

PEKING REVIEW

37
and
38

September 13, 1977

Commemorating First Anniversary Of Passing of Chairman Mao

北

京

周

報

- Chairman Hua's Speech at Peking Meeting
- Editorial by "Renmin Ribao," "Hongqi" and "Jiefangjun Bao"

Chairman Mao's Two Works

- Strive to Learn From Each Other and Don't Stick to the Beaten Track and Be Complacent (1963)
- On the Question of Whether Imperialism and All Reactionaries Are Real Tigers (1958)

PEKING REVIEW

北京周報

BELJING ZHOUBAO

Vol. 20, Nos. 37-38 September 13, 1977

Published in English, French, Spanish,
Japanese, German and Arabic editions

CONTENTS

ARTICLES AND DOCUMENTS

- Strive to Learn From Each Other and Don't Stick to the Beaten Track and Be Complacent (December 13, 1963)—Mao Tsetung 5
- On the Question of Whether Imperialism and All Reactionaries Are Real Tigers (December 1, 1958)—Mao Tsetung 7
- Chairman Hua's Speech—At meeting marking first anniversary of passing of Chairman Mao and inauguration of Chairman Mao Memorial Hall 9
- First Anniversary of Passing of Chairman Mao 14
- Mao Tsetung Thought Will Shine For Ever—Editorial by *Renmin Ribao*, *Hongqi* and *Jiefangjun Bao* 21
- A Great Creation in the History of Proletarian Revolution—In memory of the great leader and teacher Chairman Mao—Lin Chin-jan 24
- New Canal Treaty—Panamanian People's Victory 34
- For Your Reference: The Panama Canal and the Panama Canal Treaty 35
- "Peaceful Construction" Or Militarization of the National Economy? — A commentary by Hsinhua Correspondent 36
- Travelogue (II): Are They Really "Capitalist-Roaders"?—A visit to Hsienyu County, Fukien Province—Our Correspondents Tien San-sung and Chao Yi-ou 38

THE WEEK

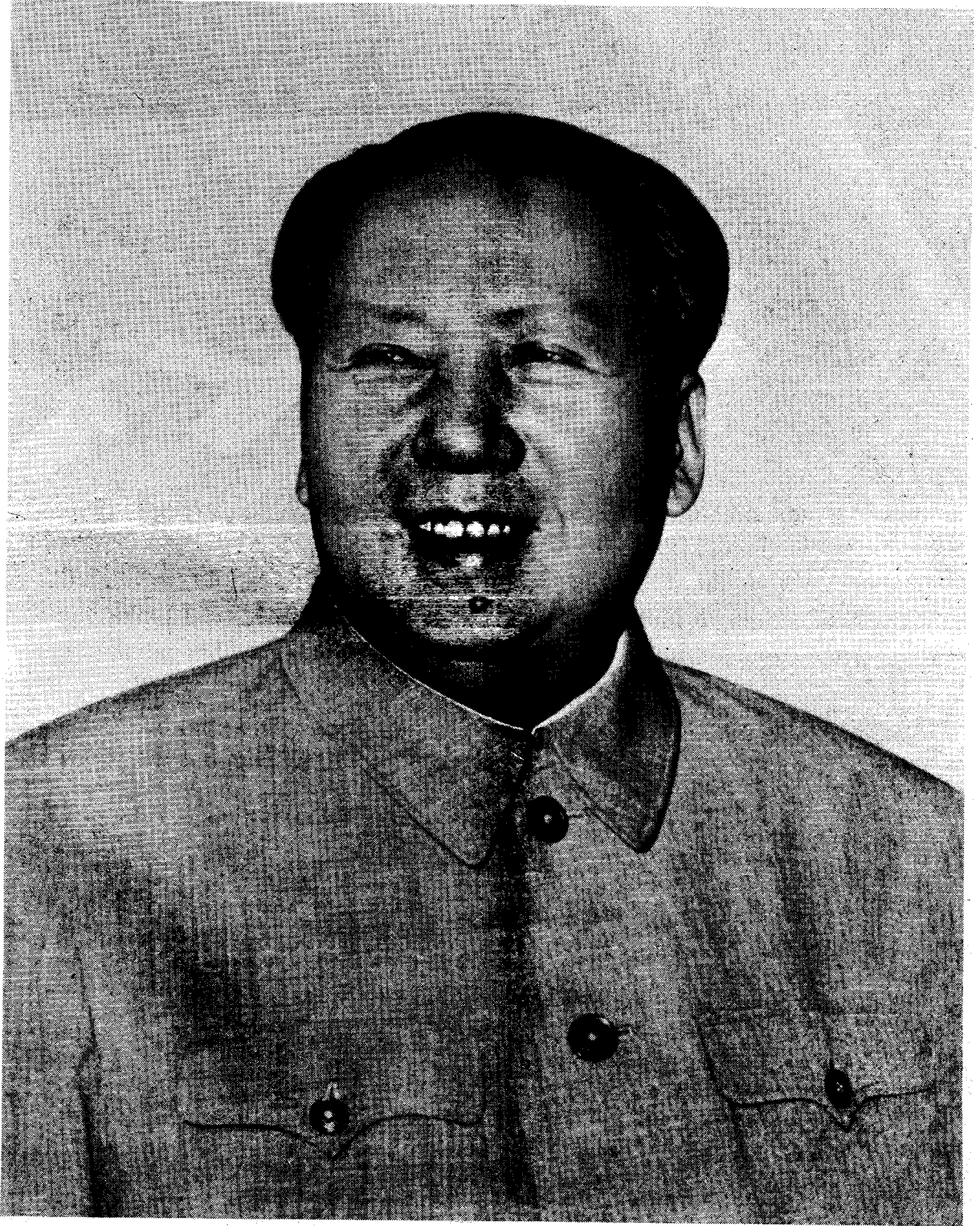
- President Tito Concludes China Visit 29
- Chairman Hua Meets Professor Chao Chung Ting
- Vice-Chairman Teng Meets Professors Man-chiang Niu and Chao Chung Ting
- U.S. Delegation of Associated Press Executives and Directors
- National Day of Socialist Republic of Viet Nam
- 29th Anniversary of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea
- Meeting With Foreign Delegations

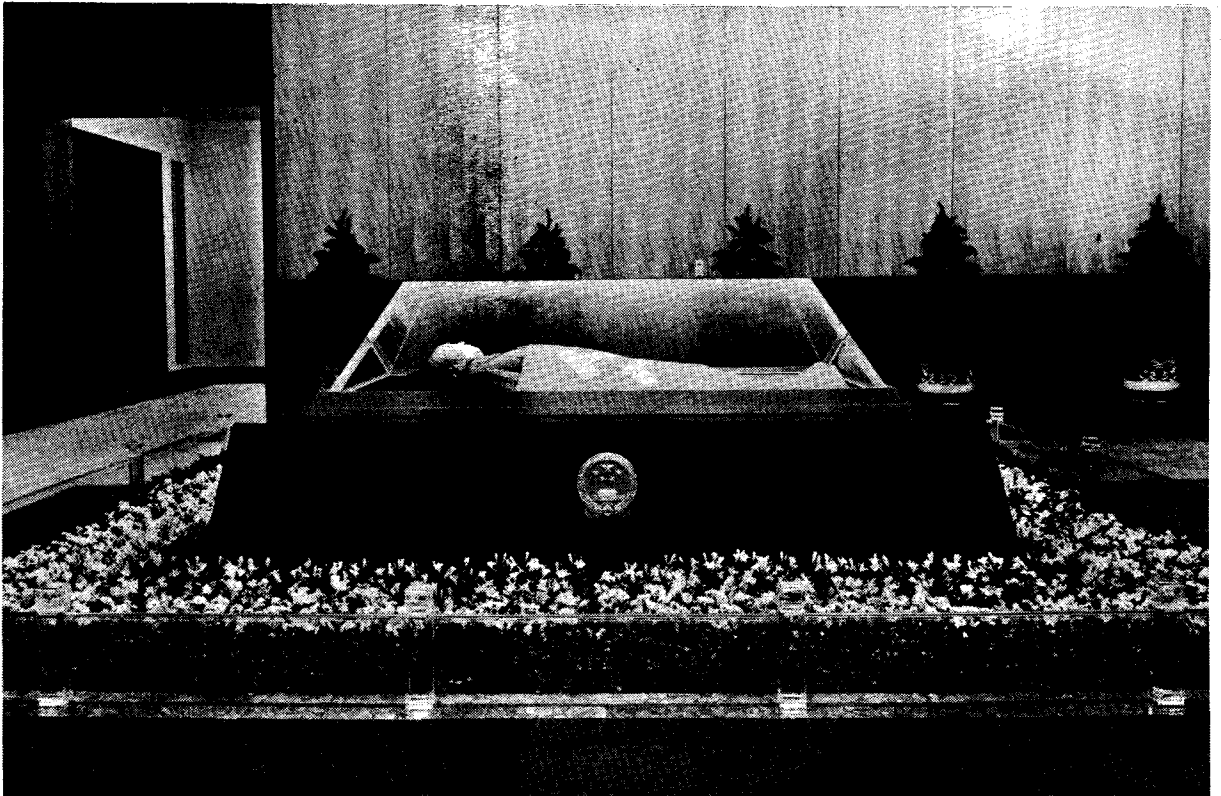
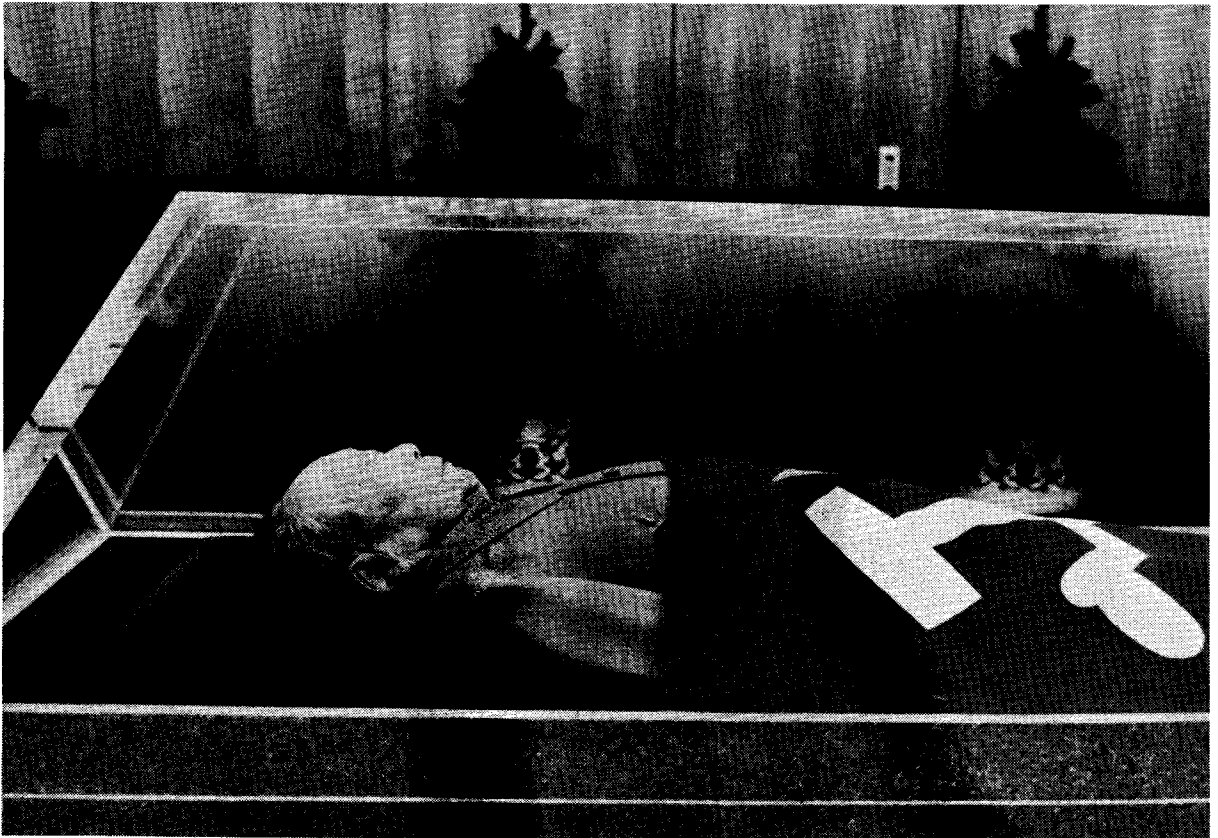
ROUND THE WORLD

- Lagos: World Conference for Action Against Apartheid 42
- Angola: Calamity Brought on by Moscow and Its Mercenaries
- European and North American People: Denounce Soviet Invasion of Czechoslovakia
- Moscow: Opposes Spain's Entry Into E.E.C.
- Israel: New Settlements on West Bank of Jordan River

ON THE HOME FRONT

- Good Summer Harvest 45
- Ascending Highest Peak of Tianshan Mountains
- A Peking Opera Restaged





The remains of our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao Tsetung.

Strive to Learn From Each Other and Don't Stick to the Beaten Track and Be Complacent

December 13, 1963

Mao Tsetung

HERE is a report prepared by Comrades Li Jui-shan and Hua Kuo-feng of the Hunan provincial Party committee, on November 6, 1963, on their visit to Kwangtung to look at the progress of its agricultural production. Attached to the report are instructions written by the Hunan provincial Party committee dated December 7, 1963. You are requested to study them. The Central Committee considers that this attitude and method of learning modestly from the good experience of other provinces, municipalities and districts is fine and constitutes an important way of promoting our economic, political, ideological, cultural, military and Party work. Some comrades stick to the beaten track, are conceited and complacent; do not take an analytical approach towards the work in their own area in accordance with Marxist dialectics (i.e., one dividing into two, into shortcomings and mistakes as well as

achievements), but notice only achievements and not shortcomings and mistakes. They welcome praise but not criticism. They take little interest in arranging for competent high and middle-ranking cadres to study modestly and earnestly what is being done in other provinces, municipalities, districts or units in order to introduce improvements by applying the findings to their own province, municipality, district or unit. They confine their vision always to the small world of their own area or unit, but fail to see beyond it and to notice any world other than their own, which is sheer parochial arrogance. They show to foreign visitors, comrades from other parts of the country or comrades sent by the central authorities to their area only what is good and not what is bad. They tell these visitors only the achievements, and not the shortcomings and mistakes which, if taken up at all, will not be gone into at any great length but dismissed perfunctorily in a few words. The Central Committee has called our comrades' attention to this problem time

An inner-Party directive drafted on behalf of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party.

and again, maintaining that a Communist must acquire the Marxist dialectical concept of one dividing into two with regard to achievements and shortcomings, truth and falsehood. Without exception everything (economy, politics, ideology, culture, military and Party work, etc.) develops as a process. And every process develops through the interconnection and mutual struggle of its two contradictory aspects. This should be A B C for a Marxist. However, many comrades at the central and local levels seldom think and work conscientiously in accordance with this viewpoint. They find it difficult to shake off their customary metaphysical way of thinking. By metaphysics is meant the denial of the unity of opposites and the struggle of opposites in things (the method of one dividing into two), the denial of the truth that under given conditions two contradictory things that stand in opposition transform themselves into each other and turn into their opposite. Metaphysics also finds expression in the following — to stick to the beaten track, to be conceited and complacent, to notice only achievements and not shortcomings, to welcome praise and not criticism; to be unwilling to criticize oneself (to apply the method of one dividing into two to oneself) and, worse still, to be afraid of being criticized by others. Among the dozens of ministries under the Central Government there are obviously several which have done better and have a better style of work, for instance, the Ministry of Petroleum Industry. Yet other ministries simply pay no attention and have never bothered to visit them, study their experience and learn from them. Of the various units under a ministry, there are obviously many factories and mines, enterprises, undertakings and scientific research institutions, together with their personnel, that have done well. Yet its leadership, through its ignorance, is in no position to encourage people to learn from them. Comrades, when the Central Committee here speaks about comrades committing errors

in succumbing to metaphysics, this refers only to some comrades, not to all. Nevertheless it must be pointed out that large numbers of fine comrades are frustrated by those comrades who are highly placed with fat emoluments and live-in style, who are conceited and complacent and are only too glad to stick to the beaten track, and who are addicted to bourgeois metaphysics; in other words, these fine comrades are frustrated by the bureaucrats. This situation must be changed right now. To any comrade who rejects the dialectical and analytical method of Marxism and doesn't modestly and conscientiously analyse either his own locality, his own unit and himself or other localities, other units and other people, we must give comradely advice and criticism, so as to bring about a change in this undesirable state of affairs. We must make it a practice to learn from the good experience, good style and good methods of other ministries, provinces, municipalities, districts and units. This is an important question and you are requested to discuss it. Later on, the Central Committee will also take it up at its working conferences and plenary sessions. For quite some time the Hunan provincial Party committee made no attempt at investigation and study and issued a spate of subjectivist directives to the lower levels, ramming many things down their throats while getting little factual information in return, and thus alienating itself from the masses and bringing tremendous difficulties upon itself. From 1961 onwards, a change came over its work and things rapidly looked up. Nevertheless it felt that it was still lagging far behind Kwangtung and Shanghai. Therefore, it organized two survey teams composed of large numbers of cadres at the provincial, prefectural and county levels, and cadres from the province and its cities, and sent them on study tours to Kwangtung and Shanghai. Please try and see if you can do the same. The Central Committee holds that it can and must be done. If you think otherwise, please transmit your views.

On the Question of Whether Imperialism and All Reactionaries Are Real Tigers

December 1, 1958

Mao Tsetung

HERE I would like to answer the question of whether imperialism and all reactionaries are real tigers. The answer is that they are at once real tigers and paper tigers, they are in the process of being changed from real into paper tigers. Change means transformation. Real tigers are transformed into paper tigers, into their opposite. This is true of all things, and not just social phenomena. I answered this question several years ago: Despise the enemy strategically and take full account of him tactically. But why take full account of him if he is not a real tiger? Apparently there are still people around who do not get the point, so we must do some more explaining.

Just as there is not a single thing in the world without a dual nature (this is the law of the unity of opposites), so imperialism and all reactionaries have a dual nature — they are at the same time real tigers and paper tigers. In the past, before they won state power and for some time afterwards, the slave-owning class, the feudal landlord class and the bourgeoisie were vigorous, revolutionary and progressive; they were real tigers. But with the lapse of time, because their opposites — the slave class, the peasant class and the proletariat — gradually grew in strength and struggled against them ever more fiercely, these ruling classes changed step by step into the reverse, changed into

reactionaries, changed into backward people, changed into paper tigers. And eventually they were overthrown, or will be overthrown, by the people. The reactionary, backward, decaying classes retained this dual nature even in the face of the people's final decisive struggle against them. On the one hand, they were real tigers; they devoured people, devoured people by the millions and tens of millions. The cause of the people's struggle went through times of difficulty and hardship, and along the path there were many twists and turns. The destruction of the rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism in China took the Chinese people more than a hundred years and cost them tens of millions of lives before victory in 1949. Look! Weren't they living tigers, iron tigers, real tigers? But on the other hand, they eventually changed into paper tigers, dead tigers, bean-curd tigers. These are historical facts. Haven't people seen or heard about these facts? There have been thousands and tens of thousands of them! Thousands and tens of thousands! Hence, imperialism and all reactionaries, looked at in essence, from a long-term point of view, from a strategic point of view, must be seen for what they are — paper tigers. On this we should build our strategic thinking. But they are also living tigers, iron tigers, real tigers, they can devour people. On this we should build our tactical thinking. This holds true

of the struggle against nature as well as against the class enemy. Both the 12-year 40-article programme for agricultural development and the 12-year programme for the development of science which we published in 1956 proceed from this basic concept of Marxism, the concept of the unity of opposites, that is, the concept of the dual nature of the development of the universe, the concept of the dual nature of the development of things, the concept that a thing invariably manifests itself in a process and that every process without exception has a dual nature. On the one hand, we should take these struggles lightly, they are easy to handle, they are not much of a problem, there is nothing to worry about, and we shall certainly achieve success and be victorious. On the other hand, we should take them seriously, they are not so easy to handle, they present quite a problem and must not be treated casually, and we cannot be victorious without hard work and arduous struggle. Fear and fearlessness fall under the law of the unity of opposites. There is no such thing in this world as an absolutely fearless person, a carefree type without a single worry. Worry attends men from their birth. Students are worried about exams and children about their parents' partiality for their brothers or sisters. Besides, there are numerous adversities and calamities, infirmities and diseases, running a fever of 41 degrees and other mishaps, as expressed in the saying, "In nature there are unexpected storms and in life unpredictable vicissitudes," and so on and so forth. The difficulties we encounter in class struggle and the struggle against nature are far greater in number. But except for cowards and the opportunist gentlemen, most people, and primarily the proletariat and the Communists, invariably put optimism and contempt for difficulties first. And only then do they take full account of things, of every piece of work, of scientific research, analyse each contradictory aspect of things, dig into them and come to understand the laws of motion of nature and society. It will then be possible to grasp

these laws and become relatively free to apply them to successively solving the problems facing us, to handling contradictions and accomplishing our tasks so that hard going can be transformed into easy going, real tigers into paper tigers, the lower stage of a revolution into its higher stage, the democratic revolution into the socialist revolution, socialist ownership by the collective into socialist ownership by the whole people, socialist ownership by the whole people into communist ownership by the whole people, an annual production of several million tons of steel into one of tens of millions of tons or even several hundred million tons of steel, and an output of over a hundred catties or several hundred catties of grain per *mou* into one of several thousand or even tens of thousands of catties of grain per *mou*. Comrades, it is our task to bring about these transformations. Comrades, possibility and reality are two things and they are two opposites of a single unity. Spurious possibility and genuine possibility are again two things and two opposites of a single unity. We should keep our heads cool and our heads hot, which are also two opposites of a single unity. Soaring enthusiasm means hotheadedness and scientific analysis cool-headedness. Some people in our country are a bit too hotheaded at present. They are in no mood to allow a cooling off period, unwilling to make an analysis and all for hotheadedness. Comrades, such an attitude is not good for people in positions of leadership and they may trip and fall. These persons should make a point of cooling off their heads. Some others prefer cool-headedness to hotheadedness. They do not like some of the things that are going on and cannot keep pace with them. Those who take a wait-and-see attitude and those who want to eventually settle accounts with their opponents belong to this category. In regard to these people, we must gradually make their heads hotter.

Wuchang,

December 1, 1958.

Peking Review, Nos. 37-38

Chairman Hua's Speech

— At meeting marking first anniversary of passing
of Chairman Mao and inauguration
of Chairman Mao Memorial Hall

Comrades:

It is now exactly a year since Chairman Mao Tsetung, the founder of our Party, our army and our People's Republic, the great leader and teacher of the proletariat and the people of all nationalities in our country, and the greatest Marxist of the contemporary era, departed from us.

Today, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, the State Council and the Military Commission of the C.P.C. Central Committee are holding a meeting here before the magnificent Chairman Mao Memorial Hall to solemnly commemorate the first anniversary of the death of our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao and to mark the inauguration of the hall. At this moment, our hearts are filled with deep emotion and we cherish all the more the memory of our great leader Chairman Mao. Chairman Mao will always be with us; he will always live in the hearts of all our comrades and friends and in the hearts of the Chinese people and the revolutionary people the world over.

In commemorating Marx, Engels said: **"It is through him that we all are what we are; and it is through his theoretical and practical activity that the movement is what it is today; without him we would still be plunged in confusion."** We, the Communists and people of China, have the same affection for Chairman Mao. All the victories of the Chinese revolution should be attributed to his theoretical and practical activity. Like a great beacon, Mao Tsetung Thought has

shone with resplendence, piercing through the darkness; it has illuminated and will forever illuminate the long and militant course of the Chinese revolution.

Our Party and state have in the past year gone through a historic, decisive battle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. In this critical period, we have deeply experienced the grave difficulty of having lost our great leader Chairman Mao. But we have lived up to the expectations of Chairman Mao who nurtured us; we have stood the severe test.

Holding high the great banner of Chairman Mao and carrying out his behests, the Party Central Committee in the past year smashed at one stroke the anti-Party "gang of four" of Wang Hung-wen, Chang Chun-chiao, Chiang Ching and Yao Wen-yuan and has led the whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities in the country in unfolding a great political revolution to expose and criticize the gang, winning a signal victory in the 11th major two-line struggle in the history of our Party and ushering in a new period of development in our socialist revolution and construction.

Volume V of the *Selected Works of Mao Tsetung*, which was published shortly after the "gang of four" had been smashed, incisively expounds the great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. It has become our powerful ideological weapon in deepening the exposure and criticism of the "gang of four" and in carrying on the socialist revolution and construction.

The great struggle to smash the "gang of four" has brought profound and tremendous changes to China's political situation. The proletariat has won momentous victories on all fronts. The whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities in our country are in high spirits, militant, daring and vigorous and are working hard to carry out the strategic decision adopted by the Party Central Committee, namely, to grasp the key link of class struggle and bring about great order across the land. The confusion created by the "gang of four" on questions of right and wrong in political line is being clarified. Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and policies are being implemented comprehensively and correctly on all fronts.

On the economic front, the mass movements to learn from Taching in industry and from Tachai in agriculture are gaining momentum. A new leap forward is taking shape in the national economy.

On the scientific, technological, educational, cultural and public health fronts, the proletarian revolutionary mass movement is pressing ahead.

On the military front, important progress has been made in the revolutionization of the People's Liberation Army and in getting prepared against war. Our militia work has taken on a new look.

People's democracy has been carried forward on an extensive scale in our country. The unity of our people of various nationalities has been immensely consolidated and our dictatorship over the class enemy enormously strengthened.

In international struggle, we are firmly carrying out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in foreign affairs in accordance with his strategic concept differentiating the three worlds, and continue to promote the development of the international situation in a direction favourable to the people of China and the world.

After a year's efforts and through the Central Committee's working conference of last March, the Third Plenary Session of the Tenth Central Committee and the 11th National Congress, our Party has revived and carried forward the fine tradition and style of work which Chairman Mao fostered in our Party. Our Party has become more united, more unified and stronger than ever before.

All this forcefully testifies to the complete correctness of the strategic decision adopted by the Party Central Committee to grasp the key link of class struggle and bring about great order across the land and the complete correctness of the political and organizational line of the Party Central Committee.

We may now assure our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao that, under the leadership of the Party Central Committee, the whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities in our country, adhering to the Party's basic line, are advancing in big strides confidently and unswervingly along the road of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat as Chairman Mao indicated.

All attempts by class enemies at home and abroad to make our Party change its Marxist-Leninist line, which was formulated by Chairman Mao, are merely reactionary daydreams.

We must cherish the great banner of Chairman Mao as our precious heritage and hand it on from generation to generation. The Chairman Mao Memorial Hall which stands majestically in Tien An Men Square is a sublime and lofty symbol of this rock-firm determination and sacred vow of ours.

We are now at an important juncture in history when we are carrying forward the revolutionary cause pioneered by our predecessors and forging ahead into the future.

In continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, our task is arduous and the road ahead is long.



Chairman Mao with Comrade Hua Kuo-feng (1976).

We have already won important victories. We still have to fight with redoubled efforts to overcome the difficulties on our road forward.

Holding high the great banner of Chairman Mao, adhering to the Party's basic line for the historical period of socialism, grasping the key link of class struggle and bringing about great order across the land, continuing the revolution and striving to

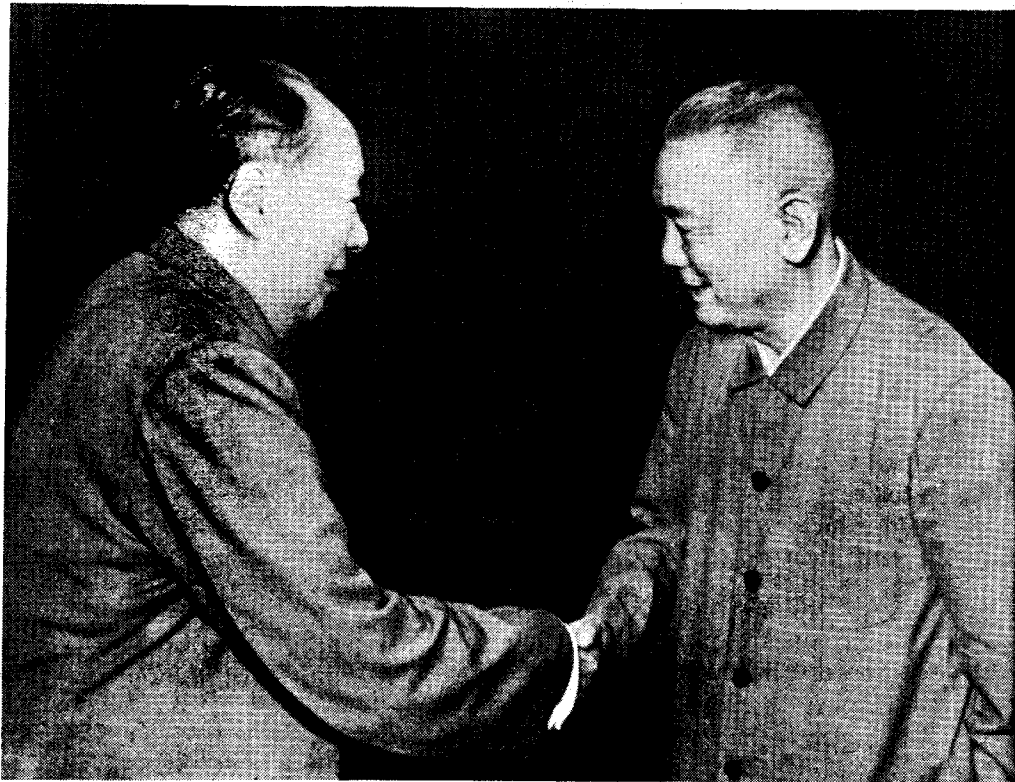
build China into a powerful and modern socialist country — this is the line of the 11th National Congress of the Party.

Let us carry out Chairman Mao's behests, adhere to the line of the 11th National Congress of the Party and unite to win still greater victories!

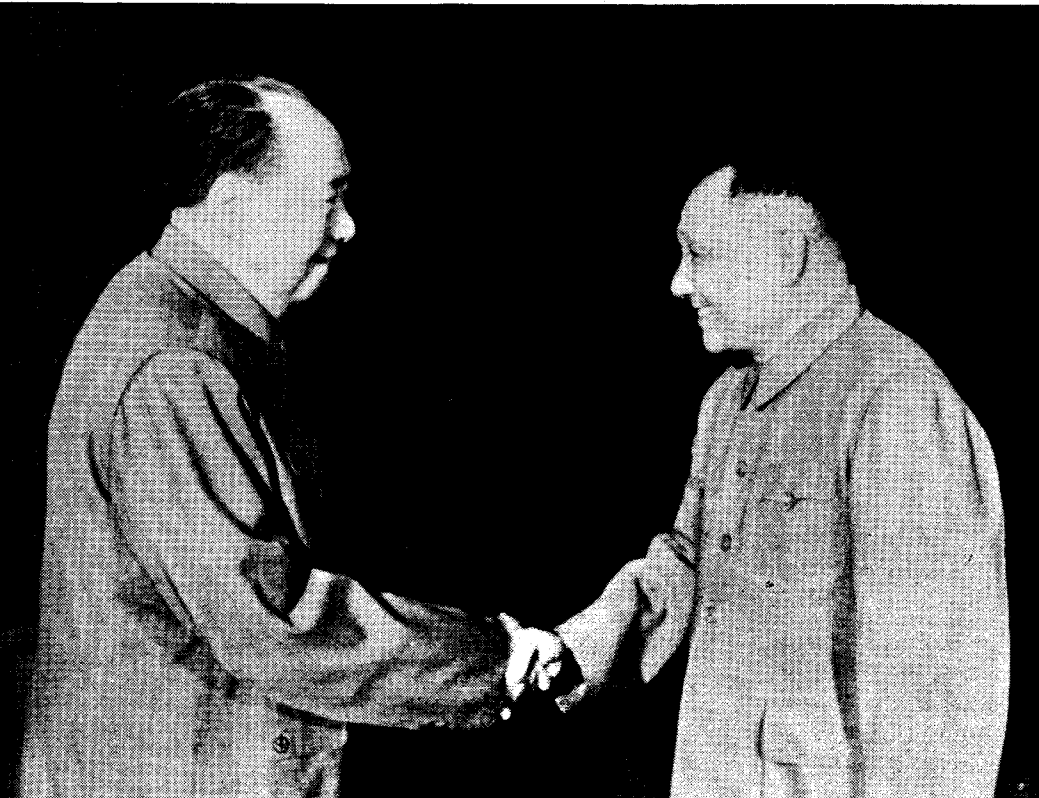
Long live invincible Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought!



Chairman Mao with
Comrade Yeh Chien-
ying (1949).



Chairman Mao with
Comrade Li Hsien-
nien (1975).



**Chairman Mao with
Comrade Teng Hsiaping (1974).**



**Chairman Mao
with Comrade
Wang Tung-
hsing (1955).**

First Anniversary of Passing of Chairman Mao

Commemoration Meeting

A solemn meeting was held in Peking in the afternoon of September 9 to commemorate the first anniversary of the passing of our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao and to mark the inauguration of the Chairman Mao Memorial Hall. Attended by 10,000 people, the meeting took place in the square in front of the north entrance to the hall.

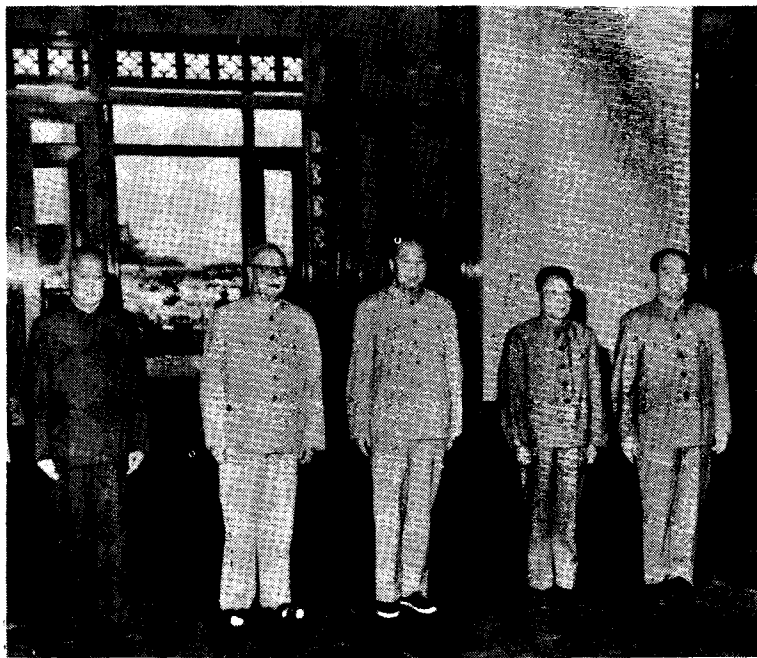
Chairman Hua made an important speech (see p. 9 for full text) at the meeting which was held by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, the State Council and the Military Commission of the C.P.C. Central Committee and was presided over by Vice-Chairman Yeh Chien-ying.

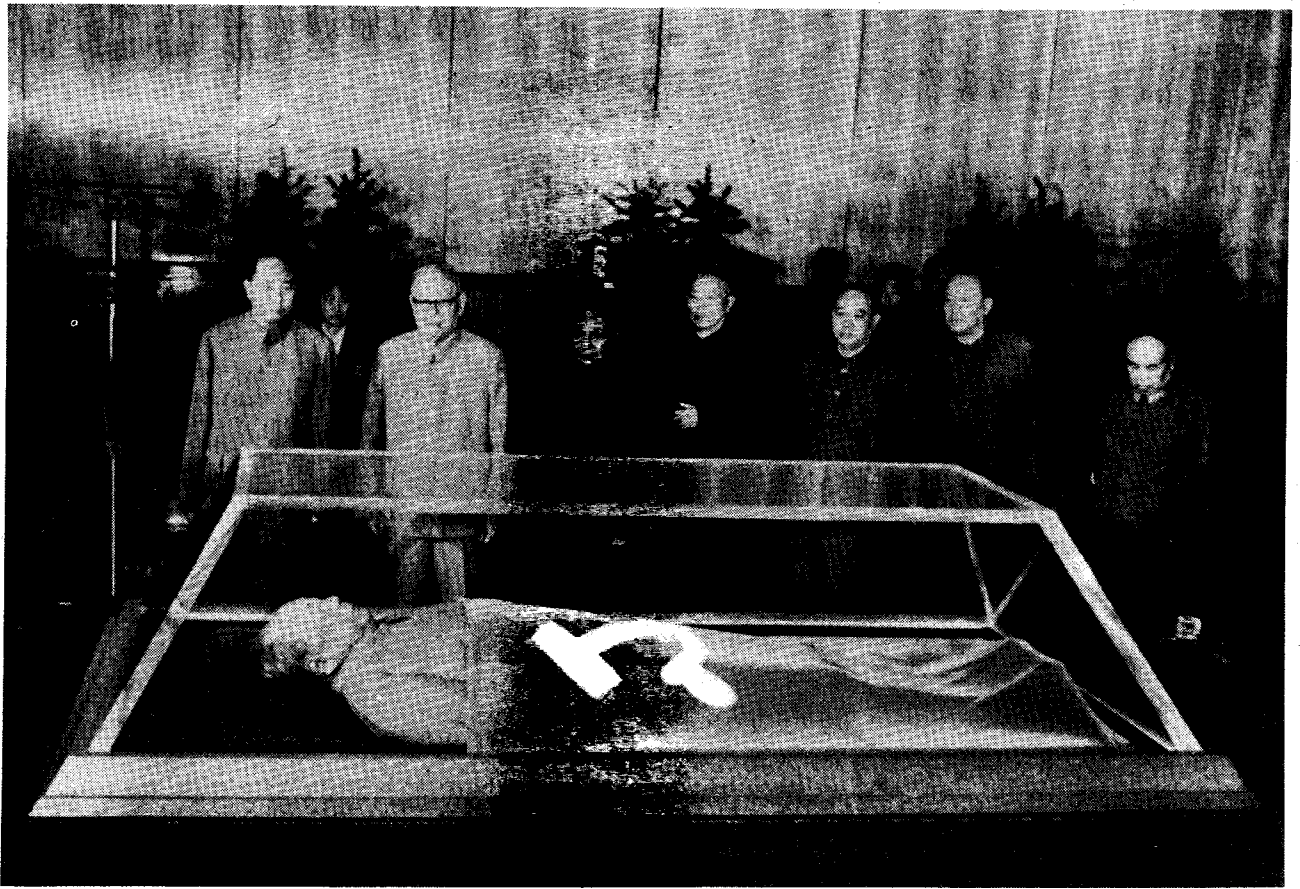
Vice-Chairmen Teng Hsiao-ping, Li Hsien-nien and Wang Tung-hsing and other Party and state leaders Soong Ching Ling, Ulanfu, Fang Yi, Hsu Shih-yu, Chi Teng-kuei, Su Chen-hua, Wu Teh, Yu Chiu-li, Chang Ting-fa, Chen Yung-kuei, Chen Hsi-lien, Keng Piao, Nieh Jung-chen, Ni Chih-fu, Hsu Hsiang-chien, Chen Mu-hua, Kuo Mo-jo, Chen Yun, Tan Chen-lin, Li Ching-chuan, Chang Ting-cheng, Tsai Chang, Teng Ying-chao, Ngapo Ngawang-Jigme, Chou Chien-jen, Hsu Teh-heng, Hu Chueh-wen, Wang Chen, Ku Mu and Wu Kuei-hsien attended the meeting. Also present were Su Yu and Lo Jui-ching, leading members of the Military Commission of the C.P.C. Central Committee; Shen Yen-ping, Vice-Chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Confer-

ence; and Chiang Hua, President of the Supreme People's Court.

Chairman Mao's relatives Mao An-ching, Shao Hua, Li Min and Kung Ling-hua were present on the occasion.

Also attending the meeting were Members and Alternate Members of the C.P.C. Central Committee; Members of the N.P.C. Standing Committee; Members of the Standing Committee of the C.P.P.C.C. National Committee; leading members of the departments under the C.P.C. Central Committee, central government organs, the Peking municipal Party committee and the Peking municipal revolutionary committee, various general departments and Peking Units of the P.L.A.; and representatives of national minorities, workers, poor and lower-

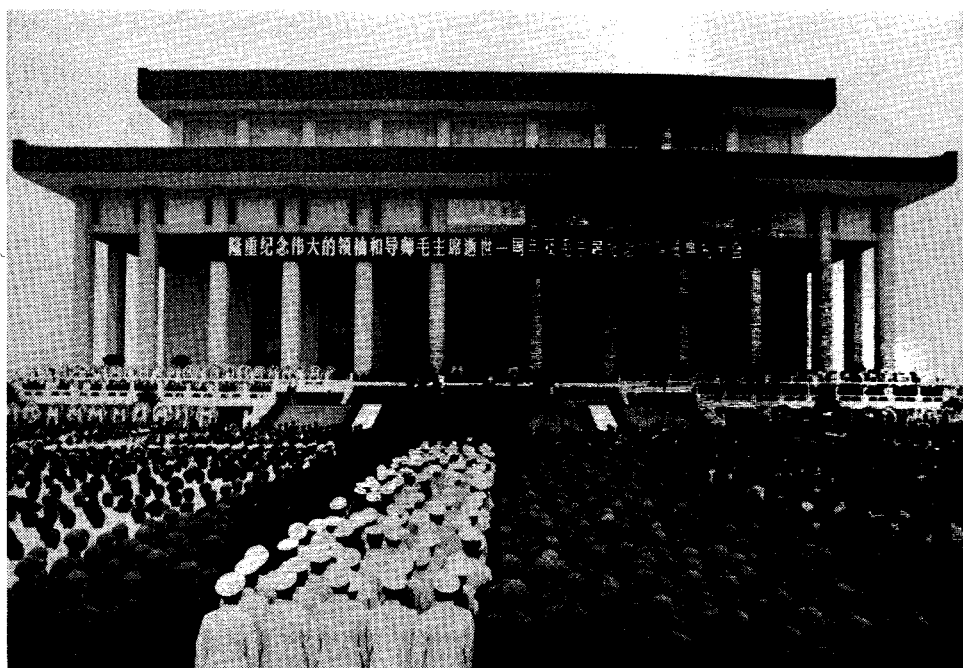




Chairman Hua Kuo-feng and Vice-Chairmen Yeh Chien-ying, Teng Hsiao-ping, Li Hsien-nien and Wang Tung-hsing paying their respects to the remains of Chairman Mao.



Standing in silent tribute before the statue of Chairman Mao after presenting wreaths.



The solemn meeting in front of the Chairman Mao Memorial Hall.

middle peasants, P.L.A. fighters and commanders, revolutionary intellectuals and builders of the memorial hall.

In a solemn atmosphere, Chairman Hua and Vice-Chairmen Yeh Chien-ying, Teng Hsiao-ping, Li Hsien-nien and Wang Tung-hsing placed wreaths before the statue of Chairman Mao in the hall. The C.P.C. Central Committee, the N.P.C. Standing Committee, the State Council, the Military Commission of the C.P.C. Central Committee and the C.P.P.C.C. National Committee also presented wreaths.

There were also wreaths from Wei Kuo-ching, Liu Po-cheng, Li Teh-sheng, Peng Chung, Chao Tzu-yang and Saifudin, other Party and state leaders attending the meeting, leading members of the Military Commission of the C.P.C. Central Committee, Vice-Chairman of the C.P.P.C.C. National Committee, President of the Supreme People's Court, and Party, government and army organs at the central and Peking municipal levels.

Chairman Mao's relatives also presented wreaths.

Following this, the participants stood in silent tribute to the memory of Chairman Mao Tsetung, the founder of our Party, army and People's Republic, the great leader and teacher

of the proletariat and the people of all nationalities in the country, and the greatest Marxist of our time.

After the meeting, all the participants filed into the memorial hall to pay their respects to the remains of Chairman Mao.

Other Commemorative Activities

For days on end, people in the capital flocked to Tien An Men Square in an endless stream to lay wreaths or baskets of flowers around the Monument to the People and on the stands flanking Tien An Men Gate. They walked around the Chairman Mao Memorial Hall to honour his memory, their minds harking back to the many happy occasions when they were reviewed by their beloved leader. A solemn atmosphere prevailed in the square.

Contingent after contingent of workers, peasants, army men, students, intellectuals and government functionaries went to the square to take part in commemorative activities and make pledges. Singing *The Internationale* and *The East Is Red* and reciting poems by Chairman Mao, they expressed their determination to carry through to the end the proletarian revolutionary cause pioneered by Chairman Mao. They vowed to continue the struggle to thoroughly

expose and criticize the "gang of four" and redouble their efforts to build their motherland into a powerful and modern socialist country.

Commemorations in diverse forms were held by the Peking municipal Party committee, the Peking municipal revolutionary committee, the P.L.A. Peking Units and Peking Garrison and factories, rural people's communes, Party and government organs, schools, shops and other grass-roots units. Performances were given by theatrical troupes in praise of Chairman Mao's immortal contributions.

People from the places or units in and around Peking where Chairman Mao had inspected or taken part in physical labour — such as the crew of the "Mao Tsetung Locomotive" under the Peking Railway Sub-Bureau, workers at the Ming Tombs Reservoir and members of the Lukouchiao People's Commune — held meetings to recount those unforgettable days when Chairman Mao was with them. They all pledged to turn their memory of Chairman Mao into strength and make greater contributions to the socialist revolution and construction.

More than 2,000 representatives of students from many schools gathered at a meeting to voice their determination to study diligently, making all-round progress morally, intellectually and physically, so as to be able to do their bit in building up the motherland in the days to come.

The same day commemoration meetings were also held in other municipalities and the various provinces and autonomous regions. Addressing the meetings, principal leading members of local Party, government and army organs extolled Chairman Mao's magnificent contributions and expressed the determination to hold high the great banner of Chairman Mao and carry the proletarian revolutionary cause through to the end under the leadership

of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua.

Commemorative activities also took place in factories, rural people's communes, government organs, schools and army units in various parts of the country. There were exhibitions in Hunan, Kiangsi and Shensi Provinces where Chairman Mao had for many years carried out revolutionary activities.

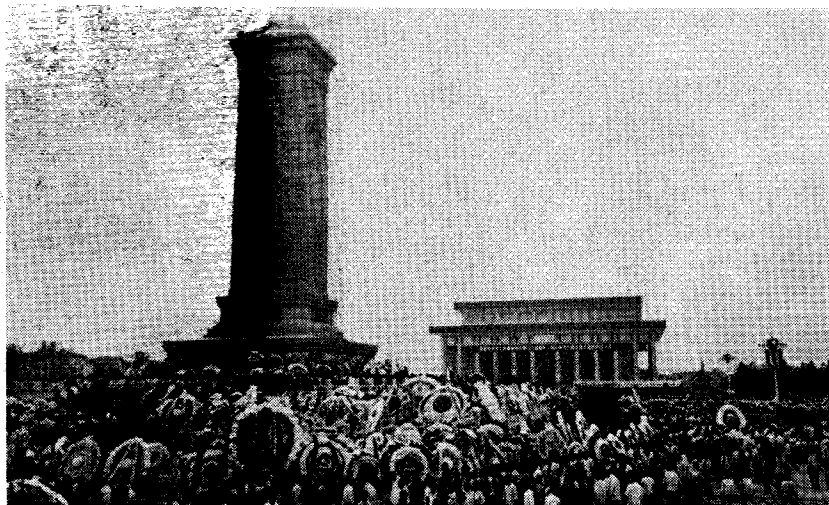
200 Million Copies of Vol. V of Chairman Mao's Selected Works Published

By the end of August, 200 million copies of Volume V of the *Selected Works of Mao Tsetung* (Chinese edition) had come off the press and been distributed as originally planned.

It took only five months to complete the entire process of type-setting, printing, binding and distribution, a record time in the history of publishing and distribution in China. In addition, this volume has been published in the Mongolian, Tibetan, Uighur, Kazakh and Korean languages as well as in braille. Japanese and English editions are now available, and French, Russian and Spanish editions will be published soon.

Exhibitions

September 9 saw the opening of a photograph exhibition on Chairman Mao's life. It was housed in the Museum of Chinese History in Peking.



Wreaths around the Monument to the Heroes of the People in Tien An Men Square.



**Chairman Mao on an inspection
tour of the countryside in Sze-
chuan Province (1958).**



**Visiting an exhibition on technical innovations
in Chengchow, Honan Province (1960).**



**Chatting with a young
actress at the Changchun
Film Studio (1958).**



Inspecting the warship *Nanchang* (1953).



Meeting people from various circles in Nanking (1956).

On display are 200 colour photos which record Chairman Mao's revolutionary activities and his brilliant image in the various historical periods of the Chinese revolution.

Most impressive is an extra-large photo showing Chairman Mao with Comrade Hua Kuo-feng. This is a tremendous inspiration to the viewers and encourages them to hold high the great banner of Chairman Mao and win still greater victories under the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua.

Photos showing Chairman Mao together with the older generation of proletarian revolutionaries attract the most attention. In some, Chairman Mao is seen intimately chatting with his close comrades-in-arms Premier Chou En-lai and Chairman of the N.P.C. Standing Committee Chu Teh. Others show Chairman Mao together with Vice-Chairmen Yeh Chien-ying, Teng Hsiao-ping, Li Hsien-nien and Wang Tung-hsing and with Comrades Kang Sheng, Tung Pi-wu, Li Fu-chun, Chen Yi and Ho Lung.

Some moving scenes of Chairman Mao among the people were captured by the photographers. These include the Chairman greeting ordinary workers, talking with poor and lower-middle peasants, shaking hands with a P.L.A. fighter, receiving scientists, watching sports exhibitions and posing together with literary and art workers. All these photos vividly show that Chairman Mao was always with the people.

A fine arts exhibition, entitled "Chairman Mao Always Lives in Our Hearts," opened on the same day at the same museum. All the 59 exhibits are oil paintings with various themes showing Chairman Mao in buoyant spirits and eulogizing his immortal contributions. Among them are *The Tsunyi Meeting*, *The Autumn Harvest Uprising* and *Joining Forces in Chingkang Mountains*, to mention only a few. Several others based on the themes of Chairman Mao's poems epitomize Chairman Mao's great thinking and largeness of mind.

With the image of the great leader in bold relief, the huge oil painting *Win Country-Wide Victory—Chairman Mao With Veteran Commanders* portrays the older generation of proletarian revolutionaries who have made outstanding contributions to the Chinese revolutionary cause. Some works with themes taken from the period of socialist revolution and construction depict Chairman Mao's solicitude for the masses and the people's love and respect for their leader. Some oil paintings show the people in their hundreds of millions deeply mourning the death of Chairman Mao.

Another exhibition on the same theme opened at the Military Museum of the Chinese People's Revolution. The more than 1,000 exhibits including relics, photos and manuscripts speak volumes of the fact that Chairman Mao was the founder of our Party, army and People's Republic and that he had made immense contributions to the Chinese people and the proletariat and revolutionary people the world over.

Chairman Mao's Taped Speech

The Central People's Broadcasting Station on September 9 replayed the speech *Eternal Glory to the Heroes of the People!* made by Chairman Mao on September 30, 1949, that is, on the eve of the founding of the People's Republic of China. People throughout the country heard once again Chairman Mao reading the epitaph to be engraved on the Monument to the Heroes of the People at the foundation-laying ceremony that took place in Tien An Men Square.

Discs of the taped speech have been made by the China Phonograph Records Company and will soon be released throughout the country.

The Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications has issued two sets of commemorative stamps to mark the occasion. One consists of six stamps in commemoration of the first anniversary of the death of Chairman Mao and the other of two stamps marking the inauguration of the Chairman Mao Memorial Hall.

Mao Tsetung Thought Will Shine For Ever

— Editorial by "Renmin Ribao," "Hongqi"
and "Jiefangjun Bao"

IT is a full year since our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao departed from us.

September 9, 1976 was an unforgettable day for us. The hearts of the revolutionary people were weighed down with grief and worry. The "gang of four" was sharpening knives and the sky was overcast. Today, the sun is shining brightly and the sky is crystal-clear. The newly completed Chairman Mao Memorial Hall, solemn and magnificent, stands in Tien An Men Square. As we come to the memorial hall to pay our respects to Chairman Mao and gaze at his serene countenance, we are filled with emotion and a thousand thoughts come to mind. How great the changes were in the past year! Chairman Mao's behests have been fulfilled or are in the process of being carried out. His proletarian revolutionary line is being implemented fully and correctly. The Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua is holding aloft the great banner of Chairman Mao under which the people in their hundreds of millions are advancing!

Though Chairman Mao is dead, it seems he is still with us, leading us in our march forward. He has departed from us, but he has left us a great Party, a great army, a great People's Republic and a huge contingent of cadres he nurtured. Especially important is the most precious ideological asset he bequeathed to us—Mao Tsetung Thought, which is our inexhaustible theoretical treasure house and the beacon that will always light our road of triumphant advance.

Mao Tsetung Thought came into being and developed in protracted struggles against enemies at home and abroad and against "Left" and Right opportunist lines within our Party. It is a scientific summing-up of our Party's revolutionary practice over the past half century and more and the brilliant crystallization of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism applied to the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution and the world revolution. During the period of the new-democratic revolution, Chairman Mao formulated in a creative way the general line and general policy for the new-democratic revolution and provided correct answers to a series of questions pertaining to the revolution. During the period of the socialist revolution, Chairman Mao summed up both the positive and negative experience in class struggles at home and in the international communist movement, made a penetrating analysis of the contradictions, classes and class struggle in socialist society, set forth the law of development of socialist society and created the great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Mao Tsetung Thought is an integrated scientific system and a continuation and development of Marxism-Leninism. Chairman Mao developed Marxism-Leninism in all fields and not just in one or another field. It consists of complete sets of concepts in philosophy, political economy and scientific socialism and on Party building, army building, literature and art, science and education. Chairman Mao was the greatest Marxist of our time. Mao Tsetung Thought which represents a great and invincible force is of tre-

mendous significance for guiding the Chinese revolution and the international communist movement.

The might of Mao Tsetung Thought has evoked fear and hatred among class enemies at home and abroad. They either openly oppose and viciously vilify it, or try to curtail, distort and doctor it. In opposing Mao Tsetung Thought, Lin Piao tried to replace this comprehensive system of thought with the "three constantly read articles" and "five constantly read articles" and sever it from Marxism-Leninism. Resorting to pragmatic tricks, the "gang of four" quoted Chairman Mao's works out of context and distorted them at will to meet the needs of their counter-revolutionary intrigues, thus fragmentizing Mao Tsetung Thought beyond recognition. They even went so far as to forge directives of Chairman Mao. They clamoured about studying Mao Tsetung Thought, but in actual fact every "study" movement they launched was a major attempt to distort, sabotage, tamper with and betray Mao Tsetung Thought. They appropriated the directives issued by Chairman Mao on the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, on the study of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and on commenting the novel *Water Margin*; on every occasion they took over the directives, distorted them and made them serve their own purposes. Hence, the materialist conception of history that the slaves are the makers of history was replaced by their idealist conception of history — "the Legalists were the makers of history"; opposition to revisionism was replaced by their formulation — "taking the struggle against empiricism as the key link." They discarded Chairman Mao's comprehensive thesis on classes and class contradictions in the historical period of socialism and put forth their counter-revolutionary political programme which equated veteran cadres with "democrats" and "democrats" with "capitalist-roaders." They alleged that there existed a "bourgeois class" within our Party. Contradicting the principles of dialectical materialism and historical materialism which Chairman Mao stressed repeatedly in his writings, the gang practised idealism and metaphysics on questions concerning the relationships between the superstructure and the economic base, between the relations of production and the productive forces, and

between consciousness and matter. They created confusion on many basic theoretical questions, spreading their pernicious influence and causing damage on a scale seldom known in the annals of our Party.

At present, as we honour the memory of our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao and hold aloft his great banner, the most important thing is to study Mao Tsetung Thought diligently and use it to guide our action. This is a great and arduous task before us. On the question of studying Marxist-Leninist theory, Chairman Mao said: "The theory of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin is universally applicable. We should regard it not as a dogma, but as a guide to action. Studying it is not merely a matter of learning terms and phrases but of learning Marxism-Leninism as the science of revolution. It is not just a matter of understanding the general laws derived by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin from their extensive study of real life and revolutionary experience, but of studying their standpoint and method in examining and solving problems." Chairman Mao criticized certain people who "regard odd quotations from Marxist-Leninist works as a ready-made panacea which, once acquired, can easily cure all maladies. These people show childish ignorance, and we should enlighten them." These words are also applicable to our current study of Mao Tsetung Thought. We should respond to Chairman Hua's call made in his political report to the 11th National Congress of the Party: "We must diligently study works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and by Chairman Mao and have a comprehensive and accurate grasp of Mao Tsetung Thought as a system." This requires that we must not mechanically apply quotations from Chairman Mao's works in disregard of the concrete time, place and circumstances, but we must grasp the essence of his works as a whole. Chairman Mao's statement on a particular question at a specific time and in specific circumstances is correct, as is his statement on the same question at other times and in other circumstances. But statements made on a particular question at different times and in different circumstances may sometimes differ in degree and point of emphasis and even in formulation. Therefore, when we deal with problems of a given aspect or in a given field, we must strive to get a correct understanding

of them from the entire system of Mao Tsetung Thought. All Party members and cadres should study Chairman Mao's writings in this way. High- and middle-ranking cadres, in particular, must systematically study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought as a complete system and not piecemeal. They must grasp its stand, viewpoint and method and achieve a thorough understanding of it.

Integration of theory with practice is a fundamental principle of Marxism and the good style of study of our Party that Chairman Mao consistently advocated. Chairman Mao always urged us to proceed from actual conditions, acquire as much material as possible and, guided by the general principles of Marxism-Leninism, draw from the facts the laws governing them to serve as our guide to action. We should follow Chairman Mao's consistent teachings and make constant efforts to improve our study. It is imperative to organize the cadres and masses on a wide scale to read and study conscientiously in connection with their work, criticize the "gang of four" and all revisionist fallacies, analyse questions in their own work concerning line, principles and policies, sum up experience, raise their ideological level and improve their style of work in the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment. This is the method of study in our Party that has always proved effective.

In order to raise the Party's level of understanding of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, it is necessary to run Party schools at all levels well, and cadres should be sent there in groups according to a plan to read some works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and by Chairman Mao in a fairly systematic way for a certain period of time. We must make determined long-time efforts to bring up a powerful contingent of Marxist theoretical workers. We should encourage people to diligently study the original works, take self-study as the main form, think things out for themselves, delve into the subjects under study and strive for a good grasp and thorough understanding. Party organizations at all levels should strengthen their leadership over study and guard against a laissez-faire policy. Stress should be put on achieving real results in study, and formalism must be opposed.

Our wise leader Chairman Hua has set a splendid example in studying and applying Mao Tsetung Thought correctly and in its entirety. Loyal to Mao Tsetung Thought, he has studied and applied it well. Chairman Mao wrote the inscription "With you in charge, I'm at ease" and chose Comrade Hua Kuo-feng as his successor. During the year since Chairman Mao's death, Chairman Hua, holding aloft the great banner of Chairman Mao, smashed the "gang of four" at one stroke, set forth the strategic decision of grasping the key link of class struggle and running the country well and is leading our Party, army and country towards great order. The important speech he made at the National Conference on Learning From Tachai in Agriculture, his important article written for the publication of Volume V of the *Selected Works of Mao Tsetung* and especially the political report he delivered at the 11th National Congress of the Party are all major documents shining with the brilliance of Mao Tsetung Thought. We must follow the example of Chairman Hua and learn to apply Mao Tsetung Thought in handling correctly new problems that keep coming up in our revolutionary practice at present and in the future.

We are in a new historical period when we are carrying forward the revolutionary cause pioneered by our predecessors and forging ahead into the future. Our aim is to modernize agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology and build China into a powerful socialist country before the end of this century so as to make greater contributions to humanity. This is the cause Chairman Mao left unfulfilled and the great and arduous fighting task he bequeathed to us. Our struggles require Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. Let us start an all-Party emulation in studying Chairman Mao's works, especially his great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, an emulation that will show who has learnt more and better, and push our socialist revolution and construction steadily ahead!

Our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao will always live in our hearts!

Invincible Mao Tsetung Thought will shine for ever!

(September 10)

A Great Creation in the History Of Proletarian Revolution

— In memory of the great leader and teacher
Chairman Mao

by Lin Chin-jan

CHAIRMAN Mao was the greatest Marxist of our era and the founder of our Party, our army and our People's Republic. For more than half a century, Chairman Mao always stood in the very forefront of the revolutionary struggle and made immortal contributions to the great cause of hundreds of millions of people in transforming the world. Chairman Mao said that he had accomplished two things in his lifetime. One was defeating Chiang Kai-shek and driving him to Taiwan, defeating Japanese imperialism and driving it out of China; the other was successfully carrying out the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. These two things are a great creation in the history of proletarian revolution, and they have blazed the path to victory for the liberation of the Chinese people and the oppressed nations and oppressed people of the world, and for continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Using People's War to Defeat Domestic And Foreign Enemies

The era in which Chairman Mao lived and fought was the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution that Lenin had spoken of. Lenin highly appraised the position and role of

national-liberation movements in the entire proletarian revolutionary movement. Not long after the Chinese Revolution of 1911, Lenin pointed out: "A new source of great world storms opened up in Asia. . . . It is in this era of storms and their 'repercussions' in Europe that we are now living." (*The Historical Destiny of the Doctrine of Karl Marx.*) Lenin also pointed out that only communists of the East could solve the task of how the revolution was to be carried out in the semi-colonial and colonial countries, a task never before confronted by communists of the world. The focus of contradictions in the East was contemporary China. Because of aggression and plunder by the imperialist powers, the Chinese people who suffered centuries-old cruel oppression and exploitation by feudalism lived in deep misery. Who was to be their leader taking them out of darkness? It was Chairman Mao who shouldered this epochal task of leading the Chinese revolution.

Chairman Mao made a penetrating analysis of the contradictions in Chinese society and correctly defined the targets, tasks, motive force, nature, future and evolution of the Chinese revolution. He formulated a whole set of theories and tactics for the new-democratic

revolution and developed the teachings of Lenin and Stalin on the people's revolution in colonial and semi-colonial countries. Chairman Mao pointed out: **"The new-democratic revolution is not any other revolution, but can only be and must be a revolution against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism waged by the broad masses of the people under the leadership of the proletariat."** (*Speech at a Conference of Cadres in the Shansi-Suiyuan Liberated Area.*) This was the general line and policy of our Party in this historical period and the beacon guiding the Chinese revolution to victory.

In the struggles against the Right and "Left" opportunist lines in the Party, Chairman Mao clearly expounded that the basic characteristic of the Chinese revolution was using armed revolution to oppose armed counter-revolution; he elucidated the three questions of Party leadership, armed struggle and the united front and their interrelationship and stressed that these were the three magic weapons with which we defeat domestic and foreign enemies. In summing up the experience of the Chinese revolution, Chairman Mao told us: **"A well-disciplined Party armed with the theory of Marxism-Leninism, using the method of self-criticism and linked with the masses of the people; an army under the leadership of such a Party; a united front of all revolutionary classes and all revolutionary groups under the leadership of such a Party — these are the three main weapons with which we have defeated the enemy."** (*On the People's Democratic Dictatorship.*)

The road opened up by Chairman Mao of using the countryside to surround the cities and seizing power through armed struggle was a great creation in the history of proletarian revolution. In 1927, when Chiang Kai-shek unleashed his counter-revolutionary coup d'état and placed the whole country under a white terror, was there any future for the Chinese revolution? And in which way must it move? At this critical moment of the revolution, Chairman Mao put forward his famous thesis that **"political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."** He personally led the Autumn Harvest Uprising,

founded the first Workers' and Peasants' Red Army, set up the first rural revolutionary base area in the Chinggang Mountains of Kiangsi Province and ignited the prairie fire of setting up **"armed independent regimes of workers and peasants."** In a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country like China where the economy was predominantly agricultural, the main form of struggle in revolution was war and the main form of organization was the army, and the setting up of rural base areas was of decisive significance in sustaining a prolonged revolutionary war.

Chairman Mao made a full appraisal of the peasants' enthusiasm in opposing imperialism and feudalism, analysed the contradictions among the imperialist countries and the various domestic warlord factions and the unevenness in China's political and economic development; he expounded and scientifically proved the objective inevitability that the Red political power could exist for a long time and develop in the midst of a white regime which encircled it. He raised the **"policy of establishing base areas; of systematically setting up political power; of deepening the agrarian revolution; of expanding the people's armed forces"** (*A Single Spark Can Start a Prairie Fire*) and expanding the rural revolutionary base areas by advancing in waves so as to accelerate the advent of a revolutionary high tide throughout the country. Chairman Mao's brilliant thinking concerning China's revolutionary road opposed both the Right capitulationist line pushed by Chen Tu-hsiu during the First Revolutionary Civil War (1924-27) and the "Left" adventurist line of Chu Chiu-pai, Li Li-san and Wang Ming during the Second Revolutionary Civil War (1927-37).

The central task of the Chinese people's revolution was to boldly mobilize the masses and wage a people's war to defeat imperialism and the Kuomintang reactionaries. Chairman Mao pointed out: **"The richest source of power to wage war lies in the masses of the people."** (*On Protracted War.*) Confronted by powerful enemies armed to the teeth, Chairman Mao enunciated his famous thesis that **"all reaction-**

aries are paper tigers" which vividly revealed the outwardly strong but inwardly weak nature of the enemy, and pointed out that in the course of fighting, "small forces linked with the people become strong, while big forces opposed to the people become weak." "The big and strong cannot win, it is always the small and weak who win out." (*U.S. Imperialism Is a Paper Tiger*.) The masses of people are a real impregnable wall. When the masses in their millions genuinely support the revolution, we have an inexhaustible source of strength. If we have no weapons we can wrest weapons from the enemy, and even with inferior weapons we can defeat enemies with superior weapons and a weak force can defeat a strong one. This is the general law of a people's revolutionary war.

According to the characteristics of the Chinese people's revolutionary war Chairman Mao formulated a complete set of strategy and tactics characterized by flexibility and manoeuvrability which enormously enriched and developed Marxist-Leninist military science. Chairman Mao succinctly summed up the strategy and tactics of people's war in these words: "You fight in your way and we fight in ours; we fight when we can win and move away when we can't." When the enemy attacks we simply won't fight him, but when he is off guard we will attack. Chairman Mao set up the system of armed forces which combines field armies, regional troops and the militia, combining armed masses with those who are not armed and bringing into full play the enormous role of military might and people's strength.

Chairman Mao led and directed the Chinese people in waging a people's revolutionary war which lasted 22 years and was unprecedented in scale and most arduous in the history of proletarian revolution. Relying on the inexhaustible wisdom and strength of the masses, Chairman Mao succeeded in leading our Party and army to found the New China through armed struggle.

Lenin pointed out: "Our European philistines never even dream that the subsequent revolutions in Oriental countries, which possess much vaster populations and a much vaster

diversity of social conditions, will undoubtedly display even greater peculiarities than the Russian revolution." (*Our Revolution*.) The Chinese people's revolution led by Chairman Mao is such a great revolution of even greater peculiarities. Victory in this revolution breached the imperialists' front in the East and dealt their worldwide colonial system a devastating blow. Just as Chairman Hua pointed out: "The victory of the Chinese people's revolution led by Chairman Mao changed the situation in the East and in the world, blazing a new trail for the cause of liberation of the oppressed nations and oppressed people."

Launching the Great Cultural Revolution to Defeat Capitalist-Roaders

At the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party held on the eve of country-wide victory, Chairman Mao pointed out: "To win country-wide victory is only the first step in a long march of ten thousand li." Chairman Mao also said: "The road after the revolution will be longer, the work greater and more arduous."

How to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and how to continue the revolution and push the cause of proletarian revolution forward after the proletariat has seized political power is a new question confronting the Chinese revolution and also a question which for a long time was not correctly solved in the international communist movement. As a result of the usurpation of the supreme leadership of the Party and state by the Khrushchov-Brezhnev renegade clique, capitalism has been restored in an all-round way in the Soviet Union, the world's first socialist state founded by Lenin, and a great retrogression in history has taken place there. This bitter lesson has helped the Communists and revolutionary people all over the world to see clearly that after the proletariat has seized political power, the question of who will win out is still not finally solved, and if things are not handled well, there is the possibility of a capitalist restoration at any time.

Basing himself on the positive and negative experience in the international communist movement, Chairman Mao used the fundamental concept of materialist dialectics, the unity of opposites, to analyse the contradictions, classes and class struggle in socialist society, revealed the law of development of socialist society and created the great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, thereby enriching the treasure house of Marxist-Leninist theory. After the basic completion of the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production, the struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines in a country under the dictatorship of the proletariat will continue to be long and tortuous and at times will even become very acute. Both the old and the new bourgeoisie in society will invariably seek agents inside the Communist Party and place their hope of capitalist restoration on the capitalist-roaders in the Party. Therefore, we must persist in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and struggle against the bourgeoisie and its agents inside the Party.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution initiated by Chairman Mao was a great practice in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Aware of the danger posed by those Party persons in power taking the capitalist road, he pointed out that **"the main target of the present movement is those Party persons in power taking the capitalist road,"** thus clearly defining the orientation of this great revolution. In the struggle against the Lin Piao anti-Party clique, Chairman Mao summed up the experience of the two-line struggle inside the Party and put forward the three basic principles — **"Practise Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don't split; be open and aboveboard, and don't intrigue and conspire."** This further pointed up the basic criteria for identifying capitalist-roaders in the Party. The struggles which smashed the three bourgeois headquarters in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution clearly testify to the fact that it is the absolutely unrepentant capitalist-roaders in the Party such as Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and the

Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao "gang of four" who pose the chief danger of capitalist restoration.

During the Great Cultural Revolution, Chairman Mao had full faith in the masses, relied on them and practised mass democracy under the dictatorship of the proletariat by employing the methods of letting people speak out freely, air their views fully, write big-character posters and hold great debates. This is a creative application of Marxist historical materialism to revolutionary practice. Chairman Mao pointed out: **"In the past we waged struggles in rural areas, in factories, in the cultural field, and we carried out the socialist education movement. But all this failed to solve the problem because we did not find a form, a method, to arouse the broad masses to expose our dark aspect openly, in an all-round way and from below."** Practice has proved that the strength of the masses is inexhaustible. Guided by Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, China's hundreds of millions of people took an active part in the Great Cultural Revolution and finally succeeded in ferreting out the handful of renegades, special agents, absolutely unrepentant capitalist-roaders and bourgeois conspirators and careerists who had sneaked into the Party. Through this very acute and complex struggle, the cadres and the masses have greatly enhanced their consciousness of class struggle and the two-line struggle and of continuing the revolution as well as strengthened their ability in distinguishing genuine Marxists from sham Marxists. In struggle, particularly in the fight against the "gang of four," they have displayed high consciousness and discerning ability. With such wonderful Party members, cadres and people, we have the most reliable guarantee in combating and guarding against revisionism.

China's first Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, initiated and led by Chairman Mao, came to a triumphant end with the smashing of the "gang of four" by the whole Party under the leadership of Chairman Hua. In this great revolution, our Party won the 9th, 10th and 11th major two-line struggles, gained rich experience

in continuing the revolution under the proletarian dictatorship and especially in defeating capitalist-roaders in the Party. This revolution consolidated and strengthened the dictatorship of the proletariat, spread Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought on a scale unknown before, trained and tempered successors in the revolutionary cause of the proletariat and promoted the development of the socialist cause in China. Just as Chairman Mao pointed out: **"The current Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is absolutely necessary and most timely for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing capitalist restoration and building socialism."** This Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China will go down in the history of the dictatorship of the proletariat as a great creation which will shine with increasing splendour with the passage of time.

Why the Stress on Two Things?

Chairman Mao made tremendous contributions to the people of China and the rest of the world, but why did he stress these two things exclusively? The reason is he wanted us to consolidate continuously the dictatorship of the proletariat, persevere in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and carry forward the proletarian revolutionary cause he pioneered. With an eye to the future, Chairman Mao enjoined us that we must first maintain our vigilance against war, guard against foreign aggression and defend the security of our socialist motherland and, secondly, we must uphold the proletarian revolutionary line, combat and guard against revisionism, and ensure that the leadership of the Party and the state is firmly in the hands of Marxists.

The present international situation is characterized by great disorder under heaven and the situation is excellent. The acute rivalry between the two hegemonic powers, the Soviet Union and the United States, will lead to war some day. Imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism in particular are filled with wild ambitions in seeking expansion and perpetrating

aggression all over the world. The Soviet revisionists are bent on subjugating our country. Should social-imperialism and imperialism dare to invade us in the future, we will, under the command of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, mobilize the people throughout the country and resolutely, thoroughly, wholly and completely wipe out the aggressors by launching a people's war, the method Chairman Mao used in leading us to defeat Chiang Kai-shek, Japanese imperialism and U.S. imperialism.

The first Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has triumphantly concluded, but this certainly does not mean the end of class struggle. So long as there are classes and class struggle, they are bound to be reflected in the Party, and this will give rise to Party persons in power taking the capitalist road. From now on, if persons like Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao or the "gang of four" trying to usurp Party and state leadership should emerge, we will, under the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, apply the method used by Chairman Mao in launching the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, mobilize the people of the whole country, practise mass democracy and overthrow them. In short, whether it is aggression from abroad or subversion from within, we have the weapon bequeathed us by Chairman Mao to vanquish the enemy.

Our Party and our country are now at an important point in history when we are carrying forward the revolutionary cause pioneered by our predecessors and forging ahead into the future. Since we have Chairman Hua's and the Party Central Committee's leadership, the great, glorious and correct Communist Party of China founded and nurtured by Chairman Mao, the heroic army built and trained by Chairman Mao, the heroic people who are armed with Mao Tsetung Thought and who have been tempered in the flames of war and in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, no difficulty or enemy can stop our march forward.

(An abridged translation of an article in "Hongqi," No. 9, 1977)

President Tito Concludes China Visit



Chairman Hua holding talks with President Tito.

JOSIP Broz Tito, President of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and President of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and the other distinguished Yugoslav guests on September 8 left Urumchi, capital of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region, for home by special plane after a 10-day friendship visit to China. They were given a warm send-off at the airport by Li Hsien-nien, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Vice-Premier of the State Council; Saifudin, Alternate Member of the Political Bureau of the C.P.C.

Central Committee, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and Chairman of the Revolutionary Committee of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region; and several thousand people in Urumchi.

On the eve of President Tito's departure, a banquet was given in his honour by the Revolutionary Committee of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region. At the banquet, President Tito said: "Our stay in the People's Republic of China is drawing to an end. I would like to stress once again that

everything we saw has left a deep impression on us."

President Tito added: "We attach great importance to our talks with Chairman Hua Kuo-feng and other Chinese leaders. During the talks, we emphasized that both sides had the need and desire to step up the development of bilateral co-operation in the economic, cultural, scientific and other fields, and promote systematic and better mutual understanding. This will help strengthen our overall relations based on equality and mutual respect and in turn create the most favourable condition for



President Tito, accompanied by Vice-Chairman Yeh Chien-ying, watching a sports exhibition.

continuously deepening the friendly sentiments between our two peoples. It is precisely in this way that the friendly relations between Yugoslavia and China will inevitably be a concrete contribution to greater trust, understanding and cooperation in international relations as a whole."

President Tito and his party left Peking on September 3 on a visit to other parts of China. When they left Peking, they were seen off at Peking Airport by Hua Kuo-feng, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Premier of the State Council; Teng Hsiao-ping, Vice-Chairman of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Vice-Premier of the State Council; Wu Teh, Vice-Chairman of the N.P.C.

Standing Committee; and several thousand people.

Before President Tito left Peking, Chairman Hua continued to hold talks with him. Chairman Hua gave a farewell ban-

quet in honour of the President and his party. Vice-Chairmen Teng Hsiao-ping and Li Hsien-nien also attended.

Accompanied by Yeh Chien-ying, Vice-Chairman of the C.P.C. Central Committee, President Tito watched a sports exhibition in Peking. Prior to this, Vice-Chairman Yeh had a cordial and friendly meeting with the President.

President Tito, now 85, also visited the Great Wall near Peking and ascended a watchtower for a panoramic view of the magnificent landscape on either side of the wall. Stane Dolanc, Secretary of the Executive Committee of the Presidency of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, and other distinguished Yugoslav guests visited the Military Museum of the Chinese People's Revolution.



President Tito visits the Great Wall.

President Tito, in the company of Vice-Chairman Li Hsien-nien, visited Hangchow, Shanghai and Urumchi and was accorded a warm welcome by leading members of the local revolutionary committees and thousands of people. In Hangchow, the distinguished guests visited the

Hangchow Silk Tapestry Mill, the Hard-Boned Sixth Company — a well-known model company — and went boating on the West Lake and toured places of historical interest. Praising the achievements made by the Hard-Boned Sixth Company,

Marshal Tito said: "As a man who has led a soldier's life for decades, I am particularly happy to have this opportunity to visit this unit today." During their stay in Shanghai, the guests visited the Shanghai Industrial Exhibition and a people's commune on the outskirts of the city.

Chairman Hua Meets Professor Chao Chung Ting

CHAIRMAN Hua Kuo-feng met and had a very cordial conversation with Chao Chung Ting, professor of physics at the Massachusetts Institute of Tech-

nology in the United States, on the afternoon of September 4.

Present on the occasion were Fang Yi, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central

Committee of the Communist Party of China and Vice-President of the Chinese Academy of Sciences, and leading members of other departments concerned.

Vice-Chairman Teng Meets Professors Man-chiang Niu and Chao Chung Ting

Vice-Chairman Teng Hsiao-ping on August 16 met with Man-chiang Niu, professor of biology at Temple University, Philadelphia, and his wife Pao-ying Chang, and on the next day with Chao Chung Ting, professor of physics at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and his wife and their daughters.

At the meeting with Professor Man-chiang Niu, Vice-Chairman Teng said: The Chinese are intelligent. Our people, cadres and Party members are imbued with political consciousness.

Although we have lost some time in scientific development as a result of interference and sabotage by the "gang of four," we can make up for the lost time so long as we work in the right direction and exert ourselves to catch up with and surpass advanced levels.

Professor Man-chiang Niu and his wife were visiting China for the fourth time on a short-term work tour, co-operating with Professor Tung Ti-chou and other Chinese biologists in scientific research and experiment.

When Vice-Chairman Teng met Professor Chao Chung Ting, he said: Science demands honesty and defies

the slightest dishonesty. We are determined to make a success of our scientific research. Members of the "gang of four" are most absurd. They spread the nonsense that the more knowledge one has, the more reactionary one becomes. They contemptuously called intellectuals "the stinking ninth category" [coming after the eight categories of class enemies, namely, the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements, Rightists, renegades, enemy agents and unrepentant capitalist-roaders — Tr.].

Vice-Chairman Teng also pointed out: Science and technology are wealth created

jointly by humanity. To surpass the advanced, one must first of all learn from the advanced.

After the meeting, Vice-Chairman Teng gave a luncheon for Professor Chao Chung Ting, his wife and others.

U.S. Delegation of Associated Press Executives and Directors

Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping on September 6 met the U.S. Delegation of Associated Press Executives and Directors led by Keith Fuller, President of AP.

The Vice-Premier had a friendly conversation with the American guests.

The delegation arrived in Peking on August 30. Chu Muchih, Director of the Hsinhua News Agency, gave a banquet on August 31 in honour of the guests. Besides Peking, the delegation visited Inner Mongolia, Shanghai, Changsha, Shaoshan, Kweilin and Kwangchow.

National Day of Socialist Republic of Viet Nam

September 2 was the 32nd anniversary of the National Day of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam. On the afternoon of that day, Vietnamese Ambassador to China Nguyen Trong Vinh gave a reception at the embassy to mark the occasion. Among those present were Chi Teng-kuei, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Vice-

Premier of the State Council, and leading members of departments concerned. Prior to this, the Chinese People's Association for Friendship With Foreign Countries and the China-Viet Nam Friendship Association also gave a reception in celebration of the anniversary.

In its September 2 editorial entitled "The Vietnamese People's Glorious Day," *Renmin Ribao* pointed out: "The Socialist Republic of Viet Nam was founded in the flames of revolutionary war. Under the leadership of their great leader, the late President Ho Chi Minh, and the Communist Party of Viet Nam, the Vietnamese people won the victory of the August Revolution in 1945 after protracted and arduous struggle. On September 2 of the same year, the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam was founded. In May 1975, the Vietnamese people and their armed forces liberated southern Viet Nam and won complete victory in their national-liberation war, thereby paving the way for the reunification of north and south Viet Nam. The 6th National Assembly of Viet Nam held its first meeting in Hanoi in June and July 1976, which solemnly proclaimed the reunification of Viet Nam. Unified Viet Nam was renamed the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam."

The editorial added that since the reunification of the country, the Vietnamese people have, under the leadership of the Communist Party of Viet Nam, made enormous efforts and obtained new achievements in further consolidating their victory and in restoring and developing their economy.

China and Viet Nam, the editorial said in conclusion, are brotherly neighbours linked by mountains and rivers. The people of the two countries have always supported each other and forged a profound militant friendship in the protracted revolutionary struggle. The Chinese people will, as always, work to consolidate their unity and friendly co-operation with the Vietnamese people and contribute their share to the safeguarding and development of the friendship between the two peoples.

29th Anniversary of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea

Chon Myong Su, Ambassador of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to China, gave a banquet on September 7 in celebration of the 29th anniversary of the founding of the D.P.R.K. (September 9). Present at the banquet were Chi Teng-kuei, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Vice-Premier of the State Council; Teng Ying-chao, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress; and Huang Hua, Minister of Foreign Affairs. Ambassador Chon Myong Su and Foreign Minister Huang Hua spoke at the banquet.

Renmin Ribao on September 8 published an editorial extending the warmest congratulations to the fraternal Korean people.

"The Korean people, under the wise leadership of their

great leader President Kim Il Sung and the Workers' Party of Korea," the editorial said, "succeeded in winning great victory and founded the Democratic People's Republic of Korea after protracted and unremitting revolutionary struggle. From then on, the Korean revolution entered a new period. Shortly after the founding of the Republic, the heroic Korean people, defying brute force, fought bloody battles, defeated the U.S. imperialist armed aggression and defended the independence and security of their fatherland, thereby greatly contributing to the anti-imperialist revolutionary cause of the world's people. Since the victorious conclusion of their Fatherland Liberation War, the Korean people have continued to adhere to the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary line, given full play to the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and hard struggle, unfolded the vigorous *Chollima* movement, and won brilliant achievements in socialist revolution and socialist construction."

"The Government and people of the D.P.R.K.," the editorial noted, "uphold proletarian internationalism and firmly oppose imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism; they have made great efforts to strengthen their militant solidarity with the peoples of the world, especially those of third world countries, and they are playing an increasingly important role in international affairs. Today, the D.P.R.K. enjoys a daily higher international prestige and has become a powerful bastion of socialism standing firmly in the East."

The editorial went on to say that the Government of the D.P.R.K. has waged a protracted and persistent struggle for the independent and peaceful reunification of the fatherland.

"The reunification of Korea has not been realized even today," it added, "and the root cause of this lies in the fact that U.S. troops are still hanging on in south Korea. Despite its avowed readiness to phase out its ground forces together with nuclear arms from south Korea in four or five years, the U.S. Government still intends to station its naval and air forces there and continue its interference and obstruction of the Korean people's cause of reunification. With the backing of U.S. imperialism, the Pak Jung Hi clique is still obstinately pursuing a policy of national division and deliberately intensifying tension on the Korean Peninsula. However, no force on earth can check the historical trend of Korea's reunification. The Chinese people resolutely support the Korean people in their struggle against U.S. imperialist aggression and for the independent and peaceful reunification of their fatherland. The United States must stop its aggression and interference against Korea and immediately withdraw all its armed forces from south Korea. We are firmly convinced that the Korean people will surely win complete victory in their sacred cause of reunifying their fatherland."

On September 6, the Chinese People's Association for Friendship With Foreign Countries and the China-Korea Friendship Association also gave a reception to mark the occasion.

Meeting With Foreign Delegations

Li Hsien-nien, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, in mid-August met and feted in Peking a delegation of the Red Line of the Dominican "June 14" Revolutionary Movement. While in China the delegation visited Peking, Changsha, Shaoshan, the Chinggang Mountains, Tachai and other places.

Yu Chiu-li and Keng Piao, Members of the Political Bureau of the C.P.C. Central Committee, met and feted on August 21 a delegation of the Romanian Party workers headed by Ludovic Fazekas, Alternate Member of the Executive Political Committee of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party and First Secretary of the Harghita County Party Committee. At the meeting, delegation leader Fazekas, on behalf of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, extended his warm congratulations on the election of Comrade Hua Kuo-feng as Chairman of the C.P.C. Central Committee.

Keng Piao, Member of the Political Bureau and Head of the International Liaison Department of the C.P.C. Central Committee, on August 22 met the Delegation of the Communist Unity Movement of the Netherlands (Marxist-Leninist) led by Chairman Kees De Boer. Chairman Kees De Boer expressed his warm congratulations on the successful convocation of the 11th National Congress of the Communist Party of China.

New Canal Treaty — Panamanian People's Victory

AFTER struggling for decades, the Panamanian people finally pressed the U.S. Government into signing a new Panama Canal Treaty on September 7. The unequal U.S.-Panama Treaty which the United States forced on the Panamanian people in 1903 will be thus abrogated and the right of the United States to the "perpetual use, occupation and control" of the canal and its zone, which is granted under the treaty, abolished. This is a major victory for the Panamanian people's struggle to defend national independence and state sovereignty as well as for the struggle of the people of Latin America and the world against hegemony.

Since occupying the canal at the beginning of this century, the United States has established military bases in the Canal Zone and turned it into "a state within the state" of Panama and an important position for aggression and plunder in other parts of Latin America. At the same time, it has grabbed enormous economic interests through the control of this interoceanic waterway. Precisely because of its strategic and economic importance the U.S. imperialists have obstinately refused to return the canal and the Canal Zone to their real owners.

For nearly three-quarters of a century, the Panamanian people have waged persistent struggles to re-establish sovereignty over the canal and its zone. The world-shaking anti-U.S. patriotic movement in January 1964 marked a new upsurge in this struggle, which impelled the U.S. Government to negotiate with the Panamanian Government on the conclusion of a new treaty.

The negotiations were full of sharp conflicts. After ten years of on-and-off talks, the two sides in 1974 reached agreement on eight principles as a guideline to further talks. It took

another three years, in which Panama held out in its firm position and won strong support from other Latin American countries, before the U.S. Government was brought last month to an agreement in principle on the basic elements of a new canal treaty with the Panamanian Government.

The just struggle of the Panamanian people to recover sovereignty over the canal and the Canal Zone has won wide sympathy and support from various countries and people of the world, particularly those in Latin America. In a document adopted at the Bogota meeting held in November 1973, the foreign ministers and delegates of 23 Latin American countries declared with one accord: The question of the Panama Canal is the Latin American countries' "common concern and should be given priority." From then on, the abolition of the unequal 1903 U.S.-Panama Treaty was called for by the Latin American countries at meetings of the Organization of American States (O.A.S.) and in messages addressed to new U.S. government leaders. Last month, leaders of six Latin American countries demanded in a communique issued after their meeting in Bogota that full sovereignty over the canal and the Canal Zone be returned to Panama. People of various Latin American countries staged mass rallies and demonstrations in resolute solidarity with the Panamanian people in their struggle. At the Panama Meeting of the U.N. Security Council and the Fourth and Fifth Summit Conferences of the Non-Aligned Countries, delegates of the third world countries unanimously expressed support for the just position of the Panamanian people for recovering sovereignty over the canal.

Chairman Mao Tsetung, the great leader of the Chinese people, solemnly stated on January

12, 1964 that "the Chinese people stand firmly on the side of the Panamanian people and fully support their just action in opposing the U.S. aggressors and demanding the recovery of sovereignty over the Panama Canal Zone." The justness of the Panamanian people's struggle and the firm unity and mutual support of the peoples all over the world in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism are the fundamental factors for the victory of the Panamanian people.

The victory of the Panamanian people testifies to the irresistibility of the trend that countries want independence, nations want liberation and the people want revolution. Although Panama is a small country with a population of 1.7 million, its people defy brute force and persist in struggle, thus making the Panama Canal "a thorn in the side" of U.S. imperialism. The victory of the Panamanian people is also an example showing that U.S. imperialism's hegemonic position in Latin America is steadily declining and that big-power hegemony and colonialism are suffering one setback after another in the face of the struggle of the oppressed people and nations for independence and liberation.

The signing of a new canal treaty in place of the old one can in no way signify the end of the struggle. There is still a gap of 23 years from the time the new treaty comes into force to the time of Panama's complete recovery of its sovereignty over the canal and the Canal Zone. In this period, the United States still maintains a certain amount of control and jurisdiction over the canal and the Canal Zone, and its warships still retain the right to expedite transit through the canal. This means that even after the new canal treaty comes into force, the Panamanian people will still have to wage an arduous struggle in order to attain full sovereignty over the Canal Zone. It should also be pointed out that in recent years Soviet social-imperialism has stepped up penetration and expansion in Latin American countries and cast a covetous eye on the strategically important Panama Canal. But the Panamanian people who have stood the tests of protracted struggle will surely heighten their vigilance, strengthen unity and carry through to the end their just struggle to uphold national independence and attain full recovery of their sovereignty over the canal.

(A commentary by Hsinhua Correspondent, September 8)

For Your Reference

The Panama Canal and the Panama Canal Treaty

THE Panama Canal, which cuts through the Republic of Panama, is an important interoceanic waterway in Central America linking the Pacific and the Atlantic. Passage through the canal greatly facilitates intercontinental shipping as the route between the two oceans is shortened by more than 10,000 kilometres. The canal is 81.3 kilometres long and from 150 to 304 metres wide. The narrow strip of territory measuring 16.1 kilometres on either side of the canal, known as the Canal Zone, covers a total area of over 1,400 square kilometres. The canal and the Canal Zone have long been completely under U.S. occupation and control.

In 1903 the U.S. Government forced Panama into signing the unequal U.S.-Panama Treaty. By giving Panama 10 million U.S. dollars in cash and, after nine years, paying 250,000 dollars a year for "rent," it gained the exclusive right to the building of the canal and the "perpetual use, occupation and control" of the canal and the Canal Zone. The U.S. Government appoints the governor of the Canal Zone, who is concurrently the President of the Panama Canal Company, to enforce colonial rule. It has established its Southern Command, stationed more than 10,000 U.S. troops, set up various kinds of military training schools and built 14 military bases in the Canal Zone.

When the new Panama Canal Treaty comes into effect it will replace the unequal 1903 U.S.-Panama Treaty together with all the subsequent amendments. It will terminate by the end of 1999 and it provides that in the meantime, Panama will gradually recover all jurisdictional

rights over the canal and the Canal Zone. Upon entry into force of the new treaty, the canal will be administered by a U.S. body — the Panama Canal Commission — under the supervision of a board composed of members of both countries. Panama will exercise jurisdiction over and administer legal affairs, immigration, customs, postal service and other matters in the Canal Zone. During the period when the new treaty

is in force, Panama will increase its revenues deriving from the canal and the Canal Zone to about 80 million U.S. dollars a year.

According to the new treaty, Panama and the United States are committed to protecting and defending the canal. The armed forces of both countries will form a combined board in charge of military activities.

“Peaceful Construction” Or Militarization of the National Economy?

TO hoodwink the Soviet people and the world public, the Brezhnev clique always claims that it is carrying out “peaceful construction” at home for the “welfare of the people.” But a brief analysis of the Kremlin’s key industrial departments and projects and the role they play will make it clear that far from going in for “peaceful construction,” the clique is accelerating the militarization of the national economy and contending with U.S. imperialism for military supremacy so as to achieve its aim of world domination.

Soon after he inherited Khrushchov’s mantle, Brezhnev declared that national defence “is our top job,” that “large sums will be used for national defence.”

The Soviet Union, with a gross national product equal to only about half that of the United States, in the past few years has far surpassed the United States in the growth rate and sum total of military expenditures. The Kremlin has attached special importance to heavy industry directly related to munitions production. As early as 1966, Brezhnev declared that priority must be given to the development of heavy industry for it was “the main base for greater national defence capabilities.” He said on another occasion that “without the develop-

ment of heavy industry, defence capabilities cannot be maintained at a proper level.”

At the 25th congress of the C.P.S.U., he said that the “gist of the economic strategy” of the current 10th five-year plan was to “ensure stable and balanced development of heavy industry as the basis of the economy.” Under the 1977 plan, appropriations for industries amount to 128,900 million rubles, of which 108,000 million go to heavy industry.

The steel industry is the mainstay of the Kremlin’s drive for militarization of the national economy and military supremacy. The 10th five-year plan provides that steel output is to grow 14 to 20 per cent in the period. It is specially stipulated that output of various kinds of high-efficient metalware is to be increased from 50 to 100 per cent and that production of high-strength steel pipes is to be upped sharply. Statistics show that in the 1956-75 period, Soviet investments in the iron and steel industry totalled 42,500 million rubles, or about 8.2 per cent of the national industrial investments in the period under review. As a result of the drastic increase in investments, steel output in 1975 was more than double that of 1960. Although its steel output ranks first in the world, the Soviet Union still suffers from a

shortage of rolled steel, which it produces in only limited varieties and consumes in large quantities in the manufacture of guided missiles, aircraft, warships, tanks and guns and in the construction of military projects. The Soviet Union will have to continue importing large quantities of rolled steel from other countries in the current five-year plan period.

To meet the needs of the war industry, the Soviet Union stresses the necessity to develop newly rising metallurgical departments. The 10th five-year plan provides for "expanded production of alloy metals, rare metals, precious metals and recycled non-ferrous metals" and calls for a 40 per cent increase in titanium which is important to the munitions industry.

A greater part of the Soviet machine-building industry is devoted to war production. In the 9th five-year plan period, the output value of the machine-building industry increased by 70 per cent as against 43 per cent for industry as a whole. In the 10th five-year plan, it is stipulated that the machine-building industry will increase its output value by 50 to 60 per cent, higher than the growth rate of 35 to 39 per cent envisaged for the total industrial output value.

To improve the conditions for war production, the Soviet Union has set up many huge power transmission networks in recent years. The Soviet *Communist of the Armed Forces* stresses that the power sector is of special significance to "such strategically offensive weapons as guided missiles and nuclear weapons." Power output has exceeded 1,000,000 million kilowatts since 1975. But power for agriculture is still far from sufficient. This is because so much power has been allocated to the war industry and other industrial sectors closely related to it.

Major communication and transport projects under construction are also for obvious military purposes. When completed, the Baikal-Amur Railway, the second in Siberia, will play a certain part in speeding up the movement of military materials and troops between east and west, reinforcing the country's Pacific Fleet and strengthening its military position in its contention with the United States for hegemony in the Northern Pacific.

The White Sea-Baltic Canal, now being enlarged, is a vital waterway linking the bases of the North Fleet and the Baltic Fleet. In recent years, the Soviet Union has widened and deepened the canal and rebuilt the locks on it for the passage of ships of much greater tonnage. The foreign press reports that even destroyers will be able to pass through the reconstructed canal. This will greatly shorten the distance between the main combat naval base of Murmansk and the main repair docks at Leningrad. The Soviet Union has planned to continue work on the canal during the 10th five-year plan period so as to make it serve military purposes better.

Over the past decade and more, upwards of 85 per cent of the investments in industrial capital construction were allegedly used for the development of the means of production. However, most of these were spent on arms production whereas the average investment in the production of consumer goods was less than 15 per cent. The actual growth rate of the output value of consumer goods in the 9th five-year plan was only 76 per cent of the planned target, a figure lower than that of all the previous three five-year plans. Moreover, the target of the 10th five-year plan was the lowest over the last two decades. By virtue of the rapid growth of its arms production, the Soviet Union has by far outstripped the United States in conventional weapons and equipment and caught up with it in nuclear weapons.

As a result of the new tsars' rabid military expansion and war preparations in quest of world hegemony, the Soviet national economy has actually become a lopsided war economy entailing grave damage to the social productive forces. In contrast to the excessive development of its military industry, its civil industry is seriously backward, agricultural production has been falling, the market is short of commodities, finance is in straits and foreign debts are mounting. And it is the Soviet people who fall victims to all this.

Facts show that what the new tsars have brought to the Soviet people is — far from "welfare" and "peace" — poverty and the threat of war disaster.

(A commentary by
Hsinhua Correspondent)

ship in connection with combating and preventing revisionism, the Hsienyu county Party committee in early 1975 led the cadres and masses of the county to criticize capitalist tendencies. In the process the Kaiwei commune Party committee secretary who had advocated land reclamation for private use was dismissed from his post. Instead of admitting his error, he began harbouring an intense hatred for Fang.

The next year, 1976, saw the "gang of four" stepping up its conspiratorial activities to seize Party and state leadership. The bourgeois factional outfit of the gang in Fukien set to work, stirring up trouble to further the gang's schemes. The former secretary of the Kaiwei commune Party committee also jumped out. Advertising himself as a "representative of the correct line," he claimed that the 1975 mass criticism of capitalism in Hsienyu was entirely wrong both in orientation and line because it shifted the spearhead of the struggle against "big capitalist-roaders" on to others and therefore his dismissal from his post was also wrong. With the backing of the gang's flunkies in the county, he once again usurped the leadership of the commune.

With power in his hand, he accused Fang Jui-chung of following the "theory of the all-importance of the productive forces" and labelled him a "capitalist-roader still on the capitalist road." When Fang and members of the Paofeng brigade refuted these false charges, he then concocted charges against Fang as a "counter-revolutionary" and, in collusion with the gang's pawns in the county public security bureau, had him secretly arrested.

Leading His Brigade to Take The Socialist Road

Fang has been the secretary of the Paofeng brigade Party branch since 1964. The brigade has 17 production teams with about 2,600 people living in 551 households and farms 100 hectares or so of land. Paofeng in the past was a wretched place. Owing to serious soil erosion, harvests were hardly sufficient to support the inhabitants. In 1964, Chairman Mao called on the nation to learn from the Tachai Production



Fang Jui-chung (second from left) comparing notes on studying Chairman Mao's works.

Brigade in agriculture. Taking Tachai as their example, Fang led the brigade members to reclaim the hillslopes and transform the farmland. After a decade's strenuous efforts, they ultimately succeeded in transforming their village. The brigade in 1976 doubled its 1963 grain output and trebled its income. Now it sells surplus grain to the state every year.

Even in prison, Fang's conviction in the socialist road pointed out by Chairman Mao remained unshaken. He put up a resolute struggle against the underlings of the "gang of four." When they tried to force him to plead "guilty," he declared: "I have followed Chairman Mao's teachings and led the brigade members in building socialism. What am I guilty of?" Finding Fang so intransigent, his adversaries branded him "an unrepentant diehard." Fang answered that there was nothing for him to repent. "Following Chairman Mao's teachings, we have taken the socialist road. You want me to change — to what? Take to capitalism, like you? Nothing doing!" Fang was adamant. "I'd rather lose my head than let capitalism get its way," he swore.

Behind prison walls he still thought constantly of his brigade. He sent messages secretly to his brigade through his visitors encouraging the brigade members to stick to the socialist road. In one letter to brigade cadres, he wrote: "It doesn't matter that I have been wronged. What does matter is that we must keep in mind Chairman Mao's teaching, 'Only socialism can

save China.' [On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People, 1957.] Under all circumstances our brigade must resist dividing up land and individual farming." In many brigades of the Kaiwei commune, land was distributed to individual households for their own farming as a result of the instigation of those who had usurped the commune leadership. But in Paofeng brigade, this adverse current was held in check.

Fang was against reclaiming wasteland by individual households and dividing up the land to go it alone because he saw this as a matter concerning which road to follow, capitalist or socialist. The land reform of the early 50s in Fukien Province had abolished the feudal ownership of land and divided up the landlords' land among the people. This was followed by the co-operative movement in which the small peasant economy based on individual households was gradually transformed into socialist collective agriculture. The establishment of people's communes in 1958 helped further consolidate and develop this agriculture. Dividing up land again and going it alone would ruin the collective economy of the people's communes and restore the peasant economy based on individual households. Lenin said: "Small production engenders capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously, and on a mass scale." (*Left-Wing Communism, an Infantile Disorder*, 1920.) So it was quite clear that dividing up land to go it alone was paving

Paofeng brigade members at work.



the way for developing capitalism in the rural areas. If land division were realized, capitalism would undoubtedly spread.

Fang always had the brigade's production at heart. In a letter to his comrades, he wrote: "Now some people are slandering our efforts to build socialism as following the 'theory of the all-importance of the productive forces.' Don't listen to them. We make a good job of our autumn harvest. The plot behind our village has not been levelled yet, so don't put the wheat in until it is levelled. . . ." Many were on the verge of tears as they read the letter. "Fang is a good comrade leading us along the socialist road," they said.

Is That a "Typical Example of Capitalism"?

When the Paofeng brigade which adhered to the socialist road was under attack as revisionist last year, the whole county of Hsienyu likewise was vilified as a "typical example of taking the capitalist road." Under cover of opposing "capitalist-roaders," the henchmen of the "gang of four" seized the leadership of the county Party committee for a time and set about restoring capitalism in the county.

Hsienyu on the temperate southeast coast has ample rain and in 1975 was doing fine in revolution and production under the leadership of the county Party committee headed by Comrade Chang Teng-pang. Its average per-hectare yield of grain topped 7.5 tons and sugar cane, Hsienyu's major industrial crop, was just short of 65 tons. One of its communes was adjudged a national advanced unit. That year the Hsienyu people, responding to Chairman Mao's call, studied the theory of the proletarian dictatorship and criticized revisionism and capitalism in the light of the reality of class struggle in the urban and rural areas. After the First National Conference on Learning From Tachai in Agriculture concluded in October 1975, the county Party committee issued the call, "Work hard

and turn Hsienyu within three years into a Tachai-type county." In response to this, communes and brigades immediately drew up plans and embarked on projects, big and small, designed to transform their hills, rivers and farmland. The masses were in high spirits and the situation was excellent.

Then the hatchetmen of the gang seized power in the county. They set about "ferreting out capitalist-roaders at all levels" and soon leadership in most communes and production brigades was subverted. Projects of farmland capital construction came to an abrupt standstill. The burgeoning movement to learn from Tachai was smothered. The green light was given to capitalist restoration and over 60 per cent of the land was divided up among individual households. The upshot was grain output in 1976 plummeted 20 per cent, with late-rice output falling 40 per cent. Large tracts of forests, the main source of the hill people's income, were destroyed. Over one-half of the county's cedars were cut down. This did fatal damage to the collective economy of the related communes and brigades.

We talked deep into the night with county Party committee secretary Chang Teng-pang and deputy secretary Kai Sheng-teh, who gave us a detailed account of the fierce fight they put up the last few years against the "gang of four's" local outfit.

In February 1976, when he was attending a meeting in the Putien Prefecture, Chang was kidnapped by the gang's plug-uglies. They reviled and paraded him through the streets and then put him under house detention in the county. Kai was also thrown out of office, but he managed to join up with other cadres and the masses and together they fought the underlings of the gang. The smashing of the "gang of four" was a tremendous victory for the revolution. Filled with hatred for the gang and elated by the victory, these two leading comrades today are working all out along with the masses to make good the damage caused by the gang's followers. Led by the county Party committee, the peasant households who were given land to farm on their own have returned to the

fold of the collective economy, and the movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture is again in full swing throughout the county.

At the end of our talk, Comrade Kai Sheng-teh said to us: "When cadres accused by the gang's followers of being 'capitalist-roaders' were in charge, Hsienyu was firmly on the socialist road and carried out the policies of Chairman Mao. But when those thugs seized power from the so-called 'capitalist-roaders,' capitalism grew and flourished."

Who, then, are really capitalist-roaders? Practice is the sole criterion, and history the best witness.

In his speech at the Second National Conference on Learning From Tachai in Agriculture, Chairman Hua said in connection with the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao anti-Party clique: "On the question of who are our enemies and who are our friends, which is of the first importance for the revolution, they have deliberately turned things upside down as to the relations between ourselves and the enemy in the historical period of socialism, decking themselves out as 'Leftists' and 'revolutionaries' while regarding as the targets of their 'revolution' the revolutionary leading cadres of the Party, government and army at all levels who uphold Marxism. They have thus adulterated the very essence of Chairman Mao's great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat."

The "gang of four" and its henchmen deliberately turned things upside down. We saw this in Fukien, where its criminal bourgeois outfit forcibly paraded and publicly reviled the first secretary of the provincial Party committee, usurped the leadership of some county Party committees, illegally arrested and detained the staunchest cadres at the grass-roots level who were leading the masses along the socialist road. Their unbridled actions had for a time thrown some places in Fukien into chaos, but immediately after the gang was smashed the chaotic situation was brought under control. During the mass movement to expose and criticize the gang, the local bourgeois factional setup was crushed and the situation in this province is becoming better and better with each passing day.

ROUND THE WORLD

LAGOS

World Conference for Action Against Apartheid

The World Conference for Action Against Apartheid, organized by the United Nations in co-operation with the Organization of African Unity and the Federal Government of Nigeria, was held in Lagos from August 22 to 26. It was attended by more than 100 government delegations and representatives of national-liberation movements in southern Africa as well as many inter-government regional organizations and U.N. bodies.

Speaking at the opening ceremony, U.N. Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim said that apart from the profound immorality of apartheid, it was a disastrous course to attempt to separate the people on ethnical grounds, as the Bantustan policy was designed to do. "There can be no peace and understanding in South Africa as long as three-quarters of the population are excluded from the mainstream of the national life and from the rich resources of the country as a whole," he pointed out.

Many representatives of the third world countries in their speeches at the conference strongly denounced the system of apartheid, and expressed firm support for the southern African people's struggle against the racist regimes and for freedom and national independence. In his speech the Chinese representative pledged firm support

for the struggle of the southern African people and exposed the criminal conspiratorial activities carried on by the two super-powers in southern Africa and the continent as a whole.

The Lagos Declaration for Action Against Apartheid, adopted at the conference, condemned the racist regime, voiced solidarity for the national-liberation movements in southern Africa and called upon all countries to take action contributory to the eradication of apartheid.

The declaration said: "The conference recognizes and respects the inalienable right of the oppressed South African people and their national-liberation movement to resort to all available and appropriate means of their choice to secure their freedom, and the need to assist them to achieve freedom.

"The conference calls upon all states for the cessation of any assistance or co-operation enabling South Africa to obtain nuclear capability. It further calls upon all states to prevent companies or institutions within their jurisdiction from any nuclear co-operation with South Africa.

"The conference solemnly calls upon all states to cease forthwith all sales and supplies of arms and military equipment, spare parts and components thereof, to withdraw all licenses for the manufacture of arms and military equipment in South Africa and to refrain

from any assistance to the South African regime in its military buildup or any military co-operation with that regime."

ANGOLA

Calamity Brought on by Moscow and Its Mercenaries

Since Angola, known as the "gem of Africa," was occupied by the Soviet social-imperialists and their mercenaries a year ago, farming in this country has been ruined, its factories brought to a standstill and prices have skyrocketed. Food grain is particularly insufficient and many have died of starvation. The people in general are leading a miserable life.

Production has nose-dived. What the country produced last year could only meet one-tenth of domestic needs. Coffee, its major export, was only 20 per cent of the normal output. Sugar cane and sisal production was even lower. Ninety per cent of the food grain for this year have to be imported. Clothing and daily necessities are scarce. In some areas, salt is not available and vegetables are unprocureable.

The Soviet Union and its mercenaries are unscrupulously plundering the resources of the Angolan people and scrambling for Angola's diamonds. The price for coffee paid by Moscow is only 38 per cent that on the international market and the price paid for the coffee purchased directly from the Angolan peasants is, of course, much lower.

The Soviet ruling clique has always practised perfidy in its relations with other countries, by means of which it is plundering others of their resources. The fishery agreement on "co-operation" signed between the Soviet Union and Angola stipulates that one out of every three tons of fish caught by the Soviet Union in Angolan waters must be handed over to Angola as tax, but in fact Moscow has shipped away all kinds of fish caught. As a result, there is not a tiny fish on the Luanda market.

Prolonged occupation by the Soviet Union and its mercenaries is the root cause of the Angolan people's suffering. The occupation troops, instead of being withdrawn, have kept increasing in number. There are 4,000 in the central-western military region, 2,000 in each of the northern, eastern and southern regions, 3,500 in Cabinda and 2,000 to 2,500 in Luanda, the capital. In addition, there are 4,000 Soviet nationals or their followers stationed in various places under the guise of "experts" and "advisers."

EUROPEAN AND NORTH
AMERICAN PEOPLE

Denounce Soviet Invasion of Czechoslovakia

The ninth anniversary of the Soviet social-imperialist invasion of Czechoslovakia fell on August 21, around which time demonstrations and rallies protesting the Soviet invasion and continued occupation of Czechoslovakia were held in Britain, Belgium, Italy, Norway, Denmark, Iceland and Sweden.

Articles denouncing the criminal Soviet aggression were carried in Greek, Canadian and U.S. publications.

On the eve of the ninth anniversary of the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, the Revolutionary Communist League of Britain and the Belgian Organization "All Power to Workers" (AMADA) organized demonstrations and rallies in London and Brussels respectively. Over one hundred British demonstrators marched through London shouting, "Resist Soviet threat!" "Resist Soviet aggression!" and "Down with the new tsars!" Belgian masses carried placards reading, "Military invasion of Czechoslovakia yesterday, Western Europe tomorrow?" "Brezhnev, the new tsar, keep your paws off Europe!" and "The chance of a war in Europe is growing!"

The Communist Workers' Party of Denmark organized a demonstration and parade in front of the Soviet Embassy in Copenhagen on August 21. Five hundred Danish people took part, carrying streamers and placards with these slogans, "Freedom for the Czechoslovak people!" "No to Soviet imperialist policy!" and "No to continued Soviet occupation of Czechoslovakia!"

Some 6,000 to 7,000 people took part in the demonstrations and rallies held in more than 30 places in Norway. These activities were organized by the "Sponsor Committee for the August 21 Demonstrations." An appeal issued by the organization said that the Soviet Union today was a rapacious imperialist country pitted against the

United States for world hegemony. The appeal pointed out that the Soviet Union was also a danger to Norway. It called upon all progressive forces and those who are opposed to imperialism to unite against the two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States.

The social-imperialist nature of the Soviet Union was revealed by its armed invasion of Czechoslovakia nine years ago, said *The Forge*, a Canadian bi-weekly in an article in its August 19 issue. "Soviet social-imperialism is exposed more each day as the most ferocious enemy of the world's people and, of the two superpowers, it is the main danger of war," the article said.

In a recent article U.S. weekly *The Call* said: "They (the Soviet social-imperialists) frantically contend with U.S. imperialism and gear up for a new world war to redivide colonies, markets, resources and spheres of influence."

MOSCOW

Opposes Spain's Entry Into E.E.C.

The Spanish Government decided at a cabinet meeting on July 23 to formally apply for European Economic Community (E.E.C.) membership. On July 28, Spanish Foreign Minister Marcelino Oreja in Brussels presented three letters of the Spanish Government on formal application for E.E.C. membership to Belgian Foreign Minister Henri Simonet, the present Chairman of the E.E.C. Ministerial Council. The request was welcomed and endorsed by West

Germany, Britain, Belgium, the Netherlands and other E.E.C. members.

Spain's application, however, has raised Moscow's worries and opposition. On July 26, *Pravda* and *Izvestia*, in their respective articles — "Justified Worries" and "Against [Spain's] Entry Into 'Common Market'" — unjustifiably censured Spain.

Spain's demand to join the E.E.C. is purely the internal affair of a sovereign state. It has every right to make its choice. Moscow's opposition to this can only lead to further exposure before the world of its intervention in the internal affairs of another country.

The Soviet Union's worries over Spanish request for admission into the E.E.C. stem from Spain's position of strategic importance in the western Mediterranean and reveal the Kremlin's attempt to control the Mediterranean and encircle Europe from the southern flank. Should Spain join the E.E.C. and go on to join NATO, it will obviously be very unfavourable to the Soviet Union in its contention for hegemony in Europe and deal a severe blow to the aggressive and expansionist policies Moscow now pursues in Europe.

As the Soviet Union sees the E.E.C. as a tremendous obstacle to its expansion and infiltration in Western Europe and its quest for hegemony in Europe, it has been persistently hostile towards the E.E.C. and tried in a thousand and one ways to sabotage it. The recent censure of Spain's application for E.E.C. membership is further evidence

of Moscow's consistent opposition to a West European union.

ISRAEL

New Settlements on West Bank of Jordan River

On August 17 when the Israeli authorities headed by Menachem Begin flagrantly decided to establish three more settlements on the West Bank of the Jordan River, a quasi-military settlement was secretly set up there. Two days later, Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Dayan dished out a so-called "Dayan plan," one of its key points being the continued setting up of permanent settlements in the occupied Arab land. He clamoured: "I want unrestricted settlement wherever suitable land is available."

The so-called "settlements" are actually Israeli outposts for aggression and expansion against Arab countries. Israel already occupied over 65,000 square kilometres of Arab land in its war of aggression on June 5, 1967. To legalize and perpetuate its occupation by changing the demographic composition and geographical formation in the occupied Arab land, Israel has in the past ten years set up nearly 80 Jewish settlements there, of which about 30 are on the West Bank of the Jordan River.

Since coming to power, Begin has been pushing with increasing intensity his aggressive and expansionist plan of establishing Jewish settlements. Last July, the Israeli authorities officially announced giving "legal

status" to three settlements on the West Bank. In order to enforce its laws in the occupied land, Israel decided on August 14 to extend "public services" to the West Bank of the Jordan River and the Gaza Strip.

These measures have completely laid bare Zionist ambitions for perpetuating Israeli occupation of Arab land. Israel's act of aggression is condemned by public opinion in Arab as well as other countries.

The 68th Session of the Arab League Council held from September 3 to 6 adopted a unified working paper, demanding the withdrawal of Israel from all occupied territories including Jerusalem. The paper stresses that the establishment of settlements by Israel in the occupied Arab territories is illegal, and demands their removal.

Bahjat el Talhouni, Head of the Arab Parliamentary Federation and President of the Jordanian House of Notables, stressed in a statement of August 18 in Amman that Israel's decision to apply its legislations in the occupied Arab land is a challenge to the international will and an obstacle to peace efforts. Egyptian Foreign Minister Ismail Fahmy has submitted a note to the Secretariat of the Arab League calling for the formation of a united Arab front against the current Israeli challenges. The European Community, Turkey and Romania noted in official statements that Israel's measures would increase tension in the Middle East and endanger the peace and security of various countries.

ON THE HOME FRONT

Good Summer Harvest

CHINA gathered in a good harvest of wheat and other crops this summer despite severe drought, low temperatures and other natural adversities seldom known for decades. There was a rich harvest of early rice with total output equalling that of the peak year. Working hard for more than a month, commune members in 11 provinces, one municipality and one autonomous region in the south harvested more than 13 million hectares of early rice and transplanted late rice seedlings in good time. The autumn crops — sorghum, maize, single-cropping rice and late rice — are all doing well.

In many areas, there was no rain or snow for more than 200 days from last autumn to the spring of this year. The drought that spread from the basins of the Yellow and Huai Rivers to northeast China and part of south China last March was one of the worst after liberation in terms of duration and the size of the area affected. It was after mid-April that rain began to fall, thereby removing the threat or alleviating the situation in most areas.

The temperature last winter and this spring was lower than usual and the frost period was longer, which adversely affected the growth of crops. Moreover, some areas suffered from excessive rainfall this summer.

The State Council issued an urgent circular last spring

calling for prompt action against the drought, and allocated half a million tons of chemical fertilizer and an equal amount of diesel oil as extra supplies to the affected wheat-producing areas. To combat the long dry spell, cadres and commune members made full use of the existing water conservancy works and built new ones that would yield quick results. Where rivulets and wells had dried up, they either sank wells on the dry river beds or deepened the original ones. Trucks, tractors, carts, buckets and basins were all used to bring water to the fields. In mountainous areas, water was brought in from faraway sources.

The People's Liberation Army, as always, gave powerful support to the fight against drought. In north China alone, 144 regiments took part, with more than 2 million workdays to their credit. Government functionaries in many counties and towns joined in the fight during the daytime and did their own office work in the evening.

In combating drought this year, the number of people mobilized, the support given to agriculture by the various trades and the number of cadres going down to the grass-roots level were all unprecedented. In Shansi, Hopei, Shantung, Honan and Shensi Provinces, half a million cadres at the provincial, prefectural, county and commune levels worked side by side with the commune members and gave guidance on the spot.

An important reason for the victory in the struggle against natural adversities is that, through the exposure and criticism of the "gang of four," both cadres and commune members are fired with greater enthusiasm for socialism. In the last few years, they have made big efforts to deep-plough and level large tracts of land, ameliorate the soil and improve irrigation facilities, all of which contributed to the success in the fight against the long dry spell and other natural disasters. This and a higher level of farm mechanization have made it possible for the communes to reap a good summer harvest. The number of irrigation and drainage machines has increased, with a total capacity exceeding 40 million h.p. or more than five times that of 1965, the year preceding the start of the Great Cultural Revolution.

Ascending Highest Peak of Tianshan Mountains

ON July 25, a Chinese mountaineering expedition of eight men, two women and a cameraman for the first time ascended the summit of Mt. Tomur, which rises 7,443.8 metres above sea level. Five days later, 13 men and four women also climbed to the top.

Mt. Tomur, the highest peak of the Tianshan Mountains, is located in the southern part of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region, northwest China. While they were on the summit, the mountaineers planted a five-star red flag, erected a metal surveying pole, collected samples of ice, snow and rock, measured the thickness of the



The final assault.



On the summit.

snow and shot a film and took photos of the peak.

The mountaineers also conducted scientific surveys in the fields of glaciology, hydrology, geology and biology. These are of great significance not only for defending China's frontier areas but also for developing industrial and agricultural production as well as transforming the desert in southern Sinkiang.

Tomur, which means "iron mountain" in Uighur, has been part of China's territory since ancient times. Historical records show that the Han (206 B.C.-220 A.D.) and Tang (618-907 A.D.) Dynasties maintained government offices and stationed troops to open up land in Sinkiang, then known as the Western Regions. The regions north and south of the Tien-shans and vast areas east and south of Lake Balkhash were officially incorporated into China at that time. The great Tang Dynasty poet Li Po was

born in the town of Suiyeh in the western part of the Tianshan Mountains. Some of his poems describe the beauty of these magnificent ranges.

Continuous contacts were maintained between the people in the interior and the various minority nationalities in the frontier regions during the Sung (960-1279), Yuan (1271-1368) and Ming (1368-1644) Dynasties. During the Ching Dynasty (1644-1911), the government appointed in 1762 a commissioner in Sinkiang to administer the military and civil affairs of the wide areas east and south of Lake Balkhash and the Pamirs. In 1884, Sinkiang was formally established as a province.

The precipitous Mt. Tomur is clad in snow all year round. Its ice-locked, snow-bound slopes are crisscrossed by crevices and there are many areas of ice falls on the southern slope. Ice, snow or rock avalanches frequently occur in spring and summer,

often hurling down thousands of tons of ice and snow. It was only by overcoming numerous difficulties in the course of the ascent that the mountaineers reached the summit.

A Peking Opera Restaged

DRIVEN to Join the Liang-shan Mountain Rebels, a Peking opera written 34 years ago in Yen-an, has been restaged in Peking and is highly acclaimed by the audiences.

This opera was the first to adopt the form of traditional Peking opera to express a revolutionary theme. In 1942, Chairman Mao made important speeches at the Yen-an forum on literature and art. He pointed out that literature and art were part of the whole revolutionary cause, should serve the labouring people and play the role of educating the people and



A scene of the opera performed in Yen-an, 1944.

attacking the enemy. After this, a vigorous revolutionary literary and art movement developed, with many new musical works, dances, *chuyi* (ballad singing, story-telling and cross-talk) and *yangko* folk operas which were welcomed by the masses. *Driven to Join the Liangshan Mountain Rebels* represents a successful attempt made by a group of amateurs to transform the old Peking opera.

The opera is based on the popular story of Lin Chung, famous general of a peasant insurgent army during the Northern Sung Dynasty in the 12th century. Lin Chung is originally the chief military trainer of the 800,000 imperial guards in the capital. Because he protects his wife from the flirtatious advances of a high official's son, he is framed and sentenced to exile. Not reconciled to this, the official wants his henchmen to murder Lin Chung on the way. After this fails, he sends others to persecute Lin Chung at his place of exile. With his back to the wall, Lin Chung kills his enemies in a rage and runs away to join a peasant insurgent force on the Liangshan Mountain.

The creators of this new Peking opera made an effort to portray Lin Chung's sufferings, character and actions from the viewpoint of historical materialism. Through his personal experiences, the opera reveals the social features of the time and highlights the resistance of the people.

The opera was first staged in Yen-an in December 1943. Chairman Mao saw the opera twice and personally examined the script. On January 9 the next year, in a letter to the writers and director he wrote: "Having seen your performance, I wish to express my thanks to you for the excellent work you have done. Please convey my thanks to the comrades of the cast! History is made by the people, yet the old opera (and all the old literature and art, which are divorced from the people) presents the people as though they were dirt, and the stage is dominated by lords and ladies and their pampered sons and daughters. Now you have reversed this reversal of history and restored historical truth, and thus a new life is opening up for the old opera. That is why this merits congratulations."

The initiative you have taken marks an epoch-making beginning in the revolutionization of the old opera. I am very happy at the thought of this. I hope you will write more plays and give more performances, and so help make this practice a common one which will prevail throughout the country."

This brilliant instruction of Chairman Mao's was of great historic significance and had far-reaching political influence. After liberation, however, because of the interference by Li Shao-chi's revisionist line, the opera was relegated to oblivion. The Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao "gang of four" wanted to deck Chiang Ching out as the standard-bearer who pioneered a new epoch in literature and art. They claimed that the revolution in Peking opera began in 1964 when Chiang Ching called for it in a speech. Naturally this opera could not be restaged.

Now people can see the opera performed by the Peking Opera Troupe on the stage or television. The performance itself is a powerful criticism of the "gang of four."

Just Off the Press

SELECTED WORKS OF MAO TSETUNG

Volume V

(English Edition)

*This volume contains 70 of Comrade Mao Tsetung's
important writings from September 1949 through 1957.*

520 pages

22.2 × 15.2 cm.

De luxe and paperback editions

Published by **FOREIGN LANGUAGES PRESS**, Peking, China

Distributed by **GUOZI SHUDIAN** (China Publications Centre), Peking, China

Order from your local dealer or write direct to

Mail Order Dept., **GUOZI SHUDIAN**, P.O. Box 399, Peking, China

北京周报英文版第三十七—三十八期（一九七七年九月十三日出版）邮政代号二一九二二

