

BEIJING REVIEW

• 30th Anniversary of People's Republic of China



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COVER: Hailing the 30th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China! Paper-cut by Shen Peinong

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CHRONICLE

September 25

• Premier Hua Guofeng met American Professor Chao Chung Ting of the Physics Department of the Massachusetts Institute of Science and Technology. The day before, Vice-Premier Deng Xiaoping and Vice-Premier and President of the Chinese Academy of Sciences Fang Yi met Professor Ting and Professor Kerson Huang.

• Vice-Premier Deng Xiaoping met Pierre Trudeau, former Prime Minister and present leader of the Liberal Party of Canada.

September 27

• Xinhua News Agency reported that China's coal output, power generation and oil production now rank 3rd, 7th and 8th in the world.

• Vice-Premier Li Xiannian met with Seymour Topping, Managing Editor of the *New York Times*, and his wife. Replying to the question about the Sino-Soviet talks in Moscow, the Vice-Premier said: "There are indeed a lot of thorny problems between China and the Soviet Union, but we still hope that the talks will somewhat improve the relations between the two countries. On our part, we have a sincere desire. But that desire is not yet shared by both sides."

September 28

• The Fourth Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China was held in Beijing from September 25 to 28. (For communique see p. 32.)

September 29

• In celebration of the 30th anniversary of New China, a meeting was held in the Great Hall of the People in Beijing by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, the N.P.C. Standing Committee and the State Council. Comrade Ye Jianying delivered a speech at the meeting. (See pp. 7-32.)

September 30

• The Fourth National Games came to a conclusion after 16 days of competition. Five world records were broken, three world records equalled and new world youth records were set.

• Premier Hua Guofeng met on separate occasions the Delegation of the Burundi National Party of Unity and Progress led by its Permanent Secretary Emile Mworoha; and Major General H.M. Ershad, Chief of Staff of the Bangladesh Army, and the visiting Goodwill Military Delegation from Bangladesh led by him.



National Day Celebrations

The Chinese people celebrated the 30th anniversary of the People's Republic of China on October 1.

Well-stocked stores with a rich variety of goods, blooming flowers in the parks and big red lanterns hanging over the gates of many buildings added to the joyous atmosphere as the capital's 8 million people celebrated their National Day.

The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and the State Council held a celebration meeting on the afternoon of September 29. At the meeting which was presided over by Hua Guofeng, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Premier of the State Council, Chairman Ye Jianying of the N.P.C. Standing Committee made a long, important speech. He reviewed the course traversed by New China since its founding 30 years ago, criticized the ultra-Left line

pushed by Lin Biao and the gang of four, summed up the basic experience of China's socialist revolution and construction and pointed out the direction in which the Chinese people should bend their efforts in the 80s. (For full text of the speech see pp. 7-32.)

The meeting was held in Beijing's Great Hall of the People which seats 10,000, and the speech was broadcast live over the national network.

Grand Reception. Comrade Hua Guofeng gave a grand reception on the evening of September 30. In his speech, he extended festival greetings to the workers, peasants, P.L.A. men, cadres, women, youth, minority nationalities, compatriots in Taiwan, Xianggang (Hongkong) and Aomen (Macao), overseas Chinese, and personages of the democratic parties throughout the country.

Hua Guofeng said: "Over the past 30 years, the Chinese people have carried on an unremitting struggle and achieved splendid successes in socialist

revolution and socialist construction under the leadership of the Communist Party of China and the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought."

He added: "We have established the dominant position of the socialist system of public ownership of the means of production in society as a whole. We have built a relatively comprehensive industrial and economic system. We have developed science, culture and education and strengthened our defence capabilities. Compared with the old society, earth-shaking changes have taken place in New China."

"Since the overthrow of the counter-revolutionary conspiratorial cliques of Lin Biao and the gang of four," he went on to say, "political and economic life in China has embarked again on the road of healthy development. People of all nationalities in our country are now working with dedication and confidence in their new

National Day reception in the Great Hall of the People.



Long March towards the four modernizations.”

“Ours is a just cause,” he stressed, “and we are moving in the right direction, with the people of the whole country united as one. We will surely overcome all the difficulties on the road of advance and triumphantly achieve our great goal of modernization.”

Comrade Hua Guofeng said that “it is the desire of all the Chinese people, including those on Taiwan, that reunification of the country be completed through Taiwan’s return to the motherland.” He expressed the hope that compatriots in Taiwan, Xianggang and Aomen and Chinese residing abroad would make valuable contributions to the lofty cause of achieving the reunification of the motherland and making China a prosperous and strong country.

He expressed heartfelt thanks to the people of all countries for their sympathy and support to the Chinese people. “Today,” he said, “the friendly relations and co-operation between the people of China and other countries are growing steadily. We will, as always, continue to strengthen our unity with them, increase friendly exchanges with all countries on an equal footing, oppose policies of aggression and expansion and work together with them to safeguard world peace and support the oppressed nations of the world in their struggle for independence, liberation, prosperity and progress.”

Among those who attended the reception were 4,000 people

from various walks of life. Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, an old friend of the Chinese people, Comrade Hoang Van Hoan, an old comrade-in-arms of Comrade Ho Chi Minh, and distinguished guests from various countries, foreign diplomatic envoys and foreign experts working in Beijing also attended the reception.

Anniversary Celebrations. On the evening of National Day, Chairman Hua Guofeng and other Party and state leaders joined 20,000 people in the capital in a grand celebration. Among the items performed were militant songs sung by 400 veteran comrades of the New Fourth Army. Their singing reminded the listeners of those arduous years of fighting against foreign invaders and Kuomintang troops.

During the three-day festival, the theatres in Beijing presented a rich bill of 130 new items, including modern plays, dance-dramas, Beijing operas, local operas, acrobatics and puppet shows. Twenty-five new films were also on show.

Colourful exhibitions in the parks, art galleries and museums attracted huge crowds during the holidays. They included exhibitions of paintings, arts and crafts, photography, and work related to minority nationalities. Of particular interest to the public was the exhibition on the history of the Communist Party of China (the period of the Democratic Revolution 1921-49), reopened at the Museum of the Chinese Revolution.

Gatherings of Pace-Setters

Outstanding youth, women and workers, meeting separately in the capital just before the National Day celebrations, were praised and commended as pace-setters.

The first of these gatherings was to commend and confer the title of pace-setters on outstanding young people in the new Long March to accomplish the four modernizations. It was convened on September 19 by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Youth League.

In modernizing the country, numerous problems and difficulties have to be overcome. The meeting called on the young people to emulate the spirit of the revolutionaries of the older generation who had succeeded in surmounting innumerable hardships during the epic Long March in the mid-30s. Today, the Chinese people describe their effort to achieve the four modernizations as a new Long March.

Seated on the rostrum at the gathering were 165 representatives of outstanding shock teams and individuals, each wearing a red flower. The 10,000 commended came from various walks of life.

Two days later, the National Women’s Federation called a meeting to commend 10,000 women and collectives for their outstanding contributions in various fields. Among them, 193 individuals and collectives were awarded the title of “March 8th” pace-setters.

Among the women representatives of 45 nationalities, there



Party and state leaders giving awards to nationally advanced enterprises.

were workers, peasants, specialists and engineers in metallurgy, building, petroleum and other fields as well as outstanding personnel and cadres in law, finance and trade, health, medicine and education

Deng Yingchao, Honorary Chairman of the National Women's Federation, called on the women of the whole country to continue to play their role in modernizing China. She expressed the hope that more and more outstanding women would come to the fore.

On September 28, the State Council held a meeting to commend 118 advanced enterprises and 222 national labour models. Among them were workers, engineers, technicians and managerial personnel. They were selected according to the requirements set by the State Council last August.

Chairman Hua Guofeng, Vice-Chairmen Ye Jianjing, Deng Xiaoping and Li Xiannian and other Party and state leaders attended the meeting. Li Xiannian made a speech. He highly evaluated the contributions made by the advanced enterprises and labour models in the last three decades. He said that honour should go to the labourers who have made contributions to the socialist cause.

The meeting called on the enterprises all over the country to bring about a new upsurge in the socialist emulation drive and greet the convening of the national congress of labour models in 1980 with outstanding achievements.

Grand Duke Jean of Luxembourg Visits China

At the time when the Chinese people were joyously celebrat-

ing the 30th anniversary of the founding of New China, their Royal Highnesses Grand Duke Jean and the Grand Duchess of Luxembourg arrived in Beijing on September 26 for a ten-day visit at the invitation of the Chinese Government. This marks a new stage of development in the friendly relations between the two countries.

Luxembourg is famous in Europe for its heavy industry. Its iron and steel industry, in particular, ranks first in terms of per-capita output. As one of the important financial and monetary centres in Europe and the seat of many organizations of the European Community, Luxembourg occupies a very important position in Europe's economic and political life.

In international affairs, Luxembourg has always worked for close co-operation between the West European countries and it has made unremitting efforts for strengthening their defences and safeguarding European peace and security.

Luxembourg, said Grand Duke Jean, had like China suffered from foreign invasion and domination in the past century. Luxembourg has now abandoned its policy of neutrality, which has proved to be ineffective, and has taken an active part in integrating itself with a larger entity, first with BENELUX and then with the European Community. He added that the Atlantic Alliance was the guarantee of Luxembourg's security.

Luxembourg's achievements

have proved that every country, big or small, has its own merits and advantages and can play a positive role in international affairs. Its success in developing industry deserves careful study by the Chinese people.

Premier Hua Guofeng met with Grand Duke Jean and the Grand Duchess on September 28. Premier Hua said that his coming visit to Western Europe was "to seek friendship, cooperation and knowledge and, a very important purpose, to safeguard world peace." His Highness Grand Duke Jean said he was very glad to hear this.

Three Major Issues Discussed

A week-long discussion was held in mid-September by the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference on three major issues relating to the national economy and the people's livelihood. Members of democratic parties and non-party figures took part.

The three issues are: readjusting the purchasing and selling prices of certain farm and sideline products and raising the wages of part of the workers and staff members, speeding up the development of agriculture, and summing up the work since the founding of the People's Republic 30 years ago.

Chairman Hua Guofeng of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party at-

tended the discussion. He said that these subjects were all major questions and therefore friends from the democratic parties and those without party affiliation should be consulted in a democratic way and their advice sought so as to handle these matters effectively.

It is a fine tradition of the Chinese Communist Party to hold consultations with members of democratic parties and non-party personnel on major policies of the Party and government. But this fine tradition was disrupted by Lin Biao and the gang of four.

The Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference is a united front organization under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, composed of members of democratic parties and non-party personnel. It does not enact laws and run state affairs, but merely holds discussions and gives suggestions on some major political issues. Deng Xiaoping is the chairman of its national committee.

Nansha Islands Belong to China

In a statement issued on September 26, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China reiterated that the Nansha Islands are part of China's territory. The statement said:

"Like the Xisha, Zhongsha and Dongsha Islands, the Nansha Islands have always

been part of China's territory. China has indisputable sovereignty over these islands and surrounding sea areas, and the natural resources thereof belong to China. China's lawful sovereignty over the Nansha Islands brooks no infringement by any country on any pretext and by any means. Encroachment upon any part of the Nansha Islands and exploitative or any other activities undertaken in these areas by any foreign country are illegal and impermissible."

The Chinese Government has on many occasions issued statements on the question of sovereignty over the Nansha Islands. As early as August 15, 1951, Foreign Minister Zhou Enlai of the People's Republic of China, in his statement on the U.S.-British Draft Peace Treaty with Japan and the San Francisco Conference, solemnly pointed out that the Nansha Islands "have always been China's territory. Although they had been occupied by Japan for some time during the war of aggression waged by Japanese imperialism, they were all taken over by the then Chinese Government, following Japan's surrender."



Comrade Ye Jianying's Speech

—At the Meeting in Celebration of the 30th
Anniversary of the Founding of the
People's Republic of China

(September 29, 1979)

Comrades and Friends:

We are gathered here today in celebration of the 30th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China. On behalf of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and the State Council, I extend warm festive greetings to the workers, peasants, intellectuals and patriotic personages of the various nationalities working on all fronts for socialist modernization, to all cadres, to all commanders and fighters of the People's Liberation Army and to our compatriots of Taiwan, Xianggang (Hongkong) and Aomen (Macao) and our countrymen residing abroad.

On October 1, 1949, our great leader and teacher Comrade Mao Zedong hoisted the first five-star red flag over Tian An Men Square and proclaimed the founding of the People's Republic of China. China thereupon entered a new era of historical development. The several thousand years of history during which a tiny minority of exploiters ruled over the overwhelming majority were brought to a close and the working people, instead of being the oppressed, became masters of the new state and the new society. The century and more of enslavement of the Chinese people by colonialism and imperialism had come to an end. The Chinese people had stood up.

The victorious Chinese revolution was the most important event in the history of the international proletarian revolutionary movement since the Russian October Revolution and the most important event in world politics since World War II. China is the most populous country in the world and her victorious revolution changed the balance of power in world

politics. China had been a backward semi-colonial and semi-feudal country. It was something quite new in world history for a multinational people led by its proletariat to win victory in the new-democratic revolution and to establish the socialist system in a country such as China. And this was created by the people under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party which based itself on the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism and acted independently and in accordance with China's social and historical characteristics. This fact shows that while it is not possible for the people of a country to win victory in a revolution in the absence of certain international conditions and of the support of the people of other countries, in the final analysis, they must rely on their own efforts and not on orders from another country or an international guiding centre. They them-



selves must find, decide and chart the road to revolution suited to the characteristics of their own country. No one else has the right to impose his will on them. The victorious Chinese revolution has given a new and powerful impetus to world politics and world revolution and opened up bright vistas.

The victorious Chinese revolution is a victory for Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. Marxism-Leninism develops through the revolutionary struggles of the people in different countries. It cannot be monopolized or ossified by anyone in whatever form. Mao Zedong Thought is Marxism-Leninism as applied and developed in the Chinese revolution. It is the result of integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. Comrade Mao Zedong was a great Marxist and a great revolutionary and strategist. He early made important contributions to the founding of the Chinese Communist Party and to the development of our new-democratic revolution. After the failure of the Great Revolution in 1927, when conditions were very difficult, he creatively solved a series of essential problems concerning the Chinese revolution and found the correct road for it. He did this by proceeding from realities in China, not merely from books. He and his comrades-in-arms built the people's army, established revolutionary base areas and directed a protracted revolutionary war. It was under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Party headed by Comrade Mao Zedong that we surmounted the countless difficulties and obstacles on our road to progress, defeated powerful enemies both domestic and foreign, won complete victory in the new-democratic revolution, and then achieved great victories in socialist revolution and construction. We Chinese Communists and Chinese people call this development of Marxism-Leninism in the Chinese revolution Mao Zedong Thought. We hold that all our victories were achieved under the guidance of Mao Zedong Thought, without which there would be no New China today. This is in full conformity with historical reality. Of course, Mao Zedong Thought is not the

product of Mao Zedong's personal wisdom alone, it is also the product of the wisdom of his comrades-in-arms, the Party and the revolutionary people, and, as he once pointed out, it emerged from the "collective struggles of the Party and the people." It is the crystallization of the experience accumulated over the past half century in China's revolutionary struggles and in her building of a new society, the crystallization of the collective wisdom of the Chinese Communist Party. Comrade Mao Zedong was the most outstanding representative of the great Chinese Communist Party and the great Chinese people. The Chinese people will always remember his immortal contributions, and resolutely defend and develop the scientific system of Mao Zedong Thought.

As we celebrate the 30th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic, we cherish the memory of the pioneers of the Chinese revolution represented by Dr. Sun Yat-sen; we cherish the memory of Comrades Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai and Zhu De and other departed proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation who made outstanding contributions to the founding and development of the People's Republic of China; we cherish the memory of the deceased patriots of the democratic parties and of the non-party patriotic democrats who made important contributions to the founding and development of the People's Republic of China; we cherish the memory of all the revolutionary martyrs and soldiers who heroically sacrificed their lives in the different stages of the Chinese revolution and the revolutionary wars; and we cherish the memory of the deceased leaders and outstanding people on all fronts who made brilliant contributions to the socialist cause.

Eternal glory to the people's heroes! We assemble here today to pledge our determination to act with one heart and one mind, keep high their banner, carry forward our revolutionary traditions, win fresh victories in the new Long March for the four modernizations, and carry through to the end the socialist cause pioneered by the revolutionary martyrs.

The Great and Glorious Thirty Years

The past 30 years of the People's Republic of China have been glorious years, years of complicated struggle waged by the Chinese people against antagonistic forces both domes-

tic and foreign, and years of tremendous victories in socialist revolution and socialist construction won despite twists and turns along the way. Earth-shaking revolutionary changes

have taken place in our motherland and the gains have been consolidated in these 30 years.

We have set up the state power of the people's democratic dictatorship, that is, the dictatorship of the proletariat, led by the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance. The great majority of the leading functionaries in all government organs from the central down to the grass-roots level and in all enterprises and establishments under government leadership come from the working people and strive to serve the interests of our multi-national people. The establishment of this political power throughout the country (excepting Taiwan) put an end once and for all to the prolonged divisions in China in modern times and brought about the great union and solidarity of all regions and all nationalities in China, a vast multi-national country. This union and solidarity had long been the common aspiration of the Chinese people. But none of the exploiting classes could possibly bring it about, and only the masses of the people under the leadership of the proletariat could make it a reality. Obviously, there is room for improvement in the system and organization of our people's government, but in the last 30 years it has already played a vital role in uniting the broadest sections of the people for the construction of socialism and the struggle against enemies both at home and abroad. The heroic People's Liberation Army is the mighty pillar of the people's government. It has always been firmly subordinated to the leadership of the Party. Uniting with the people of the whole country, it has displayed patriotism, internationalism and revolutionary heroism in participating in and defending socialist revolution and socialist construction, and has rendered meritorious service while at the same time revolutionizing and modernizing itself. It is an army composed of worthy sons and daughters of the people and is the iron Great Wall of the motherland. The more than 50 fraternal nationalities in our country have formed a new, socialist relationship based on the identity of their fundamental interests and characterized by unity, fraternity, equality and mutual assistance. They are working for the gradual elimination of the inequalities that still exist as survivals from history. The revolutionary patriotic united front in our country has continued to develop in the period of socialism and has become a broad political alliance of all socialist working people, patriots who support socialism and patriots who stand for the reunification of the motherland.

We have abolished the exploitation of man by man, transformed the system of private ownership by small producers, set up comprehensive socialist public ownership of the means of production and initially put into practice the principle of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work," and thus it has become possible for the Chinese people who account for more than one-fifth of the world's population to enter socialist society. This has been the most tremendous and most profound change in the history of our country. Both the state-owned sector and the collectively owned sector of our economy (the latter including the rural people's communes and various enterprises in towns and cities) have grown significantly. Individual economy practised by urban and rural working people, which still exists on a limited scale, is already affiliated to the socialist public economy and serves it in an auxiliary and complementary way. As classes, the landlords, the rich peasants and the capitalists have ceased to exist in our country, and the great majority of those who are able to work have been transformed into working people earning their own living. The workers, peasants, intellectuals and patriots of the various nationalities are masters of the country. Ours is still a developing socialist country. Our socialist system has to be improved and our economy and culture are still under-developed. But it will certainly continue to develop in spite of all difficulties. It will gradually be perfected and finally reach a level of productivity surpassing that of modern capitalist society. This is an irresistible historical trend, no force can stop it. Neither the setbacks suffered in the past, nor the shortcomings found in our current work, nor the difficulties to be encountered in the future can in the least shake this firm, scientific conviction of ours.

We have built up independent and fairly comprehensive industrial and economic systems upon the foundation of the "poverty and blankness" inherited from old China. Over the last 30 years, there has been a substantial increase in water conservancy projects and in the output of chemical fertilizer, farm chemicals, electric power for rural use and of farm machinery, and the conditions for agricultural production as well as the system and methods of cultivation have been considerably improved. In 1978 China's total grain output was 2.7 times and its cotton output 4.9 times those of 1949. Among industries which have been very much strengthened are to be found steel, electric power, petroleum, coal, chemicals, machine

OUTPUT OF CHINA'S MAJOR INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTS



	1949*	1952**	1978
Coal	32,430,000 tons	66,490,000 tons	618,000,000 tons
Crude oil	121,000 tons	436,000 tons	104,050,000 tons
Electricity	4,310 million kwh	7,260 million kwh	256,550 million kwh
Pig iron	252,000 tons	1,929,000 tons	34,790,000 tons
Steel	158,000 tons	1,349,000 tons	31,780,000 tons
Timber	5,670,000 cubic metres	11,200,000 cubic metres	51,620,000 cubic metres
Cement	660,000 tons	2,860,000 tons	65,240,000 tons
Chemical fertilizer (counted on the basis of 100 per cent effectiveness)	6,000 tons	39,000 tons	8,693,000 tons
Machine tools	1,600	13,700	183,200
Power generating equipment	—	6,000 kw	4,838,000 kw
Motor vehicles	—	—	149,100
Tractors	—	—	113,500
Bicycles	14,000	80,000	8,540,000

* 1949 being the year when China was liberated.

** 1952 being the year preceding the First Five-Year Plan.

(Source: The State Statistical Bureau.)

tools and light industry (including textiles), and many new industries have started from scratch and developed from small to large. Before liberation, virtually no industries could be found in the vast hinterland including the regions inhabited mainly by the minority nationalities; now we have a great number of new industrial bases in these areas. At present, China has 350,000 industrial enterprises. The fixed assets of enterprises owned by the whole people amount to 320,000 million yuan (RMB), or 25 times the value of the fixed industrial assets accumulated over a hundred years in old China. Despite ups and downs, industrial production has increased at an average annual rate of 11.2 per cent during the period from 1952, when the rehabilitation of our economy was completed, to 1978. Our transport, freight, postal and telecommunications services have also made headway, changing the former backwardness of many previously inaccessible regions. Our in-

ternal commerce and foreign trade have steadily expanded with the growth of production. And with the growth of our industry, agriculture and commerce, the living standards of the Chinese people have improved considerably compared with that before liberation. The tremendous achievements scored in the various branches of our national economy over the last 30 years have laid a fairly substantial material base for the four modernizations and created a reliable springboard for further advance.

We have made necessary reforms in the cultural and educational institutions left over from old China and have promoted science, education, culture, the press, publishing, public health and sports in the interest of the people. We have always maintained a programme of education in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought among the whole people and have thus enormously enhanced their political consciousness. We already have a fairly large contingent of socialist intellectuals. Total enrolment in primary and secondary schools and institutions of higher education is 210 million, more than seven times the highest annual enrolment before liberation. There is still a wide gap between the level of China's science and technology and that of the developed countries, but, starting from scratch, we have nevertheless

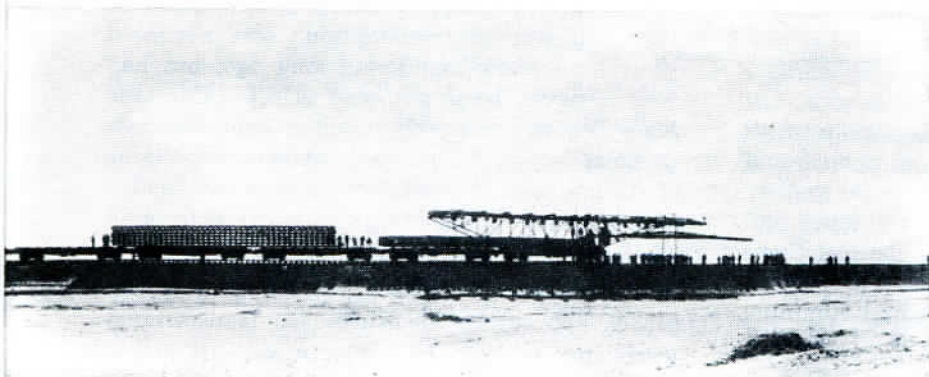
laid the foundation for a number of new sciences and technologies. Our successful experiments with the atom bomb, the hydrogen bomb and guided missiles, our launching of man-made earth satellites and their recovery, and our synthesis of crystalline bovine insulin are clearly indicative of our attainments in science and technology. We have carried out mass campaigns in public sanitation and sports activities, established a free and co-operative medical care system, and have entirely or in the main eliminated severe infectious diseases, thus greatly reducing the mortality rate and raising the health standards of the people.

We have defeated the successive attempts of foreign forces of aggression to isolate and blockade China, frustrated their interference in our internal affairs and their provocations against us, and consolidated our independence. Standing firm and proud among the nations of

the world, our great motherland has become an ever stronger force which nobody can ignore. The Chinese Government and people have steadfastly implemented the line and policies in foreign affairs laid down by Comrades Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai, and have ushered in a new epoch in our diplomatic history. Together with friendly countries we initiated the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. We have consistently fought against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and for world peace and international justice and supported the struggle of the people of other countries for national independence and liberation. From the beginning of the 1970s, acting according to Comrade Mao Zedong's strategic theory of the differentiation of the three worlds, we have

united all those forces that can be united in joint opposition to superpower hegemonism and war threats. New prospects for the international struggle have been opened up, and the international situation is developing in a direction favourable to the people of the world. At present, China has diplomatic relations with 120 countries. Economic and trade relations, cultural contacts and friendly exchanges between China and many countries and regions have steadily increased.

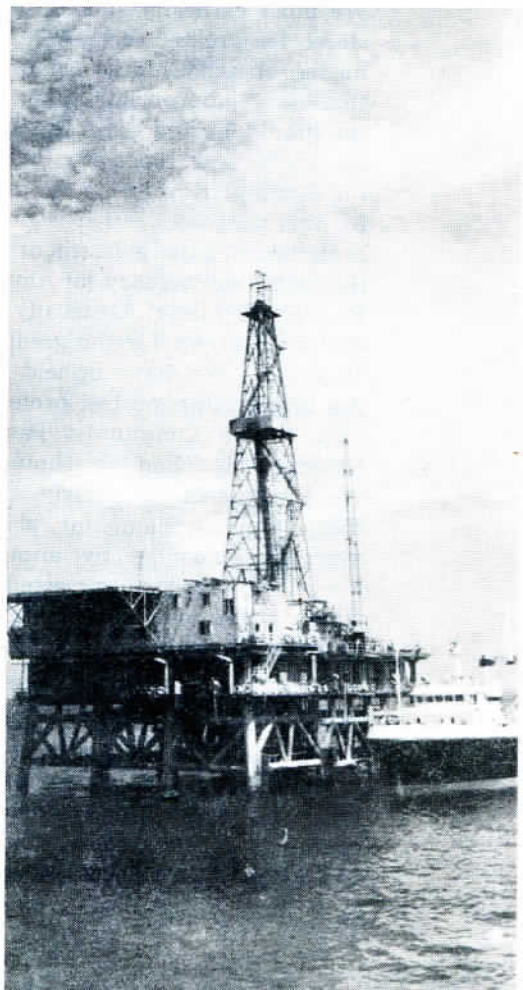
Our achievements over the last 30 years are tremendous, and it is entirely wrong not to see this. Of course, everybody knows that the road we have travelled was not at all even. At times progress was fairly smooth, and at others there were serious setbacks. Our



Track-laying on the Qinghai-Tibet line.



Building the giant Gezhouba Hydropower Station on the Changjiang River.



Offshore drilling rig of the Dagang Oilfield.

CHINA'S COMMUNICATIONS AND TRANSPORT



	1949	1952	1978
Railways	22,000 km	24,500 km	50,400 km
Highways	80,700 km	126,700 km	890,200 km
Inland waterways	73,600 km	95,000 km	136,000 km
Civil air routes (including overseas routes)	—	13,100 km	149,000 km
Railway goods	18,400 million ton-km	60,200 million ton-km	533,300 million ton-km
Waterway goods	6,300 million ton-km	14,600 million ton-km	377,900 million ton-km

(Source: The State Statistical Bureau.)

achievements are still not commensurate with the arduous efforts of our entire people and with the potential of our superior social system. We must earnestly sum up our experience and strive for greater successes. The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party holds that at an appropriate time a formal summing up should be made of the history of the last 30 years, and especially of the ten years of the Cultural Revolution, at a meeting convened for this purpose. But it is necessary to make a preliminary basic assessment on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic. Generally speaking, our line has been correct for the greater part of the last 30 years. We have upheld the socialist road, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the leadership of the Communist Party and Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and have won great successes. Similarly, on the strength of these four fundamental principles, we have overcome sabotage by antagonistic forces at home and abroad, corrected mistakes in our work, withstood rigorous tests and embarked again on the broad road of smooth development.

After the founding of New China, we pressed forward without let-up and completed the great transition from the new-democratic to the socialist revolution. In the brief space of three years, we healed the terrible wounds caused by protracted war and we carried out the suppression of bandits and despotic land-

lords, the agrarian reform and the suppression of counter-revolutionaries, all of which were tasks left over by the democratic revolution. We unfolded the campaign against the "three evils"* and the "five evils"** and again reached the previous economic record while at the same time waging the war to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea. Shortly afterwards, we accomplished the timely and smooth socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce, fulfilled or overfulfilled the First Five-Year Plan for the development of the national economy and scored brilliant successes in our socialist revolution and construction.

The idea that, after seizing power, the proletariat could transform capitalist into socialist economy by the peaceful means of "redemption" was advanced by Marx and Lenin long ago, but had never been put into effect. Comrade Mao Zedong creatively applied this Marxist-Leninist principle to the concrete conditions of China and formulated the correct policy of utilizing, restricting and transforming capitalist industrial and commercial enterprises. In the course of practice, we devised a whole set of appropriate measures for transforming them step by step into wholly socialist enterprises. These measures included the placing of state orders with private enterprises for the processing of materials or the manufacture of goods, the establishment of a state monopoly for the purchase and marketing of the products of private enterprises, the marketing of products of state-owned enterprises by private shops and the establishment of joint public and private ownership of enterprises. Thus the historical task of peacefully transforming the capitalist economy was accomplished with very little social unrest. With his deep understanding of the strong desire of the peasants — espec-

* The campaign against the "three evils" refers to the struggle against corruption, waste and bureaucracy among the personnel of Party and state organs. — Tr.

** The campaign against the "five evils" refers to the struggle against bribery, tax evasion, theft of state property, cheating on government contracts and stealing of economic information among owners of private industrial and commercial enterprises. — Tr.

ially the poor and lower middle peasants — to get organized after the agrarian reform, Comrade Mao Zedong led us in adopting a series of transitional forms, that is, first mutual-aid teams and then elementary and advanced co-operatives, in the great movement for the cooperative transformation of agriculture. The principle of voluntary participation and mutual benefit was conscientiously followed and typical cases were publicized as models so that the peasants got used to collective production naturally, smoothly and gradually and embarked on the socialist road to common well-being. Socialist transformation was a large-scale, profound social change that involved hundreds of millions of people, and yet not only did we avoid a drop in production, which is normally unavoidable under such circumstances, we spurred the growth of the entire economy and built up our socialist economic strength. Moreover, we correctly implemented the policy of remoulding exploiters and changing them into working people earning their own living. This was a great pioneering work in the history of the world socialist movement and likewise a triumph for Mao Zedong Thought.

In 1956, when the socialist transformation had in the main been accomplished, our Party convened its Eighth National Congress presided over by Comrade Mao Zedong. Before and after the congress, he published *On the Ten Major Relationships* and *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*. These two important works and the major documents of the Eighth Congress contain the guiding principles for socialist revolution and socialist construction in our country. Their basic contents continue to be of great importance in guiding our work. The Eighth Congress of the Party correctly affirmed that "the history of the system of class exploitation, which lasted for several thousand years in our country, has on the whole been brought to an end," and it pointed out that the major task in the years to come was to energetically develop the productive forces. In the article, *On the Ten Major Relationships*, Comrade Mao Zedong systematically summed up our experience in economic construction and set forth the basic principles for building socialism which are suited to our country's conditions. In the article, *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the*

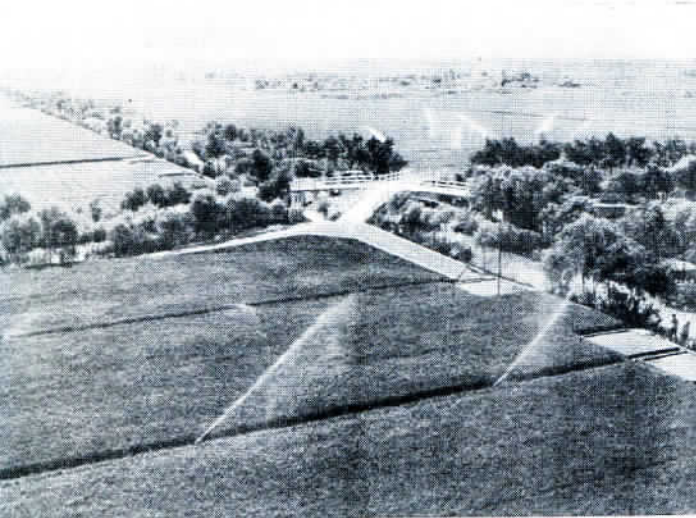
People, he made a scientific analysis of the political and economic situation and advanced the thesis that we must correctly distinguish and handle the two types of social contradictions, which are different in nature. He explained that the correct handling of contradictions among the people so as to help unite the entire people for economic and cultural development had become the main theme in the political life of the country. He stated in clear-cut terms that "the large-scale, turbulent class struggles of the masses characteristic of times of revolution have in the main come to an end," that "there still are counter-revolutionaries, but not many" and that "our basic task has changed from unfettering the productive forces to protecting and expanding them in the context of the new relations of production." He expounded the meaning of the important slogan "let a hundred flowers blossom, let a hundred schools of thought contend" with great profundity on many occasions and declared that this was not only our cultural policy but also our political policy, and that it was a fundamental and long-term policy. Later, he repeatedly pointed out that our aim was "to create a political situation in which we have both centralism

OUTPUT OF CHINA'S MAJOR FARM PRODUCTS



	1949	1952	1978
Grain	113.2 million tons	163.9 million tons	304.75 million tons
Cotton	445,000 tons	1,304,000 tons	2,167,000 tons
Peanuts, sesame and rapeseed	2,328,000 tons	3,729,000 tons	4,568,000 tons
Sugar cane, beetroot	2,833,000 tons	7,595,000 tons	23,819,000 tons
Jute, ambary hemp	37,000 tons	306,000 tons	1,088,000 tons
Silk cocoons	43,000 tons	123,000 tons	228,000 tons
Tea	41,000 tons	83,000 tons	268,000 tons
Pigs (at the end of the year)	57,750,000	89,770,000	301,290,000
Sheep, goats (at the end of the year)	42,350,000	61,780,000	169,940,000
Aquatic products	450,000 tons	1,670,000 tons	4,660,000 tons

(Source: The State Statistical Bureau.)



and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness." This ideal continues to be the basic objective of our socialist politics.

In 1958 Comrade Mao Zedong called on us to do away with blind faith and emancipate our minds. He also sponsored the formulation of the general line of going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism. Encouraged and inspired by this line, the people of our whole nation gave free rein to their immense enthusiasm and creative energy, explored new ways for carrying out socialist construction independently and self-reliantly, broke new ground in production and scientific research, and set up the system of people's communes in the countryside.

But amidst these immense victories we had become imprudent. In 1957 while it was necessary to counter the attack of a handful of bourgeois Rightists, the mistake was made of broadening the scope of the struggle. In 1958 we departed from the principles of carrying out thoroughgoing investigation and study and of testing all innovations before popularizing them in violation of objective laws in our economic work. We made the mistakes of giving arbitrary directions, being boastful and stirring up a "communist wind." In 1959, in inner-Party struggle we ineptly carried out the struggle against so-called Right opportunism. These "Leftist" errors plus the three years of natural calamities and the scrapping of contracts and withdrawal of specialists by the Government of the Soviet Union brought about the serious economic reverses of the late 50s and early 60s. The Central Committee of the Party and Comrade Mao Zedong quickly perceived these errors in our rural and economic work and began to lead us in rectifying them. To this end, he put forward a series of guiding ideas such as the need to oppose egalitarianism, stress commodity production, respect the law of value, strike an overall balance, draw up the national economic plan with agriculture first, light industry second and heavy industry third, exert genuine and

Left (from top to bottom):

- Oil palms, Nanbin Farm on Hainan Island.
- A ton of grain per mu of land, Jiangsu Province.
- Pasture of a people's commune, Inner Mongolia.
- Terraced fields of the Dazhai (Tachai) Production Brigade.

not sham efforts and go in for investigation and study in a big way. He also took charge of drawing up the "60 Articles" for the work of the people's communes. The Party Central Committee and the State Council took decisive action to establish the correct guideline of "readjustment, consolidation, filling out and raising standards" for the national economy and laid down a succession of correct policies, rules and measures regarding work in other spheres. Early in 1962 an enlarged Central Work Conference attended by 7,000 people was convened, at which criticism and self-criticism was unfolded and both positive and negative experience was summed up. Comrade Mao Zedong criticized himself in his speech at the conference and emphasized the necessity of perfecting the system of democratic centralism in the Party and deepening our understanding of the laws of socialist construction. All this made possible the rapid recovery and growth of our national economy. In this process the people, under the leadership of the Party, conquered all difficulties with a firm will and a strong sense of organization and discipline. They not only came through the crisis but also discharged our nation's debts to the Soviet Union, demonstrating that the Chinese are a proud people, a fearless and heroic people.

At the First Session of the Third National People's Congress convened towards the end of 1964, Comrade Zhou Enlai, upon the suggestion of Comrade Mao Zedong, pointed out in his Report on the Work of the Government that we must build up China and turn it into a powerful socialist country with modern agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology by the end of the century. In 1975 he reaffirmed this grand task at the First Session of the Fourth National People's Congress. This is the political will bequeathed us by Comrades Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai, a goal which the whole Party and people must strive for indomitably.

In the first 17 years after the founding of the People's Republic, we had adhered to the four fundamental principles. We had made certain serious mistakes in our work but, generally speaking, they were rectifiable through criticism and self-criticism in accordance with democratic centralism, given the leadership of the Central Committee of the Party headed by Comrade Mao Zedong. Unfortunately, we were not always able to stick to the correct principles established during those 17 years, apply and develop the successful experience accumulated

in the process, and bear in mind the lessons drawn from our errors. As a result, we had to pay a very bitter price and, instead of avoiding errors which could have been avoided, we committed even more serious ones.

In the ten years of the Cultural Revolution which began in 1966, our country went through a fierce struggle between revolution and counter-revolution. The Cultural Revolution was launched with the aim of preventing and combating revisionism. For a proletarian party in power, it is of course necessary to be constantly on guard against going down the revisionist road characterized by oppression of the people at home and pursuit of hegemony abroad. But the point is that, at the time when the Cultural Revolution was launched, the estimate made of the situation within the Party and the country ran counter to reality, no accurate definition was given of revisionism, and an erroneous policy and method of struggle were adopted, deviating from the principle of democratic centralism. Driven by counter-revolutionary motives, Lin Biao, the gang of four and other conspirators and careerists exploited these errors, pushed things to the extreme and formulated and pursued an ultra-Left line. They engaged in "overthrowing everything and launching an all-out civil war," usurping the Party leadership and staging a coup to seize power. They attempted to undermine the foundation of our socialist system, subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat, destroy the leadership of the Party, adulterate Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and plunge our country once again into the division and chaos abhorred by the people, into blood-baths and terror. The havoc which the counter-revolutionary gang wrought for ten long years spelt calamity for our people and constituted the most severe reversal to our socialist cause since the founding of the People's Republic. Their conspiratorial activities were entirely different in nature from the errors committed by our Party. They were the most vicious enemies of the entire people, and it was impossible to settle their case through inner-Party struggle. By overthrowing the gang of four, we rescued our Party and state from disaster, swept aside the biggest obstacle in our path to progress, brought our work back onto the right track under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and ushered in a new period in the development of our country.

Comrades and friends! As we celebrate the 30th anniversary of the founding of the People's

Republic, while acknowledging past mistakes and setbacks, we must at the same time fully appraise the achievements and the victories we have scored in overcoming difficulties and setbacks. As in the period of the democratic revolution, our Party and revolutionary people have not lost heart because of difficulties and setbacks. Instead, by summing up experience and drawing appropriate lessons, we have become more mature politically, and the revolution will develop more rapidly. "Difficulties and hardships help one achieve success." Only such an assessment of the past 30 years accords with historical facts, with revolutionary dialectics and with the unshakable, revolutionary optimism of the world outlook of proletarian fighters. Facts prove that in the three years since the overthrow of the gang of four, our political maturity and our understanding of the four fundamental principles have become incomparably greater than in the ten years of the Cultural Revolution and clearly surpass even those attained in the 17 years preceding it. This isn't strange at all. It is the immutable logic of social development and the irresistible trend of our times.

Socialism is historically a brand-new social system. Like everything else in the world, it goes through birth and growth. Compared to the capitalist system with its history of three to four hundred years, the socialist system is still in its infancy. Since China's feudal society has a particularly long history, our socialist society inevitably retains vestiges of the old society. Of course, our socialist system early showed vitality and promise. But it was still immature and imperfect. It was as yet unprepared to avert or resist such grave attack as the ten years of sabotage by Lin Biao and the gang of four. Now it has emerged victorious and it is learning how to prevent future attacks. Hence, it will grow stronger and healthier. We should cherish it more and redouble our efforts to bring into full play its intrinsic superiority and boundless potential in the course of its development. The emergence of the socialist system in China was not fortuitous but was the inevitable outcome of Chinese history. It was the decisive choice of the Chinese people in their hundreds of millions in the long years of their struggle. It is no longer a mere theory but a reality which the Chinese people are industriously building day and night. We firmly believe that socialism has a great future, we

firmly believe that the hundreds of millions of Chinese people have a great future.

Comrade Mao Zedong said: "The people, and the people alone, are the motive force in the making of world history." Socialism is the dynamic, creative undertaking of hundreds of millions of people. The dictatorship of the proletariat means democracy for the broadest masses and dictatorship over the tiny handful of enemies. The leadership of the Communist Party means leadership representing the interests of the people and carrying out their will. And Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought is the theoretical summing-up of the revolutionary experience of the people as well as a science rooted in a firm faith in the strength of the people. Thus, the source of strength of the four fundamental principles is the people, and to give them full scope it is necessary to rely on the people. All the achievements registered in our revolution and construction are the results of the united struggle of the broad masses led by the Party, and so is our victory in overcoming the sabotage and havoc wrought by our domestic and foreign enemies. Only by relying on criticism, supervision and help by the masses, can the mistakes we make in our work be corrected opportunely, fully and effectively. As long as our leaders and cadres at the different levels have the interests of the masses at heart, listen attentively to the voices of the people, take the pulse of the nation, and sincerely accept their criticism, we will be able to make fewer mistakes in our work and it will be easier to correct those made, even serious ones. It is true that the people's interests have sometimes been seriously harmed as a result of mistakes in our work in certain periods since liberation. Yet even then our people still had full confidence in our Party and government and trusted our ability to correct our mistakes because the Party had established flesh-and-blood ties with them in the course of prolonged struggles and they had been educated in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought over the years. We did eventually correct our mistakes and have not let the people down. As we celebrate the 30th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic, we must firmly bear in mind our historical experience and lessons, uphold the four fundamental principles, be resolute and bold in checking all evil tendencies that alienate the masses, always maintain close contact with the people, and always have faith in and rely on their wisdom and strength. Then our cause will be ever victorious.

A Decisive Battle for the Nation's Destiny

In the decade of the Cultural Revolution, the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people waged intense, sharp and complex struggles against the two counter-revolutionary, conspiratorial cliques of Lin Biao and the gang of four. It was a struggle between the usurpers of power and the restorationists on the one hand and their opponents on the other. This decisive battle for the nation's destiny ended in utter defeat for the former and victory for our Party and people, for socialism. On the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic, we warmly hail the triumphant overthrow of Lin Biao and the gang of four and the significant achievements registered in the three years since the downfall of the gang.

Under the dictatorship of the proletariat and in face of the Chinese people, who resolutely uphold Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, Lin Biao and the gang of four had to camouflage themselves in order to realize their counter-revolutionary schemes. Flaunting the banner of "revolution," they deliberately concocted and pushed an ultra-Left line. Therefore, our struggle against them is a struggle both to expose and smash their counter-revolutionary schemes and to criticize and liquidate their ultra-Left line. The whole Party, army and people have already done much in this regard. The counter-revolutionary nature of these two conspiratorial cliques has been clearly underlined at the 11th Congress of the Party and the Fifth National People's Congress. Now, we must lay stress on analysing and criticizing their ultra-Left line and conscientiously sum up our experience in the struggle against them in order to prevent the recurrence of similar counter-revolutionary incidents and to ensure healthy, sustained progress of our country along the road of socialism in unity and stability.

What are the main characteristics of the ultra-Left line of Lin Biao and the gang of four?

In the sphere of ideology, they turned the relationship between the subjective and the objective and between mind and matter upside down, exaggerating to the extreme the reaction of social consciousness on social being, of the superstructure on the economic base and of the relations of production on the productive forces, in the belief that man could effect at will a so-called change or transformation of the superstructure and the relations of production.

They preached the theory that "men of genius decide everything" and treated revolutionary leaders as omniscient and omnipotent deities, whose every word is truth and must for ever be obeyed. They denied that it is the people who make history. They denied the decisive role of production, which is the fundamental activity of the masses, in the development of human history, and wantonly criticized the so-called "theory of the unique importance of the productive forces," that is, the fundamental principle of historical materialism. They held that classes should be distinguished according to people's ideological and political viewpoints and asserted that even after the system of exploitation had been abolished, socialist society was still, and would for ever be, seething with their brand of "class struggle," which remained and would always remain the one and only motive force behind the development of socialist society. According to them, this kind of class struggle should be used to "decide everything, replace everything, push aside everything and overthrow everything." In this way, they passed off idealism and metaphysics as materialism and dialectics, historical idealism as historical materialism, and their utterly ridiculous pseudo-socialism as scientific socialism.

In the sphere of politics, they concocted the theory of "new changes in class relations," loudly asserting that a bourgeois class had formed inside the Party. They conjured up the counter-revolutionary formula which equated veteran cadres with democrats and democrats with capitalist-roaders, thus making the key members in the leadership of our Party, government and army at all levels the target of the so-called "continued revolution" and the state apparatus of the dictatorship of the proletariat the target for "thorough smashing." They distorted and wrote off the whole history of the Party and the People's Republic and dismissed at one stroke all the arduous achievements of the people in their hundreds of millions under the socialist system as "revisionism" or "capitalism." They put forth the reactionary slogan of "all-round dictatorship" and repudiated the thesis that the dictatorship of the proletariat is historically the broadest form of democracy for the people. They undermined democracy in the Party and the state at its very base and, to the extent permitted by their power, imposed a counter-revolutionary, fascist dictatorship. The main force they relied on was a handful of

careerists, adventurists, opportunists who had sold their souls, political degenerates and the hooligan dregs of society. The coming together and expansion of this handful of anti-socialist elements was the inevitable outcome of the kind of class struggle they invented. All this grew into a theoretical programme and plan of action for their all-round seizure of power from the proletarian Party and the socialist state and their suppression of the people of every nationality and of every social stratum. And it brought about a most abnormal situation in the political life of the Party and the state, in which though a minority they could force their will on the overwhelming majority.

In the sphere of economics, they were against developing the productive forces and wanted to supplant production with their so-called "class struggle." They vilified the four modernizations as "Westernization" and "capitalist transformation," slandered the measures to develop production, promote economic prosperity and improve the material and cultural life of the masses as "revisionism" or "capitalism," and labelled the study of the advanced experience of foreign countries, the introduction of advanced technology and the expansion of foreign trade as "worshipping things foreign and fawning on foreigners" and "national betrayal." They argued that there was no need for a material base for the consolidation and development of the socialist system. They put forward a series of perverse slogans to disrupt production, such as "Don't produce for the erroneous line." They abused the workers and peasants who worked hard as "helping the capitalist-roaders to present a deceptive picture of prosperity." They freely distorted the true sense of "bourgeois right" mentioned by Marx, insisted that the principle "to each according to his work" was the economic source of capitalism and wished to replace this principle with egalitarianism, which was reactionary. They denied the basic correspondence between the socialist relations of production and the growth of the productive forces. They were against maintaining the relative stability of the socialist relations of production and did all they could to advocate a "pauper's transition (to higher stages of collectivization)" which went beyond the actual level of development of the productive forces and objective needs. All this could not but lead to the wrecking of the socialist productive forces and relations of production.

In the sphere of culture, they engaged in large-scale disruptive activities under the

banner of cultural revolution, causing irretrievable losses to our culture in many respects. By exercising so-called "all-round dictatorship" in the cultural field, they annulled the policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom, letting a hundred schools of thought contend" and deprived the people of the freedoms of speech, publication, teaching, research and artistic creation and performance. Under the pretext of "opposing feudalism, capitalism and revisionism," they preached the fantastic nonsense that "the more knowledge one acquires the more reactionary one becomes," wilfully destroying our historical and cultural heritage and our socialist culture. Their cultural autocracy and nihilism made our socialist culture, education and science regress to the level of many years ago.

In the sphere of organization, they dished up the reactionary slogan of "kicking aside the Party committee to make revolution" and undermined the organizational principle and discipline of the proletarian Party, the organs of the Party, government and mass organizations at all levels, the Party's ties with the masses, the fine traditions of the People's Liberation Army and its relations with the government and the people. They incited factionalism, legitimized factional activities in the Party and army, rigged up their factional setup and substituted it for the Party. Their organizational line with its factionalist criterion for choosing cadres and the factional struggles they instigated to split the Party, the army, the masses and the people of all nationalities traumatized our Party and people.

Lin Biao and the gang of four did their utmost to incite anarchism and ultra-individualism, and incite beating, smashing and grabbing and large-scale armed clashes, thereby seriously upsetting our social and political stability and causing the loss of people's lives and property. They openly preached that "with power in our hands we have everything," and "nothing big can be achieved without lying," shamelessly advocating a scramble for power and lumpen politics. They slandered those who observed revolutionary order and discipline and studied and worked hard as "sheep" or "slaves." They made use of these reactionary, rotten, exploiting-class ideas to corrupt the cadres and the masses, poison our youth and encourage every kind of unhealthy practice and evil trend, thus perverting our fine revolutionary traditions and social morals.

Lin Biao and the gang of four were counter-revolutionary double-dealers. They used counter-revolutionary dual tactics against the Party and the people. This is one reason why they could go on the rampage with their ultra-Left line. They put on the most revolutionary facade and exploited the prestige of our revolutionary leader to whip up a kind of religious fanaticism. They described themselves as the ones who held the banner the highest, who followed Chairman Mao the most closely and who were for ever loyal to the leader and would for ever "act according to the principles" supposedly "laid down" by Chairman Mao. Because of the official positions they had held in the Central Committee of the Party at the time and also because of their manoeuvres, for a while they actually succeeded in hoodwinking a significant number of our cadres and people who lacked political experience and analytical ability. But in everything they did they set themselves against the overwhelming majority of the people in the Party and country, and consequently they had to combine deceit with extremely barbarous and terrorist practices. From the central down to the grass-roots level almost all leading cadres and many other cadres, famous model workers on every front and many other workers, peasants and revolutionary soldiers, suffered from frame-ups, attacks and persecution in varying degrees while their families and relatives also suffered because of

guilt by association. The same fate befell a large number of intellectuals, including almost all heads of educational institutions, professors, teachers, scientists, engineers, technicians, doctors, social scientists, writers, artists and journalists, many minority-nationality cadres and people, patriotic democratic personages and former industrialists and businessmen who have long co-operated with our Party, and returned overseas Chinese who love the motherland. It was an appalling catastrophe suffered by all our people.

In a word, the struggle of the Party and the people against Lin Biao and the gang of four was a struggle between revolution and counter-revolution and between upholding or destroying the socialist system, the dictatorship of the proletariat, Party leadership and Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. Lin Biao and the gang talked about socialism too, but theirs was a pseudo-socialism under which a handful could live in great luxury while the overwhelming majority would have to live in poverty indefinitely. They too talked about the dictatorship of the proletariat, but theirs was a feudal, fascist dictatorship of the most corrupt and sinister kind. They too talked about Party leadership, but theirs was actually the rule of a counter-revolutionary faction. They too talked about Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, but it was distorted, truncated, adul-

Paying tribute to the late Premier Zhou in the April 5 movement of 1976 in Tian An Men Square.



terated or concocted by them. The struggle of the Party and the people against Lin Biao and the gang of four was thus an irreconcilable, life-and-death struggle.

As soon as they surfaced, the disruptive activities of Lin Biao and the gang of four began to meet with resistance from many revolutionaries of the older generation and the mass of cadres and people. As the struggle deepened, their plot became exposed day by day, and more and more people saw them in their true colours and struggled against them on an ever increasing scale. The Central Committee of the Party headed by Comrade Mao Zedong led the whole Party, army and people in exposing and smashing the counter-revolutionary clique of Lin Biao and then in criticizing and combating the gang of four. Under very complicated and difficult circumstances, Comrade Zhou Enlai waged a prolonged and most arduous struggle against Lin Biao and the gang. Comrades Deng Xiaoping, Hua Guofeng and some other veteran comrades also played a major role at different stages of the struggle. (Comrade Hua Guofeng: Comrades, here I wish to point out that Comrade Ye Jianying has played a major role in the struggle against Lin Biao and the gang of four and especially in the overthrow of the gang.) Standing on their side in the struggle and giving them powerful backing were the masses of the whole country, the vast numbers of Party members and cadres, and the People's Liberation Army led by the Party. The revolutionary mass movements which occurred in Beijing's Tian An Men Square and other parts of the country around April 5, 1976 provided the mass support for the final overthrow of the gang of four. In October 1976 the Central Committee of the Party headed by Comrade Hua Guofeng, giving expression to the will of the people, smashed the gang at one blow, thus ending this mammoth ten-year-long struggle between revolution and counter-revolution with a resounding victory for the Chinese people.

In the three years since the overthrow of the gang, our Party has led the entire people in removing numerous obstacles and performing many arduous tasks with brilliant results. The situation has improved even more quickly since the Third Plenary Session of the Party's 11th Central Committee, at which the decision was made to shift the focus of the work of the Party and the state to socialist modernization. That portion of power seized by the gang of four and their factional setup has now been recovered by the Party and the people, and the counter-revolutionary faction itself has in the

main been destroyed. The Party's correct line and policies, once gravely sabotaged, are now being carried out on all fronts after things were set right. Whereas there wasn't a corner of the country without its cases of people who had been unjustly charged by Lin Biao and the gang of four, and the rights and wrongs of many important historical issues had become confused, today most of these injustices have been redressed and most questions of right and wrong clarified. Whereas socialist democracy and socialist legality were trampled upon, democracy has now been reactivated in the life of the Party and the state, and Party discipline is being steadily strengthened, as is state legislative and judicial work. Whereas there was unceasing political turmoil, stability and unity have now been established in the whole country and are being strengthened and developed. The national economy, once brought to the brink of bankruptcy, is now recovering and progressing fairly quickly. The living conditions of the people are beginning to improve, and the cadres and the broad masses are striving to speed up the four modernizations. Whereas idealism and metaphysics were rampant, people's mental shackles have now been smashed and the principles of emancipating the mind and of seeking truth from facts are being revived. All this shows that we have basically set right things once turned upside down by Lin Biao and the gang of four.

*Where the path seemed to end, barred by
hill and stream,*

*Another village came in view, charming
with willows and flowers.*

Indeed, the great victory in this struggle has opened up new vistas before our Party and people and given new life to our socialist cause.

In order to consolidate and broaden our victory, we must continue the criticism of the ultra-Left line of Lin Biao and the gang of four. This line, which held sway for a full decade, has left its pernicious stamp on the whole Party and country. The time we have spent in criticizing it is very short, and many people inside and outside the Party still don't have a clear understanding of its evil impact. Hence the need to deepen the criticism. As already pointed out, our struggle against Lin Biao and the gang was a struggle over whether to uphold or to destroy the four fundamental principles. Our efforts to set things right politically, ideologically and organizationally and to eliminate the pernicious influence of Lin Biao and the gang after their overthrow are

a continuation of this struggle. The more deeply and conscientiously we criticize their ultra-Left line, the better able we will be to correctly uphold the four principles. At the same time, only by upholding these principles will we be able to have the ideological weapon needed to eradicate their pernicious influence. We still have a lot to do inside the Party and among the people to thoroughly expose and criticize the anti-Marxist, anti-socialist, anti-Party and anti-popular nature of their ultra-Left line. This will immensely enhance the political consciousness of our Party members and the people at large and strengthen the unity of the whole Party and people on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.

The disruptive activities of Lin Biao and the gang of four have taught the whole Party and the whole nation very profound lessons by negative example. What are the main lessons to be drawn?

First, for socialism to replace capitalism, we must liberate the productive forces and achieve a constantly rising labour productivity to meet the people's material and cultural needs. This is the fundamental aim of socialist revolution. Once the proletariat has seized political power in a country, and especially after the establishment of the socialist system, it is imperative to place the focus of work squarely on economic construction, actively expand the productive forces and gradually improve the people's standard of living. Short of a massive invasion by an external enemy, we must never be diverted from this focus by interference of one kind or another.

Second, it is necessary to make a scientific analysis — one which conforms to objective reality — of the internal class situation and class struggle after the establishment of the socialist system and adopt correct policies and measures accordingly. Class struggle still exists to a certain extent after the exploiters in our country no longer exist as classes. While rejecting the view that class struggle no longer exists, we must oppose the view that magnifies it, to say nothing of creating so-called class



Beijing students celebrating the victory over the gang of four in 1976.

struggles out of the void. We must strictly distinguish between the two different types of contradictions and never mistake contradictions among the people for those with the enemy, still less conduct inner-Party struggle the way we fight the enemy. This is the only way to maintain a social and political situation characterized by stability and unity.

Third, we must have a correct understanding of the interrelationship between the masses, classes, political parties and leaders; this is of special importance in a socialist society. Marxism acknowledges that leaders play an important, or even an indispensable, role in historical development. At the same time, it holds that the leaders who play a progressive role are those who represent the interests of the masses and execute their will. According to Lenin, the leadership of a proletarian party or of a socialist state usually consists not of a single person, but of a collective composed of people recognized as leaders. All organizations, whatever their level, need their own leaders, who rise naturally in the course of mass struggle concomitantly with their prestige. Leaders are not gods. They are not infallible and therefore should not be deified. It is impermissible to belittle the collective or the masses or to exaggerate the role of individual leaders. We must give full scope to democracy in the life of the Party and the state, adhere to democratic centralism in organizations at all levels and exercise collective leadership. We must not allow a few people to have the final say, nor should any individual lay down the law. Even less can we permit any individual to place himself above the organization and the masses.

Fourth, we must further improve both Party discipline and the socialist legal system, ensure democratic rights to all Party members and citizens, and see to it that inner-Party democracy and socialist democracy are institutionalized and guaranteed by law. All Party members, from leaders to rank and file, are equal with respect to Party discipline, and all people, from state leaders to the ordinary citizen, are equal before the law of the land. It is absolutely impermissible to have any privileged Party members or special citizens not subject to Party discipline or state law; there must be no prerogatives transcending Party discipline and state law.

Through the struggle waged against Lin Biao and the gang of four, our people have greatly enhanced their political consciousness and their concern for affairs of state, increased their ability to tell right from wrong and to distinguish genuine from sham socialism and real Marxism from false. They have enhanced their ability to fight counter-revolutionaries in disguise and defend true socialist economics and politics. These are invaluable gains. The theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought becomes a tremendous material force

once it is really grasped by the masses through their struggles. It is our belief that as long as the Party and government, together with the people in their hundreds of millions, persist in comprehensively and accurately studying and applying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought as a scientific system, conscientiously learn from the past experience and continue to accumulate fresh experience from practice, we will surely be able to guarantee the correctness of Party leadership and the purity of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and surely be able to further improve our socialist system, make it ever more consolidated, and leave no loopholes that might be exploited by careerists and conspirators to usurp Party and state leadership. Of course, this does not mean that our future development will always be straightforward, without any twists or turns, rather it means that it will be entirely possible for us to have the power and means to avoid the recurrence of such grave counter-revolutionary incidents as those of Lin Biao and the gang of four. Therefore, we have every reason to say that our victory in the struggle against Lin Biao and the gang is a historic victory — an irreversible and decisive victory — in the development of our Party and country.

Advance Towards the Great Goal of the Four Modernizations

Both the 11th National Congress of the Party and the First Session of the Fifth National People's Congress set the goal of achieving the modernization of our agriculture, industry, national defence, and science and technology by the end of this century; the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the Party and the Second Session of the Fifth National People's Congress decided to shift the focus of the work of the whole Party and the whole nation to socialist modernization, beginning from 1979. The task now facing us is to unite the people of all nationalities and bring into play all positive factors so that we can work with one heart and one mind and go all out, aim high and achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results in building a modern, powerful, socialist country:

The realization of the four modernizations means gradually turning China's agriculture into a developed agricultural system with a rational distribution and all-round development of

farming, forestry, animal husbandry, side-line occupations and fisheries meeting the needs of the people and of an expanding industry. It means enabling the rural areas gradually to grow into rich bases combining agriculture, industry and commerce. It means gradually turning our industry into an advanced industrial system which is complete in range and rational in structure and which meets the needs of consumers and the expansion of the whole economy. It means that China will gradually take its place in the front ranks of the world in terms of gross national product and output of major products. It means enabling China's science and technology to approach or catch up with advanced world levels. It means that our people will enjoy stable and gradual improvement in their material and cultural well-being as production increases. And it means that China will raise her national defence capabilities concomitantly with her economic development and be strong enough to defend her

security and resist and defeat foreign aggressors in case of a modern war. The realization of the four modernizations in China will inevitably go through a process, advancing from the elementary to the higher stages. But what is certain is that we can achieve those things which the world's advanced countries have done and which we must also do. This is beyond the shadow of a doubt.

We must proceed from China's realities, make a careful study of the laws of economics and the laws of nature, and open up a path to modernization suited to China's specific conditions and features. China is a populous country with a vast territory and rich natural resources. But as her economy, technology and education are relatively backward and as we have lost time in the past, we are faced with many difficulties. We must do a good job in combining our efforts to speed up economic development with the step-by-step raising of the living standards of the hundreds of millions of our people and in combining the full use of existing enterprises with the energetic introduction of advanced technology from abroad. Given China's vast territory and her vast regional variations, the pace of modernization cannot be even. Under the guidance of the country's unified planning, the different areas must work hard to create concrete forms, measures and methods in accordance with their own specific features so as to reach the general goal of the four modernizations.

By the four modernizations, we mean the four major aspects of modernization and not

that modernizing is confined to these four aspects. Along with the reform and improvement of the socialist economic system, we will reform and improve the socialist political system and develop an advanced socialist democracy and a complete socialist legal system. While building an advanced material civilization, we want to raise the educational, scientific, cultural and health levels of the whole nation, foster lofty revolutionary ideals and morals, develop a rich and many-sided cultural life, and thus build an advanced socialist civilization. These are important objectives as well as necessary conditions for the realization of the four modernizations.

At present, the four modernizations constitute the pivot of our political life. The security of the state, social stability and a better material and cultural life for our people all hinge ultimately on the success of modernization, on the growth of production. Our work in every field must revolve around and serve modernization. The work of every district, every department and every unit, right down to every single individual, as well as the credit due to it, will be judged by its direct and indirect contribution to modernization. All cadres and the entire people must go all out and concentrate on this great cause of construction, making the most of every minute and every second. Efforts must be made to increase production, practise economy, combat waste, raise efficiency, introduce technical innovations, continually tap production potential and open up new fields of production to increase social

Explaining how television works to Shanghai youngsters.



Veteran local opera actor coaching young actress.



wealth. Meanwhile, in order to benefit from the development of production and improve the living standards of the people more quickly, it is necessary to continue to improve the work on family planning and markedly reduce the natural rate of growth of the population. In short, we must devise every possible way to secure a sustained, proportionate and high-speed development of the economy.

In his report on the work of the government delivered at the Second Session of the Fifth National People's Congress, Comrade Hua Guofeng stated in explicit terms that the first battle in our drive for modernization following the shift in the focus of the nation's work is the three-year battle for the readjustment, restructuring, consolidation and improvement of the economy. We have started on the task of readjustment and still face heavy tasks ahead. As a result of the sabotage by Lin Biao and the gang of four which extended over ten years, the disproportionality in our national economy is still very serious. We must adequately assess the situation, show unity in thinking and action, and accomplish the task of readjustment through steadfast and down-to-earth work. In order to strike an overall balance, the national financial and material resources must be allotted in accordance with the principle of giving priority to production of finished goods over capital construction and to tapping existing potential over starting new projects. Only thus can we place our plan for production and capital construction on a positive and reliable foundation and ensure a steady and proportionate development of the whole economy. We must resolutely curtail capital construction and concentrate on speeding up production in agriculture, light industry (including textiles), the fuel and power industries, transport and communications, and other weak links in our economy. Only thus can we make rapid progress on a reliable foundation. Our existing industrial enterprises are by no means small in scale and have a lot of fairly advanced equipment, and yet productivity remains low. Therefore, we must strive to achieve good results in the consolidation of existing enterprises and raise their production, technical knowhow and management skills to much higher levels. We must carry out reforms in the structure of economic management step by step so as to give full play to the initiative of the central departments and local authorities concerned as well as of the enterprises and workers. Enterprises must be given

greater power of decision in production, management, allocation of funds, control of materials, assignment of the labour force, distribution of income and other matters. Their income will be closely linked with the quality of management, and the earnings of workers will be closely linked with their contribution to the state and the enterprise. The scope for decision-making in economic affairs in the localities will also be appropriately broadened under the unified central leadership.

In order to make our economic development and readjustment a success, we must carry out our campaign to increase production and practise economy, and do so in a big, unflagging and deep-going way. Since the beginning of this year, the masses of our people, scientists, technicians and cadres working in agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry and fisheries, industry—including construction, transport and communications—commerce and service trades, have registered signal achievements in the campaign, and a host of model workers, "shock workers" in the new Long March and "March 8th" red-banner pace-setters have emerged. Here I wish to extend thanks to these comrades on behalf of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and the State Council. We hope that they will one and all persevere in their endeavours and score still greater successes.

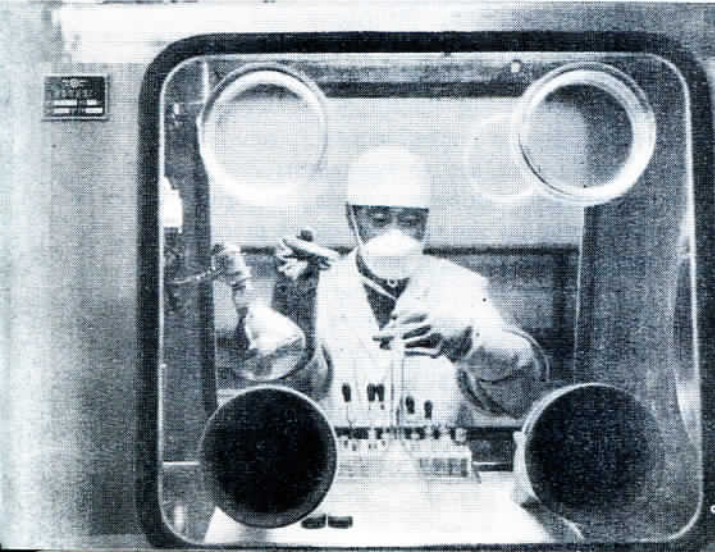
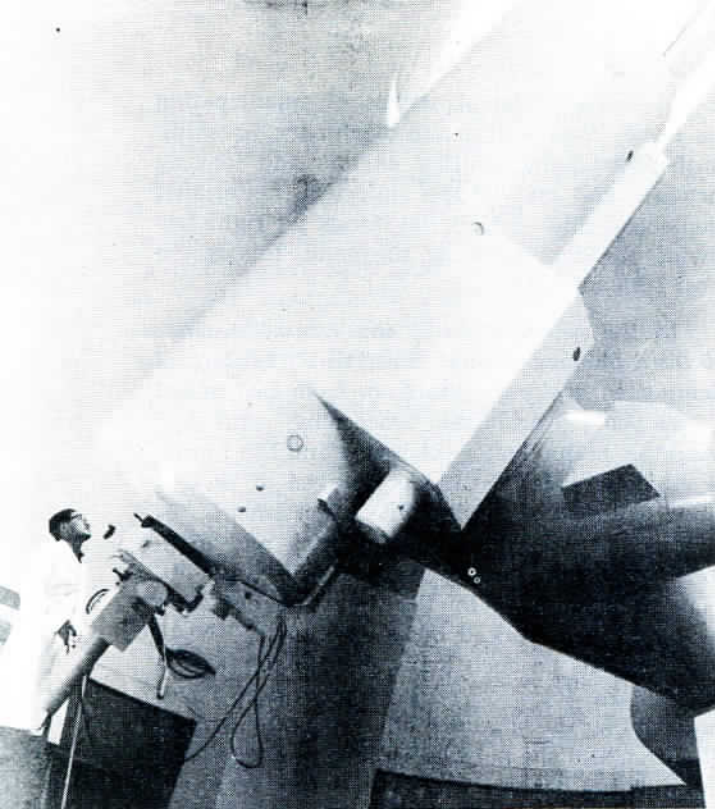
Practice since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee and the Second Session of the Fifth National People's Congress proves that, in order to ensure the success of our political line and our policies and tasks for realizing the four modernizations, we must continue our ideological and organizational work and conscientiously solve the problems relating to the ideological and organizational lines.

Under the leadership of Comrade Mao Zedong, our Party laid down a dialectical materialist ideological line in the course of long revolutionary practice, and particularly through the Yanan Rectification Movement. This line means proceeding from reality in everything we do, seeking truth from facts and linking theory with practice. These are the fundamentals of the proletarian world outlook and the quintessence of Mao Zedong Thought. They are also the foundation on which our Party formulates its political line and its principles and policies as well as the guarantee for correctly understanding and carrying them out. As Comrade Mao Zedong said in *On Practice*:

"The truth of any knowledge or theory is determined not by subjective feelings, but by objective results in social practice. Only social practice can be the criterion of truth. The standpoint of practice is the primary and basic standpoint in the dialectical-materialist theory of knowledge." Later, when strongly criticizing subjectivism, which does not proceed from objective reality, he pointed out: "This subjectivist method which is contrary to science and Marxism-Leninism is a formidable enemy of the Communist Party, the working class, the people and the nation; it is a manifestation of impurity in Party spirit. A formidable enemy stands before us, and we must overthrow him. Only when subjectivism is overthrown can the truth of Marxism-Leninism prevail, can Party spirit be strengthened, can the revolution be victorious." After the founding of the People's Republic, he repeatedly admonished us on the need to promote intensive education on the source of correct thinking and the criterion of truth, for this alone would help us correctly sum up experience, overcome difficulties, reduce mistakes and make a success of our work in socialist construction. The ideological line of dialectical materialism has played a tremendous role in unifying the thinking and action of the whole Party, resolving new problems and ensuring victory for revolution and construction under very complex circumstances in the various phases of our revolution. This ideological line was gravely sabotaged by Lin Biao and the gang of four. It was inevitable that we should encounter resistance and had to wage serious struggles when we started to reinstate this line after the overthrow of the gang of four. To counter the erroneous attitude that treats Mao Zedong Thought as a dogma, the Third Plenary Session of the Tenth Party Central Committee and the 11th Party Congress in 1977 advocated the comprehensive and accurate understanding and application of Mao Zedong Thought as a scientific system and called for the revival of the Party's tradition of seeking truth from facts. The nationwide discussions started in May last year on the criterion of truth helped people break loose from the mental shackles imposed by Lin Biao and the gang of four, did much to emancipate people's minds, and prepared the way ideologically for the convocation of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee. This session highly evaluated the significance of these discussions. It explicitly confirmed the unshakable, fundamental Marxist epistemological tenet that practice is the sole criterion of truth.

It put forward the principles of emancipating the mind, "starting up the machinery," seeking truth from facts, uniting as one and looking forward, and revived the dialectical materialist ideological line. Of all the things set right following the overthrow of the gang, this is the most fundamental.

In the recent period, and especially since its third plenary session, the 11th Party Central Committee, seeking truth from facts, has solved a number of problems concerning right and wrong in major historical issues and the merits of important leaders; it has changed or revised some theoretical viewpoints, assessments of political situations, political slogans and principles and policies that do not tally with objective facts; and, in the light of objective reality, it has worked out new Marxist theses and decisions on such important matters as the shift in the focus of work of the whole Party and nation, the analysis of the domestic class situation, and the policies and tasks in economic and cultural construction. All this is very correct and necessary and has won warm support from the whole nation. It fully demonstrates that the Central Committee is leading the whole Party and the people of all nationalities in removing all obstacles and has really restored the original spirit of Mao Zedong Thought, holding high its great banner and inheriting and developing it as a scientific system. I would like to ask comrades to consider whether the Chinese revolution could have been victorious if, after the failure of the Great Revolution in 1927 and after the Zunyi Meeting, Comrade Mao Zedong had not taken stock of the actual conditions and combated book worship and dogmatism but had instead acted according to what was written in the books. Would there ever be such a thing as Mao Zedong Thought today? By the same token, after the overthrow of the gang of four, if the Central Committee of the Party had not taken stock of the actual conditions at home and abroad and resolutely opposed the bogus formula of "acting for ever in accordance with the principles laid down," but had just followed what was written in the books, would it have been possible for us to set things right, carry on the interrupted revolutionary cause and quickly revive and develop the socialist cause pioneered by Comrade Mao Zedong and his comrades-in-arms? How would it have been possible for us to adapt ourselves to the new situation and formulate and carry out policies and measures suited to objective reality, and thus steadily push forward the four modernizations?



The matter is quite clear. Whether or not to uphold Comrade Mao Zedong's dialectical materialist ideological line means, in essence, whether or not to hold high the banner of Mao Zedong Thought in real earnest. To insist on proceeding from actual conditions, seeking truth from facts and integrating theory with practice is the only way to achieve a comprehensive and accurate grasp of Mao Zedong Thought as a scientific system, to integrate the basic principles of Mao Zedong Thought with our practice in modernization and our internal and external struggles and to further the development of Mao Zedong Thought. This alone is the true meaning of holding high the banner of Mao Zedong Thought in real earnest. Otherwise, if Mao Zedong Thought were to be turned into a dogma divorced from objective reality, its vitality would be stifled, the socialist cause would fail, and as for holding the banner high it would be out of the question.

The great majority of our cadres and the masses support the Party's political and ideological line, keep abreast of the changing domestic situation and are engaging actively in its development. But there is a small minority both inside and outside the Party which has failed to keep pace with the situation and which either remains where it was or has deviated from the revolutionary course, and an erroneous trend of scepticism about the Party line and policies with either a "Leftist" or Rightist slant has emerged. There is nothing surprising about this at a moment of historic change. With most of the people concerned it is an ideological problem, a matter of re-studying and re-education. As long as we strengthen ideological and political work and warmly and patiently help them raise their understanding, they will be able to catch up quickly. We should conduct deep-going study and discussion of the question of the criterion of truth and promote education in the dialectical materialist ideological line on a national scale, on all fronts and in all trades, from the leading organs down to the grass roots. Top leading cadres in particular should take the lead in emancipating the mind and taking a clear-cut stand. It is the responsibility of the leadership to give ideological guidance to the

Left (from top to bottom):

- New one-metre telescope in the Yunnan Observatory.
- Scientists discussing the building of a 50-GeV proton synchrotron.
- Experimenting with technology of transplutonium elements in an atomic energy laboratory.

masses of cadres and people, so that they may keep to the political line of the four modernizations.

In education in the ideological line we must get down to realities and not conduct it in a formalistic way. We must proceed from the objective state of affairs and tackle actual problems which remain unsolved owing to failure in emancipating the mind. This applies, in the broad sense, to every front, every department and every locality and, in the narrower sense, to every production team, every workshop, every retail store, every school, every research unit and every army company.

The purpose of emancipating the mind is, in the last analysis, to unite the whole Party and the whole nation in bringing about the four modernizations in a planned, realistic and systematic way. It means opposing idealism and upholding materialism. It definitely does not mean doing things according to one's own whims or in a blind and reckless way. We must reject all boasting, lying, exaggeration and empty talk. Emancipating the mind means studying and respecting objective laws and acting in accordance with these laws. We should study not only the general laws governing socialist construction as a whole but also the specific laws governing the different fields of our construction work. We must not only study our own experience but also critically study the relevant experience of foreign countries. We must thoroughly study the new problems encountered in our advance and explore the best ways to develop the productive forces, enhance the people's enthusiasm for work and raise their living standards; we must readjust and reform our economic structure, management system and methods of work. In solving problems, we must continue to employ the proven Marxist methods of investigation into typical cases, "dissecting a sparrow," and conducting experiments before doing anything on a large scale. We must see to it that we really have a grasp of the situation, high resolve and correct methods and that we minimize detours and avoid big detours and so reach our goal fairly smoothly.

Our political line must be based on our ideological line and its implementation must be ensured by an organizational line. The strengthening of leading bodies at various levels and the reform of our cadre system have become quite urgent and should now be placed on the agenda.

One important question, a key question, is the political and ideological state and vocational competence of the cadres in leading posts at various levels, especially those in key leading posts, that is, whether or not they can firmly carry out the Party line, principles and policies and give effective leadership to the drive for modernization. As to the requirements for our cadres, we must resolutely observe the criteria laid down by our Party and Comrade Mao Zedong. For the present, we should particularly stress three requirements for the leading cadres at all levels: First, they must resolutely support the Party's political and ideological lines; second, they must be selfless and strictly abide by the law and discipline, uphold the Party principle and eradicate factionalism; third, they must have a strong revolutionary dedication and sense of political responsibility as well as vocational competence. We should commend and assign to responsible posts those fine cadres who are devoted to the four modernizations, who have emancipated their minds and are ready to study and explore and constantly improve their vocational knowledge, who play an exemplary role, uphold Party principle, are self-disciplined and heed the opinions of the masses and who work hard in a down-to-earth and creative manner. We should help those comrades whose minds are ossified or semi-ossified to return to the correct ideological line and to raise their understanding of the Party's political line, principles and policies. We should unite as many cadres as possible, including those who have made serious mistakes but are genuinely ready to make amends, to work together under the correct line. The very small number of cadres who, after patient education, still persist in their errors and in factional activities and those who have lost their revolutionary dedication and sense of political responsibility will be dealt with by necessary organizational measures. We can't let them obstruct the implementation of the Party's line, principles and policies. We must select outstanding people to strengthen the leading bodies at various levels, thus making our organizational setup equal to the political task of achieving the four modernizations.

Our cadres, and especially those in the leading bodies at various levels, must as far as possible be joined by middle-aged and young people. Old cadres are long-tested and well experienced, and the majority of them are representative of the Party's fine traditions in many ways; they are the mainstay of our cause.

But it must be admitted that they are advanced in age and that their strength is failing. Middle-aged and young cadres are too few in number in the existing leading bodies. Summing up our past experience in selecting and promoting cadres, we must make up our minds to promote to leading posts within a given period of time a large number of fine cadres in the prime of life who have stood the test of practice and won the support of the masses. A growing number of young or relatively young cadres, guided and helped by old cadres and under the supervision of the masses, should be allowed to take up responsibilities in all fields of endeavour.

Our cadres, and especially the leading cadres at all levels, must strive to acquire the necessary scientific knowledge and skills. It is impossible to give competent leadership to modernization efforts if one does not study hard and acquire scientific knowledge. The development of a modern economy, modern culture and modern politics demands a gradual change in the composition of our cadre contingent with a reduction in the general run of administrative cadres and an increase in the number of specialist cadres in all trades and professions, such as engineers, technicians, agronomists, animal husbandry specialists, managers, scientists, teachers, doctors, judges, lawyers and artists. Intellectuals specializing in one field or another should be unhesitatingly employed and promoted to responsible posts, so that they may play their full role. Comrade Mao Zedong said long ago: "If we Communists

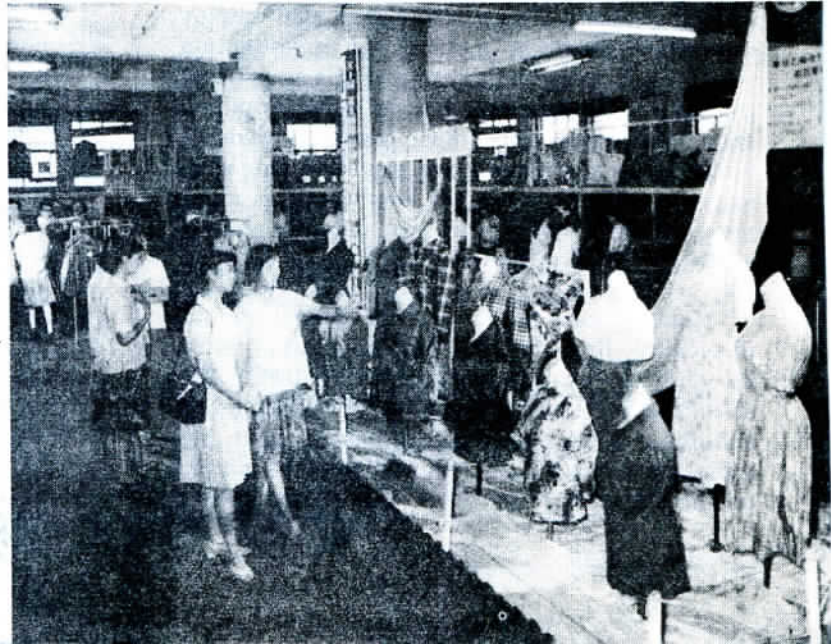
show no interest in industry and the economy and are not good at any other useful work, if we know nothing about these things and are capable of nothing, except 'revolutionary work' in the abstract, this kind of revolutionary is of no use at all. We must oppose this kind of good-for-nothing revolutionary and learn all kinds of technical knowledge that will help China's industrialization." Today, this question has become especially acute. We must master the science of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, and we must study hard and master natural science, technology, the science of management and the different branches of social science. Leading cadres in all trades and professions, particularly young leading cadres, must all strive to become experts in their own fields of endeavour so as to meet the demands of modernization. Those who rest content with being laymen and indulge in political claptrap certainly can't run the country but can only ruin it. We will begin to conduct and institutionalize the periodic training of existing cadres in Party schools, secondary vocational schools, institutions of higher learning and training courses. Every one of our cadres should study science and apply it in his work and should make tenacious efforts to this end, even to the point of forgetting food and sleep, setting an example which will move the whole nation in the great march to master modern science and culture.

At present there are serious shortcomings in our cadre system, which are hardly con-

Commune members in Sichuan Province receiving advance cash payments.



Shanghai No. 1 Department Store.



ductive to the discovery, selection and training of bright people or to gradually lowering the average age of our cadres and to raising their professional competence. Furthermore, it tends to stifle and waste many talents. We must work out a plan, take firm and effective measures and carry out the necessary reforms.

Our ideological, political and organizational lines reflect the will and interests of the people. Their formation and development are based on the practice of the masses of the people. Therefore, adhering to the correct ideological, political and organizational lines means adhering to the line of relying on the masses in everything and doing everything for them.

To rely on the masses and arouse their enthusiasm, it is first of all necessary to give full rein to socialist democracy and guarantee that they really have the power to participate in the management of state affairs and the affairs of their own work units. The power of our leading cadres at every level is conferred by the people. The people are the masters of the state and society, while we are their servants. We must use the power entrusted to us by the people to work wholeheartedly for their interests. If those empowered by the people are not responsible to the people or set their responsibility to the higher levels against their responsibility to the people and if they do not pitch into the work of modernization but turn a deaf ear to the voice of the masses, reject

their criticism and fail to carry out their will, then they are turning the relationship between the masters and the public servants upside down, thus disqualifying themselves as public servants. In that case, the people have the right to take back the power entrusted to them.

Our cadres at all levels must always concern themselves with the well-being of the masses and protect the legitimate political and economic rights and interests of the people. Of course, the people's material and cultural life can only be improved step by step along with the growth of production. As there still exist quite a few difficulties in our economy, problems accumulated over the years cannot be solved at once. We will gain the understanding of the people, however, if we make clear to them what the difficulties are and what steps we are going to take to solve them. But, with regard to such urgent problems as employment, housing, food, transport, environmental protection, labour protection, medical care, public nurseries, education of the young, reading facilities and recreation, the leading organs and leading cadres should try by every means to create the conditions for solving whatever can be solved through heightened effort. At the same time, Party and government functionaries, and the top leading cadres in particular, must not be allowed to abuse their positions and power to seek personal gain and privilege, political or material. We must firmly oppose

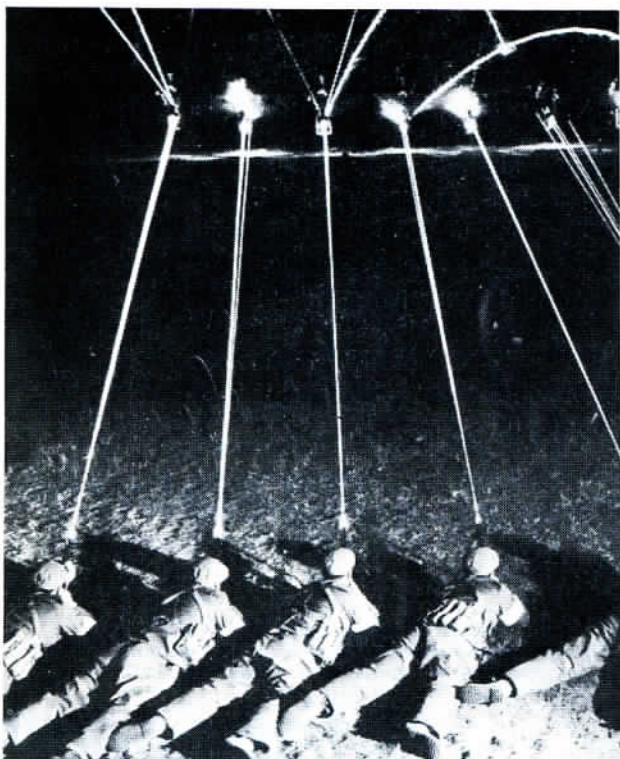
Left: Shanghai women textile workers with only one child are given certificates. (Local authorities give such one-child-only families a monthly health subsidy. These children are admitted into creches and kindergartens first and free of charge and are exempted from fees in primary and middle schools.) Right: Young basketballers in a factory-run nursery.



such unhealthy tendencies as pursuing special privileges, the practice of "going through the back door," self-seeking at the expense of the public interest or the interests of others, repression of criticism, and retaliation. Whoever violates Party discipline and state law must be duly dealt with.

All our cadres and people should have a strong sense of responsibility and work together to consolidate and develop the lively political situation of stability and unity. They should make concerted efforts to restore and carry forward the social morals: industry, courage, plain living, selflessness and dedication to the realization of the four modernizations. In

stressing the promotion of socialist democracy and the improvement of the socialist legal system, we want to ensure both democracy and centralism, both freedom and discipline and both personal ease of mind and unity of will. We must not stress one aspect to the neglect of the other. Only a balanced approach accords with the common desires and fundamental interests of the entire people. We must firmly and thoroughly eliminate the pernicious influence of factionalism, anarchism and ultra-individualism whipped up by Lin Biao and the gang of four. We must encourage our cadres and the masses to strictly observe discipline, take the public interest into account in whatever they do, safeguard public order and order in



Above left: Night practice.

Above: High-speed, high-altitude interceptors.

Left: Shore-to-ship guided missiles.

production and other work, and guarantee the unified leadership of the Party and state. We will carry through our task of redressing all injustices and see that the policies of the Party are well implemented in regard to each specific case. But there is a small number of people whose cases have been handled appropriately by the units concerned and among whom things have been explained and patient education has been conducted, and yet who persist in their unreasonable demands, stir up trouble, create disturbances and undermine social stability. Their unlawful acts must be punished according to law. This is necessary for the protection not only of social stability and the modernization programme but also of the vital interests of the broad masses.

Organizations like the trade unions, the Youth League and the women's federation are important representatives of the masses. They should exercise their functions energetically and independently and mobilize and organize the workers, youth and women to take an active part in socialist modernization, to exert themselves in the study of politics, technology and culture and to safeguard the interests of the state and collective. At the same time, they should resolutely safeguard the interests of the masses they represent, help solve their personal problems and combat bureaucracy which is indifferent to the well-being of the masses. Every institution in our socialist state and every organization led by our Party has its functions, powers and responsibilities, and none is mere window-dressing. Correct and effective leadership by the Party means ensuring that all institutions and organizations can work vigorously and in co-ordination and display their own initiative to the full.

The People's Liberation Army is the defender of the people's interests. It should strengthen its military and political training, enhance its combat capability and revolutionary consciousness. It should carry forward the glorious tradition of supporting the government and cherishing the people and strengthen its unity with the government and the people. Together with the people's militia, it should take an active part in and defend the four modernization programme and be vigilant at all times to guard the frontiers of our great motherland.

The People's Political Consultative Conferences at all levels and all democratic parties should strengthen their work and make still greater contributions to safeguarding the unity

of the motherland, enhancing the solidarity of the people and promoting socialist modernization.

Comrade Mao Zedong said: "The force at the core leading our cause forward is the Chinese Communist Party." The strength of the Chinese Communist Party lies in its long-standing unity with the workers, peasants and intellectuals of all nationalities and with all the democratic parties and patriotic forces of all nationalities. We must expand and strengthen the broadest possible united front of all socialist labourers, patriots supporting socialism and patriots supporting the reunification of the motherland in our effort to win new and still greater victories.

As we celebrate the 30th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic, our thoughts especially turn to our Taiwan compatriots. The return of Taiwan to the embrace of the motherland and the accomplishment of the country's reunification are the common aspiration of the entire Chinese people, including the people of Taiwan. Our Taiwan compatriots have a rich patriotic tradition and will surely make valuable contributions to the early accomplishment of this sacred cause. We hope that the Taiwan authorities will correctly appraise the situation, follow the trend of our times and advance jointly with us towards the reunification of the motherland.

Our struggle has all along enjoyed the sympathy and support of the people of other countries. We shall always bear this in mind and we thank them for this. Our modernization programme requires a peaceful international environment. On the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, we shall continue to maintain and develop friendly relations with other countries, promote exchanges in the fields of economy, technology and culture and win their co-operation in our national construction. We firmly support the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Korean people in their struggle for the independent and peaceful reunification of their fatherland; we firmly support the Government of Democratic Kampuchea and the Kampuchean people in their struggle against aggression and for state independence; we firmly support the ASEAN countries in their struggle to defend state independence and safeguard peace in Southeast Asia; we firmly support the people of all Arab countries and the Palestinian people in their struggle to strengthen unity and combat Israeli aggression and expansion; we firmly

support the people of African countries in their struggle against colonialism and racism in South Africa and Rhodesia; we firmly support the non-aligned countries in their struggle to uphold the basic principles and correct orientation of the non-aligned movement; and we firmly support the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America in their struggle to oppose all forms of imperialism, colonialism and domination, win national liberation, consolidate state independence, develop their national economies and establish a new international economic order. We will never seek hegemony and will never behave as a superpower. We uphold proletarian internationalism, uphold unity with the people of the world, uphold unity with the other socialist and third world countries and unite with all forces that can be united in the joint struggle to oppose hegemonism, safeguard world peace and strive for human progress.

Comrades and friends! We are living in a

great era which holds out a bright prospect for the future. We are engaged in a great cause never before undertaken by our predecessors. For over half a century, numerous martyrs have heroically laid down their lives, devoting everything to the cause of making China a prosperous and powerful socialist country. This ideal will surely become reality through our exertion. We hope that to realize this ideal the whole Party, the entire army and the people of all nationalities, integrating the interest of the individual with that of the motherland and linking the future of the individual to that of the motherland, will strive for the emancipation of the mind, unity and stability, and the four modernizations. Under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Party, the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and the State Council, let us unite as one, hold aloft the banner of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and march forward valiantly towards the magnificent goal of the four modernizations!

Communique

Of the Fourth Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China

September 28, 1979

THE 11th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China held its fourth plenary session in Beijing from September 25 to 28, 1979.

Present were 189 Members and 118 Alternate Members of the Central Committee. Chairman Hua Guofeng and Vice-Chairmen Ye Jianying, Deng Xiaoping, Li Xiannian, Chen Yun and Wang Dongxing of the C.P.C. Central Committee, and other Members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee attended. Sixteen other responsible comrades of the central organs and local Party committees were present as observers. Comrade Hua Guofeng presided over the session and made an important speech.

The plenary session took place shortly before the 30th anniversary of the founding of

the great People's Republic of China and in circumstances marked by a series of major victories won in the three years since the downfall of the gang of four and by the shift of focus in the Party's work to socialist modernization. The main task of the session was to discuss and approve the speech that Comrade Ye Jianying is to make on behalf of the Party Central Committee, the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and the State Council at the meeting to celebrate the 30th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China, and the Decisions of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on Some Questions Concerning the Acceleration of Agricultural Development.

The plenary session unanimously approved Comrade Ye Jianying's speech. It held that the

speech gives high appraisal to the immortal contributions of our great leader and teacher Comrade Mao Zedong, his close comrades-in-arms Comrades Zhou Enlai and Zhu De, and other proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation, gives a full review of the fighting course New China traversed in the 30 years after its founding, makes a profound criticism of the ultra-Left line which the counter-revolutionary conspiratorial cliques of Lin Biao and the gang of four deliberately invented and pushed, provides an initial summation of China's basic experience in socialist revolution and construction and clearly points out the direction for further implementation of the guidelines of the Third Plenary Session of the Party's 11th Central Committee and the Second Session of the Fifth National People's Congress. Before the speech was submitted to the plenary session for discussion, a wide section of Party members and a number of the leading members of the democratic parties and some non-Party personages had been asked to give their opinions. The speech is a historic document of great importance, one to guide the work of the whole Party, the whole army and the whole country for a long period. When it is delivered, it will inspire the whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country and encourage them greatly to unite as one and march valiantly towards the grand goal of socialist modernization.

The plenary session unanimously approved the Decisions of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on Some Questions Concerning the Acceleration of Agricultural Development. The draft of the decisions, which had been approved in principle by the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the Party and was studied, discussed and put into trial use throughout the country in the

past nine months, has been warmly welcomed by the peasant masses in their hundreds of millions and has produced splendid results. The present plenary session made necessary revisions in the draft on the basis of the results of nationwide discussions and trial implementation and after summing up the views of the masses and cadres. The analysis of the present state of China's agriculture, the summation of historical experience and the plans for modernizing agriculture made in the Decisions officially endorsed at the present plenary session conform to actual conditions and are correct; the principles and policies outlined in them meet the needs of China at the present stage in developing agricultural production and the wishes of the people. The plenary session was convinced that issuance and implementation of the Decisions would have a far-reaching influence on the following fields of work and give them great impetus—further emancipating the minds of the large numbers of rural cadres, fully mobilizing the enthusiasm of the hundreds of millions of peasants, consolidating and developing the excellent situation in the countryside, speeding up the growth of agriculture and realizing the four modernizations.

In order to enable a number of long-tested veteran comrades to play a more important role in the political life of the Party and the state, to strengthen the Party Central Committee's leadership and to meet the needs of the new situation and tasks, the plenary session, through consultation and secret ballot, elected 12 comrades—Wang Heshou, Liu Lanbo, Liu Lantao, An Ziwen, Li Chang, Yang Shangkun, Zhou Yang, Lu Dingyi, Hong Xuezhong, Peng Zhen, Jiang Nanxiang and Bo Yibo—additional Members of the Party Central Committee. This is subject to confirmation by the 12th National Congress of the Party. Comrade Zhao Ziyang, Alternate Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, and Comrade Peng Zhen, Member of the Central Committee, were elected Members of the Political Bureau.

The plenary session held that our present task is to unite the people of all nationalities of the country and mobilize all positive factors to work as one, go all out, aim high and build a modern and powerful socialist country with greater, faster, better and more economical results. The plenary session issued the following call to the whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country: Conscientiously study the important speech delivered by Comrade Ye Jianying at



Comrade Peng Zhen.



Comrade Zhao Ziyang.

the meeting to celebrate the 30th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China and act in its spirit, conscientiously study and implement the Decisions of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on Some Questions Concerning the Acceleration of Agricultural Development; keep deepening the criticism of the crimes of the counter-revolutionary conspiratorial cliques of Lin Biao and the gang of four in close combination with present realities, criticize the ultra-Left line they had invented and pushed deliberately and eradicate their poisonous influence, broaden and deepen the study and discussion of the question

Keep the Five-Star Red Flag Flying

by Wei Laigu

On the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China, "Beijing Review" has asked several well-known persons to write about their impressions. Following is the second of these articles. — Ed.

ON October 1, 1949 I had the honour of going up to the rostrum of Tian An Men and standing at the side of our great leader Comrade Mao Zedong. I personally heard him announce to the whole world the founding of the People's Republic of China and with my own eyes saw him hoist up the first five-star red flag.

The bright-coloured five-star red flag was the symbol of an independent, free, democratic New China towering in the East and heading towards prosperity and affluence to become a world power. It symbolized that the Chinese people, led by the Chinese Communist Party, had after many life-and-death struggles at long last stood up by toppling imperialism, feudalism

The author is a nationally famous Combat Hero and deputy chief of staff of an army unit of the People's Liberation Army.

of what is the criterion for testing truth, and resolutely unify thinking and action in accordance with the guidelines of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the Party and the Second Session of the Fifth National People's Congress; rally still more closely around the Party Central Committee and promote the emancipation of thinking, promote stability and unity and the four modernizations; and firmly implement the principle of readjusting, restructuring, consolidating and improving the national economy, and go all out and seize every minute to work for victory in the first battle for the four modernizations!



and bureaucrat-capitalism which weighed down on them like three big mountains.

As I raised my head and gazed up at the flag, tears began trickling down my cheeks and I said to myself: "From now on, the people are no longer 'slaves of a foreign nation.'"

I was born in Rongcheng County on the Shandong Peninsula, a beautiful, rich place once under the heel of the imperialists. Wherever these invaders went, they looted, raped and killed. My two uncles fled the place and joined the Eighth Route Army led by the Chinese Communist Party. The invaders, guided by some traitors in our village, searched my home, set it on fire and brutally beat up my grandparents. They threatened to take away their grandchild if they refused to reveal the whereabouts of their sons. I was at that time the only grandchild in the family and grandpa simply doted on me. To escape harassment, grandpa took me and other members of the family out every day to hide from the enemy. But this could not really solve the problem, so I left home secretly and also joined the Eighth Route Army.

That was in 1942 and I was just 16. I joined the Eighth Route Army because I didn't want to be a slave and I wanted to fight the Japanese invaders and punish the traitors who had betrayed my grandparents and parents. Educated by the Party, I came to understand that if we didn't want to be slaves, we must emancipate the whole Chinese nation, and the whole of mankind as well and to found a strong new China free of exploitation. So I fought in the war with might and main, underwent rigid training and was admitted into the Party in the following year.

After victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan, China was faced with a crucial struggle between two entirely different destinies, one of brightness and one of darkness. Whenever my comrades-in-arms and I thought of the people in the areas under Kuomintang control still living in great misery, knowing that we were fighting for a bright new China, our enthusiasm surged like a sea of roaring waves. In June 1946, when the 54th Army of the Kuomintang launched a desperate offensive against the railway station at Nanquan in an attempt to burst open the gateway to the Shandong Liberated Area, the company I belonged to firmly held our position at Langezhuang to the east of the station and repulsed seven enemy attacks between early dawn and dusk. The whole field was littered with enemy corpses. Manoeuvring in a mobile and flexible way during the battle, I took cover behind a small grave-mound and shot at one enemy after another. Firing altogether 120 bullets, I killed 110 enemy soldiers.

In the three-year War of Liberation, while taking command in the fighting, I myself killed 360 enemy soldiers and was awarded the honourable title of Crack Shot and East China People's Hero, First Class. In August 1948, I went to Warsaw to attend the World Congress of Labouring Youth. When the first five-star red flag was hoisted over the soil of the motherland, I told myself that millions upon millions of "slaves to a foreign nation" like me, who were displaced after our home villages fell into enemy hands, were from now on going to be the masters of our own country, that the people the world over would soon see a new China rising like the morning sun over the eastern horizon. You can imagine how excited I was!

As I gazed on the five-star red flag, its bright colour reminded me of my numerous comrades-in-arms who had laid down their lives



The author with a tank crew.

and the difficulties the pioneers had gone through. In the course of creating a new China, our troops and the revolutionary people had endured one ordeal after another and the sacrifices they had made were too great to be represented by figures. Everyone who took part in the War of Resistance Against Japan and the subsequent War of Liberation knows how hard it was to win victory for the revolution. When I first joined the Eighth Route Army, the Japanese invaders were enforcing a blockade and launching a mopping-up operation against the anti-Japanese base areas; the Kuomintang, too, was trying to encircle us. We had no grain and had to live on sweet potato vines and corn-cobs; we had no medicines and could only look on as the sick and the wounded suffered; we had no extra clothing to change into, only the same uniform to wear all four seasons; arms and ammunition were even scarcer. But this army of ours served the people wholeheartedly and the fighters were highly optimistic even in times of great adversity. Every one of them was ready to sacrifice his all for the liberation of the people. The armymen, together with the people, made great sacrifices, advanced wave upon wave and fought bravely in these bloody wars.

In both the War of Resistance Against Japan and the War of Liberation, we went through countless battles and in every battle many comrades died. So this five-star red flag of ours is

embroidered with the most difficult struggles and dyed in the blood of the martyrs. Now that it is flying over the soil of the motherland, our martyrs, if they could have seen it from their graves as it went up, would have cheered together with us.

It is difficult to build up a cause; it is harder still to carry on the cause. The founding of New China does not mean the end of our militant task. What our martyrs had dreamt of in their lifetime was not just to found a new China but to build a modern, powerful socialist country. Facing the five-star red flag I took a silent pledge: Our motherland so dear, your sons and daughters will for ever be loyal to you and stand on guard; the fruit of the people's victory thus gained must not be lost, and for this I am always ready as a soldier to fight on, stand sentry and win battles in your defence.

Over the last 30 years, happy memories of my participation in the ceremony of the founding of the People's Republic often come back to my mind. In success, this memory warns me to guard against getting swell-headed; in adversity, it encourages me to brace up and persevere.

Soon after the founding of New China, the Party sent me to study at the First Tank School affiliated to the Chinese People's Liberation Army. Later I was enrolled in a tank institute for further studies. I had served in a tank unit for 12 years. When I joined the army, I had only six months' schooling behind me and had not really learnt how to read and write. Throughout the war years, I managed to study whenever there was time but advanced no further than primary school. With such a shaky foundation, it was indeed not easy for me to handle sophisticated arms and equipment, which need a fairly good knowledge of geometry and trigonometry, or to deal with all those circuits and oil channels. But I knew that without a modern people's army, New China could never grow strong, so I was determined to help build a modern army to better defend the five-star red flag. To make my work still more effective, I was prepared to surmount any difficulty, however great. After a period of hard study, I graduated from the tank institute with honours.

But it never occurred to me that dark clouds would gather over the bright sky of socialism. When Lin Biao and the gang of four wreaked havoc, anyone who was keen on mastering new equipment and the latest techniques was invariably vilified as a proponent of "the theory

that weapons decide everything," as holding a "purely technical viewpoint." At that time there was a strange logic, saying that the red flag would fall to the ground if a man-made satellite was launched into orbit. I asked myself, did it follow that the five-star red flag would not fall if no efforts were made to modernize the country? Why was it that the imperialists were able to overrun the land without trouble and do what they liked on Chinese territory in the last hundred years and more? Hadn't we had enough of this bitterness of being pushed around because we were backward? No, I couldn't believe what they said. I kept on studying with other officers and men, using the knowledge I had acquired in school to enhance our skill and military tactics in tank warfare. With great enthusiasm I passed on what I knew to the younger generation in the army to help them master military skills. At the same time I also studied other weapons and equipment of the armed services, such as those of the artillery units, the sappers, and the anti-chemical warfare units, in an effort to increase my ability to take command over an army with all kinds of arms.

After the gang of four was toppled, and especially after the 3rd Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee and the Second Session of the Fifth National People's Congress, I set forth on the new Long March in even higher spirits. In the recent past, I was assigned by the Party committee to lead the tank detachments of various divisions to a pre-arranged "war" zone for manoeuvres. Taking into account the experience gained in our self-defensive counterattack against Viet Nam and the special features of a future war against aggression, I made bold reforms and underwent drastic training together with other cadres and fighters.

Since that grand ceremony of the founding of the People's Republic, there have been tremendous changes in our motherland. There has been great development in our arms and equipment and considerable improvement in our tactical and technological level. My study in the use of the latest equipment and technology, however, has just begun. I am determined to continue my study and work hard to help speed up the modernization of our national defence. I want to make contributions in the nation's struggle for an early return of Taiwan to the embrace of the motherland and win victory in the event of a war against aggression.

VIET NAM

New Military Offensive In Kampuchea

The Vietnamese occupation forces have begun massive military operations in the central and western parts of Kampuchea in preparation for their dry-season offensive. At least five divisions of the Vietnamese army are deployed in six Kampuchean provinces around Phnom Penh. These are Kompong Chhnang, Kompong Cham, Prey Veng, Kompong Thom, Preah Vihear and Kompong Speu.

All the Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea have been ordered to maintain combat readiness. Van Tien Dung, Chief of the General Staff of the Vietnamese People's Army, and a group of Vietnamese officers arrived at Choam Khsan of Preah Vihear Province, an area bordering on Thailand, on September 15 by helicopters, according to a radio broadcast by Democratic Kampuchea on September 27.

Strong ASEAN Reaction. Viet Nam's offensive has evoked strong reaction on the part of Thailand and other ASEAN countries.

Thai Prime Minister Kriangsak Chômanan ordered the three armed services to strengthen their defence along the eastern border of the country to resist any possible invasion by foreign troops.

The Thai paper *Tong Hua Yid Pao* said that Prem Tinasulanonda, Minister of Defence and Commander-in-Chief of the Thai Army, told reporters on October 1 that Thailand would not tolerate any invasion of its territory. Should foreign

troops encroach upon Thai territory, the Thai armed forces would be ready to repulse them.

Addressing the Second General Assembly of the ASEAN Inter-Parliamentary Organization in Bangkok on September 29, Singapore's Senior Minister of State A. Rahim Ishak stressed that if Vietnamese forces invaded Thailand, its ASEAN partners would not stand idly by.

Malaysia's *New Straits Times* in an editorial on September 28 said that the dry season Vietnamese offensive against Khmer Rouge may extend to Thailand, thus threatening her security. Hanoi must be made to realize the seriousness of the situation and the threat it poses to any hope of rapprochement with its neighbours if Thai territory is violated.

CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

Bokassa's Downfall

On September 20, Emperor Bokassa I of the Central African Empire was overthrown in a coup and the former President, David Dacko, proclaimed the restoration of a republic and the formation of a government of national unity.

Bokassa came to power after toppling David Dacko in a coup d'état in 1966. In 1976 the Republic of Central Africa was renamed the Central African Empire and Bokassa crowned himself emperor in December 1977. The coronation cost 30 million U.S. dollars, 50 per cent of the annual state budget. Many staff members and workers were compelled to contribute 10 per cent of their wages to the

outlay. After the ceremony, staff members and workers of public enterprises went unpaid for several months. University student grants were suspended, too. The emperor also ordered that the "imperial exchequer" would no longer be responsible for paying the wages of staff members and workers of public enterprises, so that the royal family would have more to spend. Business taxes for 1980 were also collected in advance. Civilian officials' salaries, paid by cheque in the first quarter of this year, could not be converted into cash! The royalties' fortunes went on piling up. Bokassa built several villas in France and Switzerland, and pocketed public funds and foreign aid and put the money into his bank accounts in Europe.

The economy of the country has been badly damaged as a result of 14 years of corruption and tyranny. Cotton output, the major export, dropped from 41,000 tons in 1977 to 28,000 tons in 1978; diamond fell from 330,000 karats in 1975 to 286,000 karats in 1976. The downward spiral in 1978 resulted in a foreign trade deficit of 40 million francs and increased the internal and external debts to 140 million francs. The country is now one of the poorest nations in the world, in terms of income per capita.

Bokassa had a hand in detaining and murdering more than a hundred children in Ngaranpba prison in mid-April this year. The massacre caused an uproar at home and abroad and many countries and international organizations condemned this inhuman behaviour. Bokassa was shorn of all support.

● **Machine-Building Industry**

China has built a 30,000-ton die-forging hydraulic press capable of hammering one-metre-thick billets of titanium or aluminium alloy into 10-millimetre-thick parts. The giant press stands eight-stories high, weighs 8,000 tons and is used for forging vital aircraft and missile parts. It has some 200 ancillary machines and devices serving it. Such forging press is produced in only a few countries.

China now makes machine tools, heavy machinery, power equipment, motor vehicles, tractors, locomotives, instruments and meters, oil-drilling rigs, equipment for mining, metallurgical, chemical and light industries, and ships, altogether more than 20,000 engineering products.

About 80 per cent of the machinery installed in China's

basic industries were made in this country. They include complete equipment for a plant producing 3 million tons of steel or a mine turning out 2.2 million tons of coal annually, all the equipment for an integrated enterprise handling 2.5 million tons of crude oil a year, and 300,000-kilowatt generating sets for thermal power plants or hydropower stations.

Of the 400 or so machine tool plants in China, about 40 of them are large ones. They make more than 1,000 different kinds of products. These include a big milling machine for working the rotors of 600,000-kw or bigger turbo-generators and water-turbine generators, a machine tool with 60 automatically changed cutters that can serve as miller, borer, drill and reamer. China now makes 50 different kinds of numerically-controlled machine tools.

Before liberation, the machine-building industry in China was almost non-existent. There were only a few small plants in the coastal cities that assembled imported motor vehicles and machines, or produced small motors and belt-driven lathes.

China is now exporting some 200 kinds of machines to more than 70 countries and regions.

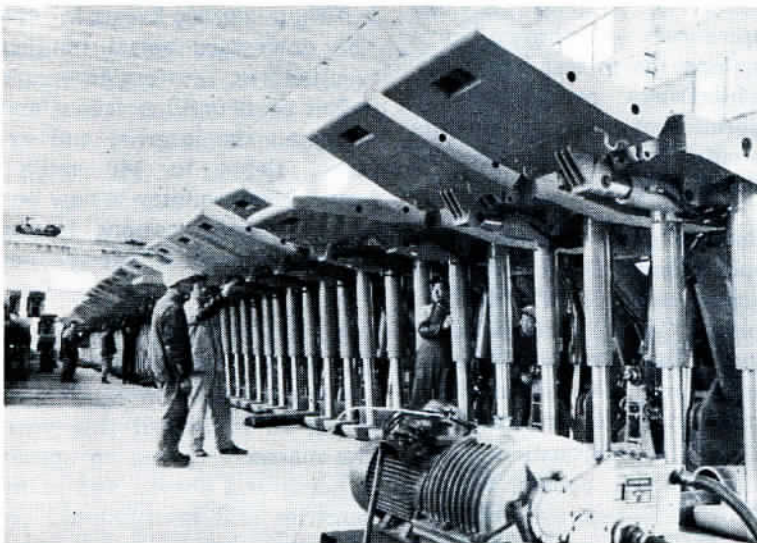
● **Daqing: New Oil-Bearing Formations**

New workable reserves have been found in outlying areas of Daqing, pushing up estimated oil reserves in the biggest oilfield in China by 25 per cent. Discoveries of oil-bearing formations in the first six months of 1979 were put at 128 square kilometres.

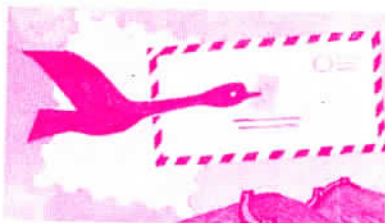
Drilling speeds have improved as the result of using new techniques and new types of bits this year. They include an artificial diamond injection drill bit with three scrapers, a new separating fluid for well-fixing and a drilling rig driven by silicon-controlled direct current.

In the past three years, high output of crude oil has been maintained without adding new wells, and output has been going up at a million tons annually.

Although the oilfield has been in operation for 20 years, the ground pressure has remained fairly constant and most wells still flow without the aid of pumps.



Hydraulic metal props made by the Shanghai Mining Machinery Plant.



LETTERS FROM READERS

Greeting 30th Anniversary

October 1 this year marks the 30th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China. The 7th anniversary of normalization of relations between Japan and China falls on September 29. These seven years of friendly exchanges between our two countries are certainly not a short period. To us, they are seven precious years.

Since the founding of the People's Republic of China, the people of Asia and the rest of the world have together with the Chinese people gone through 30 glorious and unforgettable years in world history.

Hua Guofeng has been leading the Chinese people on a new Long March after Chairman Mao died. The Japanese people should give their best possible co-operation to help the Chinese people accomplish the four modernizations.

The great Chinese people have inherited and are developing Mao Zedong Thought, on which we place infinite hopes. And we firmly believe that China will march forward and become prosperous.

Koichi Masuko
Tokyo, Japan

We have received many congratulatory letters from other readers on this occasion. We take this opportunity to express our heartfelt thanks. — Ed.

Reform of Economic System

I think that the contents of the articles in *Beijing Review* are now much more concrete and there are fewer superfluous words. We take a deep interest in reading background information concerning your country. Your articles about restructuring the economic system are of great interest to me. I am a teacher of economics, but

I can't find much material about China's economic development.

The article "Socialist Economic Planning and the Market" in issue No. 31 is very enlightening. There should be articles dealing with the theoretical and practical aspects of this subject.

Alberto Baltra C.
Santiago, Chile

Urban Collective Economy

I have read with great interest the article "Urban Collective Economy: Develop or Eliminate It" in issue No. 35. It helps us to get a better understanding of China's efforts to realize the four modernizations. It shows clearly that China's economy can develop only when due attention is paid to the economic laws applicable in various periods of development in human society and to existing objective factors.

The article states that, in building a strong socialist China, these objective factors cannot be ignored.

The article is also a very good reply to those who assert that China has embarked on the capitalist road. I would appreciate very much if you would publish such articles of scientific value more frequently.

Klaus-Dieter Müller
Lehe b. Lunden, W. Germany

Advancing in the Course of Correcting Mistakes

Reading *Beijing Review* helps one understand the changes and development in China's socialist construction. Take the news report about the Tian An Men incident for example. If we make a comparison between your report today and that of two years ago, we may find that there exist in your socialist system contradictions we never imagined before. That is why we often go to extremes in our views regarding the situation in China. The period of socialist construction is long and arduous, and progress is made in the course of overcoming contradictions and correcting mistakes.

Washichi Inose
Tokyo, Japan

I am very glad to know that you have received many letters from your readers. This shows that your magazine has aroused great

interest among readers abroad. In the last few years you seldom reported any difficulty you had come across but only told us about your achievements. The new principles you now follow in your news reports help us get a more correct understanding of the situation in China. In this way, the dynamic force which propels your production departments and which evokes our sympathy for your country does not in the least diminish.

I think that your articles are rich and varied in content and point of view as well as in the style of writing and presentation.

J. Deguine
Paris, France

Beijing: 1949-1979

I would like to congratulate you on your article "Beijing: 1949-1979" in issue No. 32. It is of great help to readers to know how the Chinese people, acting in accordance with the teachings of the late Chairman Mao Zedong, have made such progress in the last 30 years.

Miguel Ramon B.
Alboraia, Spain

Curb on Smoking

It was a pleasure to read in issue No. 33 that the Minister of Health has started a campaign to curb smoking. During my visit to China in the autumn of 1974 I was annoyed at the smoke-filled conference rooms before and after each tour. It did seem odd that in a country where health and hygiene was stressed that there was so much smoking.

Richard A. Dannels
Tucson, U.S.A.

Suggestions

Please open a special column for cartoons.

The few cartoons I have come across lately, exposing atrocities by the Vietnamese aggressors, have impressed me. I sincerely hope you will consider my suggestion.

Ongom-Olet Sam
Tororo, Uganda

The Chinese characters in the illustrations should be translated, or you can just add a sentence below giving the meaning of those words.

Lahoor-uddin-Bashir
Sialkot, Pakistan

Just Off the Press

CHINA SCENES

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A large-sized album containing 211 pictures of famous Chinese landscapes in colour taken by 140 professional and amateur photographers. Special coverage is given to 15 areas including the Lijiang River, West Lake, Mount Huangshan, Mount Lushan, Mount Taishan, Mount Huashan, the Great Wall, and Mount Qomolangma. There are also views of 30 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions including Taiwan Province.

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