first province to exceed an average per-mu grain yield of 1,000 *jin* (7.5 tons per hectare).

Lying near the estuary of the Ou River which flows to the sea, Wenchow city (300,000 population) in southern Chekiang is about 450 kilometres from the provincial capital—Hangchow. The city and its seven surrounding counties form the Wenchow Prefecture, a rich area in the province. The city once had only small craft industries. After liberation in 1949 new industries were established, and by 1975 fixed industrial assets were 160 times those in the early 1950s. Engineering, chemical, ceramics and electronic instruments and meters industries have been started. Expanding production has created a flourishing market and brought along a steady improvement in living standards.

Subverting the Dictatorship of the Proletariat

For years, Wang Hung-wen and Chiang Ching had directly meddled with Chekiang and built up a bourgeois factional setup there. In early 1976, their trusties in Wenchow Prefecture

rigged up an "underground command centre" and declared that they would throw the local leading organs of the Party and administration into chaos and set up a "leading group responsible to the commands" of Wang Hung-wen. Flaunting the banner of opposing the restoration of capitalism, they went about restoring capitalism. The "underground command centre" spread rumours, stirred up strife and beguiled the masses. Decking themselves out as "revolutionary rebels," they labelled at will the leading cadres at various levels as "restorationist forces" and beleaguered them. Their aim was to paralyse the leading groups at all levels. They incited and supported landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and new and old bourgeois elements to "rebel" and seize power. The dictatorship of the proletariat was toppled in some departments and grass-roots units and replaced by a bourgeois, fascist dictatorship.

The "gang of four" was a counter-revolutionary sinister cabal made up of a Kuomintang special agent, a renegade, an alien class element and a newborn bourgeois element. In Wenchow Prefecture, the core of their factional setups was made up of bad elements of every stripe, and these were the gang's social basis.

For instance, the "underground command centre" in Yungchia County of the prefecture had nine members, including a murderer, an embezzler and speculator, an alien class element and three hard-core smash-and-grab elements. At one discussion meeting, comrades from the county's Chiangpei People's Commune told us how class enemies, aided and abetted by these

gangsters, rode roughshod over the people. A certain landlord named Hsieh in Yosheng Brigade headed disturbances demanding parcelling out land to be farmed by individual households. When poor peasant Li Hung-wang, a commune member, came out against the landlord, he was seriously wounded by the latter. When counter-revolutionary Chen in Paishui Brigade flagrantly occupied the collective's cultivated land, the peasants came forward to remonstrate, and four of them were injured. After Tung Ah-fu, an embezzler and grafter, usurped power in Tang-tou Brigade, he armed himself with a dagger and stocked his house with explosives. Whoever resisted him was made to suffer. He was responsible for wounding more than 20 commune members.

Much the same thing happened in Wenchow city where an "underground command centre" existed. At one stage last year, electricity and running water were cut off. Schools were closed, factories stopped work, the harbour and wharves were paralysed and even hospitals and post offices were not functioning. The whole city was paralysed by their deliberate sabotage. In factories and streets, fortified positions were established and manned by "people's militia commands" knocked together by the "command centre." Beatings, mob fighting and open-house gambling were common. There was even a case of armed bank robbery in broad daylight. Those wretched days, people in the city said, were not unlike the days of Kuomintang rule before liberation.

Class Polarization in the Villages

The socialist economic foundation was also seriously damaged.

In the villages, "underground command centres" forced peasants to divide up the collective's land among the households. Hand in glove with urban capitalist forces, they set up underground factories or transport teams and made fabulous profits. The socialist collective economy of the people's communes was seriously impaired or even destroyed. Yungchia County was one of the worst hit by this adverse current. In 1976 over 80 per cent of the 6,900 production teams in the county were compelled to parcel out all or a part of their land among individual households. Agricultural production



Wenchow Harbour bustling again.

was badly damaged. The per-mu grain yield in 1976 dropped to the 1963 level.

Within a year of this land division, class polarization became very evident. Those peasant households which lacked labour power or had weak or sick members were unable to farm the land and had great difficulties to make ends meet. The tragedies of having to sell their children so widespread during Kuomintang rule before liberation reappeared in a few mountain villages. A few quickly grew rich. In Yungchia we saw privately owned new buildings which stood in sharp contrast to the houses of the peasants.

Free Market

Nothing can better demonstrate the capitalist resurgence more clearly than the free market.

People told us that in the last few years, 1976 in particular, unlicensed stalls crowded

downtown Wenchow. They offered a large variety of commodities, and practically had control of the market selling meat, eggs, vegetables, marine products and other non-staple foodstuff. These private traders stockpiled and cornered goods, jacked up prices to exploit consumers. This was the first time such practices had occurred since the socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce in the city after the founding of New China.

From the mid-1950s onward, socialist commerce has been the chief organizer of commodity circulation in China. Socialist commerce, including state-owned shops, co-operative shops and government-licensed stalls of a co-operative nature, allocate commodities according to state unified planning and sell or purchase at state-set prices. These shops and stalls do business not for profit, but to promote the growth of industrial and agricultural production and to meet people's needs. As commune members still farm small plots for their personal needs and engage in domestic side-occupations, there are rural fairs where peasants help meet each other's wants. These fairs permitted and managed by the government are subsidiary to socialist commerce and account for only a tiny fraction of the total volume of trade.

Sharing out land among peasant households to farm on their own and the free marketing of products destroyed the overall cultivation plan of the people's communes. State purchasing channels to the villages were obstructed and the flow of goods to state-owned shops fell to a mere trickle. The market could not be supplied in a planned way. What made things worse was that the harbour in Wenchow city was put out of commission so that goods could not be shipped in. Meat, egg and vegetable supplies handled by the city's state-owned shops in 1976 went down 79.99 and 61 per cent respectively against those of 1965. This afforded a fine opportunity for the capitalist forces to step in. The free market flourished. If socialist commerce does not hold sway over the commercial field, it is inevitable that the capitalist forces will do. This is a manifestation of the law of class struggle in the economic sphere.

The consumers were, of course, heavily fleeced by unscrupulous free market merchants.

Take vegetables for example. Free market prices were several to a dozen times higher than those of state-owned shops. Every day, Wenchow residents had to pay several-fold more for vegetables alone. It was the same with other consumer goods. Strange things happened. One was eight-fen stamps being sold for 20 fen!

Unscrupulous merchant exploitation sent living standards plunging. People had to worry constantly about daily necessities like fuel, rice, cooking oil and salt. Life was chaotic. In contrast, a handful of private merchants, particularly the profiteers and speculators, "build themselves fine houses and daily indulge in feasting," went a local saying. Class polarization grew sharply. As in Yungchia, those ostentatious new homes in Wenchow city built by upstarts are eloquent, standing evidence of the class polarization which followed in the wake of capitalist restoration.

Guardians of the Bourgeoisie

Wenchow residents loathed the free market, but this capitalist monstrosity thrived under the protection of the city's "underground command centre."

A responsible comrade from the municipal office of finance and trade told us: "The free market was manipulated by a few people who did as they pleased. They were organized into a clique which was protected by the municipal 'people's militia command,' the 'gang of four's' second armed force. With this setup behind them, they had the market firmly in their grip and could fix prices as they liked. Every time we struck at them, confidants of the 'gang of four' would step in to interfere and undo our work. Responding to Chairman Mao's call in 1975 to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Wenchow municipal Party committee mobilized the masses to study this theory and launch class struggle in the economic field in the light of local conditions. The city sentenced a number of speculators and profiteers. But in 1976, the sinister 'underground command centre' let these criminals loose again.

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ROUND THE WORLD

U.N.

Combating Desertification

The United Nations Conference on the Growth of Desert Land which began on August 29 ended in Nairobi on September 9. Over 1,500 delegates from about 100 countries and regions in the world attended the conference.

The conference studied processes and causes of the growth of desert land and discussed measures of arresting it and of transforming and utilizing deserts. A plan of action to combat desertification and a number of other resolutions and recommendations were passed at the conference.

The desertified land surface of the world has been expanding in the past decades. Scores of countries are being menaced by desertification and calamities concomitant with the growth of desert land. This is particularly true with the developing countries.

Many delegates from third world countries in their speeches at plenary sessions and committee meetings of the conference condemned imperialism, colonialism, racism and Zionism which are the important political and social factors for the growth of desert land. O.A.U. Assistant Secretary-General N. Djoudi said that desertification could not be separated from "questions of social and political phenomena resulting from the colonial system." Delegates of

the Democratic Yemen and the United Arab Emirates held that colonialism, apart from natural factors, had contributed to the deterioration of soil and the process of desertification in their countries.

Many third world countries stressed the significance of establishing a new international economic order to solve this problem. The Romanian delegate said that activities to combat desertification should be carried out in the spirit of the principles adopted by the United Nations for establishing a new international economic order. Secretary-General of the conference and Executive Director of the U.N. Environment Programme Mostafa Tolba said: "The action against desertification will not yield results unless governments perceive it as an integral part of their plans for social and economic development, and as part of their collective efforts to establish a new international economic order."

Head of the Chinese Delegation Wang Yueh-yi pointed out: "Only by struggling resolutely for the destruction of the old international economic order, and for the establishment of new and fair international economic relations in the spirit of the 'declaration' and 'programme of action' of the Sixth Special Session of the U.N. General Assembly, and by enabling a great number of developing countries to rid themselves of aggression, control and plunder by colonialism, imperialism and particu-

larly superpower hegemonism will the third world countries be able to keep their natural resources in their own hands and independently develop their national economies, thus creating necessary conditions for preventing and controlling desertification."

TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO

Effective Use of Oil Revenue

Gratifying achievements have been made by Trinidad and Tobago in using its oil revenues to develop the national economy and remedy step by step the economic backwardness left over from colonial rule.

The sole oil producer in the English-speaking Caribbean area, Trinidad and Tobago now produces 220,000 barrels of crude oil and refines 450,000 barrels of domestic and imported crude every day. Oil revenues are going up by big margins. Last year, oil income totalled 1,205 million Trinidad and Tobago dollars, ten times as much as three years ago.

In the past eight years, the government has acquired 50.1 per cent of the shares of the Trinidad Tesoro Oil Company, nationalized all local holdings of the British Shell, and bought up two-thirds of the Trimar Oil Company shares. Moreover, negotiations with the U.S. Texaco are under way for a majority government equity participation in its local business.

Trinidad and Tobago has greatly benefited by increase in oil income earned as a result of the adoption of those measures.

For instance, the state-owned Trinidad and Tobago Oil Company (Trintoc), founded in 1974 on the nationalized Shell holdings, contributed to the government a revenue of 109.5 million T.T. dollars in its first year of operation, or 15.9 million T.T. dollars more than the price which the government paid for the enterprise. Last year, Trintoc contributed still more to the government, a sum total of 128 million T.T. dollars. At the same time, Trintoc's daily crude output has gone up from 6,000 barrels in 1974 to 8,000. In addition, the country's daily natural gas output rose from 104.6 million cubic feet in 1972 to 126.5 million in 1975, a growth rate of 7 per cent each year. The country set up a state-owned national gas company last year to take charge of oil marketing.

The government of Trinidad and Tobago is paying attention

to promoting other industries with earnings derived from oil and natural gas. At Point Lisas, on the west coast of Trinidad, a fairly large industrial centre embracing a power plant, an ammonia factory and an iron and steel mill is now under construction. The government endorsed in July the establishment of a national shipping service fund of 100 million T.T. dollars to set up a shipping corporation of Trinidad and Tobago Ltd. and a tanker fleet to transport oil products and liquid natural gas.

DEMOCRATIC KAMPUCHEA

Phnom Penh Industrial Development

Phnom Penh workers have built many new industrial plants, including a shipyard, an acid works, an automobile repair plant and No. 6 Machine Tool Plant in addition to repairing and enlarging a number of factories. They have done all these in the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and hard work for the prosperity of their country.

In the Phnom Penh No. 3 Textile Mill which was severely damaged during the war, production has gone up steadily since it was repaired in September 1975. Today, with one worker tending 3 to 6 looms, average daily cloth output is 14,000 metres.

Much of the equipment in the rubber-processing factory in

Phnom Penh was destroyed during the war, but in September 1975 the factory was back in production. Output of cured rubber now averages 40 to 50 tons per day, 80 per cent of which are first-grade.

Most workers of this factory who came from worker and peasant families had served in the revolutionary army during the war. Through studying hard in the factory, they have all learnt several technical skills. They have made many machines by themselves and rebuilt a wharf, thus reducing labour intensity and raising productivity.

Pumps, shellers, rice-transplanters, crushers and other machines turned out by machine-tool plants of the city are warmly welcomed by the co-op peasants.

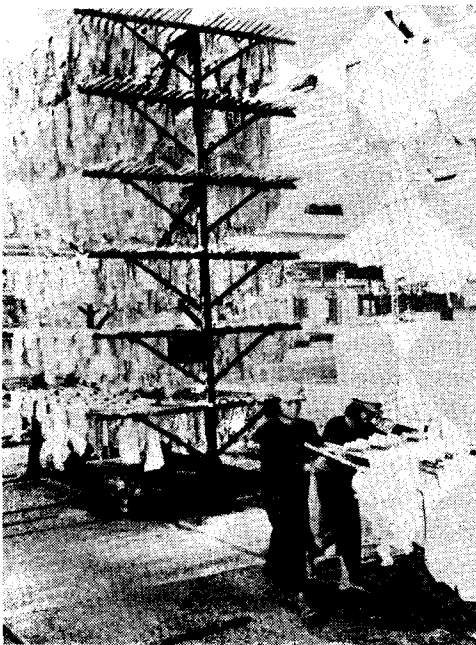
RHODESIA

Serious Economic Crisis

Rhodesia is plagued by serious economic difficulties resulting from the arms expansion and war preparation by the racist Smith regime to intensify suppression of the national-liberation movement.

Gross national product has declined for three years running. Compared with 1974, it fell 1.1 per cent in 1975, and 3.4 per cent in 1976, and is expected to slip further this year.

There has been a continuous decrease in industrial production in the past few years. The building industry has been seriously affected by the unstable political situation. Its output value dropped 20 per cent last year and 31 per cent in the first four months of this year com-



At a Kampuchean rubber factory workshop.

pared with the corresponding 1976 period. Chrome production and export have fallen as a result of international sanctions and the prospects are not good. The railways have suffered heavy losses since Mozambique and Zambia closed their borders with Rhodesia. The deficit last year was 28.9 million rand and the railways can keep functioning only with massive public subsidies.

Production of main crops and the number of livestock have

fallen in the last two years. In the first five months of 1977, agricultural and pastoral production dropped 2.8 per cent, with tobacco, the major industrial crop, dwindling to 85,000 tons from 138,000 tons in 1965.

Despite the worsening economy and the resultant mounting unemployment, the Smith regime has continued to increase its military expenditure. As the 1976-77 budget shows, "defence" expenditure comes to 200 million rand, an increase of 40

per cent over the previous fiscal year, making up a quarter of the budget. If other "security" expenditure is included, total military expenditure in the current fiscal year will account for 36.5 per cent of the budget.

Decreased production coupled with increased military spending have brought about a huge financial deficit and terrible inflation. The Smith regime is now resorting to high taxation and heavy borrowing to maintain its tottering rule.

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They took back by force their ill-gotten gains and even physically attacked the comrades in charge of the market."

The "gang of four" was a pack of political swindlers. When they usurped a portion of power in the Party Central Committee, they shouted ultra-revolutionary slogans under the guise of Marxism-Leninism and managed to deceive some people. However, what the gang's factional setups fostered in various places exposed just how "revolutionary" and "radical" they were. Wenchow Prefecture affords a good illustration. The "gang of four's" henchmen there openly pursued an ultra-Right line organizationally, politically and economically. What happened in the prefecture provides convincing material to teach by negative example the local people and the people throughout the country.

People in Wenchow hated the ultra-Right line bitterly; many Communists and cadres at all levels, undaunted by persecution and even at the risk of their lives, led the masses in waging a tenacious struggle against that counter-revolutionary line. After the "gang of four" was toppled, a wave of exposure and criticism of the "underground command centres" at various levels built up. Class enemies among the gang's

followers were arrested, criticized by the masses and dealt with according to law. The gang's factional setups were rapidly demolished. The prefecture and municipal Party committees seized back the power of leadership and in a very short time checked the spread of capitalism. In Yungchia County the land parcelled out among individual households was returned within a month to the communes for collective cultivation.

Early this year market management was strengthened in Wenchow city and unlicensed stalls were banned. The free market was stamped out in seven days. The municipal Party committee gave strong leadership over vegetable production and marketing, and production teams again grew vegetables according to plan. We saw for ourselves that the daily quantity of vegetables for each resident in the city was twice that of 1965. Demand was adequately met. Other state-owned shops have also re-occupied the commercial field.

The vast changes that have taken place in Wenchow Prefecture testifies to the correctness of the strategic decision, "grasp the key link of class struggle and bring about great order across the land," implemented by the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua after the smashing of the "gang of four."