

PEKING REVIEW

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January 6, 1978

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報

A BRIGHT CHINA

— 1978 New Year's Day editorial by "Renmin Ribao," "Hongqi" and "Jiefangjun Bao"

Vice-Chairman Yeh's Speech

— At the Enlarged Seventh Session of the Standing Committee of the Fourth National Committee of the C.P.P.C.C.

Why Did Chang Chun-chiao Kick Up a Fuss Over the Question of Ownership

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New Year Reception

On New Year's eve, Party and state leaders joined foreign experts and their wives in greeting the New Year at a reception given by the General Office of the State Council. These foreign experts from more than 40 countries are now in Peking helping China with its socialist construction.

Teng Hsiao-ping, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Vice-Premier of the State Council, proposed a toast at the reception. On behalf of the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese Government and people, he thanked the foreign experts for their hard, tireless work and valuable contributions in the past year.

In his toast, Vice-Chairman Teng pointed out: "At present, the international situation continues to develop in a direction favourable to the people of all countries and unfavourable to imperialism and social-imperialism. Countries want independence, nations want liberation and the people want revolution — this has become the irresistible trend of history. The Chinese people are determined to act according to Chairman Mao's strategic concept differentiating the three worlds, uphold proletarian internationalism and implement Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in foreign affairs. We will give resolute support to the people of the world in their just struggle against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism, to

the people of all countries in opposing the superpowers' policies of aggression and war, and to all revolutionary and progressive causes."

Speaking of the domestic situation, Vice-Chairman Teng said: "With the in-depth development of the mass movement to expose and criticize the 'gang of four' and to eradicate its pernicious influence in all fields, profound changes have taken place and great progress has been made on the political, economic, military, scientific, educational and cultural fronts. The goal of achieving initial success within one year has been attained."

He went on to say: "Chairman Mao always enjoined us to learn from the strong points of all countries. Out of profound friendship for the Chinese people, you experts have come to help us in our work. We hope that you will impart to us all your knowledge and experience, while we on our part will welcome your straightforward criticisms of shortcomings and problems in our work and your suggestions for improvement. All Chinese comrades must diligently learn from the good experience and strong points of the foreign experts."

C.P.P.C.C. Standing Committee Meets

The Standing Committee of the Fourth National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference held a three-day enlarged meeting in

Peking in the closing week of 1977.

Chairman Hua Kuo-feng and Vice-Chairmen Yeh Chien-ying, Teng Hsiao-ping, Li Hsien-nien and Wang Tung-hsing of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and other Party and state leaders attended the meeting.

The C.P.P.C.C. is a united front organization led by the Chinese Communist Party. For a long time in the past, it has not met on such a large scale. When the enlarged meeting opened last December 27, all participants stood in silent tribute to the memory of Chairman Mao Tsetung and Premier Chou En-lai who were Honorary Chairman and Chairman of the C.P.P.C.C. National Committee.

The meeting unanimously adopted a resolution supporting the C.P.C. Central Committee's proposal that the First Session of the Fifth National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference be convened in Peking in spring 1978 and that its members be present as observers at the First Session of the Fifth National People's Congress which will be held at the same time.

Yeh Chien-ying, Vice-Chairman of the C.P.C. Central Committee and concurrently Vice-Chairman of the C.P.P.C.C. National Committee, made an important speech during the meeting. He pointed out that the convocation of the Fifth Na-

tional People's Congress and the Fifth National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference will be a major event in the political life of the people of all nationalities in our country and that it is an important measure of consolidating and developing politically and organizationally the victory in smashing the "gang of four" and to achieving stability and unity and bringing about great order across the land. (See p. 13.)

Fang Yi, Member of the Political Bureau of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Vice-President of the Chinese Academy of Sciences, delivered a report on the situation in science and education.

Participants in the meeting were greatly inspired by the fact that Chairman Hua and the Party Central Committee firmly implemented the united front policy and relevant principles laid down by Chairman Mao, attached great importance to the united front work and the C.P.P.C.C., showed concern for non-Party personages and encouraged them to make progress.

Provincial People's Congresses

To date, about half of the 29 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions in China have recently held people's congresses. Generally lasting a week, they shouldered the tasks of summing up the work of the revolutionary committees, putting forward new tasks, electing new revolutionary committees and deputies to the Fifth National People's Congress to be held in Peking.

People's political consultative conferences in various provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions also met at about the same time or a bit later.

The Peking municipal people's congress came to a close in early December last year. At the plenary session on December 3, the deputies elected Chairman Hua Kuo-feng a deputy of Peking to the Fifth National People's Congress; they also elected Wu Teh Chairman of the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee.

In his report to the congress, Wu Teh reviewed the capital's achievements in socialist revolution and construction in the last ten years. He noted: Peking has been built step by step into an industrial centre which mainly turns out iron and steel, petrochemicals, machinery and instruments and meters. The city's total industrial output value in 1977 was 3.7 times that of 1965 and the floor space of capital construction projects in the 1966-76 period was equivalent to the total area of old Peking. In agriculture, the collective economy has been further consolidated and notable changes have taken place in the countryside, with new advances in farming, forestry, animal husbandry, side-occupations and fisheries. Wu Teh also spoke of Peking's long-term development plans.

French Marxist-Leninist Communist Party Greeted

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China sent a message on December 29,

1977 to the Central Committee of the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of France, extending warm and fraternal congratulations on the tenth anniversary of its founding. The message reads:

"During the past ten years, the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of France has spared no effort to integrate the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the revolution in France; it has inherited the tradition of the Paris Commune, held aloft the banner of revolution and waged an indefatigable struggle against the monopoly capital of your country and against the two super-powers — the Soviet Union and the United States, Soviet social-imperialism in particular — and for the establishment of socialism in France.

"The Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of France has gained heartening success in criticizing revisionism, in strengthening Party building and in forging close ties with the masses.

"At present, the international situation continues to develop in a direction favourable to the people of the world. We are convinced that in this excellent situation, the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of France will win still greater victories in the course of struggle.

"Based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, the friendship and unity between our two Parties will surely develop further and become more consolidated."

Chairman Hua Receives Taiwan Compatriots

In the afternoon of December 22, 1977, Chairman Hua Kuo-feng and Vice-Chairmen Yeh Chien-ying, Li Hsien-nien and Wang Tung-hsing received Taiwan compatriots who were in Peking attending a meeting to elect through consultations deputies of Taiwan Province to the forthcoming Fifth National People's Congress.

When Chairman Hua and the other leading comrades entered the reception hall, the Taiwan compatriots from all parts of the country burst into cheers.

Among those Taiwan compatriots received were cadres from central Party and government organs, workers, peasants, commanders and fighters of the People's Liberation Army, personnel working in the cultural, educational, scientific, technical and medical fields. Some were of Kaoshan nationality and others were patriotic democrats and young people who had returned from abroad a short time ago.

Chinese Characters Simplified

More Chinese characters have been simplified to make the Chinese written language easier to master. With fewer strokes than before, they are a boon to the youngsters in their studies.

A draft scheme comprising 853 simplified Chinese characters was published recently with the approval of the State Council for experimental use and for soliciting opinions from the general public. Since a similar draft scheme was first

published in 1956, a total of more than 3,000 Chinese characters have been simplified, making up more than half of the 4,500 in common use out of a total of 50,000 Chinese characters. Simplifying all the characters will take some time, but the efforts so far made will doubtless be of great help to those wishing to learn the Chinese language.

A few examples from the second draft scheme will help illustrate the point:

𠃑 for 酒 (wine)
午 for 舞 (dance)
冫 for 雪 (snow)
面 for 面 (face)
𠃑 for 鞭 (whip)
入 for 寡 (little)

Chairman Mao who always attached very great importance to reforming the Chinese written language issued many directives concerning this work. In 1951 he said: "The written language of our country must be reformed and oriented to the use of phonetic alphabet as is common with the world's other written languages." In line with Chairman Mao's instructions, Premier Chou En-lai in 1958 set forth the following three tasks: simplifying the Chinese characters, popularizing the common speech (*pu tung hua*), and drawing up and putting into practice a scheme for a Chinese phonetic alphabet. The recent publication of the second draft scheme is a step forward to the fulfillment of these tasks.

In the News

• Li Hsien-nien, Vice-Chairman of the C.P.C. Central Committee, met on December 19,

1977 with the Delegation of the Central Committee of the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of Greece led by Isaak Iordanidis.

• Premier Hua Kuo-feng on December 24, 1977 sent a message to Shahanshah of Iran, expressing deep sympathy and solicitude to the people of the earthquake-stricken area in the southeastern part of Iran.

• E.F. Hill, Chairman of the Australian Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist), and his wife arrived in Peking last December 18 for a friendly visit at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. The following evening, Vice-Chairman Li Hsien-nien feted Chairman Hill and his wife. Vice-Chairman Teng Hsiao-ping also hosted a banquet in honour of the Australian guests on December 26.

• Chairmam Hua Kuo-feng met last December 27 with the internationally renowned Dutch film director Joris Ivens and French film worker Marceline Loridan.

• Keng Piao, Member of the Political Bureau of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Head of its International Liaison Department, met and gave a dinner on December 29, 1977 for all members of a workers' delegation of the Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) of the U.S.A.

• Premier Hua Kuo-feng on January 1 sent a message to the Amir of the State of Kuwait Sheikh Jaber al-Ahmad al-Sabah, expressing deep condolences on the death of Amir Sheikh Sabah al-Salem al-Sabah.

A Bright China

—1978 New Year's Day editorial by "Renmin Ribao," "Hongqi" and "Jiefangjun Bao"

IN the year 1977, all kinds of people round the world, including some of our friends and comrades as well as our enemies, kept an eye on China, wondering where the country was going after losing her great leader and teacher Chairman Mao Tsetung and her respected and beloved Premier Chou En-lai and Chairman of the National People's Congress Standing Committee Chu Teh and after smashing the "gang of four."

What did they see? They saw the Party Central Committee headed by the wise leader Chairman Hua hold aloft the great banner of Chairman Mao and the 800 million Chinese people rally closely round the successor chosen by Chairman Mao. They saw Chairman Hua lead us in grasping the key link of class struggle and bringing about great order across the land, resulting in stability and unity throughout the country and a vigorous development in production and construction. They saw that with the elimination of the "four pests," China's beautiful land became even more resplendent and the Chinese revolution went forging ahead along the course charted by Chairman Mao!

Our struggle with the "gang of four" was another struggle between two possible destinies for China. Would there be a bright China or a dark China? The great decisive victory of October 1976 already gave the answer. But the development of the political and economic situation throughout the country was so splendid and so fast that it exceeded our expectations.

Initial Success of Strategic Decision

At the central working conference in March 1977, Chairman Hua proposed that initial success should be won in one year and marked

success in three years in implementing the strategic decision of grasping the key link of class struggle and bringing about great order across the land. The year 1977 is now over and initial success has indeed been won in implementing the strategic decision. Following are the major indications:

One. The movement to expose and criticize the "gang of four" has advanced rapidly and healthily, the rights and wrongs concerning the line which were for a long time confused by the "gang of four" have been basically clarified, and Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line can now be implemented quite smoothly on all fronts. After smashing the "gang of four," Chairman Hua and the Party Central Committee have time and again stressed the great significance of holding high and safeguarding the banner of Chairman Mao, made public a series of Chairman Mao's directives criticizing the "gang of four" and published Volume V of the *Selected Works of Mao Tsetung*, thus providing the cadres and masses with a powerful ideological weapon to master Mao Tsetung Thought comprehensively and accurately, to deepen the exposure and criticism of the "gang of four" and to carry on socialist revolution and construction. The central working conference in March, the Third Plenary Session of the Tenth Party Central Committee in July and particularly the 11th Party Congress achieved unity of thinking throughout the Party, made clear the orientation and rallied the whole Party still more closely round the Party Central Committee. This has enabled our struggle to overcome all forms of interference and advance triumphantly under the guidance of Mao Tsetung Thought.

Two. As far as the great majority of localities and departments are concerned, in-

vestigation of the individuals involved in and the incidents connected with the conspiracy of the "gang of four" to usurp Party and state power has in the main been completed and the class alignment has in the main become clear. The bourgeois factional setup of the "gang of four" and their followers have been dealt a crushing blow. The Party and people have taken back that portion of power which was usurped by them and have solved the problems of those departments and localities which were once under their tight control or seriously undermined by them. In a number of provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions as well as some departments under the Party Central Committee and the State Council, the leading bodies have been readjusted and strengthened.

Three. The oppressive situation in which "ten thousand horses stand mute" under the tyranny of the "gang of four" has ended, and the whole Party, the whole army and the people of the whole country have become invigorated. The Party's fine tradition and style of work of seeking truth from facts and following the mass line are being revived and carried forward. Proletarian democratic centralism is being carried out in a better way. People's minds are at ease and lively. The political situation envisaged by Chairman Mao — a political situation in which we have both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness — is taking shape.

Four. Forceful blows have been dealt at disrupters aided and abetted by the "gang of four" — smash-and-grabbers, criminals seriously undermining public security and landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries and bad elements who hated socialism and launched vengeful counterattacks. Public order has been greatly improved to the satisfaction of the people. This is especially true in those places which suffered the most.

Five. The conspiracy of the "gang of four" to oppose and disrupt the army and usurp its leadership has been exposed and criticized by commanders and fighters throughout the army. The army has conducted education in ideology and the Party line through a discussion of "ten shoulds or shouldn'ts"* to eliminate the pernicious influence of the "gang of four," correct

unhealthy tendencies and restore and carry forward the spirit of the "Kutien Meeting." The Party's leadership over the army has been greatly strengthened. The movements to learn from Lei Feng and from the "Hard-Boned 6th Company" and military training are going full steam ahead.

Six. An encouraging new situation has appeared in the scientific, educational and cultural fields where the interference and sabotage by the "gang of four" were serious. Criticism of the "two estimates" has freed the intellectuals from mental shackles and fired them with greater enthusiasm for socialism. They are working hard to catch up with and surpass advanced world levels and enrich socialist culture, education and science. The young people have shown unprecedented interest in acquiring general and scientific knowledge for the sake of the revolution. A new high tide in the development of socialist culture is in the offing.

Seven. The situation in the national economy has taken a turn for the better after a long period of stagnation or even back-sliding, which resulted from interference and sabotage by the "gang of four." The mass movements to learn from Taching in industry and from Tachai in agriculture are developing vigorously. Despite serious natural adversities, we have reaped a fairly good grain harvest, increased the output of cotton, and made progress in forestry, animal husbandry, side-line production and fishery. Farmland capital construction is being carried out on a big scale. Industrial production, which went up step by step in an all-round way, has rapidly reached or surpassed previous records. This started with the improvement in railway transportation. Coal production did well too. The output of petroleum

* In order to set to rights what had been turned upside down by the "gang of four" with regard to question of right and wrong in the political line and to eradicate the pernicious influence, Chairman Hua Kuo-feng and Vice-Chairman Yeh Chien-ying issued important directives in spring 1977, requiring the army to make clear ten questions such as whether the Party should or shouldn't exercise absolute leadership over the army and whether the army should or shouldn't carry out rigorous training and set strict demands. To get a clear understanding of the ten questions constitutes a fundamental measure in grasping the key link of class struggle and running the army well.

rose steadily and that of chemical fertilizer soared. The output of iron and steel came up in the third and fourth quarters with a marked increase in daily output. The increase in total industrial output value is estimated at 14 per cent, far exceeding the 8 per cent target planned at the beginning of 1977. On the commercial front, both purchasing and marketing are brisk. There has been a marked increase in financial income which, however, failed to meet state plans for several years running. Revenue and expenditure are balanced, with a small surplus. Sixty per cent of China's wage earners are getting more pay through wage increases made possible by the development of production. The year 1977 was truly a major turning point for China's national economy; it was a new starting point for a steady rise after stagnation, fluctuation and back-sliding.

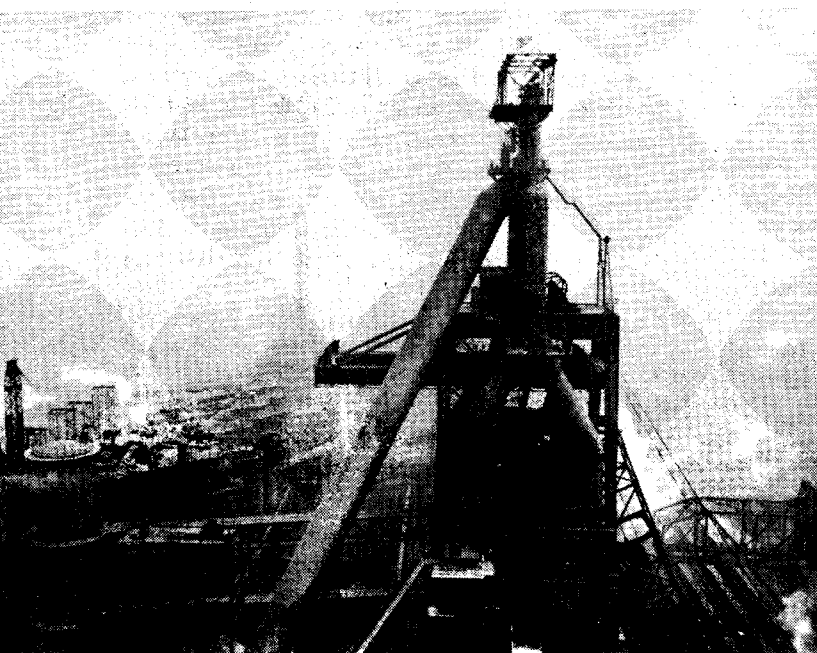
Eight. The disastrous effects on various fields of work caused by the "gang of four" through their frenzied sabotage of the Party's policies towards cadres, intellectuals and minority nationalities are being eliminated step by step. The split caused by the gang in some areas and organizations has been cemented and the chaos overcome. Chairman Mao's principle of

overall consideration and all-round arrangement is being carried out systematically. The unification of our country, the unity of our people and the unity of our various nationalities have been consolidated and strengthened. Our united front led by the working class, based on the worker-peasant alliance and including patriotic democratic parties, patriotic personages, compatriots in Taiwan, compatriots in Hongkong and Macao and overseas Chinese is growing in strength and scope.

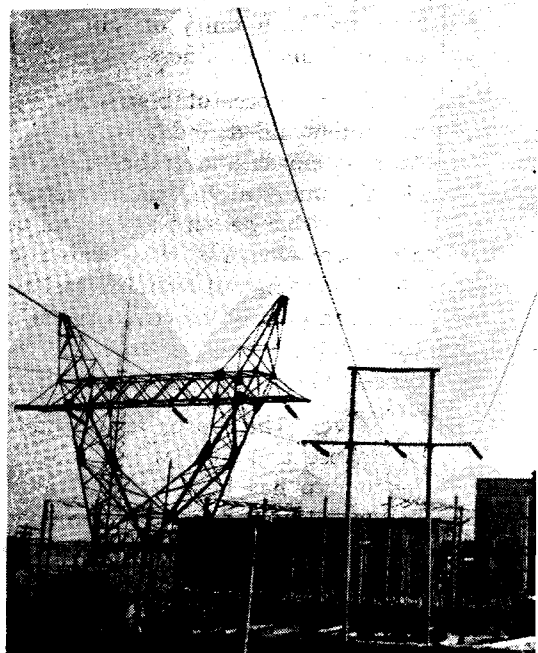
In foreign affairs, we have firmly adhered to Chairman Mao's strategic concept differentiating the three worlds and carried out his line, principles and policies. We firmly support the world's people in their just struggle against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism, firmly support the people of various countries in opposing the superpowers' policies of aggression and war, and firmly support all revolutionary and progressive causes. Our country enjoys ever-growing international prestige and we have friends all over the world.

These are our achievements of the past year. One year is but a flash in the endless flow of history. Nevertheless in this fleeting

A modern blast furnace built in the Anshan Iron and Steel Company in 1977.



A newly built power station in Shansi Province.



year, the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua has led us from victory to victory in grasping the key link of class struggle and running the country well. From their own experience the people of China have come to understand more and more deeply that socialist revolution and socialist construction in China have truly entered a new period of development, and that the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua deserves to be called the vigorous fighting command of the proletariat which holds aloft the great banner of Chairman Mao. The whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country are delighted to have such a wise leader and supreme commander as Chairman Hua. When drinking the water think of its source. Therefore we all the more cherish the memory of our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao who showed great foresight in choosing such an excellent successor for us. And it is invincible Mao Tsetung Thought that has guided us to advance from victory to victory.

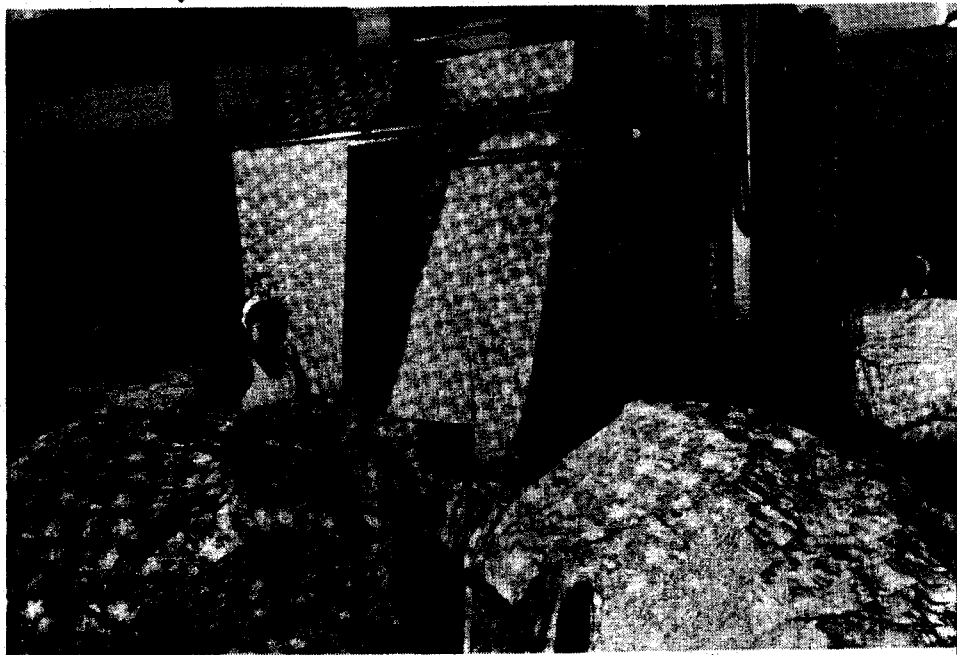
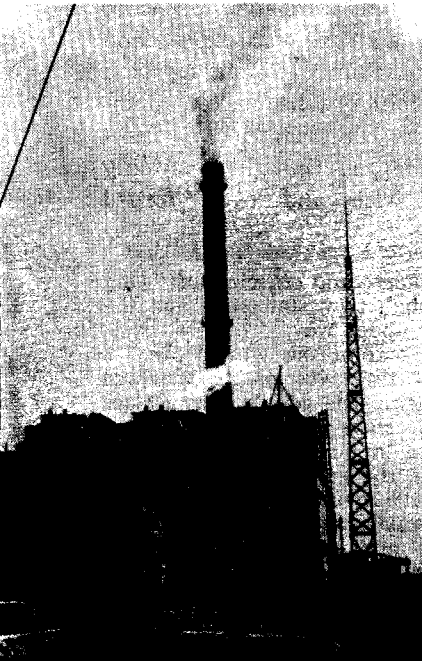
Tasks for 1978

For the achievement of marked success in three years in grasping the key link of class

struggle and bringing about great order across the land, 1978 counts as an important year. In the new year, the whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country should continue to hold aloft the great banner of Chairman Mao, follow the line of the 11th Party Congress, fight in unity and, taking the exposure and criticism of the "gang of four" as the key link, deepen the mass movements to learn from Taching in industry and from Tachai in agriculture, vigorously criticize capitalism and revisionism, go all out to build socialism and strive to fulfil the fighting tasks laid down by the 11th Party Congress; we should adhere to Chairman Mao's strategic concept differentiating the three worlds and abide by his revolutionary line in foreign affairs, so as to contribute to the development of the international situation in a direction favourable to the people of China and the world.

Carrying the great struggle against the "gang of four" through to the end is a task of first importance in grasping the key link of class struggle and running the country well. In the new year, we should continue to keep a firm hold on the key link of exposing and criticizing the "gang of four" and do a good job of it. Our

A workshop in a printing and dyeing mill in Kiangsu Province.



struggle against the "gang of four" is a decisive battle of historic importance. Both in depth and breadth it is a battle of rare occurrence in the history of our Party. The victories we have won in this battle have tremendously changed the balance of class forces in our country in favour of the proletariat and brought profound changes to the political, economic, military and cultural spheres. The reason underlying our initial success in the first year is that we have fought well in this battle to expose and criticize the "gang of four"; our fundamental guarantee for winning marked success in three years also lies in continuing to fight the battle well. It should be noted that the development of the movement is unbalanced. In a few areas and departments, the movement started a bit late, progress was not quite satisfactory and investigation proceeded rather slowly. The work in these places should be stepped up according to the demands of the 11th Party Congress and under the unified leadership of the Party committees. In this struggle we must take a firm, clear-cut stand and not relent towards the "gang of four" and their followers and, at the same time, must pay due attention to the Party's policies. This is a principle that combines firmness with prudence and thoroughgoing investigation

Year-end distribution at a production brigade in Heilungkiang Province.



with stabilization of the overall situation, a principle that will ensure complete success in carrying the investigation through to the end. We must conscientiously implement the policies formulated at the 11th Party Congress, strictly distinguish between the two different types of contradictions, do a really good job of helping more people by educating them and narrowing the target of attack, and must not mistake contradictions among the people for contradictions between ourselves and the enemy. Anyone who can be won over through education should not be pushed aside. Resolute blows should be aimed at the "gang of four" and the handful of their sworn followers who are guilty of serious crimes and unwilling to repent. Leadership should be strengthened particularly in those units which suffered seriously from interference by the "gang of four." Attention should be paid to the few units where problems are being covered up and the masses repressed; measures should be adopted to deal with the situation.

It is necessary to continue mobilizing the masses boldly and to fight resolutely for victory in the third campaign* for exposing and criticizing the "gang of four." This is a great campaign aimed at further distinguishing right from wrong, setting to rights things which were thrown into disorder by the gang and emancipating the mind, a great campaign to ensure complete victory in the struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four." The gang is a bunch of political swindlers who decked themselves out in Marxism-Leninism. They frenziedly opposed Mao Tsetung Thought, wantonly distorted, tampered with and even forged

* The struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four" has gone through two campaigns and the third campaign is now under way. The first campaign which took place from the winter of 1976 through the spring of 1977 was mainly devoted to exposing and criticizing the gang's conspiracies in usurping Party and state power. The second campaign which started in March 1977 centred on exposing and criticizing the gang's counter-revolutionary features and its members' past criminal records. The third campaign now under way concentrates on exposing and criticizing, from the theoretical plane of philosophy, political economy and scientific socialism, the ultra-Right essence of the gang's counter-revolutionary revisionist line and its manifestations in all fields.

Chairman Mao's directives. Wielding the power they had usurped, they tried in a thousand and one ways to inculcate slavishness and hoodwink the people, permitting them only to parrot what the gang had said and forbidding any form of dissent. The "gang of four" cooked up a counter-revolutionary political programme which equated veteran cadres with "democrats" and "democrats" with "capitalist-roaders" and raised the counter-revolutionary slogan of "going against the way things were done in the 17 years prior to the Cultural Revolution." With this they reversed the relationship of the people to the enemy, confused right and wrong, and attacked Chairman Mao's revolutionary line as "revisionist" and socialist principles and policies as "capitalist." Clearly the modernization of agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology is a grand goal set forth by Premier Chou in accordance with Chairman Mao's directives, yet the "gang of four" vilified it as "capitalist restoration"; "to each according to his work," which is clearly a socialist principle, was branded by the gang as "revisionist"; studying techniques for the sake of the revolution, a sure indication of the effort to become both red and expert, was attacked by the gang as "the road of bourgeois specialists." Whoever disagreed with the gang's nonsense would be condemned as trying to bring about "restoration" and "retrogression," having "relapses" or being "counter-revolutionaries." Even to this day these accusations remain trammels shackling some comrades' minds and make them nervous. We should earnestly study works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and Chairman Mao's works, comprehend and grasp Mao Tsetung Thought comprehensively and accurately as a system and, keeping a firm hold on the gang's counter-revolutionary political programme, strip them of their "Leftist" guises, bare the ultra-Right essence of their counter-revolutionary revisionist line and all its manifestations, and conduct criticism from the theoretical plane of philosophy, political economy and scientific socialism, so as to rectify what the gang turned upside down with regard to questions of right and wrong in line, ideology and theory. At the same time we must earnestly and realistically sum up experience, both positive and negative, gained in the past 28 years, make clear the specific line,

principles and policies guiding each field of work and work out relevant rules, regulations and methods. Only in this way can we smash the mental shackles imposed on us by the "gang of four," greatly emancipate our minds, sweep away all interference, achieve unity in thinking and action, and make determined, all-out efforts to build socialism, quicken the pace of construction and push forward the national economy.

Speed Up Economic Construction

The speed of construction is not just an economic question, it is a serious political question. Why do we say the socialist system is superior? In the final analysis, it is because the socialist system can create higher labour productivity and make the national economy develop faster than capitalism. Why do we say the theory, line, policy and ideology of the "gang of four," the media under their control and their bourgeois factional setup constitute an ultra-reactionary and rotten-to-the-core superstructure? At root, it is because this superstructure stands against the dictatorship of the proletariat, undermines the socialist economic base and impedes the development of the productive forces. In just a little over a year since the "gang of four" was smashed, we have already made a big stride forward. The question at present is that we must advance at high speed instead of resting content with what we have achieved. This is dictated by the need for the proletariat to vanquish the bourgeoisie and for socialism to defeat capitalism in the historical period of socialism, the need to strengthen the worker-peasant alliance on a new basis, to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and steadily raise the people's standard of living, the need to build a powerful national defence, defend our socialist motherland and prepare for the liberation of our sacred territory Taiwan Province, and the need to attain the grand goal of four modernizations before the end of this century. In a word, quickening the pace of economic construction is dictated by the development of international and domestic class struggles; it is a glorious mission history has entrusted to us. Party committees at all levels must consider the question of speed and plan their work in the revolutionary spirit of seizing the day and seizing the hour, make it known among the masses, and mobilize them to con-

tribute their talents and ability to the speedy development of the national economy.

A higher speed is not only necessary but possible. We are fully confident of our ability to accelerate the development of our national economy because we have Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and the strong leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, we have the superior socialist system and hundreds of millions of industrious, courageous and ingenious workers, peasants and intellectuals who have heightened their consciousness through education by positive and negative examples during the Great Cultural Revolution and in the 11th two-line struggle in particular, and we have rich natural resources and the material foundation built up in the past 28 years. A higher speed in 1978 will make things easier in 1979. This will be vital to our efforts to "achieve marked success in three years." In the new year, the whole Party must vigorously grasp agriculture, the foundation of the national economy, and make it a success. All trades and professions must pay attention to agriculture, support it and do everything to further its development. A faster growth of agriculture is a prerequisite for a faster growth of industry and the national economy as a whole. In industry, particular attention must be paid to electricity, fuel and transportation. With these "precursor departments" running in the van, the industries producing iron and steel and raw and semi-finished materials will follow up, so that the rate of growth can be greatly increased even on the basis of the existing industrial capacity alone and there will be a new and all-round leap forward in industry and the national economy as a whole. High speed involves not only quantity, but quality and cost. Our aim is to turn out more and better products at minimum cost, that is, to achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results in fulfilling the state plan in an all-round way.

In 1978, China will convene the Fifth National People's Congress, the first session of the

Fifth National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference and a national science conference. These will be major events in the political and cultural life of the Chinese people. The whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities in our country must fight in unity and greet these important events with new and outstanding successes in the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment.

The tasks ahead are great and arduous. It is crucial to strengthen Party leadership. All areas and departments must set up leading bodies which firmly adhere to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and policies, conform to his five requirements for successors in the revolutionary cause and the principle of the combination of the old, middle-aged and young, and enjoy the confidence and support of the masses. With such leading bodies, as Chairman Hua has said, the masses will rejoice and support them and feel encouraged as soon as the members are announced. We must win over all people who can be won over, unite with all people who can be united, mobilize all positive factors and turn negative factors into positive ones to serve the great cause of building socialism. In this way we will certainly be able to overcome all difficulties, vanquish all enemies and work wonders.

The ice has been broken; the road is open. The revolutionary cause of the proletariat Chairman Mao pioneered in China must triumph and surely can triumph. A bright China surely can make a greater contribution to humanity.

(Subheads are ours.)



Vice-Chairman Yeh Chien-ying's Speech

(Excerpts)

— At the Enlarged Seventh Session of the Standing Committee of the Fourth National Committee of the C.P.P.C.C.

THE Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (C.P.P.C.C.) which is a united front organization under the leadership of the Communist Party of China was founded by Chairman Mao. Guided by Chairman Mao and his close comrade-in-arms Premier Chou En-lai, it has over the last two decades and more united with all those forces that can be united, mobilized the positive factors in every field and played an active role in socialist revolution and socialist construction.

Under the leadership of Chairman Hua and the Party Central Committee, the Chinese people have through joint efforts achieved initial successes within one year in grasping the key link of class struggle and bringing about great order across the land. A profound change has taken place in the domestic situation. Tremendous victories have been won in the great political revolution of exposing and criticizing the "gang of four." The confusion created by the gang on questions of right and wrong in political line has basically been clarified; as a result, Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line can be carried out in a relatively smooth way on all fronts. The bourgeois factional setup of the "gang of four" and their cohorts have disintegrated. The national economy has taken a significant turn for the better and is steadily on the rise, and the stagnation and even decline in the economy brought about by the "gang of four" has been reversed. A political situation in which we have both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness — a situation Chairman Mao

hoped for — is beginning to emerge. Our country is advancing towards great order through the fierce struggle between the two classes.

The united front is a weapon used by the Communist Party of China to defeat the enemy in the Chinese revolution. In the period of the new-democratic revolution (1919-49), the broad united front which was led by the Chinese working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance and embraced the national bourgeoisie was a united front with which our Party carried on the revolutionary armed struggle. It played an important role in the struggle to overthrow the three big mountains — imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism. In the period of the socialist revolution, our Party has consolidated and developed the united front under the dictatorship of the proletariat. This united front has played a positive role in forging unity among the people of all nationalities in the country and among all the patriotic forces for the successful struggle against enemies at home and abroad, in urging members of the national bourgeoisie to accept the socialist transformation and in mobilizing all the positive factors to serve socialist revolution and socialist construction. Forming a united front is the class policy of the proletariat consistently followed by our Party. Chairman Mao's theory and practice with regard to the united front is an invaluable asset he left to us. We must carry it forward. Premier Chou En-lai carried out Chairman Mao's teachings on the united front with great firmness and made enduring contributions in building and developing the united front, setting a brilliant example for all of us.

In an attempt to usurp Party and state leadership and subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat, the "gang of four" opposed Chairman Mao's thinking on the united front and undermined the Party's united front work. They aimed at overthrowing the revolutionary forces on which we wanted to rely; they tried to alienate us from friends we wanted to win over and unite with; the forces they relied on were precisely the reactionary classes and forces we had overthrown. This fully exposed the gang for what it was, the general representative of the reactionary classes and forces and the most vicious enemy of the people of the whole country.

Chairman Mao had always taught us that Communists should be good at co-operating with non-Party people. In 1941, he stressed in his speech at the Assembly of Representatives of the Shensi-Kansu-Ningsia Border Region: "This Communist Party principle of democratic co-operation with non-Party people is fixed and unalterable. So long as parties exist, people who join them will always be a minority while those outside them will always be the majority; hence our Party members must always co-operate with non-Party people, and they should make a good start right here in the Assembly." And in the period of the socialist revolution, Chairman Mao again taught us: "By itself the Party is not enough, it is only the core and needs a mass following. In all fields, including industry, agriculture, commerce, culture and education, 90 per cent of the work is done by non-Party people and not by Party members. Therefore, we must strive hard to unite with the masses, unite and work with all those that can be united." In other words, so long as the Communist Party exists, it must always co-operate with non-Party people, of whom the overwhelming majority are workers and peasants. Our united front is led by the working class (through the Communist Party) and based on the worker-peasant alliance and it must unite with all the non-Party people that can be united. Without such a united front the dictatorship of the proletariat cannot be consolidated.

The democratic parties and many patriotic personages in China have long been co-operating with our Party and have contributed to the victory of our democratic revolution. With the

advent of socialist revolution, Chairman Mao time and again taught us that we should pass the test of socialism well. Going through many movements, most people of the national bourgeoisie and the democratic parties and patriotic personages have, generally speaking, been making progress step by step in accepting socialist transformation. Those who cling to the reactionary bourgeois stand and stubbornly resist socialist transformation are only a small handful. Since the "gang of four" was shattered, our friends in all circles have acquitted themselves well too. They support Chairman Hua and the Party Central Committee headed by him and have taken an active part in the struggle to expose and criticize the gang. All this bears out the complete correctness of what Chairman Mao formulated for our Party, namely, the basic principle of both unity and struggle in the united front and the guideline and policies for remoulding members of the national bourgeoisie step by step while eliminating it as a class. Tremendous successes have been achieved in our Party's united front work in the 28 years since the founding of New China. Chairman Mao's revolutionary line has always been predominant in our united front work despite serious interference and sabotage by Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and particularly the "gang of four."

It is our desire as well as our policy to exist side by side with the democratic parties for a long time to come, exercise mutual supervision and bring their initiative into play to serve socialism. The political basis for long-term co-existence and mutual supervision is the six political criteria* laid down by Chairman Mao

* (1) Words and deeds should help to unite, and not divide, the people of all our nationalities.

(2) They should be beneficial, and not harmful, to socialist transformation and socialist construction.

(3) They should help to consolidate, and not undermine or weaken, the people's democratic dictatorship.

(4) They should help to consolidate, and not undermine or weaken, democratic centralism.

(5) They should help to strengthen, and not shake off or weaken, the leadership of the Communist Party.

(6) They should be beneficial, and not harmful, to international socialist unity and the unity of the peace-loving people of the world.

in 1957 in *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*. These criteria likewise constitute the political basis for our revolutionary united front at the present stage. It is our hope that the democratic parties will get things going, take an active part in political activities, urge their members to study works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and by Chairman Mao, and encourage them to vigorously contribute to socialist construction and go on remoulding their world outlook in the course of practice. Democratic consultation is a fine tradition fostered by Chairman Mao and Premier Chou in our united front, but it was seriously undermined by the "gang of four" in recent years. It should be revived and carried forward. Leading comrades of our Party at all levels should foster the democratic style of work and listen to criticisms and suggestions from non-Party people with an open mind. We should conscientiously follow the maxims **"Say all you know and say it without reserve," "Blame not the speaker but be warned by his words" and "Correct mistakes if you have committed them and guard against them if you have not."** The C.P.P.C.C., the people's organizations and other quarters concerned should get things going too and bring their role into full play.

We should unite, educate and remould the intellectuals and give full play to their positive role in socialist revolution and socialist construction. Chairman Mao taught us: **"China needs the services of as many intellectuals as possible for the colossal task of building socialism. We should trust those who are really willing to serve the cause of socialism and should radically improve our relations with them and help them solve the problems requiring solution, so that they can give full play to their talents."** It should be affirmed that, despite serious interference and sabotage by Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and the "gang of four," Chairman Mao's revolutionary line has held the dominant position in our work in science, education and culture since the founding of the People's Republic. The overwhelming majority of the intellectuals working in these fields support the socialist system. They have worked hard and made tremendous contributions to the cause of socialism. The great majority have progressed in varying degrees in transforming their bourgeois world outlook into the proletarian world

outlook and in gradually acquiring and consolidating the latter. We should welcome this progress. Only a handful of intellectuals are hostile to socialism. Out of its counter-revolutionary need to usurp Party and state power, the "gang of four" concocted the "two estimates" (see "A Great Debate on the Educational Front," P.R. No. 51, 1977 — *Ed.*), dampened the enthusiasm of intellectuals for socialism and regarded them as the "target of dictatorship." We must criticize and eradicate the pernicious influence of the gang and correctly carry out the Party's policy in regard to intellectuals, giving scope to their socialist enthusiasm. We must unite with them, enable them to carry on their work successfully and, at the same time, help and encourage them to strive to remould their world outlook in the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment, integrate themselves with the workers and peasants, become both red and expert and make greater contributions to the four modernizations.

We should carry out the Party's national policy in earnest and strengthen the great unity of the people of all nationalities. **"Both Han chauvinism and local-nationality chauvinism are harmful to the unity of the nationalities."** We should oppose Han chauvinism and at the same time oppose local-nationality chauvinism. We must sincerely and actively help the minority nationalities, earnestly train cadres from among them and make a success of socialist revolution and socialist construction in the areas where they live.

Our Party's policies on overseas Chinese, religious affairs and other work all centre around the fundamental principle of mobilizing all positive factors to serve the cause of socialism. We must continue to carry out these policies.

Chairman Mao said: **"Will the united front be abolished some day? I for one am not for its abolition. We should unite with everyone provided he truly makes a clear distinction between the people and the enemy and serves the people."** All people who are willing to accept the leadership of the Communist Party and work hard for the cause of socialism have a bright future. We hope that all friends in the revolutionary united front will earnestly study

works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and by Chairman Mao, continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, learn and remould themselves as long as they live, do their best to contribute to the cause of socialism and make steady progress in ideological remoulding.

We are determined to liberate Taiwan. Taiwan Province is our sacred territory and an inalienable part of the People's Republic of China. The people in Taiwan are our kith and kin; we place our hopes on them. As for the Kuomintang military and administrative per-

sonnel now in Taiwan, it has been the consistent policy of our Party and government that "all patriots belong to one big family," "whether they come over early or late." All patriots are welcome. And it is our hope that the military and administrative personnel of the Chiang clique on Taiwan, Penghu, Quemoy and Matsu or residing abroad will clearly see the general trend of events and take the road of patriotism. Together with our compatriots in and from Taiwan, we will liberate Taiwan and ultimately accomplish the great cause of reunifying our motherland.

Why Did Chang Chun-chiao Kick Up a Fuss Over the Question of Ownership

by Wang Hui-teh

In 1975, Yao Wen-yuan and Chang Chun-chiao wrote two anti-Marxist articles which were carried in our issues No. 10 and No. 14, 1975. These articles, which tampered with the basic principles of Marxism and served to provide a "theoretical basis" for the "gang of four's" scheme to usurp Party and state power, have been widely criticized in the country. Beginning with this issue, we shall publish a series of articles criticizing their fallacies. — Ed.

IN late February 1975, the Chinese press published Chairman Mao's instructions concerning the question of theory. They read in part: "In a word, China is a socialist country. Before liberation she was much the same as a capitalist country. Even now she practises an eight-grade wage system, distribution according to work and exchange through money, and in all this differs very little from the old society. What is different is that the system of ownership has been changed." In April that year, Chang Chun-chiao wrote an article which he claimed was to help readers "deepen their understanding of Chairman Mao's instructions." He picked out the last sentence of the

foregoing instruction of Chairman Mao's and ranted at length about the system of ownership in China.

Chairman Mao pointed out clearly in his instructions that, compared with pre-liberation days, "the system of ownership has been changed." Chang Chun-chiao, however, took exception to this. He said: "The issue has not been entirely settled with respect to the system of ownership."

He listed several "reasons" for his argument. First, he said, there still existed private ownership in part of our industry, agriculture and commerce. In industry, individual handicraftsmen made up 0.8 per cent of the industrial population; in agriculture, there still remained the small plots farmed by commune members for their personal needs and limited household side-line production; and in commerce individual pedlars accounted for 0.2 per cent of the total volume of retail sales and there still remained a sizable amount of trade conducted at rural fairs.

We need not discuss here whether in social science such small percentages could prove

anything. What we would like to know is Chang Chun-chiao's intentions in using them to prove that "the issue has not been entirely settled with respect to the system of ownership." Was he trying to make use of this issue for some ulterior motive?

Now let us examine his second "reason." He said that "we must see" there were two kinds of socialist public ownership in our country, ownership by the whole people and collective ownership. Since there still existed collective ownership, he argued, then it could not be said that in China the question of the system of ownership had been entirely resolved.

All this is quite wide of the mark!

What did Chairman Mao actually say about the system of ownership? By comparing New China with the old and public ownership with private, he affirmed that the system of ownership in China had been changed and that private ownership of all kinds in old China had been turned into socialist public ownership. Whether it is ownership by the whole people or collective ownership, both are socialist public ownership, aren't they? In his instructions Chairman Mao did not say anything about the relationship between the two kinds of socialist public ownership, nor did he raise the question of transition from collective ownership to ownership by the whole people. But Chang Chun-chiao shouted that "we must see" there co-existed the two kinds of ownership and, consequently, "bourgeois right has not yet been abolished entirely in the system of ownership." Was this how he tried to help readers "deepen" their understanding of Chairman Mao's thesis that the system of ownership has been changed?

Chang Chun-chiao was quite aware that with only these two "reasons" he could not completely negate Chairman Mao's thesis. So he added: "Moreover, we must see. . . ." What did he see, after all?

Chairman Mao pointed out clearly that the system of ownership had been changed in China. But Chang Chun-chiao retorted by saying that on the question of ownership we must be cool-headed, "we should pay attention not only to its form but also to its actual content" and "it is incorrect to attach no impor-

tance to whether the issue of the system of ownership has been resolved in form or in reality." What did he mean by whether the issue of ownership "has been resolved in form or in reality"? He said: "Both ownership by the whole people and collective ownership involve the question of leadership, that is, the question of ownership by which class, not just in name but in reality."

Well, then, let us look at the question of leadership.

What "leadership" was he referring to? Was it the leadership in the enterprises or the supreme leadership of the Party and state? Chang Chun-chiao did not make himself clear here. He only quoted Chairman Mao's speech at the First Plenary Session of the Ninth Central Committee of the Party in April 1969. In that speech Chairman Mao pointed out: "It seems that it won't do not to carry out the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, for our foundation is not solid. Judging from my observations, I am afraid that in a fairly large majority of factories — I don't mean all or the overwhelming majority of them — leadership was not in the hands of genuine Marxists and the masses of workers."

Chang Chun-chiao was so eager to achieve his counter-revolutionary end that he did not even bother about basic facts. In the foregoing instruction, Chairman Mao was clearly referring to the situation prior to the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution which started in 1966. Owing to the interference of Liu Shao-chi's counter-revolutionary revisionist line, many factories and enterprises at that time carried out a wrong policy and their leading members followed Liu Shao-chi's line and bad elements had wormed their way into the leading bodies of some factories. It was in the light of this situation that Chairman Mao pointed out: "It seems that it won't do not to carry out the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution." However, Chang Chun-chiao tried to use this instruction of Chairman Mao's to show that at the time he wrote his article, that is, in 1975, leadership "in a fairly large majority of factories" was not in the hands of Marxists and workers. Therefore, he concluded, the question of the system of ownership in these factories

had not been resolved in reality and their ownership was in fact not socialist public ownership. Isn't this a deliberate distortion of Chairman Mao's instruction?

Some comrades disagreed with Chang Chun-chiao for wilfully quoting Chairman Mao's instruction. They pointed out that, after the Great Cultural Revolution, only the leadership in a very small number of factories was not in the hands of the proletariat, so the issue involved only a limited number. But Chang Chun-chiao refused to listen to them, insisting that it still involved "a fairly large majority" and that the question of the system of ownership was not resolved. Thus it is clear that, in the eyes of Chang Chun-chiao and his like, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution had accomplished nothing at all in changing the leadership in our factories and that the situation in 1975 was not a whit different from what it had been before the Cultural Revolution.

Did Chang Chun-chiao stop there? No, he went further, for his real aim was to distort Chairman Mao's instruction and make a breach.

Let's see how he did it.

First he cited a general proposition that politics is the concentrated expression of economics. Then from the question of the system of ownership he inferred which class controlled the state power. He said that historically, every major change in the system of ownership was invariably preceded by the seizure of political power which was then used to "change the system of ownership on a big scale." Isn't it clear now why Chang Chun-chiao took so much pains to prove that the leadership "in a fairly large majority of factories" was not in the hands of the proletariat? What he wanted to say was that the state power, the supreme leadership of the Party and state, which was the prerequisite for this state of affairs in the factories, had long since not been in the hands of the proletariat.

He cited two examples to illustrate his point. One, "bureaucrat capital, which controlled 80 per cent of the industry in old China, could be transformed and placed under ownership by the whole people only after the People's Liberation Army had defeated Chiang Kai-shek." Two, "likewise, a capitalist restoration is inevitably preceded by the seizure of leadership and a change in the line and policies of the Party. Wasn't this the way Khrushchov and Brezhnev changed the system of ownership in the Soviet Union?"

But we would like to ask: Which class held the supreme leadership of the Party and state in China in 1975? Was our state power at that time the dictatorship of the proletariat or the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie? To these questions Chang Chun-chiao refrained from giving a direct answer. Instead he described what had happened in the Soviet Union. Then, making a sudden veer, he said: "Similar cases have occurred in China."

What were the cases in which China was similar to the Soviet Union under revisionist rule? He said that Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao had acted in a similar way, adding that "some persons have recently" resorted to a tactic. . . . Was this a reference to Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao? Besides Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao, were there others who had "recently" acted in a way "similar" to that of the Soviet renegade clique and "deprived the dictatorship of the proletariat of its actual content and turned it into a dictatorship of the monopoly capitalist class"?

This is a most serious and important question of principle. Which class was in control of the supreme leadership of the Party and state in China in 1975? Was our state power the dictatorship of the proletariat or the dictatorship of the monopoly capitalist class "similar" to that of the Soviet Union? It is essential to get this question clear and there must not be the least ambiguity.

Chang Chun-chiao deliberately made himself sound abstruse in his article. His aim was

to put a veneer of "theory" on his slanders against the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country and make us believe he had good "reasons" for his charges. On other occasions, however, he was more to the point. In the early stage of the Great Cultural Revolution he clamoured that "the aim of the Great Cultural Revolution is to change dynasties." Moreover, he raised the slogan that "the present state apparatus must be smashed and a new one built." He even went so far as to describe all revolutionary cadres who had taken up jobs in the People's Government before the Cultural Revolution as "old employees," thereby equating the dictatorship of the proletariat in New China with the reactionary regime of Chiang Kai-shek. He also spread such fallacies as "there are a number of bureaucrat capitalists in the Party Central Committee and the State Council," "in our Party, and first of all in the Political Bureau, there exists a bourgeois class, a comprador-capitalist class." He clamoured that an "inner-Party bourgeois class" and an "inner-army bourgeois class" had been formed, and openly blared that "the inner-Party bourgeois class is in power" in present-day China and that "capitalist-roaders have now formed a network throughout the country and controlled the socialist economy and turned it into the ownership by the capitalist-roaders." He frenziedly called for "organizing the Left to overthrow the Right" and making a "second revolution."

From all these slanders we can see clearly that when Chang Chun-chiao ranted about the system of ownership and attacked Chairman Mao's scientific thesis on this question, his aim was to use it as a springboard for further vilifications and charge that the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country had already degenerated into the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and that the supreme leadership of our Party and state had been seized by the bourgeoisie.

Chairman Mao's instructions on the question of theory, clearly defined three things.

First, "China is a socialist country." That is to say, our society is socialist in nature, not capitalist. Secondly, as for the economic base of our society, the system of ownership has already been changed from feudal, capitalist and small-production private ownership into socialist public ownership. Thirdly, we must see to it that the supreme leadership of the Party and state will not fall into the hands of bourgeois conspirators and careerists like Lin Piao. Ours is a state under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and if people like Lin Piao came to power it would be turned into a state under the bourgeois dictatorship. Therefore, we must continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and guard against a capitalist restoration.

However, Chang Chun-chiao in his article vilified that the question of ownership in China had not yet been resolved and that the supreme leadership of our Party and state did not rest with the proletariat. He maliciously negated the three points of principle made by Chairman Mao and denied that socialist society is different in principle from capitalist society as socialist public ownership is different from capitalist private ownership and the dictatorship of the proletariat is different from the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Actually he was purposely distorting Chairman Mao's great theory on continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and brazenly peddling his dyed-in-the-wool revisionist rubbish.

In his *Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work* in 1957, Chairman Mao pointed out: "Revisionism is one form of bourgeois ideology. The revisionists deny the differences between socialism and capitalism, between the dictatorship of the proletariat and the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. What they advocate is in fact not the socialist line but the capitalist line." What Chang Chun-chiao preached was a typical example of this capitalist line.

Explanatory Notes to Volume V of “Selected Works of Mao Tsetung” (I)

Volume V of the “Selected Works of Mao Tsetung” (Chinese edition) was published on April 15, 1977. This was followed by the publication of English, Japanese, Russian, French and Spanish editions.

To help our readers study this volume, we shall publish a series of explanatory notes beginning from this issue.

The page numbers refer to those of the English edition. — Ed.

Political Consultative Conference

(See p. 15.)

The full name of this conference is the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (C.P.P.C.C.). It is the organization of the Chinese people's democratic united front led by the Chinese Communist Party and uniting all the nationalities, democratic parties and people's organizations in China as well as overseas Chinese and other patriotic democrats. It was also called the New Political Consultative Conference as distinguished from the Political Consultative Conference the Kuomintang was forced to convene in January 1946.

A preparatory meeting for the New Political Consultative Conference was held in Peiping (Peking) in June 1949. It adopted the “Organic Rules of the Preparatory Committee of the New Political Consultative Conference” and elected a Standing Committee headed by Chairman Mao.

In September that year, the New Political Consultative Conference held its first plenary session which exercised the functions and powers of the National People's Congress. It enacted the Organic Law of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, the Common Programme of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference and the Organic Law of the Central People's Government

of the People's Republic of China, elected the Central People's Government Council of the People's Republic of China headed by Chairman Mao, and proclaimed the founding of the People's Republic of China.

With the convocation of the First Session of the First National People's Congress in September 1954, the C.P.P.C.C. ceased to exercise the functions and powers of the National People's Congress, but remained an organization of the Chinese people's democratic united front.

Democratic Parties

(See p. 15.)

This is a general term for the bourgeois political parties in the revolutionary united front led by the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance. They include the Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang, the China Democratic League, the China Democratic National Construction Association, the China Association for Promoting Democracy, the Chinese Peasants and Workers Democratic Party, the China Chih Kung Tang, the Chiu San Society, the Taiwan Democratic Self-Government League, the Chinese People's Association for National Salvation, the Federation of Comrades Working for the Three People's Principles and the Association for Promoting Democracy of the Kuomintang. The last three were dissolved after the founding of the People's Republic of China because they had fulfilled their historical tasks.

The social basis of these democratic parties is the national bourgeoisie, the upper stratum of the urban petty bourgeoisie and their intellectuals. During the new-democratic revolution led by the Chinese Communist Party, these parties co-operated with the Communist Party in varying degrees and in different periods.

Since the founding of the People's Republic of China, they have participated in various political movements and rendered services to socialist construction.

Kuomintang

(See p. 15.)

The Kuomintang of China was originally a democratic political party of the bourgeoisie founded by Dr. Sun Yat-sen.

Dr. Sun organized the Tung Meng Hui (the Chinese Revolutionary League) in 1905 and became its president. Under the leadership of the Tung Meng Hui, the Revolution of 1911 succeeded in overthrowing the government of the Ching Dynasty and the monarchy in China and setting up the Provisional Government of the Republic of China in Nanking with Dr. Sun Yat-sen as the Provisional President.

Shortly afterwards, a split took place within the Tung Meng Hui and the bourgeoisie made a compromise with the feudal forces. As a result, state power fell into the hands of the northern warlord Yuan Shih-kai and the revolution failed. In 1912, the Tung Meng Hui and other smaller parties reorganized themselves into the Kuomintang which actually became a clique made up mainly of bureaucrats and politicians.

Dr. Sun Yat-sen, however, continued to press ahead with the bourgeois-democratic revolution and started an anti-Yuan campaign in 1913, but without success. The following year when he was in Japan, he assembled part of the Kuomintang members to form the Chinese Revolutionary Party which was reorganized into the Kuomintang of China after the May 4th Movement in 1919.

The Kuomintang issued a manifesto on its reorganization in November 1923 and held its First National Congress in January 1924. It accepted the Chinese Communist Party's political stand for opposing imperialism and feudalism and put into practice the Three Great Policies of alliance with Russia, co-operation with the Communist Party and assistance to the peasants and workers. Thus the old Three People's Principles developed into the new Three People's Principles and the first co-operation between the Communist Party and

the Kuomintang was effected. At that time, the Kuomintang was revolutionary.

After the death of Dr. Sun Yat-sen on March 12, 1925, the Northern Expedition took place between 1926 and 1927. From April through July 1927, Chiang Kai-shek and Wang Ching-wei successively staged counter-revolutionary coups d'etat in opposition to communism and the people and in betrayal of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's revolutionary stand. From that time on, the Kuomintang collaborated with imperialism and feudalism in opposing the masses of the people and became a reactionary clique of the landlords and big bourgeoisie. In the ten-year period between 1927 and 1937, Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang fought an anti-communist and anti-popular civil war, and there were endless wars among the various groups of Kuomintang warlords. All this encouraged the Japanese imperialists to invade China.

Following the outbreak of the War of Resistance Against Japan in 1937, the Communist Party and the Kuomintang co-operated for a second time, thanks to the former's policy of forming the Anti-Japanese National United Front and pressure from the people of the whole country. However, after the fall of the important city of Wuhan in central China in October 1938, Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang switched over to a policy of passive resistance to Japan and active opposition to the Communists.

Immediately after the victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan in 1945, Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang, backed by U.S. imperialism, launched a full-scale anti-popular civil war which continued until its total defeat by the Chinese people in 1949. Thus the Kuomintang reactionary rule on the Chinese mainland was toppled and its remnant forces fled to Taiwan Province.

The patriotic democrats who broke away from the Kuomintang were against Chiang Kai-shek's policy of national betrayal and dictatorial rule; they supported the Chinese Communist Party's political stand against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism. So they organized the Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang in 1948 which has since become one of the democratic parties in China.

(To be continued.)

Soviet Defeat in Africa

1977 proved to be a year of repeated defeats for the Soviet Union in its unbridled pursuit of hegemonism in Africa.

In 1977, the struggle against Soviet aggression and expansion swept across the whole continent, winning one victory after another, particularly in southern and Central Africa and the Horn of Africa. This deflated the Soviet new tsars' arrogance and greatly inspired the African and the world's revolutionary people.

New Situation of People's Struggle in Southern Africa

Southern Africa is one of the explosive spots in Africa today. The Soviet Union covets the rich resources there and has for years attempted to seize control of the supply line to Europe from the Indian Ocean round the Cape of Good Hope. Especially since its setback in Egypt, Moscow has stepped up its drive to dominate southern Africa as part and parcel of its major strategic plan. This constitutes a grave threat to the southern African people in their struggle against colonial and racist domination and for national liberation.

Since the beginning of 1976, the Soviet press has time and again stressed that the outcome of the southern African liberation struggle "depends on external factors," in other words, on Soviet interference. To this end, a Soviet chieftain and a Cuban leader toured a number of front-line countries in southern Africa between March and April last year.

To win victory in their liberation struggle, the people of southern Africa, while intensifying their armed struggle, have engaged the enemy sharply at the negotiation table. However, Moscow resorted to different tricks of deception out of its need to contend with Washington and control this part of Africa. At one time it prattled about "reconciliation" being the "correct line," and at another, it pledged "support" for the armed struggle there.

What deserves attention is the Soviet stock trick of division and disintegration, a trick played in Angola and is playing in southern Africa. It is sowing dissension among the front-line countries, infiltrating into the liberation movement to split it by supporting one faction and attacking another, and waiting for an opportunity to stir up another fratricidal war among the Africans.

Thanks to the lesson of Angola, the people in southern Africa are fully aware of the consequences of Soviet interference in their liberation struggle. Therefore, they have time and again reaffirmed that the destiny of southern Africa must be placed in the hands of the people there. Robert Mugabe, a leader of the Zimbabwe Patriotic Front, said: "We will not call in anyone," "we flatly refuse to let those who give us help make themselves our masters." A leader of the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania said: "The Soviet Union pays lip service to supporting the national-liberation movements in Africa. Its real aim is to split them." "We will never allow the Angola incident to be repeated in Azania," he declared.

In the past year, the southern African people have closely combined the struggle against racism with that against hegemonism, refusing to be taken in by the Soviet Union in its southward offensive and severely punishing the racist regimes. This is bringing about a new situation both in the armed struggle and in the mass movement.

Burnt While Playing With Fire in Equatorial Africa

Contiguous to southern Africa, equatorial Africa, with its rich mineral resources, has always been contested by old and new colonialists. The people in the region have for years been tempered in struggles against colonial domination. Zaire's great victory in repelling Soviet-paid mercenaries in 1977 has

greatly inspired the struggle of African states against Soviet intervention and expansion.

Playing with fire in the heartland of Africa, the Soviet Union has wilder ambitions than the old-line colonialists. Its strategic goal is to grab the whole of Africa and threaten Western Europe by cutting the African continent right in the middle to facilitate its southward invasion and to isolate and encircle the independent African countries. A Zairian official said that the objective of the Soviet leaders in masterminding the invasion of Zaire was to "impose their domination on other parts of Africa starting from Zaire whose exceptional geographical position can serve as a springboard for their attempt to recolonize the continent from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean."

The new tsars are more crafty than their old colonialist predecessors. They drove mercenaries to the front as cannon-fodder while they themselves remained behind the scenes. Soviet armed invasion of Zaire through mercenaries aroused the African people to action against their common enemy. To fight against aggression, they formed a joint armed force which, in 80 days of bloody fighting, badly battered the Soviet-armed mercenaries and sent them fleeing helter-skelter. Experience of this war against Soviet mercenary invasion opened a new way for the African people to fight future Soviet aggression.

The Soviet-paid mercenaries looked powerful when they temporarily succeeded in their armed intervention in Angola in 1976. But their repression and persecution of the masses incurred bitter hatred, and the Angolan people rose in opposition. Guerrilla activity all over Angola has set the mercenaries on tenterhooks.

Now many African countries have made it an urgent task to combat and guard against foreign intervention and strengthen their armed forces. In June 1977, the six member states of the Economic Community of West Africa signed an agreement with Togo on non-aggression and mutual assistance. They have thus moved from economic co-operation to a defence alliance against outside interference. Then at the 14th



The Somali people hold a rally after the abrogation of the Somali-Soviet "friendship treaty."

Summit Conference of the Organization of African Unity in the following month, two important documents on rejecting external interference and stopping and repressing mercenaries were unanimously adopted.

Soviet Setback in the Horn of Africa

Extending northeast from Central Africa, the Red Sea region and the Horn of Africa are a scene of the struggle between the Soviet Union and the United States for the control of a vital sea route. Soviet social-imperialism's acts of creating tension there have infuriated the people of the region.

In May last year, the Sudanese Government expelled all Soviet military experts and a number of Soviet diplomats. In November the Somali Government also kicked out all Soviet military and civilian experts. Counting Egypt's expulsion of Soviet experts in 1972, this makes three countries in the region which have told their "natural ally" to go home.

Following Egypt's abrogation of its "friendship and co-operation treaty" with the Soviet Union in 1976, Somalia also renounced the Somali-Soviet "friendship and co-operation treaty" in 1977. Thus the two treaties so painstakingly worked out by the Soviet Union in this region are defunct.

Somalia also announced the removal of all Soviet military installations from the country. Egypt recently ordered the closure of Soviet consulates and cultural centres in the wake of

its decision not to repay its military debts to the Soviet Union in the next decade. The Red Sea countries also rejected the Soviet proposal to combine them in a "confederation." The newly independent Red Sea state of Djibouti is wary of Soviet hegemonic acts in the Horn of Africa.

The Soviet Union decks itself out as the "natural ally" of the third world countries by offering them military hardware. But Egypt, the Sudan and Somalia have learnt from their own bitter experience that to accept Soviet "aid" is to court disaster. President Nimeri of the Sudan said: "Be careful not to fall into its [Soviet] trap." On another occasion he issued a call "to be on guard when dealing with the foreign intruder — the Soviet Union which wants to impose its will on us through war, weapons and destruction."

The Soviet Union boasts of its "friendship and co-operation" with the treaties it has signed. But the other signatories have come to realize that such treaties are actually shackles to be shunned. As an Egyptian paper wrote, the Soviet Union signed a treaty with Egypt because it wanted "to put Egypt into its pocket for ever." A leader of the Somali Revolution-

ary Youth Union said: "Somalia was the first country in black Africa to sign a treaty of friendship with the Soviet Union. Now the Soviet Union has to leave this country as what it has done here runs counter to the interests of the Somali people."

To build up its influence in the Red Sea region, the Soviet Union has put up big stakes and worked carefully for many years only to have itself revealed in its true colours. President Nimeri said: "We in the Sudan have learnt lessons in dealing with the Soviet Union. The Sudanese people have torn off the Soviet mask." Somali President Siad Barre said: "If a country wants to maintain its sovereignty and enjoy freedom to exercise its rights, the Soviet Union can't be taken as a friend." An Egyptian paper said: "The Soviet Union colonized other nations in the name of friendship, and plundered their wealth in the name of progress."

These bitter experiences in dealing with the Soviet Union are most precious. As more and more African countries are joining in the struggle against Soviet hegemonism, bigger and more ignominious defeats are in store for the Soviet Union.

— by Hsin Ping

For Your Reference

Moscow Forces Cuba to Pull Its Chestnut Out of the Fire

SOVIET use of Cuban mercenaries to carry out armed intervention in Africa is an insidious tactic to step up its aggression and expansion in recent years in that continent. Its purpose is to control Africa's independent countries and liberation movements, dominate the Indian Ocean and the South Atlantic and strengthen its position to contend with the United States for Europe.

It was in early 1976 that the Cuban mercenaries, at the instance of the Soviet Union, went pouring into Angola. Since then they have become pawns in Moscow's open-ended expansionist activities in Africa. In March 1977, Fidel Castro, President of Council of State of Cuba,

journeyed through northern, eastern and southern Africa, closely co-ordinating his visit to a number of countries in his itinerary with the African tour of Nikolai Podgorny, then one of the top men in the Kremlin. While he went on safari in the Horn of Africa Castro puffed the Soviet proposal for the establishment of a "confederation" in the region. Then, in countries bordering southern Africa, he talked glibly about "internationalism" and urged the African countries and people "to ally themselves with the Soviet Union." While the tours of the Soviet and Cuban leaders were in progress mercenaries invaded Zaire by the thousands.

(Continued on p. 27.)

Statement of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea

Pich Cheang, Ambassador of Democratic Kampuchea to China, held a press conference in Peking on December 31, 1977. At this press conference, he read the full text of a statement of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea which was issued on the same day in Phnom Penh. The statement gave an account of the Kampuchea-Viet Nam border armed conflicts and explained the stand of the Democratic Kampuchean Government.

THE statement says: Since September 1977, the army of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, including many divisions of infantry dispatched from Hanoi with several hundred armoured cars and several hundred pieces of heavy artillery, with sometimes air support, has launched systematic and large-scale aggressive acts of invasion against Democratic Kampuchea with intent to loot paddy crops in the east region, at Trapeang Phlong, Stung, Krek and Memot. After that, in November 1977, the army of Viet Nam launched aggressive acts of invasion against the province of Svay Rieng and penetrated deeply dozens of kilometres into the districts of Rumduol, Prasaut, Kompong Rau and Chantrea. In December 1977, it launched again large-scale aggressive acts of invasion against the province of Takeo in the districts of Koh Andet and Kirivong and against the province of Kampot in the district of Kompong Trach. At the same time, the army of Viet Nam has every day harassed, shelled and fired with machine-guns at other places in the territory of Democratic Kampuchea, as in the provinces of Ratanakiri, Mondolkiri, Kratie, Prey Veng and Kandal, in the regions contiguous or near the Kampuchean-Vietnamese frontier. The army of Viet Nam has looted paddy crops on 2,000 to 3,000 hectares belonging to the people of Kampuchea at Trapeang Phlong, Stung, Krek and Memot, on more than 4,000 hectares in the province of Svay Rieng, and on more than 2,000 hectares at Koh Andet and Kirivong in the province of Takeo. Besides, the Vietnamese army of aggression wants to sabotage the economy of Kampuchea by destroying rubber plantations and setting forests on fire.

Referring to the cause of the above-mentioned acts committed by Viet Nam, the statement says: The fundamental reason is that Viet Nam has for a long time cherished the strategic aim of making Kampuchea participate in an "Indochina federation" under the Vietnamese thumb.

It says: "With regard to these acts perpetrated by Viet Nam, Kampuchea, with its desire to live in good neighbourliness as genuine friends, has kept a stand of maturity and wisdom and has worked for solidarity with Viet Nam. But at the same time, it has always firmly abided by the stand of independence, sovereignty and self-reliance, the honour and dignity of its nation and people."

Recalling the history of the relations between Kampuchea and Viet Nam and the Democratic Kampuchean Government's efforts to seek a friendly settlement of the question, the statement says: "Democratic Kampuchea has steadfastly abided by its position of consistently seeking friendship with Viet Nam and has always striven to seek solutions in the spirit of friendship. Indeed Democratic Kampuchea considers that only such a position can lead to a solution to the problem between the two countries." "But the Vietnamese side chose not to take into consideration the goodwill of Democratic Kampuchea."

The statement continues: "If foreign advisers, experts or commanding officers take part in the attacks, aggression or invasion against Democratic Kampuchea, the Government of Democratic Kampuchea considers them

and their governments as direct aggressors against Democratic Kampuchea and its people." It warns them "to immediately stop their acts of interference and aggression against Democratic Kampuchea."

The statement reiterates Democratic Kampuchea's foreign policy as follows:

"Democratic Kampuchea is endowed with goodwill and is firmly determined to maintain close and friendly relations with all countries having common borders with her, and with all countries near or far throughout the world on the strict basis of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity.

"Democratic Kampuchea abides by a policy of independence, peace, neutrality and non-alignment. No foreign country whatever is allowed to establish military bases on her territory. She resolutely stands against any foreign interference in her internal affairs and resolutely fights against all subversive and aggressive acts from

outside whether they are military, political, cultural, economic, social, diplomatic or those so-called humanitarian acts.

"Democratic Kampuchea never interferes with the internal affairs of any other country. She scrupulously abides by the principle that every country is sovereign and has the right to dispose and decide by itself its internal affairs without any foreign interference.

"Democratic Kampuchea resolutely places herself in the great family of non-aligned countries.

"Democratic Kampuchea does her utmost to develop solidarity with the third world peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America and with all peace- and justice-loving peoples in the world, and to promote active mutual aid and support in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism, for genuine independence, peace, friendship, democracy, justice and progress in the world."

Vietnamese Government's Statement on Viet Nam-Kampuchea Border Issue

The Vietnamese Embassy in China distributed a press release concerning conflicts on the Viet Nam-Kampuchea border.

THE Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam on December 31, 1977 issued a statement on the Viet Nam-Kampuchea border issue, according to a VNA report.

The statement says, "It is the policy of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam that the border and territory issue between Viet Nam and Kampuchea should be settled with Democratic Kampuchea on the basis of respect for each other's territorial sovereignty, and also by consolidating and promoting the relations of solidarity and fraternal co-operation between the two countries, thereby building a permanent border of friendship between Viet Nam and Kampuchea on the principles of fairness and reason."

It describes the "increasing tension on the border" between Viet Nam and Kampuchea.

The statement refers to the process of the negotiations held between the Communist Party of Viet Nam and the Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and the Communist Party of Kampuchea and the Government of Democratic Kampuchea for a rapid settlement of the border question between the two countries.

It adds, "Once again, the Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam proposes that the two sides meet as early as possible, at whatever level, so as to together solve the border issue between the two countries in a spirit of brotherly friendship."

The Vietnamese Embassy in China also issued on December 31, 1977 a press release on the Viet Nam-Kampuchea border clashes.

The press release says that the policy towards the two countries of Laos and Kampuchea has been clearly put in the resolution of the Fourth Congress of the Communist Party of Viet Nam, that is, "strive to preserve and

develop the special relationships between the people of Viet Nam and that of Laos and Kampuchea," "so that the three countries, which were originally attached to each other in the struggle for national liberation, will for ever be bound to one another in the cause of national construction and national defence and for the independence and prosperity of each country."

(Continued from p. 24.)

According to an announcement made by Castro at a meeting in July 1977, in addition to armed units, Cuba has 4,100 civilian personnel overseas and will increase the number to some 6,000 by the end of 1977, over 90 per cent of them being maintained in Africa. Quoting official American estimates, *The New York Times* reported last November 17 that "Cuba has sent 4,000 to 6,000 new troops into Angola since July, increasing the total there to roughly 19,000 military personnel and 4,000 civilian advisers." The paper said that "estimates now place the total Cuban involvement in Africa at roughly 26,000 men in 16 countries, including about 20,615 soldiers or military advisers. . . ."

Under the signboard of "socialism" and "friendly co-operation" the Kremlin's new tsars and their agents exercise control and carry out interference and subversion in African countries. Take Angola for instance. Soviet and Cuban "experts" and "advisers" now hold the reins at its Interior Ministry, Defence Ministry, secret police and customs and immigration departments and are also in a position to manipulate the Finance Ministry and banks. As reported by *The Times* of London in its June 9, 1977 issue, the Soviet Union and Cuba even have the final say on matters such as what goods to be imported, the amount of bank notes to be issued, who can leave or enter the country and what Angolan individuals or mass organizations are permitted to do or not.

The Soviet Union has spent years turning Cuba into a pliable instrument for pushing its hegemonism. In the past decade or so, it has provided Cuba with over 5,000 million U.S. dollars in "aid" and loans and almost 2,000 million dollars worth of weapons, including various types of tanks, aircraft, cannon, missiles

and warships. The thousands of Soviet "experts" and "advisers" sent to Havana infiltrate Cuba's political, economic, military and cultural life. Soviet military "advisers" and officers boss the use and maintenance of the military equipment as well as the training and command of the Cuban armed forces. After putting Cuba under its thumb, Soviet expansion in Africa began in a big way. Moscow made much use of Cuba's historical ties with Africa and sent there Cubans equipped with Soviet weapons and money.

However, these atrocious acts of Soviet social-imperialism in Africa by proxy are excoriated by the countries and people of Africa and the rest of the third world. They are resented and opposed too by the Cuban people who had once been through the painful experience of invasion by mercenaries. In the past two years, African countries and people have resorted to various means to resist and frustrate Soviet invasion and expansion in Africa. Resolutions adopted at the recent Conference of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity express opposition to foreign intervention and call for an end to the actions of the mercenaries. This is another evidence of the new awakening on the part of the African countries and people who are united in the struggle against hegemonism.

Latin American public opinion has also lashed out at the Soviet Union for dragooning Cuban mercenaries into carrying out armed intervention in Africa. Many newspapers in Mexico, Panama, Venezuela, Brazil, Argentina and Barbados have come out with articles voicing sympathy for and solidarity with the African people and exposing the crimes committed by the Soviet Union in Africa.

— by Ya Fei

ROUND THE WORLD

"EN LUCHA" (SPAIN)

Three-World Concept Acclaimed

En Lucha, organ of the Central Committee of the Spanish Workers' Revolutionary Organization, said in a recent article that Chairman Mao's theory of the differentiation of the three worlds is a scientific, Marxist assessment of present-day world realities and inspires the world's people to unite and fight for great victory in the struggle against imperialism and hegemonism.

The article pointed out that great changes have taken place in the world situation since World War II and "it is necessary to make a new differentiation of the world's political forces in order to map out a global strategy for the international proletariat and the oppressed people in accordance with the new relations between the proletariat, its friends, and its enemies. This is why Chairman Mao put forward his theory of the three worlds."

"This scientific conclusion drawn by Comrade Mao Tsetung," it went on, "has enriched the theory that the development of imperialist countries is uneven and that contradictions among capitalist countries inevitably lead to war, the theory on social-imperialism, the theory that the struggle of the oppressed nations is an important component part of the world proletarian

socialist revolution, the theory that the international proletariat, socialist countries and national-liberation movements must support one another, and the theory on strategy and tactics in the proletarian revolution. All these are major contributions to Marxism-Leninism."

Speaking of the two hegemonic powers, the Soviet Union and the United States, which are the biggest forces of aggression and war today, it said, "Of the two superpowers, the Soviet Union is the more aggressive and more adventurous imperialist power, constitutes the most dangerous source of world war."

"In face of the threat of the two superpowers," the article continued, "the second world countries must defend their national independence, which is why the proletariat of these countries, while fighting against oppression and exploitation by the monopolist class at home, should hold aloft the banner of national independence, stand in the forefront of the struggle against the hegemonist powers and take an active and leading part in the fight."

"The international proletariat must unswervingly follow the policy of building the broadest united front in the worldwide revolutionary struggle against the principal enemies," the article concluded.

U.N.

Unity Means Strength

The 32nd Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations held from September 20 to December 21, 1977 deliberated on a total of 131 items of a wide range of international issues including southern Africa, the Middle East, the establishment of a new world economic order and marking out peace and nuclear-free zones in some parts of the world.

The membership of the United Nations has grown from 51 when it was founded on October 24, 1945 to the present 149, of which over 110 are third world countries, making up more than two-thirds of the total member states. The representatives of the third world countries mounted the U.N. platform to state their views on the international situation and make just proposals for the solution of international issues. The situation in which the United Nations was manipulated by one or the other superpower has gone for ever.

The third world countries have become the main force combating imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism. At the General Assembly sessions they have carried on face-to-face struggles for their common interests and against the two hegemonist powers. On November 8, 1977, the First Committee of the U.N. General Assembly adopted a draft resolution on implementing the declaration of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace. The Soviet

Union voted for it for the first time. Together with the U.S. representatives, it had in the past six years disagreed with this proposal and abstained from voting on similar draft resolutions adopted year after year since 1971. It had also refused to participate in "The Ad Hoc Committee on the Indian Ocean" which the U.N. General Assembly had decided to create, and opposed consultations with the littoral countries along the Indian Ocean, trying in every way to obstruct and sabotage the implementation of these resolutions. However, the representatives of these littoral countries, with the support of other third world countries, had for six years carried on persistent struggles and finally compelled the Soviet Union to cast an affirmative vote. Although this in no way means that it will withdraw its military presence from the Indian Ocean, yet its first affirmative vote in seven years was a victory for the people of countries bordering on the Indian Ocean in their struggle against hegemonism.

Another case in point was the admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam into the United Nations. Viet Nam had applied for U.N. membership five times in the past few years and the United States had vetoed this every time. This year the United States was compelled to vote in favour. This was a victory for justice and a defeat for power politics.

EUROPE

"Troop Reduction" and "Security and Co-operation" — A Sheer Fraud

In the last quarter of 1977, Europe was the venue of two conferences — the 13th round of the Vienna talks on troop reduction in Central Europe and the Belgrade follow-up conference on European security and co-operation — both of which failed to make any essential progress and ended in discord.

During these two and a half months of talks, the NATO and Warsaw Pact representatives continued their bickering over how many troops each bloc had stationed in Central Europe and whether a "balance" of military strength was being maintained between them. In June 1976, the Warsaw Pact gave the total number of its troops in Central Europe as 987,000 including a ground force of 805,000 and an air force of 182,000. This figure was at least 150,000 less than that tabulated by NATO. To break the deadlock, NATO had planned to put forth certain proposals for dealing with the discrepancy. However, owing to the fact that the Soviet Union refused to acknowledge its obvious military superiority in Central Europe, the talks came to an impasse.

During almost three months of the Helsinki follow-up conference, a total of 224 meetings, big and small, were held, and 106 proposals in all were tabled by the different delegations.

But the 35 delegates to the conference "are still very far from reaching a consensus" on any of the proposals. (*The Guardian*, London.) Each of the two superpowers from the very outset tried to manipulate the conference to suit its own hegemonist ends. The U.S. delegate more than once cited instances of repression of Soviet "dissidents" and accused the Kremlin of "violating human rights" in contravention of the Helsinki document. Apart from stressing his own disarmament proposals, the Soviet delegate censured the United States for "interfering in other countries' affairs" and "poisoning the international atmosphere"; he even threatened to walk out.

Since the Vienna talks began in October 1973, four years have elapsed and not one substantial issue has been settled. The result has been, instead of troops reduction, a steady increase in the number of forces each side maintains. Happenings in the last two years or so since the Helsinki conference began in July 1975 show that the so-called European security conference, far from bringing Europe peace and security, has resulted in quite the reverse. The slogans of "troop reduction," "security and co-operation" trumpeted again and again by the two superpowers are nothing but a fraud.

CORRECTION: The last sentence on page 21 of our issue No. 52, 1977 should read: "... each person reclaimed close to two hectares of land on the average."

ON THE HOME FRONT

Mathematician Chen Ching-jun

CHEN Ching-jun, who was recently promoted to be a research fellow of the Chinese Academy of Sciences, is one of the eminent mathematicians in China.

After years of meticulous analysis and scientific calculations, he made progress on "Goldbach conjecture." This is an outstanding contribution of advanced world levels in research on the theory of numbers.

Two centuries or so earlier, the German mathematician Goldbach raised the proposition that every even number larger than 2 can be represented as the sum of two primes, such as: $8 = 5 + 3$, $16 = 3 + 13$ and $100 = 17 + 83$. This seemingly simple hypothesis, however, requires herculean efforts to justify. To date, the proposition remains yet to be proved despite exertions over the years by many mathematicians in the world.

Chen's result ranks the best in this field so far. He has

proved that every sufficiently large even integer can be represented as the sum of a prime and the product of at most two primes.

The "Goldbach conjecture" will be completely straightened out if his result goes a step further. Chen's achievement has been acclaimed by many well-known mathematicians throughout the world.

Chen is 44 years old. After graduating from a senior middle school before liberation, he was unable to go to college because his family was poor. He was admitted into the mathematics department of a university not long after the founding of New China. He graduated a top-notch student in 1953.

He was transferred in 1957 to the Institute of Mathematics of the Chinese Academy of Sciences. There he acquired more knowledge and prepared for his research on the "Goldbach conjecture."

Chen Ching-jun began to study the conjecture in 1963. Difficulties cropped up one

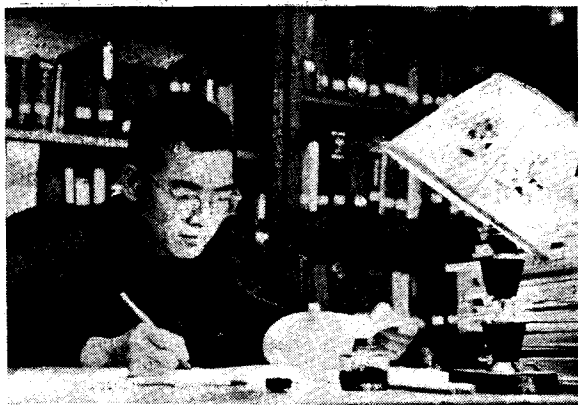
after the other, but this in no way shook his determination to continue probing.

In order to read foreign reference material, he has learnt four foreign languages. The morning often finds him getting up at three to review his foreign languages study. More often than not, he spends all day long in the library or his office, bringing with him several pieces of steamed bread as the day's meal, and continues to work in the evening.

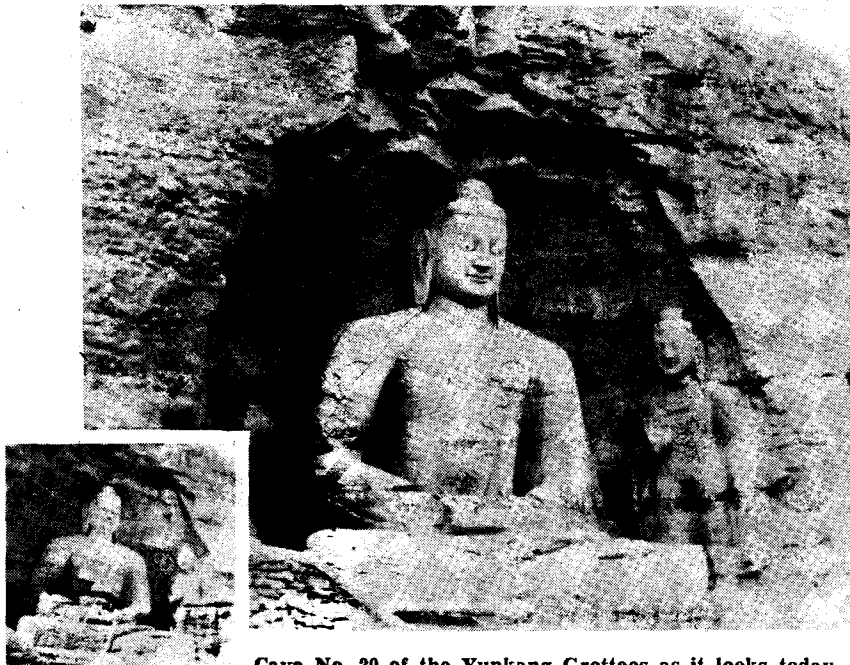
He often resorts to several, sometimes even a dozen, different ways to justify a single principle and makes calculations accordingly. The mounds of paper piled high in his office are records of his successes and failures.

For a time, the pernicious influence of the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of Lin Piao and the "gang of four" plus their persecution of intellectuals loomed heavy over Chen Ching-jun. His work was maligned as "bogus science" and the "revisionist stuff." This, however, did not in the least affect his researches. After he made a great success of his efforts in 1973, he immediately went about preparing for the next step: the complete settlement of the "Goldbach conjecture." Chen has also made other new progress in the study of the theory of numbers. Since 1956 he has published over 40 papers.

In his studies, Chen Ching-jun won the respect and care of the Party and the people. In 1974 he was elected a deputy to the Fourth National People's Congress.



Chen Ching-jun.



Cave No. 20 of the Yunkang Grottoes as it looks today. Insert shows the cave before it was repaired.

Repairing Yunkang Grottoes

THE 1,500-year-old Yunkang Grottoes, gems of ancient Chinese architecture and sculpture, have been restored to their former splendour through large-scale repairs and renovation.

The caves, one of the earliest and most magnificent assemblages of grottoes in China, are located on the Wuchou Hills 15 kilometres west of north China's coal centre, Tatung city.

Many of the crumbling rocks and fissures in the caves have been girded up or filled in, and weathered statues were mended according to data concerning their original appearance.

The work was undertaken according to an instruction of the late Premier Chou En-lai. Visiting Yunkang in the company of the then French Pres-

ident Georges Pompidou on September 15, 1973, Premier Chou learnt that a ten-year plan for repairing the caves had been mapped out. He considered ten years much too long and suggested that effective measures be taken to finish the project in three years. Now the project has been completed.

Towards the end of the 4th century, a tribe of the nomadic Hsienpei nationality living in the northern part of China occupied a vast area north of the Yellow River and founded the Northern Wei Dynasty. The nobles actively disseminated Buddhism and used huge amounts of materials and labour force to build imposing Buddhist temples, pagodas and grottoes. The Yunkang Grottoes were built in the vicinity of the dynasty's capital at that time.

Visitors now can see the remaining 51,000 or so stone Buddha statues in 53 caves distri-

buted over a kilometre-long stretch. There are also other figurines of various sizes and shapes. The largest, looking magnificent, towers 17 metres high and the smallest, of exquisite craftsmanship, is just a few centimetres high. The ceilings and walls of the caves are covered with niches, figurines and reliefs portraying episodes from Buddhist stories.

The grottoes show the outstanding creativity of ancient China's masons and craftsmen who completed the main caves of this artistic treasure in 34 years. They also reveal the cruel, decadent features of the feudal rulers. To meet their own needs, they forced thousands of people to sweat for years in cutting the caves and creating the delicate sculptures.

The Yunkang Grottoes suffered damage by imperialists in collusion with the Kuomintang reactionaries. Incomplete statistics show that more than 1,400 Buddha statues were damaged or stolen. Marks of axe chops still can be discerned on some of the statues.

After liberation, the Party and government issued instructions placing the grottoes under special protection and allotted funds for their repair and maintenance. Archaeologists, architects, geologists and artists joined in the repair work, which continued in the Great Cultural Revolution. Walls have been built to enclose the grottoes and trees planted to landscape the surroundings.

Just Off the Press

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